

Gender Differences in Motives for Initiating and Avoiding Negotiations

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Abstract

Research on gender and negotiation initiation has largely focused on difficulties women face in negotiations due to gender role inconsistency. However, men, too, face a gender role risk in negotiations. Taking an intrapsychic perspective, we explored women's and men's motives for initiating and avoiding negotiations in two sequential studies ($N_{\text{Study 1}} = 1119$, survey with open-ended responses; $N_{\text{Study 2}} = 200$, online questionnaire). Men and women reported different relational and regulatory foci in negotiation initiation and avoidance motives, but similar modes of motives when legitimizing role-(in)consistent behaviors: Men avoiding and women initiating negotiations (i.e., role-inconsistent behavior) reported cybernetic motives (discrepancy, affect). Men initiating and women avoiding negotiations (i.e., role-consistent behavior) reported cognitive motives with different relational and regulatory foci (independent, promotion focus for men; inter- and independent prevention focus for women). We discuss how our research contributes to gender-in-negotiation research, but also research on human motivation in general.

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Probably everyone has faced the decision at one time or another whether to initiate a negotiation – or rather not. Eventually, more men than women decide to initiate (Kugler et al., 2018). To explain why men have a higher propensity to initiate negotiations compared to women (Kugler et al., 2018), theory and research have largely focused on difficulties *women* face in negotiation situations due to the incompatibility of the female gender¹ role, which is associated with communal characteristics, and the negotiator role, which is associated with agentic characteristics and better matches the male gender role (Eagly & Wood, 2012; Haselhuhn & Kray, 2012; Olekalns & Kennedy, 2020; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). Thus, women violate their gender role when they negotiate, especially when they negotiate successfully. As a consequence, women compared to men have lower perceived expectancy to negotiate successfully (Miles & LaSalle, 2008; Reif, Kugler, & Brodbeck, 2019), anticipate lower benefits (Reif, Kunz, et al., 2019), less frequently recognize negotiation opportunities (Babcock et al., 2012, Stevens & Whelan, 2019), are more nervous in negotiation situations (Bowles et al., 2007), and fear backlash (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010).

However, *men*, too, face a risk in negotiation situations – a perspective that is largely neglected by theory and research (for an exception see Mazei et al., 2021): Not negotiating (successfully) violates the male gender role and could potentially cause negative social reactions and self-evaluations for men (Mazei et al., 2021). Contributing to a more global view on motives underlying the decision to (not) initiate negotiations, this paper presents studies exploring men's and women's perspective.

Besides looking at the overall gender difference in initiating negotiations, theory and research has identified conditions that reinforce or reduce the gender difference (cf., Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012, 2017; Bowles et al., 2005; Kugler et al., 2018; Leibbrandt & List, 2015; Miles & LaSalle, 2008; Reif, Kunz, et al., 2019; Small et al., 2007). Characteristics of the context moderate gender differences in initiating negotiations, because they alter the gender role (in)consistency or the degree of gender role salience (Kugler et al., 2018). The negotiation situation's content or framing can influence the degree to which the gender roles and the negotiator role are (in)consistent. A female negotiation topic, for instance, reduces women's perception of role violation and facilitates their negotiation initiation (Bear & Babcock, 2012). The negotiation situation's ambiguity can influence the degree to which gender roles are *salient* and drawn upon as a behavior-guiding script. Strong situations (cf. Mischel, 1977), such as situations with an overt discrepancy (cf. Kugler et al., 2018), provide a clear script for how to act, and women can engage in agentic behavior without having to fear negative reactions (Bowels & McGinn, 2008; Bowles et al., 2005, 2007). Weak situations, by contrast, do not provide a clear script for how to behave "correctly", and people usually apply a fallback behavioral script, such as their gender role (Kugler et al., 2018).

In this manuscript, we take an *intrapsychic* rather than contextual perspective on gender role consistency and explore both men's and women's motives for initiating and avoiding negotiations in specific situations (Study 1) and across a broad range of situations (Study 2) to gain a more

Author Note. Data for Study 1 were collected in the course of a dissertation completed by Julia A. M. Reif at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitaet Muenchen. Parts of the dataset for Study 1 were also used in Reif and Brodbeck (2017), Reif, Kunz, Kugler, & Brodbeck (2019), and Reif, Kugler & Brodbeck (2019).

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¹ We use the term "gender" because we focus on men's and women's culturally assigned roles rather than biological sex differences (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2011).

comprehensive understanding of gender differences in the initiation of negotiations. We build on a theoretical model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021), social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2012), self-construal theory (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997), and regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997, 1998) to propose: When considering to initiate or avoid a negotiation, men and women have different relational and regulatory foci in cognitive motives but similar modes of motives when legitimizing role-(in)consistent behaviors. With our study we want to highlight the importance of social cognition in gender-in-negotiation research, demonstrate the dual-process nature of the model of negotiation initiation and show that there are actually also gender similarities in the research on gender differences in negotiation initiation.

Theoretical Background and Propositions

Negotiations, which can be defined as communication processes used to exchange, plan, or solve disputes and complex problems by mutual agreement (Jang et al., 2018), must first and foremost be initiated. A theoretical model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021) proposes different initiation and avoidance motives which can be classified in two modes of operating: cybernetic motives in the sense of an experiential mode of operating, and cognitive motives in the sense of a rational mode of operating. In order to further distinguish cognitive motives on a theoretical basis, we incorporated self-construal theory (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997) and regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997, 1998) to cover both the relationality and regulation of motivated behavior. We drew on social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2012) to bridge the gap between negotiation theory, motivational theories and research on gender differences, and to explain gender role-(in)consistent behavior in the negotiation initiation context.

A Model of Negotiation Initiation: The Mode of Motives

The model of negotiation initiation we apply (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021) not only provides an answer to the question of how the initiation proceeds, but also to the question of what motives make people initiate negotiations. In this work, we define the term *motives* as “various factors which incite and direct an individual’s actions” (Atkinson, 1964, p. 1). Taking a look at the model components, two modes of motives can be distinguished: basic cybernetic motives on the one hand and cognitive motives on the other. We refer to this distinction as different *modes* because cybernetic motives correspond to an experiential operating mode which is rather intuitive and relies on salient information. In contrast, cognitive motives correspond to a rational operating mode that is deliberate and analytical, based on logic and rules (e.g., Carver et al., 2008; Epstein, 1994).

Basic Cybernetic Motivational Mechanisms

In the model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021), the central path leading to the decision of whether or not to negotiate starts with the perception of a discrepancy, which leads to an affective response that depends on the kind of discrepancy perceived. Discrepancies are detected by comparing a current state against a desired reference criterion, which is the basic idea of cybernetic, homeostatic or experiential systems (cf. Carver & Scheier, 2019). In general, cybernetics, which is a technical term also used in the context of mechanical or electronic systems, concerns the functioning of self-regulating systems (Edwards, 1992) and is applied to the human, for example, in the contexts of motivation or stress management (Edwards, 1992).

In a negotiation context, people experiencing a negative discrepancy accompanied by negative affect try to solve the discrepancy by initiating a negotiation (for a review of basic cybernetic

approaches to motivation, see Carver & Scheier, 2019). In a work context, discrepancies can occur across a broad range of topics, including work procedures, compensation, promotion opportunities, the work environment, vacation, task responsibilities, teamwork, or leadership issues (Reif & Brodbeck, 2021).

Cognitive-Motivational Mechanisms

However, basic cybernetic motivational mechanisms do not automatically lead to initiating behaviors. In a kind of control system, people cognitively weigh the valence of the issue to be negotiated in terms of attractiveness or desirability, the instrumentality of initiating a negotiation with respect to self-related, relational, and economic benefits and costs, as well as their expectancy or likelihood of success if they were to start a negotiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014). These cognitive-motivational considerations are shaped by social and contextual influences, such as the negotiation partner (e.g., willingness to talk, power, status) and the negotiation situation (opportunity to talk, general economic situation), as well as the negotiator's states (e.g., standing, social support) and dispositions (e.g., general attitude towards negotiating, personality) (Reif & Brodbeck, 2021).

Social Role Theory: Producing and Maintaining Role Consistency

Social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2012) draws on gender role beliefs, representing "people's perceptions of men's and women's social roles in the society in which they live" (Eagly & Wood, 2012, p. 459), to explain men's and women's behavioral differences and similarities. Due to evolved biosocial sex differences, men and women "are differently distributed into social roles" (Eagly & Wood, 2012, p. 459). People form gender role beliefs by observing men and women in these social roles and inferring corresponding dispositions, which are further associated with certain expectations about how they and others should behave. Gender roles thus have both a descriptive and prescriptive character.

Building on the notion that gender-role-inconsistent behavior is both socially penalized and internally avoided to maintain a consistent self, people exhibiting *gender-role-inconsistent* behavior should try to legitimize it by (retrospectively) reducing situational ambiguity (that is, they should argue that they had to behave the way they did due to the strong situational setting). In terms of the motives specified in the model of negotiation initiation, they should justify their role-inconsistent behavior with basic cybernetic motives such as discrepancy and affect. By contrast, people showing *gender-role-consistent* behavior do not risk (internal and external) negative evaluations and thus do not have to reduce situational ambiguity, but rather have the opportunity to emphasize their role consistency by underpinning their behavior with cognitive motives, such as instrumentality and expectancy considerations, which further underscore their role consistency. Therefore, we propose that men and women resemble each other in the *mode* of motives they draw on to legitimate role-(in)consistent behavior:

Proposition 1. Men and women explain role-inconsistent behavior (men avoiding negotiations and women initiating negotiations) with basic cybernetic motivational mechanisms in order to reduce situational ambiguity, whereas they explain role-consistent behavior (men initiating negotiations and women avoiding negotiations) with cognitive-motivational mechanisms to further underscore their role consistency.

Self-Construal Theory: The Relational Focus of Motives

Having reasoned which modes of motives (basic cybernetic vs. cognitive-motivational) men and women draw on to explain why they initiated or avoided negotiations, we now want to more closely examine the *relational focus* of the cognitive motives men and women refer to when explaining negotiation initiation or avoidance, because negotiations are an inherently relational activity (Gelfand et al., 2006). Self-construal theory provides our argumentative basis in this respect.

Self-construal theory (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997) conceptualizes how separate or connected people see themselves in relationship to others, which is why we refer to this focus as “relational” focus. The theory considers the “self as a powerful regulator of many aspects of human behavior (...) [which] (...) continually and dynamically takes form through one’s interactions with close others and the social world” (Cross & Madson, 1997, p. 6). The theory proposes that individuals differ in the structure of their selves. Whereas some people hold an independent self-construal in which others are represented separately from the self, other people hold an interdependent self-construal in which others are considered a part of the self. People with an independent self-construal strive for autonomy and to remain true to their preferences and goals. People with an interdependent self-construal strive to develop and maintain relationships and connectedness (Cross & Madson, 1997).

Due to their gender roles, “men and women live within contexts of independence or interdependence, respectively (...). Consequently, their (...) self-systems are continually shaped by these contexts (...) [which] may channel the creation and maintenance of divergent self-construals by men and women” (Cross & Madson, 1997, p. 8). Women thus tend to score higher on interdependent self-construal, whereas men score higher on independent self-construal (Cross et al., 2000; Cross & Madson, 1997; Gelfand et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020).

In the negotiation context (see also Cheng et al., 2017), self-construal theory can explain why men tend to focus more on their own outcomes and achieving greater benefits to themselves, thus exhibiting more competitive behavior, while women tend to be more concerned about their relationship with the negotiation partner, thus exhibiting more cooperative behavior (cf. Curhan et al., 2008; Stuhlmacher et al., 2007). Women’s cognitive reasons for initiating or avoiding negotiations should thus primarily concern relationships, while men’s cognitive reasons for initiating or avoiding negotiations should primarily concern themselves. Therefore, we propose that men and women differ in the *relational focus* of their cognitive motives to initiate or avoid negotiations:

Proposition 2. Men’s cognitive motives are self-focused due to their independent self-construal, whereas women’s cognitive motives are more focused on relationships with others due to their interdependent self-construal.

With regard to the model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021), the relational focus of motives manifests especially in the categories “negotiation partner”, which represents an interdependent focus on one’s negotiation partner, and in the category “negotiator”, which represents an independent focus on one’s own states and dispositions. In the category “instrumentality”, relational elements appear in economic and self-related instrumentality (which are directed towards individual outcomes and therefore represent an independent focus) and relational instrumentality (which is directed towards the other and therefore represents an interdependent focus) (cf. Table 1).

Regulatory Focus Theory: The Regulatory Focus of Motives

Besides the mode of motives and the relational focus of motives, we now want to introduce a third dimension, the *regulatory focus* of motives, which refers to approach and avoidance, two

fundamental principles of motivated behavior (Diefendorff & Chandler, 2010). Regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997, 1998; for a review, see Scholer et al., 2019) explains motivated goal pursuit with two coexisting motivational systems, promotion and prevention. Promotion is driven by a need for growth and advancement, while prevention is driven by a need for security and safety (Scholer et al., 2019). Consequently, individuals with a promotion focus strive to achieve positive outcomes, while individuals with a prevention focus strive to avoid negative outcomes (see also Galinsky et al., 2005).

According to social role theory and the already described behavioral consequences of gender roles, which imply sensitive and caring behavior for women, and competitive and ambitious behavior for men (Oswald & Lindstedt, 2006), women are supposed to be prevention-oriented, whereas men are supposed to be promotion-oriented (Sassenberg et al., 2013). This was also empirically demonstrated by McKay-Nesbitt et al. (2013) for chronic regulatory focus (which goes along with findings showing that women have a stronger avoidance motivation system than men, see Ma-Kellams & Wu, 2020). Argued from a self-construal perspective, independent goals (focus on achievement, positive distinctiveness, and autonomy, often held by men) are more consistent with a promotion orientation because these goals focus on potential gains and positive features of the self. Interdependent goals (focus on maintaining connections and harmoniously fitting in with others, often held by women) are more consistent with a prevention orientation because these goals focus on relationships, fulfilling obligations, and avoiding mistakes (Lee et al., 2000).

In the negotiation context, research has shown that prevention-focused individuals preferred vigilant strategies that minimize losses. Promotion-oriented individuals preferred eager strategies that maximize gains (Appelt & Higgins, 2010). Promotion-oriented individuals achieved better outcomes in dyadic negotiations than negotiators with a prevention orientation because they staked claims (e.g., made more extreme opening offers) and created more resources at the negotiating table (Galinsky et al., 2005; see also Trötschel et al., 2013). Consequently, women's cognitive motives for initiating or avoiding negotiations should be more prevention-focused, while men's cognitive motives should be more promotion-focused. Therefore, we propose that men and women differ in the *regulatory focus* of their cognitive motives to initiate or avoid negotiations:

Proposition 3. Men's cognitive motives are more focused on achieving gains due to their promotion focus, whereas women's cognitive motives are more focused on preventing losses due to their prevention focus.

With regard to the model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021), the regulatory focus of motives manifests especially in the categories "negotiation partner", "negotiation situation" and "negotiator" which are either facilitating or inhibiting. The inhibiting aspects can be interpreted as a prevention focus and the facilitating aspects can be interpreted as a promotion focus. In the category "instrumentality", "avoiding costs" and the assumption of "no instrumentality" represent a prevention focus whereas "achieving benefits" represents a promotion focus (cf. Table 1).

Overview of Studies

We tested our propositions about gender differences in motives for initiating and avoiding negotiations in terms of the *mode* (Proposition 1), the *relational focus* (Proposition 2) and the *regulatory focus* (Proposition 3) of motives in two sequential studies in which participants retrospectively reported their motives for having initiated or avoided negotiations. In Study 1 we coded and counted initiation and avoidance motives reported in open-ended statements by men and women in a specific situation (negotiating grades at university), and then further quantitatively explored gender differences in these motives across a broad range of initiation and avoidance situations in Study 2.

Study 1

Study 1 was part of a larger project on negotiation initiation. The project comprised an online questionnaire administered to students at a large university in Germany. The *first* part of the questionnaire concerned why students negotiated grades with their instructors and encompassed both quantitative and qualitative sections. The quantitative section was used by Reif and Brodbeck (2017) to examine the moderation effect of subjective initiation ability on the link between satisfaction and initiation of negotiation and by Reif, Kugler and Brodbeck (2019) to examine the link between gender and initiation intentions, mediated by expectancy. The qualitative section will be used in this study. The *second* part of the questionnaire examined negotiation contexts in general and was used in Reif, Kunz, et al.'s (2019) paper. The data and analyses presented here were not addressed by these publications.

Method

In Study 1, men's and women's motives for initiating or avoiding negotiations were explored. A qualitative approach to data collection was chosen, as it gave participants an opportunity to freely write about their motives in a familiar and meaningful context.

Data Collection

In the questionnaire, we first asked students whether they had negotiated their grade with an instructor at least once because they disagreed with their initially assigned grade. Students who reported that they had never initiated a negotiation about a grade were categorized as avoiders and students who had negotiated at least one grade were categorized as initiators. Initiators were then asked to recall a concrete situation in which they had negotiated a grade with their instructor. Then, they were prompted to answer the following open-ended question: "For what reason did you negotiate your grade in this specific instance with your instructor? What encouraged you to do so?" Avoiders were asked to think about a concrete situation in which they had not negotiated their grade with their instructor, even though they did not agree with their assigned grade. They were then asked to answer the following question: "For what reason did you not negotiate your grade in this specific instance with your instructor? What inhibited you from doing so?"

Sample

For the larger project, we recruited 1,306 students (60.1% female, mean age = 23.97 years, $SD = 3.94$) with different educational backgrounds. The majority of subjects were of German nationality (90.9%) and the remaining subjects were mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe. As an incentive to participate, three students were selected to win 100 Euro. Students who did not specify their gender or who did not answer the open-ended question that formed the basis for Study 1 were excluded from the analysis, as these were the key variables in Study 1. A total of 1,119 participants (61.6% female, mean age 23.87 years, $SD = 5.86$) were included in the analysis.

Data Analysis

Standard practices for qualitative data analysis (cf. Miles et al., 2014) were applied. Data were analyzed with a deductive approach: Main categories were derived from Reif and Brodbeck's (2014, 2021) theoretical model. We first read the data material to gain an overview of and a sense for the

motives that led students to initiate a negotiation or inhibited them from doing so. We then identified statements to be coded and labelled these statements according to the deductive categories. We established a categorization system to define which statements belonged to which category. In doing so, we referred to existing definitions of our deductive categories (cf. Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021). In the next step, we made a second complete run through the data, checking our categorization. Re-reading helped to ensure correct categorization. Each statement was coded by two independent coders (one author of this paper and one research assistant who was trained in the categorization system). The two codings were compared and disagreements were discussed until they were resolved. Interrater reliability, calculated according to the percentage of agreement (cf. Miles et al., 2014), was high ($\kappa = .97$). The frequencies of motives in the different categories for initiating or avoiding a negotiation were then counted and compared with χ^2 tests for men versus women. When interpreting the results, we focused on effect sizes rather than on statistical significance due to the exploratory nature of Study 1.

Results

Motives for Initiating or Avoiding Negotiations

Table 1 describes the deductive categories assigned in Study 1. The right column indicates the categories' mode and focus.

Table 1

Motives for Initiating or Avoiding Negotiations, their Modes, and Foci

Category description	Mode and focus
Discrepancy: Result of comparison between current state and individual standard for this state	
<i>Negative discrepancy</i>	cybernetic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> students were graded worse compared to own performance or fellow students; grading schema was not comprehensible objective errors in the grading, errors in the formulation of exam questions students' performance was close to a better grade; students had failed the exam 	
<i>No discrepancy</i>	cybernetic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> grade was acceptable compared to students' aspirations and fellow students' grades; grading was transparent, plausible and objective students had passed the exam 	
Affect: Students' emotional reactions to their grade	
<i>Negative affect</i>	cybernetic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> feelings of unfairness, anger disappointment, embarrassment 	
<i>Positive affect</i>	cybernetic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> fairness happiness, satisfaction 	
Valence: Significance students attached to the grade	
<i>High valance</i>	cognitive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> grade was very important to students (e.g., because it was their final grade or they needed a good grade to continue on with their studies or career plans) 	
<i>Low valance</i>	cognitive

- grade was irrelevant, or passing the exam was all that mattered (no matter what grade the student ultimately received)

Instrumentality: Costs and benefits students associated with initiating / avoiding a negotiation

Positive instrumentality of initiating a negotiation cognitive

- achieve benefits regarding grade (improve grade, pass the exam) independent, promotion

- avoid self-related costs (effort and expense associated with repeating an exam) independent, prevention

Positive instrumentality of avoiding a negotiation cognitive

- avoid relational costs (e.g., students did not want to annoy the instructor, leave a bad impression, or risk a loss of good will that would affect future interactions) interdependent, prevention

- avoid self-related costs (emotional and temporal effort associated with preparing for the negotiation) independent, prevention

- avoid costs regarding grade (grade could be further reduced if the student negotiated it) independent, prevention

No instrumentality of initiating a negotiation cognitive

- negotiating is not instrumental regarding the grade (grade is fixed and can no longer be changed) independent, prevention

Expectancy: Assumed probability of successfully initiating a negotiation or negotiating

No expectancy due to low negotiation ability cognitive

- feeling that one does not know how to argue, not having good arguments
- being too shy or insecure to negotiate

No expectancy due to low likelihood of success cognitive

- feeling that the situation seems relatively hopeless
- feeling that negotiating is not really possible

Positive expectancy due to high negotiation ability cognitive

- having good arguments and objective facts

Negotiator: Students' general attitude towards initiating negotiations

Positive general attitude cognitive

- negotiating as a matter of principle independent, promotion

Negative general attitude cognitive

- perceived lack of appropriateness of negotiating independent, prevention

Negotiation situation: Facilitating and inhibiting aspects of the negotiation situation

Facilitating aspects regarding negotiation situation cognitive

- opportunities to talk (opportunity for a personal dialogue with the instructor, fixed appointment for reviewing one's exam results) promotion

Inhibiting aspects regarding negotiation situation cognitive

- no opportunities to talk (no contact with the instructor, not being able to attend office hours) prevention

Negotiation partner: Facilitating and inhibiting aspects of the negotiation partner

Facilitating aspects regarding negotiation partner cognitive

- negotiation partner's low power position interdependent, promotion
- poor/high quality of previous interactions promotion

Inhibiting aspects regarding negotiation partner cognitive

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expectation of future interaction with negotiation partner • negotiation partner's high power position • negotiation partner's unwillingness to negotiate • poor/high quality of previous interactions | <p>interdependent,
prevention</p> |
|---|---------------------------------------|

Note. A poor/high quality of previous interactions was mentioned both as a facilitating and inhibiting aspect regarding the initiation of negotiation. Reif and Brodbeck (2021) explain these ambiguous effects by different consequential cognitive considerations triggered by respective contexts. The contextual variables negotiator, negotiation partner and negotiation situation are considered as cognitive variables because they are antecedent to the cognitions expectancy and instrumentality, according to Reif and Brodbeck (2021).

Gender Differences in Motives for Initiating a Negotiation

Comparing the percentages of male and female initiators who mentioned each respective motive for initiating a negotiation (how many men vs. how many women mentioned each motive) showed that women mentioned negative affect significantly more often than men. Men mentioned significantly more often than women positive instrumentality regarding their grade (achieving benefits, that is, a better grade) and recognizing an opportunity to talk (Figure 1a).

Gender Differences in Motives for Avoiding a Negotiation

Comparing the percentages of men and women who mentioned each respective motive for avoiding a negotiation (how many men vs. how many women mentioned each motive) showed that women mentioned they had no expectancy (low negotiation ability), inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, the avoidance of relational costs, and a lack of instrumentality regarding the grade significantly more often than men. The motive "no discrepancy" was mentioned slightly more often by men than by women (Figure 1b).

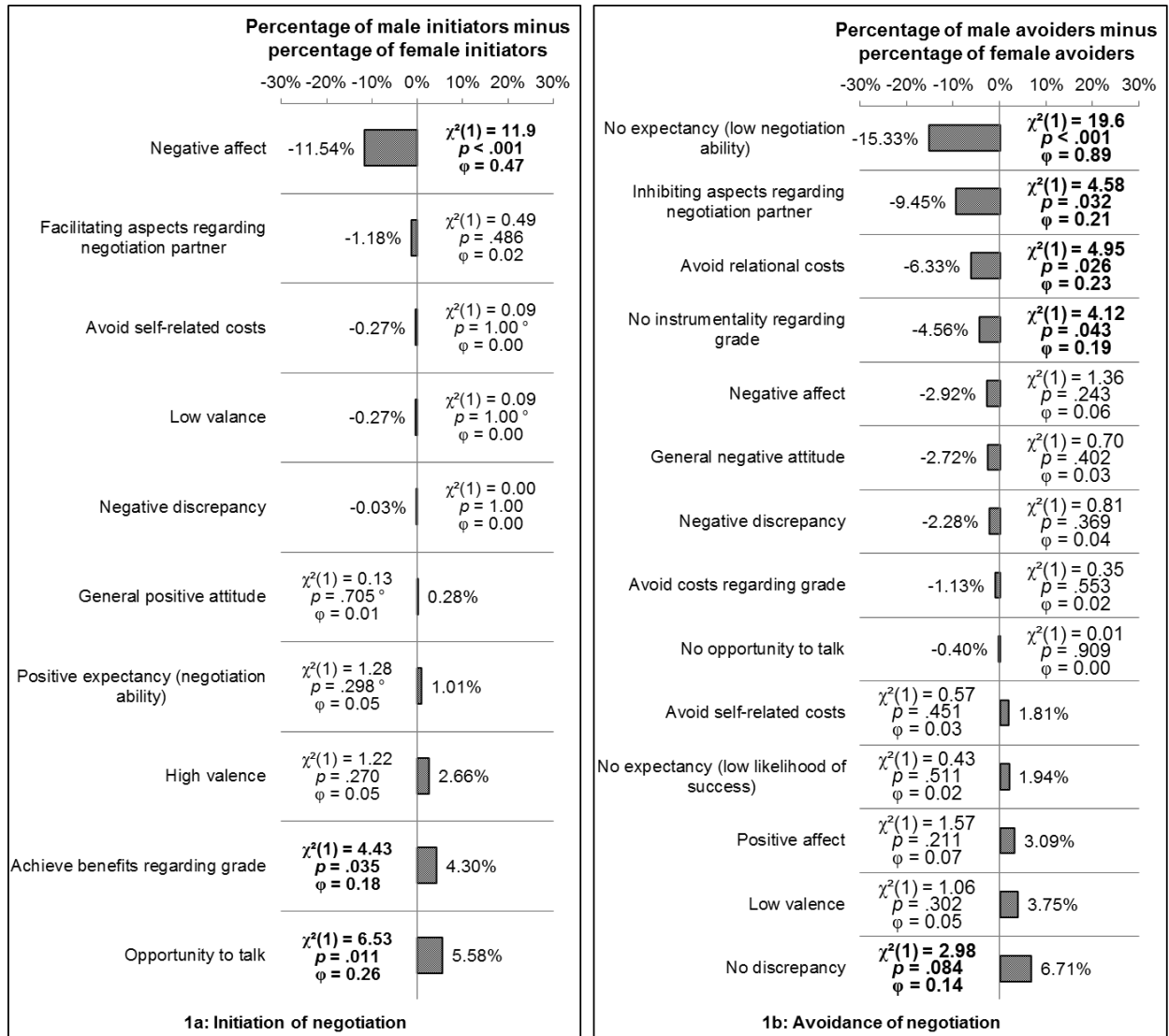
Summary

According to Study 1, when considering initiating a negotiation, women more than men were driven by basic cybernetic motivational mechanisms (negative affect), whereas men more than women were driven by cognitive-motivational considerations (achieving economic benefits, using negotiation opportunities). When deciding to avoid a negotiation, women more than men were driven by cognitive-motivational considerations (inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, avoidance of relational costs) and doubts about their efficacy (low negotiation ability, negotiating will not improve the outcome), whereas men's motives for avoiding negotiating were rooted in basic cybernetic mechanisms (no discrepancy).

Thus, both men and women seemed to explain role-inconsistent behavior (i.e., men avoiding and women initiating a negotiation) with basic motivational mechanisms related to discrepancy and affect. By contrast, both men and women explained role-consistent behavior (i.e., men initiating and women avoiding a negotiation) with cognitive-motivational mechanisms, which is in line with Proposition 1. Regarding the motives' foci, women focused on prevention and relationships (e.g., inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, avoidance of relational costs), but also on self-related issues (no economic instrumentality). Men focused more on promotion (using opportunities to talk) and themselves (achieving benefits), which supports Proposition 3 and in parts Proposition 2.

Figures 1a and 1b

Study 1: Differences in the Percentage of Men and Women Who Mentioned the Respective Motives for Initiating (1a) or Avoiding (1b) a Negotiation



Note. $n_{\text{male initiators}} = 274$, $n_{\text{male avoiders}} = 156$, $n_{\text{female initiators}} = 366$, $n_{\text{female avoiders}} = 323$; Multiple mentions of motives per person were possible. Negative values in the figures indicate that the motive was mentioned more often by women than by men. Positive values indicate that the motive was mentioned more often by men than by women. ϕ indicates the effect size; results with $\phi > 0.1$ are bolded. $^{\circ}$ p values were calculated with Fisher's exact test when expected values in cells were below 5. For total percentages, see Appendix A.

Study 2

Method

In Study 2, the qualitative categories of motives for initiating and avoiding a negotiation were translated into items to quantitatively investigate gender differences. We conducted an online questionnaire, which was distributed via social media platforms (LinkedIn, Facebook, Instagram) and via the private network of a student research assistant. Participation was voluntary and participants were informed about their right to terminate participation at any time. Student participants could get extra credit for participation.

Sample

All in all, 201 persons participated. We excluded one person due to missing values throughout. The final sample consisted of 200 persons (56.5% women, mean age = 30.5 years, $SD = 15.0$; 41.0% were employed, 59.0% were full-time students or other).

Procedure

After giving their informed consent, participants read a short introduction to the topic of negotiations in which we referred to negotiations as discussions with the aim of improving results. They were then asked to remember the most recent situation in which they had initiated a negotiation. To help participants remember this situation even better, they were asked to indicate how long ago the negotiation was and what it was about in an open format. They were then asked to indicate *why* they had *initiated* the negotiation by answering standardized items. Following these items, participants had the option to indicate further motives for initiation in an open format. We did not include these open-ended answers in the analyses but used them to check whether our theoretically derived items (Reif & Brodbeck, 2021) adequately covered people's initiation motives. (This section was followed by 14 items on the chosen negotiation strategy which were not analyzed in the scope of this study).

Afterwards, participants were asked to remember the most recent situation in which they could have initiated a negotiation but had finally avoided it. Again, they had to indicate how long ago this situation was and what it had been about in an open format. They were then asked to indicate *why* they had *avoided* the negotiation by answering the same standardized items as in the negotiation situation, but in a negated version. Following the items, participants had the option to indicate further reasons in an open format. We did not include these open-ended answers in the analyses but used them to check whether our theoretically derived items (Reif & Brodbeck, 2021) adequately covered people's avoidance motives. Finally, demographic data was collected.

Measurement

All items measuring initiation and avoidance motives and respective information on internal consistency are listed in Appendix B. With exception of 'positive expectancy' (initiation situation) and 'no expectancy' (avoidance situation) which were measured with items, partially adapted from Reif, Kugler, and Brodbeck (2019), all other items were developed for the purpose of this study. The items for the initiation and avoidance situations were formulated based on the results of Study 1. Items in the initiation situation were introduced with the sentence "I initiated this negotiation because...". Items in the avoidance situation were introduced with the sentence "I did not initiate this negotiation because...". Items were presented in randomized order and answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 =

completely disagree; 7 = *completely agree*). All materials were provided in German. Appendix C provides descriptive statistics and correlations for all variables measured in Study 2, separately for the initiation and avoidance situation.

To test the factor structure of the items, two confirmatory factor analyses were calculated (one for initiation items, one for avoidance items). Although both models showed significant p values, further indices showed good model fit, for the initiation model: $\chi^2(394) = 511.0, p < .001, SRMR = 0.07, CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.04$; for the avoidance model: $\chi^2(376) = 487.7, p < .001, SRMR = 0.06, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.04$; error correlations were allowed. Items marked with an asterisk in Appendix B were not included in the models.

Results

Participants mentioned a variety of different negotiation situations covering all categories of negotiation contexts suggested by Reif, Kunz, et al. (2019).

Gender Differences in Motives for Initiating a Negotiation

We tested differences between men and women with a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Results showed that men were more likely than women to indicate facilitating aspects related to the negotiator, self-related benefits, and positive expectancy as motives for initiating a negotiation. Women were more likely than men to indicate negative affect, high valence, and negative discrepancy as motives for initiating a negotiation (see Table 2a, Figure 2a). Further motives (open-ended question) were mentioned by 43 participants and did not go beyond the motives covered by our quantitative items.

Gender Differences in Motives for Avoiding a Negotiation

We tested differences between men and women with a MANOVA. Women were more likely than men to indicate self-related costs, inhibiting aspects related to the negotiation partner, no expectancy, inhibiting aspects related to the negotiator, inhibiting aspects related to the negotiation situation, and relational costs as motives for avoiding a negotiation (see Table 2b, Figure 2b). Men more than women tended to report positive affect and perception of no discrepancy as motives for avoiding negotiations. Further motives (open-ended question) were mentioned by 48 participants and did not go beyond the motives covered by our items.

Summary

According to Study 2, women more than men initiated negotiations due to basic cybernetic motives (negative affect, negative discrepancies), but also cognitive-motivational perceptions (high valence). Men more than women were driven by cognitive-motivational thoughts (self-related benefits, positive expectancy, facilitating aspects regarding negotiator). When deciding against a negotiation, women did so more than men due to cognitive-motivational considerations (no expectancy, inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiator, self-related costs, inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, relational costs, inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation situation). By contrast, men more than women tended to avoid negotiations for basic cybernetic motives (no discrepancy, positive affect).

Table 2a
Gender Differences in Motives for Initiating a Negotiation (MANOVA)

Variables	Men	Women	F	p	η^2
	M (SD)	M (SD)			
1 Negative discrepancy	4.07 (1.64)	4.55 (1.67)	4.01	.046	0.02
2 Negative affect	3.28 (1.60)	4.21 (1.91)	13.3	.000	0.06
3 High valence	5.93 (0.98)	6.28 (1.00)	6.31	.013	0.03
4 Self-related benefits	4.29 (1.54)	3.72 (1.44)	7.29	.008	0.04
5 Relational benefits	3.00 (1.43)	3.12 (1.38)	0.38	.536	0.00
6 Economic benefits	5.55 (1.19)	5.29 (1.38)	1.91	.169	0.01
7 Positive expectancy	5.47 (1.10)	5.17 (1.00)	4.24	.041	0.02
8 Negotiation partner (facilitating)	4.43 (1.42)	4.75 (1.42)	2.51	.114	0.01
9 Negotiation situation (facilitating)	4.97 (1.85)	5.16 (1.61)	0.63	.429	0.00
10 Negotiator aspects (facilitating)	4.99 (1.69)	4.04 (1.65)	16.1	.000	0.08

Note. $N = 200$ ($n_{\text{men}} = 87$, $n_{\text{women}} = 113$). Items were answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree). $df = 1, 198$. Significant results ($p < .05$) are bolded.

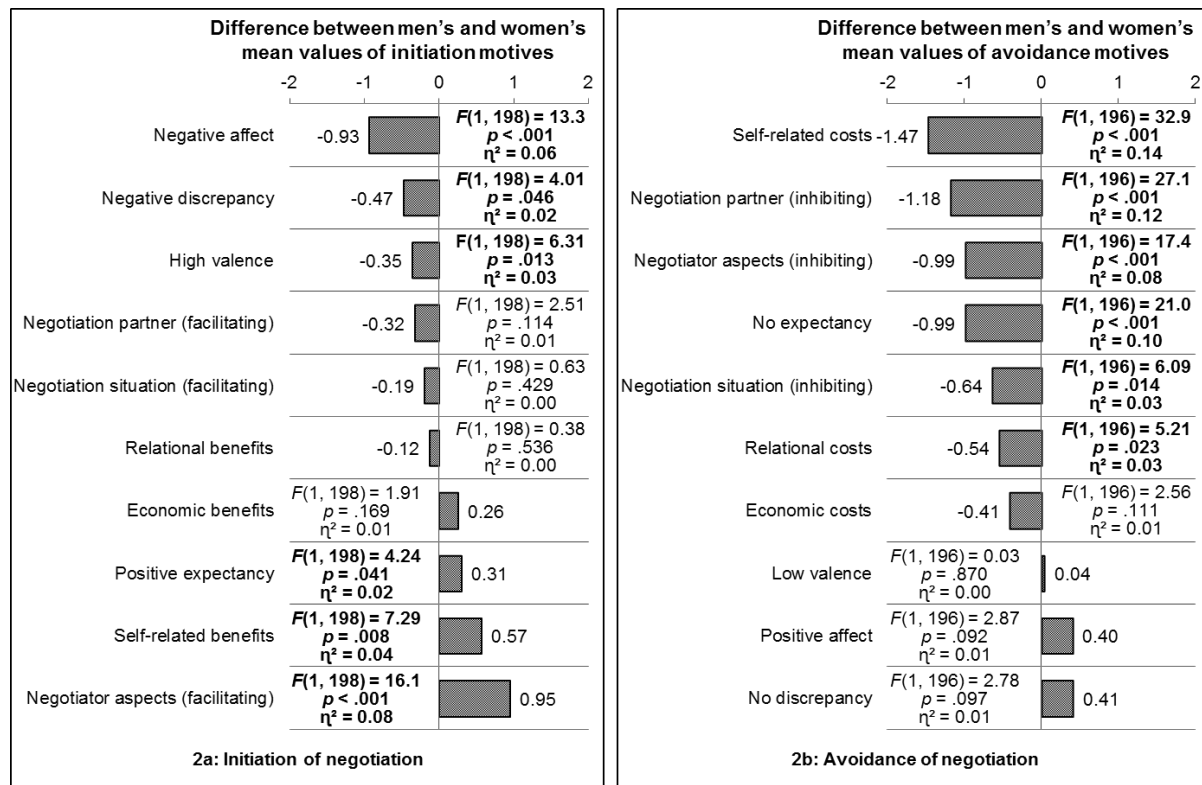
Table 2b
Gender Differences in Motives for Avoiding a Negotiation (MANOVA)

Variables	Men	Women	F	p	η^2
	M (SD)	M (SD)			
1 No discrepancy	3.46 (1.74)	3.05 (1.66)	2.78	.097	0.01
2 Positive affect	3.53 (1.69)	3.13 (1.63)	2.87	.092	0.01
3 Low valence	3.54 (1.71)	3.50 (1.40)	0.03	.870	0.00
4 Self-related costs	3.73 (2.06)	5.20 (1.54)	32.9	.000	0.14
5 Relational costs	3.34 (1.67)	3.88 (1.65)	5.21	.023	0.03
6 Economic costs	3.13 (1.80)	3.54 (1.78)	2.56	.111	0.01
7 No expectancy	3.21 (1.61)	4.20 (1.42)	21.0	.000	0.10
8 Negotiation partner (inhibiting)	2.67 (1.55)	3.85 (1.60)	27.1	.000	0.12
9 Negotiation situation (inhibiting)	2.95 (1.87)	3.59 (1.74)	6.09	.014	0.03
10 Negotiator aspects (inhibiting)	2.23 (1.54)	3.22 (1.74)	17.4	.000	0.08

Note. $N = 198$ ($n_{\text{men}} = 86$, $n_{\text{women}} = 112$). Items were answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree). $df = 1, 196$. Significant results ($p < .05$) are bolded.

Figures 2a and 2b

Study 2: Differences Between Men's and Women's Mean Values Regarding the Respective Initiation (2a) or Avoidance (2b) Motives



Note. Negative values indicate that women more strongly agreed to the motive than men. Positive values indicate that men more strongly agreed to the motive than women. Significant results ($p < .05$) are bolded.

Thus, both men and women explained role-inconsistent behavior (i.e., men avoiding and women initiating a negotiation) with basic cybernetic mechanisms related to discrepancy and affect, whereas they explained role-consistent behavior (i.e., men initiating and women avoiding a negotiation) with cognitive-motivational mechanisms, again underpinning Proposition 1. Regarding the motives' foci, women focused on prevention and relationships (e.g., inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, avoidance of relational costs), but also on self-related issues (inhibiting attitudes towards negotiation, self-related costs). Men focused more on promotion (achievement of benefits) and themselves (facilitating attitudes, positive expectancy), which underpins Proposition 3 and in parts Proposition 2.

Table 3
Summary of Men's and Women's Negotiation Initiation and Avoidance Motives

Motive for		Gender								
		Men				Women				
Study	Motive	Mode	Regulatory focus	Relational focus	Study	Motive	Mode	Regulatory focus	Relational focus	
Initiation	1	Benefits regarding grade	cognitive	promotion	independent	1, 2	Negative affect	cybernetic		
	2	Self-related benefits	cognitive	promotion	independent	2	Negative discrepancy	cybernetic		
	2	Facilitating aspects regarding negotiator	cognitive	promotion	independent	2	High valence	cognitive		
	1	Opportunity to talk	cognitive	promotion						
	2	Positive expectancy	cognitive							
Avoidance	1, 2	No discrepancy	cybernetic			1, 2	Inhibiting aspects regarding negotiation partner	cognitive	prevention	interdependent
	2	Positive affect	cybernetic			1, 2	Relational costs	cognitive	prevention	interdependent
						2	Inhibiting aspects regarding negotiation situation	cognitive	prevention	
						1, 2	No expectancy	cognitive		
						2	Self-related costs	cognitive	prevention	independent
						2	Inhibiting aspects regarding negotiator	cognitive	prevention	independent
						1	No instrumentality regarding grade	cognitive	prevention	independent

General Discussion

Building on a model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021), we explored in two sequential studies why men and women initiated or avoided negotiations, guided by three theoretically derived propositions. Table 3 summarizes the results. Men initiated negotiations mainly due to cognitive-motivational considerations related to themselves (e.g., positive expectancy) and their expected benefits. Women initiated negotiations mainly due to basic cybernetic motivational mechanisms (e.g., negative discrepancy, negative affect) and high valence (which will be discussed below). Men avoided negotiations mainly due to a lack of cybernetic motivators (no discrepancy, positive affect). Women avoided negotiations mainly due to cognitive considerations related to their potential losses, their relationships and themselves.

The Mode, Relational Focus, and Regulatory Focus of Initiation and Avoidance Motives

With these results, we showed that the *mode* of motives reported by men and women to legitimize role-(in)consistent behavior was similar: Both men and women explained role-inconsistent behavior (i.e., men avoiding and women initiating a negotiation) with basic cybernetic mechanisms related to discrepancy and affect. By contrast, both men and women explained role-consistent behavior (i.e., men initiating and women avoiding a negotiation) with cognitive-motivational mechanisms, which is in line with Proposition 1.

Men explaining negotiation avoidance and women explaining negotiation initiation with basic cybernetic motivational mechanisms might have aimed to reduce situational ambiguity and thereby legitimize their gender role inconsistency, which might otherwise be followed by shame, regret, and gender status instability in the case of men (cf. Mazei et al., 2021) or social backlash in the case of women (cf. Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Stuhmacher & Linnabery, 2013). Men explaining negotiation initiation and women explaining negotiation avoidance with cognitive-motivational arguments might have aimed to maintain and emphasize their gender role consistency, which might be followed by relief, pride, and a stabilization of gender status in the case of men (cf. Mazei et al., 2021) and an avoidance of negative evaluations by others in the case of women (cf. Kugler et al., 2018). However, the specific cognitive-motivational motives at play were different for men and women.

This is where the motives' *relational focus* and *regulatory focus* come into play: For men, cognitive-motivational mechanisms were focused on promotion (e.g., recognition of opportunities) and independence (e.g., achievement of benefits, self-confidence). For women, the cognitive-motivational mechanisms explaining role-consistent behavior were focused on prevention. However, the prevention focus was mentioned both in combination with an interdependent focus as proposed (e.g., avoiding relational costs) and an independent focus (e.g., self-related costs, self-doubts), whereby all independent issues referred to negative aspects of the self. These independent issues can be explained by the misfit between the female gender role and the negotiator role, which might cause lower expectancy and economic instrumentality among women (due to their less frequent exposure to negotiation situations, women have fewer opportunities to gather negotiation experience, cf. Reif, Kugler, & Brodbeck, 2019) and higher self-related costs due to backlash (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010). Thus, results were in line with Proposition 3 and in parts in line with Proposition 2: We showed that men's cognitive motives were self-focused whereas women's cognitive motives were focused on relationships with others *and* negative aspects of the self.

Apart from these results, we would also like to discuss a result which seems to deviate from our propositions: Women explained their initiation of negotiation (i.e., role-inconsistent behavior) with the high valence they attached to the issue at stake. In this case, valence could be less of a cognitive-motivational motive, but rather serve to further underline the basic cybernetic motives of negative

discrepancy and negative affect. In addition to articulating these basic motives to legitimize role-inconsistent behavior, which might be directly observable to their social environment, women might have stressed high valence in order to reduce internal inconsistencies in their self-identity arising from their initiating behavior.

Taking a closer look at effect sizes, we found that effect sizes of gender effects regarding the initiation of negotiation in Study 2 were smaller than effect sizes in Study 1. This might be due to the fact that in Study 1, we focused on one specific context which was rather masculine (cf. Reif, Kunz, et al., 2019) and which might have pronounced gender differences. In Study 2, participants referred to a negotiation situation of their choice which resulted in broad range of different negotiation situations across which extreme responses might have balanced out.

Implications and Future Research

Theoretical Contributions

First, we contributed to *negotiation theory and research*. We did not focus on either the initiation or the avoidance of negotiations but investigated them in combination. In this way, we showed that the motives suggested in the model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021) were applicable to both negotiation initiation and avoidance. By contrasting initiation and avoidance situations, we were also able to provide insights into motives that trigger activation and inhibition in negotiation situations. By demonstrating the different relational and regulatory foci of these motives, we contributed to research on relationality (Cheng & Huang, 2017) and regulatory focus (e.g., Trötschel et al., 2013) in negotiations. These insights can be built upon in future negotiation research investigating differential effects of these motives on the further course of the negotiation (in the case of initiation) or the further course of a conflict (in the case of avoidance). Moreover, by delving more deeply into different motive modes (cybernetic-experiential vs. cognitive-rational), we elaborated on the dual-process nature of the model of negotiation initiation. We also showed that, on the whole, avoidance motives were the inverse of initiation motives (e.g., no discrepancy vs. negative discrepancy; no expectancy vs. positive expectancy). However, if gender effects were taken into account, this dualistic nature no longer appeared: instead, structural differences in male and female initiation and avoidance motives became apparent with regard to their mode, relationality and regulatory focus, bringing us to our next point.

Second, we contributed to *gender research*. We showed similarities in men's and women's strategies to underpin gender-role consistency (emphasizing cognitive motives) and legitimize gender-role inconsistency (emphasizing basic cybernetic motives to reduce situational ambiguity). In this way, we contributed to research taking an intrapsychic perspective on gender role consistency (see also Bear & Babcock, 2017).

Third, we contributed to *gender-in-negotiation-research*. We demonstrated that the model of negotiation initiation (Reif & Brodbeck, 2014, 2021) was applicable to explaining both men's and women's initiation and avoidance behavior. We did not only focus on explaining women's negotiation behavior (cf. Bowles et al., 2019) or on masculinity effects in negotiations (cf. Mazei et al., 2021), but rather on both men's and women's behavior in initiation and avoidance situations. In this way, we were able to describe how men *and* women tried to legitimize *role-inconsistent* behavior in negotiation situations by falling back on basic motivational, cybernetic mechanisms to reduce situational ambiguity and therefore decrease potential negative social evaluations and effects on their self-identities. We also showed how men and women tried to maintain and reinforce *role-consistent* behavior by referring to cognitive-motivational motives which stress their gender role consistency. These findings underscore the importance of social cognition ("self-schemas that are dynamically

accessible and are context dependent”, Gelfand et al., 2006, p. 444) in gender-in-negotiation research. In our research, we did not focus on contexts moderating gender effects. Future research could thus investigate which motives men and women draw on to legitimize negotiation initiation and avoidance in gender-role (in)consistent negotiation contexts, that is, whether men’s and women’s motives differ in male, female or neutral negotiation contexts (cf. Reif, Kunz, et al., 2019).

Building on our findings and the idea that men have “‘more to gain’ but also ‘more to lose’” (Mazei et al., 2021, p. 110; see also Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello et al., 2008) due to the fragile structure of the male gender status (Mazei et al., 2021) and their traditional activities in society, which were associated with higher social status and higher risks (Croft et al., 2015; Gilmore, 1990), future research could also investigate the following: Do men have more to gain than women when initiating a negotiation, because men may have more at stake (in terms of the male gender status) and thus potentially greater benefits? Accordingly, do men have more to lose than women when avoiding a negotiation?

Given the negotiation context of Study 1 included hierarchies (negotiating with a lecturer) which is also often found in organizations when negotiating with superiors, our results can offer further insights into gender differences in career-related issues. Meta-analyses concluded that women were less prone to initiate negotiations than men (Kugler et al., 2018) and were less effective and successful negotiators than men (Mazei et al., 2015; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters et al., 1998), which illustrates women’s two-fold disadvantage in negotiation situations: women are more hesitant to ask, and women who actually ask, receive less (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013; Artz et al., 2018). We showed that men and women differ in how they argue to enhance the legitimacy of their behavior within their gender role. The gendered order of organizations (cf. Kolb, 2013) thus might depend on gender dynamics which are socially constructed but maintained individually.

Fourth, we contributed to *research on human motivation*. Building on the model of negotiation initiation, we showed that people fall back on different modes of motives with different relational and regulatory foci to explain their behavior in a way that was consistent with their self-identities (for details, see above). In this sense, we integrated different perspectives on motivation (cybernetic principles, self-construal, regulatory focus) and showed that human motivation must be considered and interpreted in the context of self- and social identity. Research on identity-based motivation (e.g., Oyserman, 2007, 2015), for example, “highlights the role of broad social factors, such as gender (...) on identity activation and the role of identity-congruence in behavioral choice and action” (Kanfer & Chen, 2016, p. 15). Our findings are in line with these new directions in motivation research and extend them to the negotiation context.

Practical Implications

Men and women could reflect on how to *transfer* their habitual attribution patterns in negotiation situations: Women could reflect on how to transfer the relational self-construal they draw on in avoidance situations to initiation situations. Combined with their interpersonal communication skills, this may aid women “in their ability to understand the interests of their negotiating counterparts, thereby ultimately being more able to create greater value in integrative negotiations” (Roberts, 2016, p. 79, see also Kray & Thompson, 2004) in a way that is consistent with their self-identities. Men could reflect on how to transfer the independent self-construal they draw on in initiation situations to avoidance situations. In this way, they might be able to integrate avoidance situations more into their self-identities and avoid corresponding shame or regret.

Men and women should also reflect on how to *supplement* their attribution patterns in negotiation situations. Both men and women could reflect on how motives that are not yet present in their motive repertoire could have influenced their decision on whether to initiate or avoid a negotiation and thus consciously *supplement* their initiation and avoidance attributions. In this way – in the long run – the negotiator role could be supplemented (not shifted towards one gender) to

make it more androgynous and equally applicable for men and women without social and self-related sanctions.

Limitations

In our work, we investigated retrospectively self-reported motives for negotiation initiation and avoidance, which might bias our results, because people are not very accurate at reporting on their own mental processes or the causes of their own behavior (Ross, 1977). Future research should apply triangulation, that is, different research methods such as behavioral observation or implicit motive tests, to investigate whether men and women really differ regarding their initiation and avoidance motives, or whether they rather attribute their behaviors to different motives to legitimize them post hoc.

In Study 1, the wording we used in our questionnaire (asking students whether they had negotiated about a grade with an instructor at least once because they disagreed with that grade) could have led to biased results. The term “negotiate” may have led female students to classify themselves as avoiders, while they might have been just as likely as male students to “inquire” or “ask” about a grade (cf. Small et al., 2007). Moreover, one could argue that the scenario more closely resembled a conflict rather than a negotiation. To account for these biases and limitations, we replicated initiation and avoidance motives in negotiation situations across a broad range of situations in Study 2, in which we defined negotiations as discussions with the aim of improving results, which should have reduced gender bias in recall probabilities. However, in Study 2, we can neither fully exclude the possibility that participants differed (maybe even systematically along gender lines) in what they considered a negotiation situation nor whether they considered situations in which they negotiated on behalf of someone else. Thus, future research could investigate whether women’s motives to ask or inquire are similar to men’s motives to negotiate. Or, vice versa, whether men’s motives to avoid asking or inquiring are similar to women’s motives to avoid negotiating (same action, different label). Future research could also investigate whether men and women systematically differ in their interpretations of situations as negotiations, disputes or conflicts and whether motives differ when negotiating on behalf of oneself or someone else.

In our attempt to examine the intrapsychic mechanisms behind the well-replicated main effect of gender on the initiation of negotiation, we looked into single initiation and avoidance motives in relative isolation. The complex interplay of motives and their procedural sequence (as suggested by Reif & Brodbeck, 2014 and examined in Reif & Brodbeck, 2021) was not the focus of this work. However, despite not showing motives’ procedural sequence, we untangled their structural differences in terms of modes, relationality and regulatory focus.

Conclusion

Besides women, men, too, face difficulties in negotiation situations due to the specific content and structure of the male gender role and gender status. Taking an intrapsychic perspective, we showed how men and women fall back on different modes, relational and regulatory foci of motives to explain their behaviors in a way that is consistent with their gender roles. With our findings we not only contribute to gender research, negotiation research, and gender-in-negotiation research, but also to research on human motivation in general.

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Author Bios

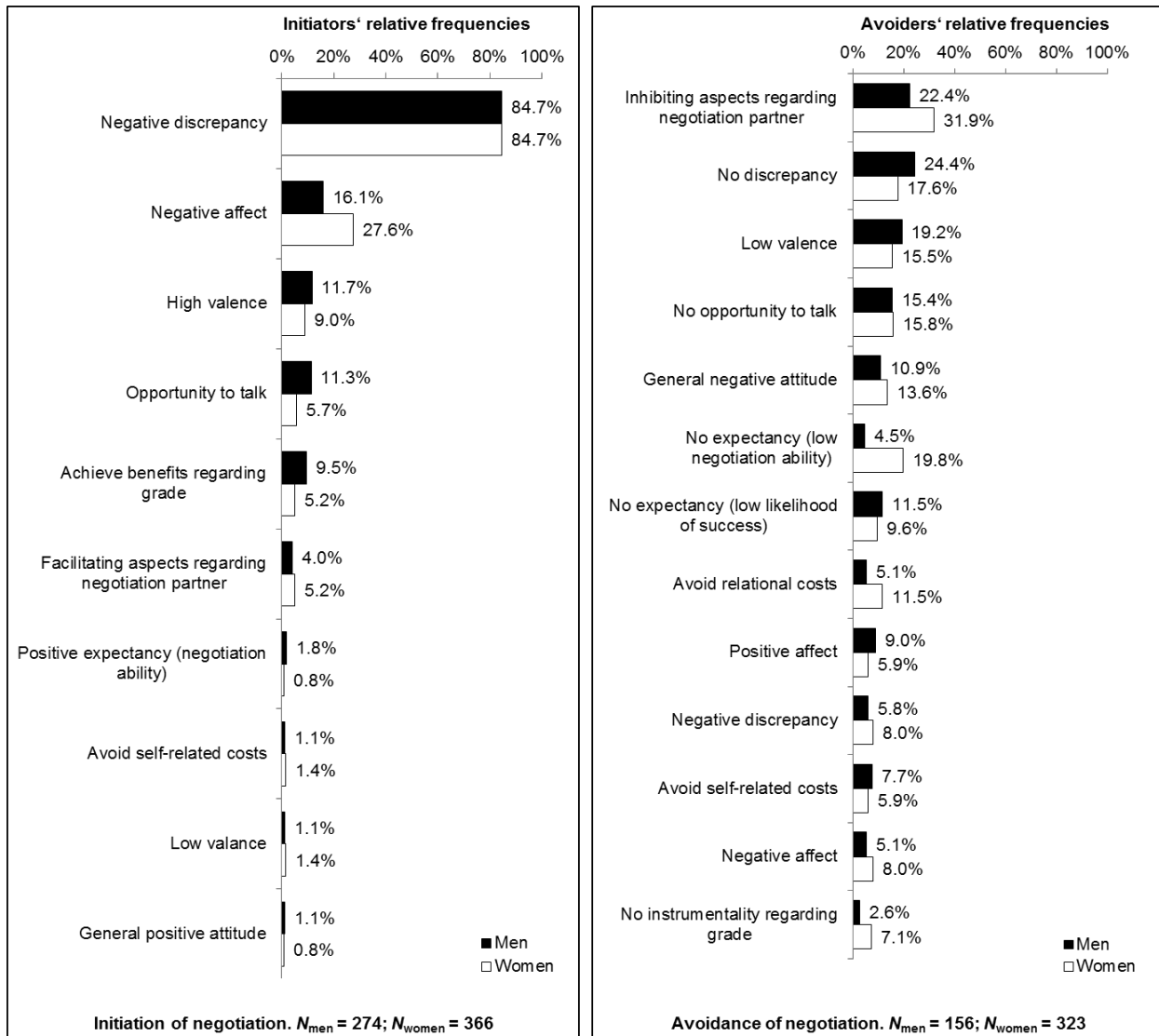
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Appendix A

Percentages of Men and Women Who Mentioned the Respective Motives for Initiating or Avoiding a Negotiation



Note. Study 1; Percentages represent the ratio between frequencies of female (male) mentions of motives and the total number of women (men) in the sample. Multiple mentions of motives per person were possible. Participants most often mentioned negative discrepancy, negative affect, high valence, an opportunity to talk, positive instrumentality (achieve benefits regarding grade), and facilitating aspects regarding the negotiation partner as motives for initiating a negotiation (left side). Participants most often mentioned inhibiting aspects regarding the negotiation partner, no discrepancy, low valence, no opportunity to talk, negative general attitude, no expectancy (low negotiation ability), and no expectancy in terms of low likelihood of success as motives for avoiding a negotiation (right side).

Appendix B

Items Used in Study 2 and Internal Consistencies (α)

Items for initiation situation <i>I initiated this negotiation because...</i>	Items for avoidance situation <i>I did not initiate this negotiation because...</i>
Negative discrepancy ($\alpha = .798$)	No discrepancy ($\alpha = .802$)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – how the situation turned out or rather my result was worse than expected. – how the situation turned out or rather my result could have been better. – how the situation turned out or rather my result did not meet my expectations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – how the situation turned out or rather my result was better than expected. – how the situation turned out or rather my result could have been worse.* – how the situation turned out or rather my result met my expectations.
Negative affect ($\alpha = .905$)	Positive affect ($\alpha = .885$)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I perceived how the situation turned out or rather my result to be unfair. – I was unsatisfied with how the situation turned out or rather my result. – I was angry about how the situation turned out or rather my result. – I was disappointed with how the situation turned out or rather my result. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I perceived how the situation turned out or rather my result to be fair. – I was satisfied with how the situation turned out or rather my result. – I was happy about how the situation turned out or rather my result. – I was pleasantly surprised by how the situation turned out or rather my result.
High valence ($\alpha = .690$)	Low valence ($\alpha = .792$)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a satisfactory solution in this situation was very important to me. – a better solution in this situation was very attractive for me.* – I considered it worthwhile to come out of this situation with a satisfactory solution. – I was dependent upon a satisfactory solution in this situation.* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a satisfactory solution in this situation was not important to me. – a better solution in this situation was not very attractive for me.* – I did not consider it worthwhile to come out of this situation with a satisfactory solution. – I was not dependent upon a satisfactory solution in this situation.*
Self-related benefits ($\alpha = .701$)	Self-related costs ($\alpha = .901$)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I thought I would enjoy initiating the negotiation. – I thought initiating the negotiation would evoke positive feelings in me. – I saw initiating the negotiation as a positive challenge for myself. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I thought initiating the negotiation would cost me time and energy. – I thought initiating the negotiation would stress me out. – I thought initiating the negotiation would fray my nerves.
Relational benefits ($\alpha = .645$)	Relational costs ($\alpha = .754$)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I thought I could position myself towards my negotiation partner by initiating the negotiation. – I thought I could make myself heard by my negotiation partner by initiating the negotiation. – I thought I could impress my negotiation partner by initiating the negotiation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – I thought initiating the negotiation would threaten my relationship with my negotiation partner. – I thought I would embarrass myself in front of my negotiation partner by initiating the negotiation. – I thought initiating the negotiation would leave a bad impression on my negotiation partner.
Economic benefits ($\alpha = .675$)	Economic costs ($\alpha = .857$)

- I thought I would improve my result by initiating the negotiation.
- I thought I would achieve a more lucrative solution for myself by initiating the negotiation.
- I thought initiating the negotiation would affirm my result.

- I thought I would worsen my result by initiating the negotiation.
- I thought I would achieve a worse solution for myself by initiating the negotiation.
- I thought initiating the negotiation would jeopardize my result.

Positive expectancy ($\alpha = .848$)

No expectancy ($\alpha = .912$)

- I thought this issue was negotiable.
- I was certain I would do well in this negotiation.
- I thought I would have good chances in this negotiation.
- I thought I would be able to carry my point in this negotiation.
- I was convinced I would be a good negotiator in this situation.
- I assumed I would be successful if I negotiated in this situation.
- I felt capable of initiating this negotiation.
- I had no problem with initiating this negotiation.
- it was easy for me to initiate this negotiation.

- I thought this issue was not negotiable.
- I was certain I would not do well in this negotiation.
- I thought I would not have good chances in this negotiation.
- I thought I would not be able to carry my point in this negotiation.
- I was convinced I would not be a good negotiator in this situation.
- I assumed I would not be successful if I negotiated in this situation.
- I felt incapable of initiating this negotiation.
- I had a problem with initiating this negotiation.
- it was difficult for me to initiate this negotiation.

Facilitating aspects related to the negotiation partner ($\alpha = .666$)

Inhibiting aspects related to the negotiation partner ($\alpha = .804$)

- my negotiation partner was easy to reach.
- my negotiation partner was generally open to negotiations.
- I found my negotiation partner likable.
- I was on equal footing with my negotiation partner.*

- my negotiation partner was not easy to reach.
- my negotiation partner was generally not open to negotiations.
- I found my negotiation partner unlikable.
- I felt inferior to my negotiation partner.

Facilitating aspects related to the negotiation situation

Inhibiting aspects related to the negotiation situation

- the situation made it easy to negotiate.

- it was not possible to negotiate in this situation.

Facilitating aspects related to the negotiator ($\alpha = .816$)

Inhibiting aspects related to the negotiator ($\alpha = .849$)

- I generally enjoy negotiating
- I think it's a good idea to initiate negotiations.

- I generally dislike negotiating
- I think it's a bad idea to initiate negotiations.

Note. * item was excluded in the analyses because doing so led to improved internal consistency.

Appendix C

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations of Variables in Study 2

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1 Discrepancy	{.798} [.802]	.807**	.091	-.100	.102	.268**	-.028	-.189**	-.025	-.141*	.141*
2 Affect	.894**	{.905} [.885]	.115	-.169*	.143*	.120	-.086	-.191**	-.057	-.146*	.251**
3 Valence	.288**	.307**	{.690} [.792]	.137	.197**	.223**	.305**	.053	.112	.151*	.176*
4 Self-related instrumentality	-.165*	-.207**	.261**	{.701} [.901]	.337**	.284**	.502**	.201**	.208**	.513**	-.188**
5 Relational instrumentality	.073	.003	.202**	.316**	{.645} [.754]	.122	.268**	.195**	.077	.218**	.044
6 Economic instrumentality	.193**	.170*	.193**	.148*	.350**	{.675} [.857]	.475**	-.007	.258**	.095	-.098
7 Expectancy	-.123	-.187**	.137	.547**	.610**	.400**	{.848} [.912]	.211**	.504**	.579**	-.145*
8 Negotiation partner	-.212**	-.304**	.083	.508**	.458**	.345**	.747**	{.666} [.804]	.421**	.025	.112
9 Negotiation situation	-.067	-.093	.087	.228**	.208**	.351**	.415**	.410**	{-} [-]	.231**	.056
10 Negotiator	-.017	-.022	.245**	.448**	.342**	.021	.522**	.291**	.041	{.816} [.849]	-.274**
11 Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.118	-.120	-.012	.379**	.161*	.114	.311**	.349**	.174*	.286**	{-} [-]
<i>M (SD)</i> initiation situation	4.34 (1.67)	3.81 (1.84)	6.13 (1.00)	3.97 (1.51)	3.07 (1.40)	5.41 (1.31)	5.30 (1.05)	4.61 (1.43)	5.08 (1.71)	4.45 (1.73)	1.57 (0.50)
<i>M (SD)</i> avoidance situation	3.23 (1.70)	3.30 (1.66)	3.52 (1.54)	4.56 (1.92)	3.64 (1.68)	3.36 (1.80)	3.77 (1.58)	3.34 (1.68)	3.31 (1.82)	2.79 (1.73)	1.57 (0.50)

Note. Numbers in diagonal show Cronbach's alphas for {initiation situations} and [avoidance situations]. Correlations for initiation situations ($N = 200$) are shown above the diagonal. Correlations for avoidance situations ($N = 198$) are shown below the diagonal. Items were answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *completely disagree*; 7 = *completely agree*). ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed).