

# Reversing the Gender Gap in Negotiations: An Exploration of Stereotype Regeneration

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**We examine how gender stereotypes affect performance in mixed-gender negotiations. We extend recent work demonstrating that stereotype activation leads to a male advantage and a complementary female disadvantage at the bargaining table (Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001). In the present investigation, we regenerate the stereotype of effective negotiators by associating stereotypically feminine skills with negotiation success. In Experiment 1, women performed better in mixed-gender negotiations when stereotypically feminine traits were linked to successful negotiating, but not when gender-neutral traits were linked to negotiation success. Gender differences were mediated by the performance expectations and goals set by negotiators. In Experiment 2, we regenerated the stereotype of effective negotiators by linking stereotypically masculine or feminine traits with negotiation ineffectiveness. Women outperformed men in mixed-gender negotiations when stereotypically masculine traits were linked to poor negotiation performance, but men outperformed women**

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**when stereotypically feminine traits were linked to poor negotiation performance. Implications for stereotype threat theory and negotiations are discussed.** © 2002 Elsevier Science (USA)

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One widely held stereotype about women is that they are less effective at negotiating compared to men. For example, a typical negotiation scenario involves buying a new car. Popular wisdom suggests that women bring a man with them to the dealership so that they are “taken seriously” and given a fair shake. Indeed, one audit of new car dealerships revealed that salespeople quoted women significantly higher prices than they did men who used exactly the same scripted bargaining strategies as the women (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995). But over and above any bias on the part of the dealer, women carry an additional burden with them into the dealership, which is the possibility that anything they say or do will be interpreted in light of the stereotype about women’s inferior negotiating ability (Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001). This burden is termed stereotype threat (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995) and several investigations have found that people’s behavior is affected by the mere activation of a stereotype or simply making a stereotype-relevant task diagnostic of ability.

The question we address in this article is whether this burden be lifted, or even transferred to men, to improve women’s performance at the bargaining table? In answering this question we extend theory and research in a number of important ways. First, we provide a strong test of Steele’s theory of stereotype threat by demonstrating that merely linking traits that are stereotypic of a group to performance outcomes can produce stereotype threat effects. We do this by manipulating whether positive or negative outcomes are generally connected to stereotypically feminine and masculine traits. Second, we provide the first clear evidence that stereotype threat affects performance expectations and these performance expectations mediate the observed decrements in performance. Finally, we have improved on earlier research that confounded positivity with mutuality (a social category shared by male counterparts) when exploring whether positive stereotypes can improve the negotiation performance of women (Kray et al., 2001).

## **STEREOTYPES AND PERFORMANCE**

A wide body of evidence suggests that stereotypes have a pernicious effect on the behavior and performance of the stereotyped. Even the United States Supreme Court in *Hopkins v. Price Waterhouse* recognized that stereotyping can result in unequal outcomes in organizational settings (Fiske, 1993). In that particular case, a woman was denied partnership in a prestigious accounting firm, despite evidence of superior job performance, because her behavior did not conform to gender-based expectations. The Supreme Court noted that stereotypes are particularly influential when decisions are based on qualitative, idiosyncratic dimensions (i.e., interpersonal skill) rather than on quantitative

features (i.e., amount of business brought into a firm). Despite the court's ruling that negative stereotypes had impacted the treatment of an individual within this particular organization, overcoming the impact of stereotypes is a formidable task. In an interview context, Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) found that White interviewers treated Black interviewees with less immediate nonverbal behaviors (e.g., less eye contact and further interpersonal distance) while also constructing fewer grammatically correct questions compared to the treatment of White interviewees. Rather than overcoming the impact of this treatment, Black applicants succumbed to it by responding with more grammatical errors and less eloquent and confident speech. Through interaction, stereotypic expectancies of perceivers can lead to stereotypic responses of targets. Devine (1989) has even suggested that, in the presence of a member of a stereotyped group, stereotype activation is inevitable and unavoidable.

### *Stereotype Threat*

The mere knowledge that negative stereotypes exist about one's group can impair performance on job-relevant tasks. The performance of members of negatively stereotyped groups suffers when the task they are performing is relevant to the stereotype and believed to be diagnostic of ability (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Steele (1997) has coined the phenomenon *stereotype threat*, and it describes the concern a person feels about confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group. Steele and Aronson describe stereotype threat as the following predicament: "The existence of such a stereotype means that anything one does or any of one's features that conform to it make the stereotype more plausible as a self-characterization in the eyes of others, and perhaps even in one's own eyes." Although not empirically demonstrated, Steele argued that the threat becomes reality because concern over confirming the stereotype produces anxiety, lowers expectations, and reduces performance and, thus, unwittingly confirms the stereotype (Steele, 1997).

Unlike Word et al. (1974), Steele and colleagues have shown that stereotype-consistent behavior does not require a behavioral-confirmation process wherein a perceiver elicits behavior from a target. In fact, it is not necessary that the target person believe the stereotype for his or her behavior to be negatively affected; the most capable members of stereotyped groups tend to be the most adversely affected in their performance by stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). All that appears to be necessary for stereotype threat to emerge is the knowledge that a stereotype exists and the explicit articulation that a particular task is diagnostic of ability. In most cases, targets may vehemently deny that the stereotype applies to them.

The implications of this research span important social classifications, such as race and gender, and apply to a wide range of ability domains, such as individual tests of mathematics (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999), general intellectual performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995), and athletics (Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999). In addition to affecting these individual tasks, negative stereotypes also influence competitive, interactive negotiation tasks

(Kray et al., 2001). Kray et al. (2001) found that, in mixed-gender negotiating dyads, simply labeling the negotiation as diagnostic of ability improved men's ability to negotiate but hindered women's performance at the bargaining table.

Extensions of this research on negatively stereotyped groups revealed that the effect of stereotype activation depends on the valence of the stereotype, the social group to whom it is applied, and whether the stereotype is relevant to a particular task. Negative stereotypes can affect members of nonstigmatized groups (Aronson et al., 1999; Brown & Josephs, 1999). Leyens, Desert, Croizet, and Darcis (2000) created a stereotypic expectancy by instructing some people that men (a group typically exempt from stigmatization) performed more poorly on affective tasks. Whereas "threatened men" did not perform worse on other tasks, they made significantly more errors on the affective discrimination task. Consistent with Steele's (1997) analysis of the causes of stereotype threat, Leyens et al. found that endorsement of the stereotype did not mediate the effects, but that identification with the performance domain under threat was an important predictor of threat-induced decrements in performance.

The framing of a task as relevant to positive versus negative stereotypes differentially impacts performance (Stone et al., 1999). For example, one stereotype of White athletes is that they are high in "sports intelligence," whereas African-American athletes are generally regarded to be higher in "natural athletic ability." The activation of these stereotypes differentially affected the performance of White and African-American athletes: when a golf task was deemed to be diagnostic of sports intelligence, Whites did better than when it was framed as diagnostic of natural athletic ability. The opposite was true of African-American athletes, who performed better when the task was diagnostic of natural athletic ability than sports intelligence.

Whereas stigmatized groups experience threat when their performance is interpreted as diagnostic of an ability that is relevant to the stereotype of the stigmatized group, advantaged groups experience a performance boost. For instance, Spencer et al. (1999) found that men outperformed women on a math test only when test-takers were told that gender differences actually existed (with no mention of gender stereotypes). Moreover, men who were told that gender differences exist performed better than men who were told no gender differences exist. Our own investigations suggest that members of positively stereotyped groups (i.e., men in negotiations) experience improved performance when traditional stereotypes have been activated (Kray et al., 2001). In one experiment, activating stereotypes relevant to negotiation performance had a stronger positive effect on men's negotiating performance than it had a negative effect on female performance. In our empirical extension of stereotype threat (Kray et al., 2001), we also demonstrated that performance expectations and goals mediate the effect of stereotype activation on performance for positively stereotyped group members (i.e., men) as well as negatively stereotyped group members.

Kray et al. (2001) also found that activating a positive identity that is mutually shared by male and female negotiators essentially levels the playing field. In a mixed-gender negotiation, linking negotiation performance to a shared

identity (student), rather than to a divisive identity (gender), equalized performance across genders. Although this finding suggests positive identities can have a potent effect on both negotiators, Kray et al.'s investigation confounded positivity with mutuality. Thus their data leave unclear whether a positive stereotype improves performance for women when their male counterparts do not share it.

### *Stereotype Regeneration*

In this investigation, we examine the effect that regenerated stereotypes have on groups that are traditionally stigmatized and, hence, disadvantaged. By stereotype regeneration, we refer to a process by which behaviors and traits associated with a group are modified or redefined. Specifically, stereotypical behaviors and traits that are assumed to be liabilities at a task are transformed into assets. For many cultural groups, stereotype regeneration is not possible. However, for many roles, such as manager or negotiator, stereotypical traits are often regenerated. For example, there is a trend toward the "feminization" of management (Rudman & Glick, 1999), in which stereotypically feminine traits such as inclusivity, emotional sensitivity and expression, and supportiveness are legitimized and valued. This feminization of management, particularly at the middle management level, could lead females who conform to the stereotype to have an advantage over their male counterparts. Given that the conditions that produce threat for one group (e.g. women and African Americans) can produce performance enhancement for the corresponding advantaged group (e.g., men and Caucasians), improving performance for women at the bargaining table might simply be a matter of strengthening the perceived link between stereotypically feminine traits and negotiation success in the minds of negotiators.

Although many individuals hold naïve theories that link stereotypically masculine traits to negotiation success (Kray et al., 2001), many of the traits regarded by experts to be critical to negotiation success are in fact feminine in nature. For example, the traits that Raiffa (1982) used to define effective negotiators are composed of both stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine traits. In particular, verbal ability—effective communication and listening skills—are equated with negotiation success (Raiffa, 1982). Likewise, being insightful and emotionally expressive can be advantageous to the negotiator. We predict that activating these traits will improve the performance of women at the bargaining table. More specifically, if cultural stereotypes contribute to the gender gap witnessed when men and women negotiate with each other under normal circumstances (Kray et al., 2001), then regenerating the link between stereotypical traits and successful negotiating should eliminate (or possibly reverse) the gender gap. Armed with a stereotype that implicitly portrays women as more advantaged than men in negotiations, we expect women to outperform men at the bargaining table.

*How does stereotype regeneration impact performance?* In the original empirical demonstration of stereotype threat, Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated that conditions that produce stereotype threat effects also produce increased self-doubt. In a more recent investigation of the effect of racial stereotypes on athletic performance, Stone et al. (1999) determined that stereotypes impact performance expectations as well as performance. Prior to engaging in each hole of a golf task, participants estimated how many strokes they would require to complete the hole. These expectations mirrored the outcome measures described above, although Stone et al. noted that these expectations were likely affected by actual performance in an earlier stage of the multistaged task. Consistent with these two programs of research on stereotype threat, we predict that simply being reminded of a stereotype relevant to one's social group will affect how well an individual expects to do even before the task begins. We expect stereotype activation to influence expectations, which in turn will impact performance.

One reason why we expect the activation of stereotypes concerning an important social identity, such as gender, to impact performance is that stereotypes can alter one's sense of self-worth and the goals an individual sets (Crocker & Major, 1989; Stone et al., 1999). Women generally set lower goals for themselves than men in negotiations, and controlling for differences in goals has been shown to eliminate negotiation performance differences between men and women (Stevens, Bavetta, & Gist, 1993). We expect stereotype regeneration to impact the performance goals that men and women set for themselves in negotiations such that women will expect more than they otherwise would and men would expect less than they otherwise would when the traditional stereotype of a successful negotiator has been redefined. Negotiators with high outcome goals are generally more persistent than negotiators with low outcome goals and this persistence translates into better performance (Bazerman, Magliozzi, & Neale, 1985; Huber & Neale, 1987; Neale & Bazerman, 1985). Thus, we expect the effect of stereotype activation on performance to be mediated by negotiator goals.

To test the hypotheses outlined above, we first conducted a pretest to confirm that several of the traits regarded by experts to be indicative of negotiation success are stereotypically feminine. From this pretest we created a list of stereotypically feminine traits and a list of gender-neutral traits. We then activated these traits for men and women before engaging them in a negotiation task. After exposing them to the traits, participants indicated their goals for the negotiation and then engaged in a mixed-gender negotiation.

### PRETEST

To determine the extent to which key negotiation skills are associated with gender, we conducted a pretest that assessed men and women's naïve theories about the relationship between gender and negotiation skills. A total of 24 students on a college campus (12 males and 12 females) were solicited to complete a short questionnaire asking them to assess 13 traits determined by negotiation experts to be critical for negotiation success (Raiffa, 1982). Participants were asked to evaluate whether these traits were stereotypically

feminine, stereotypically masculine, or gender-neutral. Specifically, participants read, "Please take a couple of minutes to think about the cultural stereotypes of men and women with regard to negotiation skills. Please rate the following descriptions for how well they fit the cultural stereotypes about men and women. Note that these characteristics may not reflect your own personal beliefs. Rate the adjectives according to how well they fit the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true." Participants then rated each trait on a 9-point scale, with higher numbers indicating more stereotypically masculine traits. As shown in Table 1, key negotiator skills are often linked to a specific gender. We interpret traits that were rated in the upper third of the scale ( $>5.9$ ) to be masculine in nature and traits that were rated in the lower third of the scale ( $<3.1$ ) to be feminine in nature. Traits that fell in the midrange of the scale (3.1–5.9) were considered gender-neutral. We then conducted paired sample  $t$  tests to determine that this method of dividing the categories resulted in distinct groupings. As expected, all three groups differed from each other [masculine vs feminine,  $t(23) = 9.79$ ,  $p < .001$ ; masculine vs neutral,  $t(23) = 5.76$ ,  $p < .001$ ; feminine vs neutral,  $t(23) = 7.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ]. We also examined whether the gender of the respondent affected ratings within each category. As expected, the ratings by male and female respondents did not significantly differ,  $F < 1$ , *ns*.

### EXPERIMENT 1

Having established the existence of gender-specific and gender-neutral traits that apply to negotiation success, we were ready to proceed with our investigation of stereotype regeneration in actual face-to-face negotiations. We hypothesized that women would experience a performance boost relative to men when

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Evaluations of Successful Negotiator Traits According to Gender Stereotypes

Negotiator trait	Mean	Standard Deviation
Assertive	7.3	1.6
Good problem solver	7.0	1.5
High regard for own interests	6.3	1.5
Knowledgeable	6.0	1.7
Rational	5.6	1.8
Good judgment	5.3	1.9
Sense of humor	5.0	.80
Patient	4.0	2.3
Prepared	3.7	1.7
Verbally expressive	2.8	1.8
Good listening skills	2.5	1.4
Insightful	2.3	1.3
Emotional	1.9	.90

*Note.* Traits were presented on a 9-point scale, with higher values indicating a stronger association with the male stereotype.

positive negotiation traits that are part of the traditional female stereotype (insightful, good listener, and verbally communicative) were associated with the negotiator stereotype. Because the negotiation was regarded as highly diagnostic of important abilities, men were expected to suffer from “stereotype threat” after positive female traits have been activated, meaning that their performance would suffer. As a control, we included a condition in which traits related to negotiation performance, but unassociated with masculine and feminine stereotypes, were activated. We expected men to prevail under this gender-neutral condition because describing a task as diagnostic of ability leads to stereotype threat for a negatively stereotyped group even when stereotypical traits have not been activated (Kray et al., 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

With respect to the underlying process guiding these performance effects, we expected the activation of gender-relevant versus gender-neutral stereotypes to affect negotiators’ expectations and aspirations. In particular, we expected women to set higher goals for themselves and to expect to do better when a female stereotype had been activated and linked to successful negotiating compared to when gender-neutral traits were activated. We expected the opposite to occur for males; their own performance expectations and aspirations were hypothesized to suffer when stereotypically feminine traits were associated with negotiation success compared to gender-neutral traits.

To test our stereotype regeneration hypotheses, we examined mixed-gender dyads in which both negotiators experienced the same manipulation. In our first set of studies (Kray et al., 2001), we established that the effects of gender stereotype activation on negotiation performance are limited to the mixed-gender case and most pronounced when both negotiators experience the manipulation. That is, exposing only one negotiator to the experimental manipulation impacted negotiation agreements, but the impact of stereotype activation was greatest when both negotiators experienced the manipulation. For this reason, we chose to focus on the set of circumstances in which stereotype regeneration processes are most likely to occur.

### *Method*

*Overview.* The experiment involved two conditions, with female positive stereotype activation and gender-neutral stereotype activation as the two levels of the between groups factor. In both conditions, each negotiator in a dyad received the same manipulation. Role assignments (buyer vs seller) were counterbalanced.

*Participants.* Participants were 122 full-time and evening M.B.A. students at a business school enrolled in a course in negotiations. Sixty-one dyads were formed, each with one female and one male participant. The experiment was conducted during the first week of a 10-week academic term.

*Procedure.* The experimental procedure consisted of four phases. First, participants were each given a confidential packet of materials describing the general nature of the negotiation and what role they would play in the exercise.



They were informed it was an “honor code” violation to exchange any physical role information with anyone else, although they were free to say anything they wished during the negotiation.

The packet of materials also contained the key experimental manipulations. Basing our manipulations on those of Steele and Aronson (1995) and Kray et al. (2001), participants in both conditions were told that the negotiation exercise was highly diagnostic of important, managerial negotiation abilities based on individual bargaining styles. The traits that were linked to successful negotiation performance varied across conditions. Based on results from our pretest, participants in the female positive condition were told, “Highly skilled negotiators have: (1) a keen ability to express their thoughts verbally; (2) good listening skills; and (3) insight into the other negotiator’s feelings.” In the gender-neutral condition, participants were told, “Highly skilled negotiators are: (1) well-prepared; (2) able to maintain a sense of humor; and (3) open-minded.” In both conditions, participants were urged to put forth a strong effort on the task.

After reading their role materials, participants completed a prenegotiation self-assessment of their expectations for the upcoming negotiation. We expected, to the extent that stereotype activation affects relative performance expectations of individuals, two comparison groups would be relevant—those participants in the same role and one’s negotiating partner. To address these two groups, participants in all conditions were asked to indicate how confident they were that they would perform well in the negotiation, relative to other students in the class with the same role, and what portion of the “pie” they expected to negotiate relative to their negotiating partner. For each of the preceding questions, responses were on an 11-point scale, ranging from 0 to 100%. Higher values indicate more confidence and better personal performance. We also included a measure of expectations that was not directly tied to individuals’ relative performance: Participants indicated their goal/target level (i.e., sale price) for the single-issue negotiation.

The next stage was the actual face-to-face negotiation. We used the same negotiation exercise used by Kray et al. (2001, Experiments 1 and 3), which was a standard negotiation that involved the potential purchase of a pharmaceuticals plant between a buyer and a seller. The task allowed for a quantitative assessment of negotiation performance, as determined by the sole issue of selling price. The bargaining zone spanned from \$17.5 to \$26 million. Participants were informed immediately prior to the negotiation who they would negotiate with and then assigned a private meeting place to conduct the negotiation, which could last up to 30 min. The negotiation instructions clearly indicated that the objective of participants was to maximize their own profit, whether buyer or seller. The negotiation concluded when both parties came to a mutual agreement on price or when time was called.

Upon completion of the task, participants completed an individual assessment of the negotiation process and outcome. Participants were asked to estimate their performance, once again, relative to other students in the same role and their negotiating partner, with the same 11-point scale from the prenegotiation assessment (endpoints: 0 and 100). Also on an 11-point scale, participants

indicated how equally balanced the two roles were in terms of power (higher values indicating greater personal power relative to partner). Participants were also asked to indicate how prepared and knowledgeable they personally were regarding the negotiation and then assessed their negotiating partner on the same measures. These items were presented on 7-point scales (endpoints: not at all, “extremely”).

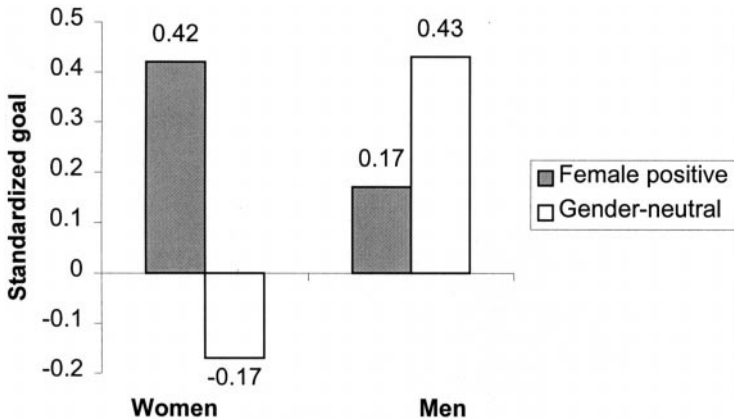
## Results

*Pre negotiation measures.* To examine the effect of stereotype activation on individual expectations of negotiation performance, we conducted an ANOVA on each of the negotiation premeasures, with stereotype activation condition and negotiator gender as between-participant factors (see Table 2 for a correlation matrix that includes all variables in the study). Following the procedure developed by Kray et al. (2001), we controlled for role assignment by creating a standardized  $Z$  score, with higher values indicating more ambitious goals. The unit of analysis was the individual as these measures were collected before any interaction with one’s negotiating partner. We predicted that the targets set by negotiators would vary as a function of both stereotype activation and individual gender. Specifically, we predicted that men would set higher targets in the gender-neutral condition than in the female positive condition, but the reverse would be true for women. As shown in Fig. 1, the pattern of means confirmed our predictions: Whereas the standardized goal was higher for men in the gender-neutral condition ( $M = .43$ ) than in the female positive condition ( $M = .17$ ), women set higher goals for themselves in the female positive condition ( $M = .42$ ) than in the gender-neutral condition ( $M = -.17$ ). This pattern was statistically confirmed with a significant Stereotype Activation  $\times$  Gender interaction, [ $F(1, 121) = 5.91, p < .05$ ]. Relative performance expectations compared to others in the same role ( $M_{\text{grand}} = 54.96$ ) or their negotiating partner ( $M_{\text{grand}} = 53.88$ ) were not affected by stereotype activation ( $F_s < 1, ns$ ).

**TABLE 2**  
Study 1: Correlations between Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Preconfidence	—										
2. Prepie	<b>.70</b>	—									
3. Goal	-.02	-.04	—								
4. Sale price	-.02	-.05	<b>.37</b>	—							
5. Postconfidence	<b>.36</b>	<b>.33</b>	-.06	.07	—						
6. Postpie	<b>.23</b>	<b>.28</b>	-.02	.02	<b>.66</b>	—					
7. Power	.10	<b>.21</b>	-.15	-.12	<b>.45</b>	<b>.42</b>	—				
8. Prepared self	.06	.05	-.02	-.07	<b>.25</b>	.12	.15	—			
9. Prepared opponent	.04	.03	.05	-.01	.02	-.06	-.09	<b>.79</b>	—		
10. Knowledge self	<b>.33</b>	<b>.32</b>	.01	-.02	<b>.22</b>	.12	.08	<b>.45</b>	<b>.43</b>	—	
11. Knowledge opponent	.00	.05	.03	-.07	-.07	-.13	.16	.03	-.04	.09	—

Note. Significant correlations ( $p < .05$ ) are in bold.



**FIG. 1.** Experiment 1: Standardized negotiation goals by stereotype activation and gender. Standardized goal is computed such that higher values indicate a more ambitious goal, collapsing across role assignment.

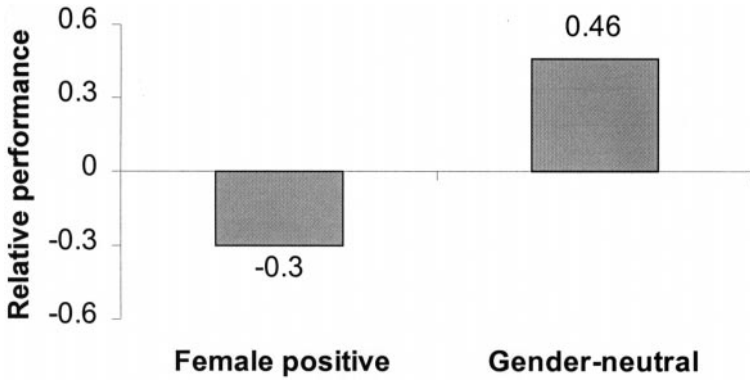
*Negotiation performance.* To analyze performance, we first examined whether role assignments (female buyer/male seller vs female seller/male buyer) influenced performance by conducting an analysis of variance (ANOVA) on sale price, with role as a between-groups factor (see Table 3 for descriptive data across experimental conditions). As expected, the effect of role on sale price was not statistically significant [ $F(1, 59) = .62, ns$ ], so we collapsed across role assignments by transforming negotiation agreements into a standardized  $Z$  score, with higher values indicating better performance for men relative to women. To test our hypothesis that gender stereotype activation affects negotiation outcomes, we then examined the standardized performance score across stereotype activation conditions with an ANOVA. In support of our hypothesis, men performed better in the gender-neutral condition ( $M = .46$ ),

**TABLE 3**

**Study 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables by Stereotype Activation Condition and Role Assignments**

Variable	Female positive		Gender-neutral	
	F seller/M buyer	F buyer/M seller	F seller/M buyer	F buyer/M seller
Preconfidence	55.56 (14.23)	55.16 (14.35)	53.41 (15.91)	50.87 (16.49)
Prepie	51.48 (15.86)	55.67 (13.57)	52.00 (13.63)	52.73 (11.62)
Goal	22.75 (3.00)	21.95 (2.60)	21.09 (2.90)	22.78 (2.86)
Sale price	22.19 (1.73)	21.33 (1.70)	20.80 (1.59)	22.57 (2.03)
Postconfidence	52.80 (19.04)	56.21 (13.47)	55.77 (15.50)	54.29 (17.20)
Postpie	55.20 (15.84)	54.48 (14.29)	53.17 (15.72)	52.86 (19.78)
Power	47.41 (15.59)	50.81 (17.42)	51.22 (11.66)	49.13 (13.11)
Prepared self	4.33 (1.18)	4.65 (1.38)	4.39 (1.26)	4.74 (1.32)
Prepared opponent	4.78 (1.09)	4.87 (1.20)	4.44 (1.16)	4.78 (1.31)
Knowledge self	3.30 (1.44)	4.19 (1.42)	3.07 (1.56)	3.39 (1.75)
Knowledge opponent	3.67 (1.49)	4.42 (1.15)	5.51 (9.75)	3.86 (1.49)

Note. F = female; M = male.



**FIG. 2.** Experiment 1: Standardized negotiation performance by stereotype activation. Relative performance is computed such that higher values indicate a better outcome for men relative to women.

and women performed better in the female positive condition ( $M = -.30$ ), [ $F(1, 59) = 10.38, p < .01$ ]<sup>1</sup> (see Fig. 2). To examine more closely the source of this effect, we examined whether the difference between male and female performance within each condition differed from zero with a one-sample  $t$  test. In the gender-neutral condition, we replicated our previously established finding that males outperform females when the negotiation is considered to be diagnostic of performance [ $t(31) = 2.79, p < .01$ ]. In the female positive condition, women performed significantly better than their male counterparts, [ $t(28) = -1.79, p < .05$ ].<sup>2</sup>

*Relationship between prenegotiation aspirations and negotiation performance.* We next sought to determine better the relationship between performance goals constructed before the negotiation and subsequent negotiation performance. Overall, aspirations and performance were significantly correlated ( $r = .37, p < .001$ ), with higher aspirations associated with better performance. The relationship between target and outcome was statistically significant for males ( $r = .55, p < .001$ ) but not females ( $r = .26, ns$ ) in the gender-neutral condition; the opposite was true in the female positive condition—target values of females ( $r = .45, p < .01$ ) were significantly related to outcomes, but not those of males ( $r = .16, ns$ ).

We next explored whether performance goals mediated the effect of stereotype activation on negotiation performance. To do so, we computed a difference score of the prenegotiation aspiration measure so that it represented the goal differences between men and women in the dyad, with the woman's score subtracted from the man's scores. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), the mediating variable (performance expectations) must still predict the outcome while controlling for experimental condition and, finally, the effect of experimental condition must be reduced when controlling for the effect of the mediator. When both

<sup>1</sup> The  $2 \times 2$  ANOVA, with role assignment and stereotype activation as between-group factors, is also statistically significant, [ $F(1, 61) = 10.06, p = .002$ ].

<sup>2</sup> Because we had directional hypotheses all of our one-sample  $t$  test were one-tailed.

performance expectations and experimental condition were simultaneously entered into the regression equation, performance expectations continued to predict negotiated outcomes,  $\beta = .39$  [ $t(57) = 4.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ], but the effect of experimental condition was reduced to marginal significance,  $\beta = -.43$  [ $t(57) = -1.96$ ,  $p = .06$ ]. Using the corrected procedure originally specified in Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger (1998), we next tested whether this reduction was sufficiently large to be significant, and indeed it was, ( $Z = 2.10$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The impact of stereotype activation and diagnosticity on the agreements reached between men and women was mediated by the negotiators' performance expectations. Stereotypes can empower and disempower individuals in the negotiation context, depending on which stereotypical traits are linked to positive performance.

*Postnegotiation measures.* We created a difference score representing the male response minus the female response for each postnegotiation measure to examine how gender affected self-assessments and negotiating partner assessments across experimental conditions. The dyad was the unit of analysis. Because the difference score was constructed such that female assessments were subtracted from male assessments, evaluations concerning one's negotiating partner were expected to be positive to the extent that males evaluated their female partner more positively and negative to the extent that males evaluated their female partner less positively. We hypothesized that women would be evaluated more positively in the female positive condition compared to the gender-neutral condition, but that men would be evaluated more positively in the gender-neutral condition. We tested our hypotheses using the difference score as the dependent variable in separate ANOVAs, with stereotype activation condition as the between-groups factor. How prepared participants perceived their negotiating partner to have been in the negotiation depended on their gender and stereotype activation condition [ $F(1, 59) = 8.29$ ,  $p < .01$ ]. Whereas the difference in perceptions in the gender-neutral condition favored males ( $M = -.69$ ), the difference in perceptions within a dyad favored females in the female positive condition ( $M = .34$ ). We examined the simple effects of this analysis with one-sample  $t$  tests. The difference between male and female perceptions was greater than zero in the gender-neutral condition [ $t(31) = -2.69$ ,  $p < .05$ ]; the difference in perceptions was marginal in the female positive condition [ $t(28) = 1.38$ ,  $p < .10$ ]. No other postnegotiation assessment effects were significant.

## Discussion

The negotiation process can be characterized as a three-staged process: preparation, actual negotiation, and performance assessment (Thompson, 2001). The results of this study suggest stereotype activation and stereotype threat matter in each stage of the negotiation process. First, the goals that individual negotiators set were affected by the activation of stereotypically feminine traits that had been linked to positive negotiating performance. Empowered by the stereotype regeneration process, such that stereotypically feminine traits were

positively related to negotiation performance, women set higher goals for themselves; the opposite was true of men, whose goals were lowered due to the linking of counter-masculine traits to negotiation success. Consistent with the goals they set for themselves, women's performance was better when stereotypically feminine traits were activated relative to gender-neutral traits. Men's performance, in contrast, worsened after the female stereotype was activated compared to the gender-neutral traits. In addition, controlling for the negotiators' goals significantly reduced the effect of stereotype activation on negotiated outcomes. Following the negotiation, stereotype activation affected how negotiator's evaluated their negotiating partner. That is, men perceived women to be better prepared when stereotypically feminine traits had been linked to negotiation success than when gender-neutral traits were linked to negotiation success. Although it is unclear whether these postnegotiation perceptions resulted from the stereotype activation in the mind of men or the behaviors of women, it is clear that the activation of stereotypic traits with positive connotations for women is important for both sides of the bargaining table.

This study expands our knowledge of how stereotypes influence behavior by demonstrating that even nonstigmatized groups can experience stereotype threat. Men, who are traditionally seen as more advantaged in negotiations (Kray et al., 2001), performed worse in the female positive condition than the gender-neutral baseline. Just like framing an athletic task as diagnostic of "sports intelligence" versus "natural athletic ability" impacted whether the performance of White or Black athletes suffered (Stone et al., 1999), performance in a mixed-gender negotiation context depends on which stereotypic traits are seen as relevant at the time in which the negotiation occurs. Perhaps most unique to this study is the evidence that even members of disadvantaged groups can benefit from the activation of a regenerated stereotype—women's performance improved through the activation of stereotypically feminine traits with their explicit connection to positive negotiating performance. Multiple stereotypic attributes are relevant to most social groups and focusing on the positives while ignoring the negatives appears to be an advantageous strategy.

When stereotypically masculine traits are linked to successful negotiation outcomes, men outperform women (Kray et al., 2001). The results of the present investigation reveal that even when the traits that are linked to negotiation prowess are gender-neutral, men have an advantage over women. At first glance, this finding appears contradictory to our model of stereotype activation, which would seem to predict that describing gender-neutral traits as predictive of negotiation success levels the playing field. This might be true if not for the supposed diagnosticity of the negotiation across both experimental conditions—describing a task as diagnostic of ability is enough to produce stereotype threat effects in disadvantaged groups (Kray et al., 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Despite the knowledge that gender-neutral traits are important for negotiation success, the knowledge that the task was diagnostic of ability might have dominated the cognitions of women, resulting in their relatively poor performance. On a positive note, the current study demonstrates that linking stereotypically feminine traits to negotiation success, even in a highly diagnostic

environment, is enough to counteract the deleterious effects of stereotype threat for the disadvantaged group.

Stereotype activation affects negotiation performance through the goals negotiators set prior to arriving at the bargaining table. Goals are predictive of performance across a wide variety of tasks (Locke, Frederick, Lee, & Bobko, 1984; Locke & Latham, 1990), including negotiations (Stevens et al., 1993). This study examines one factor that affects the goals that negotiators set for themselves—the activation of stereotypes relevant to the task. Although Stone et al. (1999) showed evidence that the activation of racial stereotypes affected performance expectations, they also noted that expectations at one point in time were likely affected by actual performance on earlier holes of a multihole golf game. Thus, the current study is the first to our knowledge that directly measures performance expectations in the context of stereotype threat before commencement of the task and then documents the relationship between expectations and performance, uncontaminated by prior performance.

## EXPERIMENT 2

The nature of stereotype regeneration determines which gender has the advantage at the bargaining table. However, stereotype threat is more often linked to poor rather than successful performance expectations for a highly stereotyped group. African Americans are regarded as less intelligent than Caucasians are thought to be smart; women are thought to be worse at math than men are thought to be good at math. Thus the race and gender of the stereotyped groups are thought to be more diagnostic than they are for the advantaged groups. It is more surprising (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991) to see a female math genius than to see a male incapable of solving rudimentary problems. In the next study we wanted to examine how the regeneration of stereotypes associated with *poor* performance affects skill.

Another goal of this experiment was to examine stereotype regeneration in the context of a multi-issue negotiation with integrative potential. Although competitive skills are required for maximizing one's outcome in a purely distributive task, as in Experiment 1, a cooperative problem solving approach that emphasizes information sharing and trade-offs tends to lead to higher joint gain (Thompson, 2001). It is unclear from previous research whether stereotype activation affects the ability to create value at the negotiating table. On an individual level, it is possible that stereotype regeneration would affect performance differently for purely distributive issues versus integrative issues. If so, the effect of stereotype regeneration might not be evident in an aggregated agreement from a multi-issue negotiation. Another benefit of examining negotiation performance in a task with agreement values that are not fixed is that it becomes possible to examine the performance of male and female negotiators separately, thus clarifying the impact of stereotype regeneration on each gender.

Our final goal for conducting this experiment was to provide a stronger test for some of the core assertions of the theory of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997)

and its empirical extensions (Kray et al., 2001; Stone et al., 1999). Namely we wanted to test the proposition that the context and manner in which gender is emphasized and the valence attached to each gender will determine performance. Students just beginning a course in negotiations comprise the perfect sample to test this theory. Although Kray et al. found that students associate stereotypically masculine traits with successful negotiating performance, most students are taking the class because they want to learn about the attributes that will allow them to be successful rather than ineffective negotiators. In fact, many students report on the first day of class great uncertainty as to what traits characterize effective and ineffective negotiators, which suggests the association between gender-linked traits and successful negotiating performance is particularly malleable at this point in time. If Steele, Stone et al., and Kray et al. are correct, then reliable effects should emerge regardless of whether stereotypic traits are linked to effective versus ineffective negotiators.

We sought to test the stereotype regeneration proposition by linking stereotypically masculine and feminine traits to ineffective negotiating. We hypothesized that when masculine traits are linked to ineffective negotiating the outcomes of men would suffer in mixed-gender dyads. In contrast, linking stereotypically feminine traits to ineffective negotiating should result in women stumbling at the bargaining table.

### *Method*

*Overview.* The experiment involved two conditions, with male negative stereotype activation and female negative stereotype activation as the two levels of the between-groups factor. In both conditions, each negotiator in a dyad received the same manipulation. Role assignments were counterbalanced.

*Participants.* Our sample included 21 mixed-gender negotiating dyads, for a total of 42 participants. Participants were M.B.A students enrolled in a negotiations course.

*Negotiation task.* To extend our investigation to a more complex negotiation, we used a negotiation task that concerned an employment negotiation in which a job candidate and a recruiter attempted to negotiate several issues relevant to both parties (i.e., salary, benefits, vacation time, and region of placement; Neale, 1997). The negotiation included eight issues in total. Preferences were induced in negotiators by assigning points to issues (greater points equaled more preferred). Negotiators could earn between -8,400 points to 13,200 points. Two issues were purely distributive, meaning that the parties' preferences were in complete opposition. Two issues were compatible, meaning that the parties' preferences were identical. The remaining issues formed two pairs of issues with integrative potential, meaning that one party cared more about issue A and the other party cared more about issue B. If both parties conceded on the issue they cared less about, both parties could benefit in terms of the number of points they earned.



*Experimental manipulation.* As in Experiment 1, participants in both conditions were told that the negotiation exercise was highly diagnostic of important, managerial negotiation abilities based on individual bargaining style. We varied which traits were linked to *unsuccessful* negotiation performance across conditions. All participants were told the following:

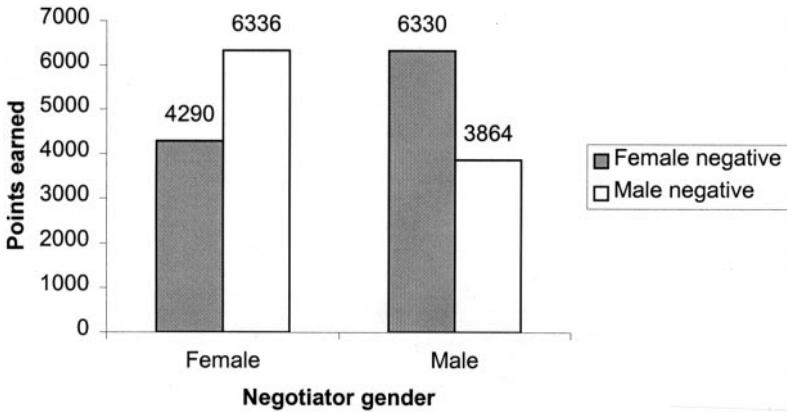
In preparing for this negotiation, students are often curious about what characteristics predict success and failure in complex negotiations that involve multiple issues. A recent series of studies examined the relationship between bargaining style and negotiation performance in multi-issue negotiations. It was determined that negotiators who display the following behaviors tend to perform *worse* (get poorer outcomes) than those who do not.

For participants in the male negative stereotype condition, the traits included (a) High regard for personal interests, (b) Dependence on assertive behaviors to move negotiation forward, (c) Reliance on rational analysis to understand the other negotiator's preferences, and (d) Limited displays of emotion. For participants in the female negative stereotype condition, the traits included (a) Passive and reactive in expressing personal interests, (b) Dependence on own listening skills to move negotiation forward, (c) Reliance on intuitions to understand the other negotiator's preferences, and (d) Clear displays of emotion.

## Results

*Negotiation performance.* Before analyzing the negotiation performance of men and women across experimental conditions, we first determined whether it was appropriate to collapse across role assignment by conducting a mixed ANOVA on performance, including role as a within-dyad factor and role assignment (male seller/female buyer and male buyer/female seller) as a between-dyad factor. Because performance was not impacted by role or role assignment ( $F_s < 1$ , *ns*), we proceeded to collapse across role assignment by creating two variables representing the performance of women and men. To test our hypothesis that gender stereotype activation affects negotiation outcomes, we examined the performance of men and women across stereotype conditions with a mixed ANOVA. In support of our hypothesis, women's performance was better in the male negative condition ( $M = 6334$ ) than the female negative condition ( $M = 4290$ ), and men's performance was better in the female negative condition ( $M = 6330$ ) than the male negative condition ( $M = 3864$ ). (See Fig. 3). This pattern was confirmed with a statistically significant two-way interaction [ $F(1, 19) = 7.84$ ,  $p < .01$ ]. Looking at the effects within each gender, stereotype regeneration affected both women [ $F(1, 21) = 7.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ] and men [ $F(1, 21) = 4.66$ ,  $p < .05$ ].

To determine the source of this stereotype regeneration effect, we next examined each type of negotiation issue separately. To do so, we computed two scores for male and female negotiators: points earned on distributive issues and points earned on integrative issues (points were always equivalent for both negotiators on compatible issue). We then conducted a repeated-measures ANOVA, including negotiator gender as a within-group factor and stereotype condition as a



**FIG. 3.** Experiment 2: Negotiation performance by negotiator gender and stereotype condition.

between-group factor for each of these types of issues. The expected Negotiator Gender  $\times$  Stereotype Condition interaction was statistically significant for the distributive issues only, suggesting that it is in the division of a fixed-pie that stereotype regeneration has its greatest effect [ $F(1, 19) = 4.98, p < .05$ ]. Although a similar pattern emerged for integrative issues, the effect was not statistically significant [ $F(1, 19) = 2.72, p = .12$ ]. This result suggests that the effect of stereotype regeneration is stronger for distributive issues than it is for issues with integrative potential.

Because this negotiation had integrative potential, we examined whether stereotype regeneration impacted joint gain, or the sum total of points created by the two negotiators. To do so, we conducted an ANOVA on joint gain, with stereotype condition and gender composition as between-groups factors. No significant effects emerged ( $F_s < 1, ns$ ). Stereotype regeneration appears to affect the distribution of resources, but not the creation of resource at the bargaining table.

## DISCUSSION

The results of this study suggest that stereotype regeneration can occur by redefining traits that are normally associated with negotiation effectiveness such that an association is drawn between these traits and negotiation ineffectiveness. This study also extends our understanding of stereotype threat and stereotype regeneration, suggesting that their greatest influence is with the claiming of distributive resources. That being said, this study also suggests that, at least in negotiations in which highly valued issues are distributive in nature, the benefit or detriment of stereotype regeneration is not canceled out by the inclusion of other issues in the negotiation.

One result of the documented stereotype regeneration process is that members of groups who traditionally do not fare particularly well on the task (e.g., females) subsequently excel in their performance. Presumably, stereotype threat is alleviated by reminding members of traditionally disadvantaged groups that traits they might normally associate with negotiation success and

which, according to stereotypes, they do not possess, also have a downside. Without the threat of confirming a negative stereotype about their social group, women negotiated more assertively than when stereotypically feminine skills were associated with negotiation failure. Likewise, men's assertiveness in this distributive bargaining situation was presumably hindered when masculine traits were linked to ineffective negotiators as opposed to the more common perception that feminine traits hinder negotiating ability (Kray et al., 2001). The reverse pattern occurred when stereotypically feminine traits, the very ones that increased female performance in Experiment 1, were linked to ineffective, rather than effective, negotiating. For both men and women, linking traits that were stereotypic of their gender to ineffective negotiating performance hindered performance.

We mentioned at the outset that we considered our participant population of M.B.A. students embarking on a course in negotiations as a particularly apt sample to examine the processes of stereotype regeneration. Many of these students presumably held naïve stereotypes about the traits associated with negotiation effectiveness, but these stereotypes were not so deeply ingrained and firmly held that they were not susceptible to change. The findings of this study make a strong case for the assertion that the negotiation context affects how assertively individuals bargain in negotiations. Depending on which thoughts and stereotypes (and the valence of the stereotypes) are prevalent at the time two negotiators arrive at the bargaining table, the relative advantage of men and women is determined.

Although we have proposed a process whereby both men and women are affected by the regeneration of stereotypes, it is important to note that we cannot reach this conclusion from the current study alone. Because both negotiators experienced the regeneration of stereotypes before negotiating, it remains unclear whether the regeneration impacted both genders or just one gender. To address this point, we refer to results from Experiment 1 regarding prenegotiation goals that were set prior to the commencement of the negotiation, which suggest stereotype regeneration affected both men and women. Drawing on these findings, it seems reasonably certain that the performance data in the current study are derived from similar processes in terms of goal setting and assertiveness as intervening forces. The picture that emerges from Experiment 1, the data from Spencer et al. (1999), and the data from Kray et al. (2001) in which only one member of mixed-gender dyads had stereotypes activated suggests that stereotype threat produces dual effects of burden and benefit. The group with the purported advantage is benefited by stereotype activation and the group with the purported disadvantage is burdened by stereotype activation. In competitive social interactions, the simultaneous burden and benefit of stereotype activation can produce surprisingly strong group differences on outcomes.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

We embarked upon this research as a way of exploring a disconcerting reality: Women tend to underperform in important negotiations compared to men

(Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters, Stuhlmacher, & Meyer, 1998). Building on current social psychological theory related to stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), we reasoned that the association of traditional cultural gender stereotypes with negotiation prowess might be a contributing factor to this gender gap. We hypothesized that the best way to counteract the impact of negative stereotypes on women was to “fight fire with fire,” or make salient those negotiation skills that are stereotypically associated with women. The results reported in this article suggest that, indeed, arming disadvantaged group members with a set of cognitions that encourages them to set challenging goals is an effective tool for promoting success at the bargaining table.

In Experiment 1, we attempted to regenerate the stereotype of effective negotiators such that it included traits that are feminine in nature. In so doing, we witnessed the improved performance of women relative to men in distributive negotiations. Armed with the cognitions that some of the traits stereotypically associated with women are predictive of negotiation success, women set higher goals for themselves and negotiated more forcefully than when the traits associated with negotiation success were free of gender associations. As in previous research (Kray et al., 2001), simply making a negotiation diagnostic of ability, independent of stereotype activation, increased the performance expectations and outcomes of men and decreased the performance expectations and outcomes of women. Perceiving a negotiation as diagnostic of ability has these effects because both men and women believe (1) that males have an advantage at the bargaining table and (2) that this advantage stems from the traits that males are presumed to possess (Kray et al., 2001). The fact that men outperformed women even when the activated traits were gender-neutral suggests that women need to be particularly mindful of the positive qualities they purportedly (and stereotypically) possess if they are to claim the greatest possible amount of resources. To impact the goals and performance of women, it is not enough to regenerate the stereotype of negotiators by rendering gender irrelevant.

In Experiment 2, we explored another manner in which stereotypes can be regenerated. Instead of focusing on how stereotypically feminine traits are related to negotiation effectiveness, as in Experiment 1, we examined the link between stereotypically masculine and feminine traits and negotiation ineffectiveness. When stereotypically feminine traits were associated with negotiation failure, men outperformed their female counterparts; when stereotypically masculine traits were associated with negotiation failure, women outperformed their male counterparts. The findings of this study suggest that stereotypes can be effectively regenerated by reminding negotiators that traits often thought to be predictive of success can in fact be detrimental to performance. In combination with other studies in this stream of research, it appears that linking stereotypical traits to both positive consequences and negative consequences affects goal setting and bargaining behavior in a similar fashion.

Note that no mention of gender was made in the experimental manipulations of the two experiments. The mapping of the traits to gender was done at an implicit level (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). That is, traits that were stereotypical

of men and women were linked to effective and ineffective negotiators, but the link to gender was done implicitly as no information about social categories was provided. Previous research suggests that the effects observed in this article depend on the implicit nature of the activation of the stereotypes. The implicit priming of knowledge structures produces assimilation effects, or judgments and behaviors, that become more consistent with the activated knowledge structure than they would otherwise (Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Kray et al., 2001; Moskowitz & Skurnik, 1999). When people are blatantly and explicitly primed, however, they perceive the primed construct to be a biasing influence, and to correct for this undesired influence on thought and deed, they often react against this biasing influence (Martin, 1986). Kray et al. manipulated whether linking stereotypically masculine traits to effective negotiating performance was done implicitly (without mentioning gender) or explicitly (mentioning that the traits differ by gender). When explicitly primed, women reacted against this imposed constraint and outperformed their male counterparts. When women were explicitly told that a social category to which they belong would hinder their ability to succeed, they dissociated from the traditional female stereotype and engaged in counterstereotypic behaviors that defied the stereotype. From our research we have found that the effect of stereotypes on negotiated outcomes depends on four different variables: (1) whether the negotiation is diagnostic of ability, (2) the traits (masculine or feminine) that are activated, (3) the linking of these traits to effective and ineffective negotiation, and (4) whether the traits are activated implicitly or explicitly.

Our research extends theory and research in a number of important ways. First, we provide a strong test of Steele's theory of stereotype threat by demonstrating that merely linking traits that are stereotypic of a group to performance outcomes can produce stereotype threat effects. We do this by manipulating whether positive or negative outcomes are generally connected to stereotypically feminine and masculine traits. We demonstrate the malleability of stereotypes and the ease with which a stereotype advantage can become a disadvantage, depending on how it is framed. Second, we provide the first clear evidence that this linkage affects performance expectations, ones unfettered by prior performance, and that these performance expectations mediate the observed decrements in performance. Finally, in demonstrating that connecting stereotypically feminine traits to negotiator success improves the performance of women, we have improved on earlier research that confounded positivity with mutuality in assessing the impact of positive stereotypes on negotiation performance (Kray et al., 2001).

Our research suggests several directions for future research. First, the main focus of this investigation has been on negotiation outcomes. We examined negotiator goals as one way of understanding how agreements differ according to the activation of various stereotypes. More work is needed in this regard though in terms of obtaining precise behavioral measures based on a negotiation process analysis (Moore, Kurtzberg, Thompson, & Morris, 1999). For example, documenting the frequency of key negotiation actions, such as offers,

persuasion attempts, mention of goals, information sharing, information seeking, references to the relationship between negotiators, and procedural statements, will increase our understanding of how precisely the gender gap is made to appear and disappear through the activation of stereotypes and their regeneration.

Our research has focused on expectations and goals as intervening processes affecting the link between stereotype activation and performance. We have documented that the goals of negatively stereotyped groups are less assertive than the goals of positively stereotyped groups. Future research that examines other mediating factors might be worthwhile, and understanding what psychological factors influence goals is a worthwhile endeavor. More specifically, the extent to which the activation of stereotypes affects self-doubt, confidence, identification with the task, and perceived power is undetermined. Each of these factors might mediate the effect of stereotype activation on goals and opening offers, which subsequently affect performance. By broadening the scope of the investigation, a richer understanding of the impact of stereotypes on behavior will be obtained.

Examining the effects of stereotypes that are mutually shared by negotiators is also a worthwhile endeavor. As mentioned above, one motivation for examining stereotype regeneration was to disentangle the effect of positive stereotypes from the effect of mutually shared stereotypes on negotiation performance (Kray et al., 2001). When male and female negotiators were reminded that individuals in competitive, academic environments tend to perform very well in negotiations—regardless of gender—the gender gap was significantly reduced compared to a baseline condition. Exploring how mutual stereotypes, both negative and positive ones, affect mixed-gender negotiations will allow us to address issues surrounding negotiator perceptions related to power and status differentials that impact behavior at the bargaining table.

Finally, another important future direction for this research concerns expanding the types of stereotypes that are examined. Our research suggests that stereotypes about ascribed and thus stable social categories (i.e., gender and race) are somewhat mutable and, depending on how a gender-linked trait is interpreted, it can be perceived as a help or a hindrance to the individual. What our research has not yet examined is whether the effects of stereotype activation on chosen and thus less stable social categories, such as one's occupation or role in a negotiation, operate in a similar manner. It may be the case that disidentifying from a negative stereotype about one's chosen social group is accomplished with little effort, and so these negative stereotypes have less impact on behavior. Although it remains an empirical question, we speculate, on the basis of the wide range of contexts in which stereotype threat has been shown to occur, that any situational variable that lowers one's expectations and creates self-doubt—regardless of the stability of the category membership—should produce performance effects that mirror those already documented in the context of stereotype threat research. To begin to answer this question, we are currently examining how the implicit activation of stereotypes

about power between buyers and sellers affects negotiation performance (Galinsky, Thompson, & Kray, 2001).

### Conclusion

In the current studies we have provided a strong test of Steele's theory of stereotype threat and we have begun to answer the question of what causes gender differences in negotiations. In both experiments, the context and manner in which gender was emphasized and the valence attached to each gender determined performance in mixed-gender dyads. The situation, rather than the person, appears to be the primary determinant of negotiator performance. This research suggests that more than one plausible stereotype exists about effective negotiators, and the shaping of this stereotype has powerful effects on mixed-gender negotiations. Stereotypically masculine and feminine traits can be revalued and the stereotype of an effective negotiator regenerated. It seems clear that, regardless of gender, recognizing one's strengths and the weaknesses of one's negotiating partner is an important step in achieving success in the negotiation arena.

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