

# What's a Masculine Negotiator? What's a Feminine Negotiator? It Depends on the Cultural and Situational Contexts

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## Abstract

Gender-related categorization is a key feature of the literature on gender in negotiation. While previous literature focused on context-free traits such as warmth and competence, we examine how people categorize specific negotiation goals and behaviors as *masculine* and *feminine across the United States and China in different negotiation contexts*, illustrating the role of cultural and situational contexts in gender-related categorization. Two studies found that while American participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as masculine and cooperative ones as feminine across business-to-consumer (B2C) and business-to-business (B2B) negotiation contexts, Chinese participants' patterns depended on the negotiation context. In B2C contexts, Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as feminine and cooperative ones as masculine; in B2B contexts, they made further distinctions, categorizing competitive goals and behaviors that are socially inappropriate as feminine, but competitive ones that are socially appropriate, and cooperative goals and behaviors, as masculine. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

Researchers have long recognized that gender can have a profound impact on negotiation behavior and outcomes (Eriksson & Sandberg, 2012; Kray & Babcock, 2006). For example, American women have been found to be less assertive (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010), less competitive, and more accommodating in their negotiation offers compared to American men (Walters, Stuhlmacher, & Meyer, 1998). Moreover, when American women do behave more assertively, more competitively, or in a less accommodating way, they suffer backlash from their negotiation counterparts (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013). Therefore, regardless of how American women behave, they fare worse than American men in negotiation outcomes (Kray & Thompson, 2005), and such gender inequality in negotiation outcomes has a long-term negative impact on other important outcomes, such as overall organizational status (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013) and income (Martin, 2007).

In explaining how gender plays a role in negotiation, the most predominant theory has focused on gender-related categories, otherwise known as gender stereotypes (Kray & Thompson, 2005; Miles, 2010). Gender-related categories influence negotiation outcomes by prescribing expected gender roles to all aspects of the negotiation process (Kray & Thompson, 2005)—from prenegotiation (Kaman & Hartel, 1994) to the negotiation itself (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005). Gender-related categories are critical for understanding the role of gender in negotiation behaviors and outcomes because individuals make

inferences based on categories and respond to the information accordingly (Markman & Ross, 2003). Individuals make categorical inferences in their interpretation of others' behavior and in guiding their own behavior (Smith, 1989). Therefore, an examination of the *specific content* of gender-related categories that individuals use is important for both negotiation theory and practice.

In previous negotiation literature, most discussions of gender-related category content have focused on general traits, such as stereotypes that men are assertive and competitive, while women are passive and cooperative (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008). These traits are typically conceptualized as universal and context free (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). They are operationalized by assessing participant ratings of a list of traits, with each trait reflecting high or low levels of one of the two core components of evolutionary psychology: warmth and competence (Williams & Best, 1990). These studies have found that women are more likely to be categorized as more warm and less competent (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972), as exemplified by communal traits such as concern for others, nurturing, affection, helpfulness, and sympathy. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to be categorized as less warm and more competent, as exemplified by agentic traits such as assertiveness, aggression, ambition, goal directedness, competitiveness, dominance, independence, self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and decisiveness (Eagly, 1987; Eckes, 2002; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Although most research on gender-related categories has adopted this two-component trait-based approach, the approach has been criticized for its lack of generalizability across cultural contexts. In particular, Cuddy et al. (2015) argue that while men are considered more competent in all societies, the specific traits associated with competence (and hence masculinity) are contingent on the core values of the society. In both a comparative study of Americans and South Koreans and a re-analysis of data of 26 societies by Williams and Best (1990), Cuddy et al. (2015) found that individuals in societies high in collectivism were more likely than those in societies high in individualism to associate communal traits with men and agentic traits with women. In both cases, men are considered to be more competent than women, but what defines competence depends on cultural values.

In this article, we go a step further by considering the role of situational context in the content of people's gender-related categories. Research has found that East Asians are more likely to engage in holistic thinking and less likely to engage in analytic thinking compared to Westerners, which makes them more likely to pay closer attention to situational context (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001). One of the key manifestations of this cultural difference is a higher reliance among Westerners compared to East Asians in the use of general rules for developing categories (Choi, Koo, & Choi, 2007; Norenzayan, Smith, Kim, & Nisbett, 2002). Instead, East Asians are more likely to pay attention to the situational context when constructing categories, a process that establishes more context-specific categories (Norenzayan et al., 2002). This suggests that East Asians are also more likely than Westerners to pay attention to the situational context when forming gender-related categories.

In this article, we build on research on both individualistic versus collectivistic values and analytic versus holistic thinking to examine the content of gender-related categories associated with negotiation. We incorporate these two perspectives by examining *masculine* and *feminine* negotiation goals and behaviors as lay categories that are contingent on cultural and situational contexts. Our approach builds on recent literature on lay categories, which are social conventions (Millikan, 2005) generated by specific cultural groups for labeling specific actions in specific settings (see Loewenstein, Ocasio, & Jones, 2012 for a review). Examples of lay categories previously examined include *cooperative* as a lay category of team behaviors (Keller & Loewenstein, 2011), *work* and *play* as lay categories of tasks (Glynn, 1994), and *fair* and *profitable* as lay categories of hiring decisions (Liu, Keller, & Hong, 2015).

Our approach is, in essence, an inverse of previous gender-related social category research: instead of using adjectives (i.e., traits) to characterize a noun (i.e., "woman"), we used nouns (i.e., specific goals and behaviors) to characterize an adjective (i.e., "feminine"). We employ a now widely accepted approach to understanding semantics that recognizes that adjectives (or traits) are reflections of categorization schemes and not universally agreed upon definitions in a dictionary (Paradis, 2001, 2005).

Because we are able to surface the specific observable behaviors that people would perceive as *masculine* and *feminine*, our approach provides a way to examine gender-related categories that can be consistent across cultural and situational contexts and others that are unique to one particular cultural or situational context (Keller & Loewenstein, 2011). In the process, we provide a richer, more comprehensive, and more precise analysis of how individuals interpret negotiation goals and behaviors and the inferences they make based on gender.

Drawing from previous research on lay categories (Keller & Loewenstein, 2011), we engage in an inductive two-stage process, focusing on two cultures (American and Chinese) in two negotiation situations, business-to-consumer (B2C) and business-to-business (B2B) contexts. In Stage 1, we examine participants' qualitative descriptions of negotiation goals and behaviors that the participants categorize as masculine and feminine in B2C and B2B contexts. In Stage 2, we use the negotiation goals and behaviors generated in Stage 1 and ask participants to rate them on whether they are masculine, feminine, or both. We also ask participants to rate whether each goal or behavior gave them a positive impression. This enables us to understand the perceived social appropriateness of the specific goal or behavior, which further helps to explain the interplay between the cultural and situational contexts in people's concepts of being masculine and feminine.

We chose the *United States* and China as our cultures of comparison because they offer clear contrasts in both individualism versus collectivism (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 1991) and holistic versus analytic thinking (Monga & John, 2007). Negotiators from individualistic cultures (such as those in the *United States*) are likely to evaluate outcomes based on economic criteria (Neale & Bazerman, 1992), whereas negotiators from collectivistic cultures (such as those in China) are more likely to evaluate outcomes based on relational criteria including good will, mutual liking, trust, flexibility, and the commitment to continuing the relationship (Brett & Gelfand, 2006; Wong & Chan, 1999; Wong, Leung, Hung, & Ngai, 2007). In both cultures, men traditionally play a more dominant overall role in society (Paek, Nelson, & Vilela, 2011), creating a gender role expectation that men are the “breadwinners,” responsible for acquiring resources for the family (Bielby & Bielby, 1992). Competence is therefore more likely to be associated with being masculine in both cultures. But, while the gender role specification in American culture is more likely to emphasize men's role in instant monetary gain, the gender role specification in Chinese culture is more likely to place importance on men's role in improving relational outcomes. As a result, we should expect that negotiation goals and behaviors that signal an attempt to maximize financial gain to be deemed masculine, whereas we should expect that negotiation goals and behaviors that signal an attempt to build relationships to be deemed feminine in America. In China, on the other hand, we expect that the pattern is completely reversed. These reflect different understandings of how to be a competent negotiator.

At the same time, there is also a greater emphasis on holistic thinking in Chinese culture compared to in the *United States* (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). As a result, Chinese people (compared to Americans) should be more likely to adjust their views of gender depending on the particular negotiation context. In particular, Chinese people may be more likely to think about differences in gender associations with negotiation behavior based on gender roles. In particular, in traditional Chinese culture, women are expected to behave in accordance with “四德” (*si de*), or the “four virtues,” one of which is prescribed as performing domestic chores dutifully and willingly (Xia, Wang, Do, & Qin, 2014). Indeed, the traditional saying “女主内” (*nü zhu nei*), which means that women are masters of the internal, emphasizes that women should be family-oriented by taking care of the things inside the family (Lu, Maume, & Bellas, 2000; Sun, 2009). This role has persisted despite the gender equality ideology that has been prominent in China since 1949 (Hall, 1997; Summerfield, 1994; Zuo & Bian, 2001). As a result, activities associated with domestic responsibilities such as budgeting, purchasing of household items, and the managing of household money (Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2000) are typically the responsibilities of women in China. On the other hand, the traditional saying “男主外” (*nan zhu wai*), which means that men are masters of the external, emphasizes that men should be career-oriented and take charge of external affairs outside the family (Lu

et al., 2000; Sun, 2009). In a society where men have higher power and status overall, the internal–external distinction is particularly salient, as it defines which context involves a higher status and thus which context should be considered a masculine domain. This suggests that in China, negotiating goals and behaviors within B2C negotiation contexts (e.g., purchasing a car or an antique) would more likely be considered a feminine domain, whereas B2B negotiation contexts (e.g., forming a business deal) would more likely be considered a masculine domain. Therefore, while individualism versus collectivism is likely to influence what people categorize as masculine based on differences in what people value as outcomes, holistic versus analytical thinking is likely to influence whether the categories will be different or consistent across contexts. In the case of China, contextual differences will be shaped by a demarcation of gender roles. Accordingly, we examine negotiation goals and behaviors in both a shopping (B2C) and a supplier–distributor contract (B2B) context.

By examining the role of cultural and situational contexts in the construction of gender-related categories, we make three key theoretical contributions. First, we advance gender and negotiation research by providing a more nuanced understanding of how people construct and react to gender-related categories in negotiation by taking cultural and situational contexts into account. Second, we expand the culture and negotiation literature, which traditionally has focused on examining the effect of cultural values on negotiation, to looking at how further contrasts in emphasis on context shape cultural effects within different situational contexts. Third, we contribute to burgeoning research on lay categories by exploring the kinds of lay categories individuals hold in the understudied domain of negotiations.

## Stage 1

The goal of Stage 1 was to determine the range of examples of goals and behaviors within negotiation contexts that lay people in China and the *United States* would potentially categorize as masculine and feminine. We examined multiple sources where lay people provide their own examples of goals and behaviors that are masculine and feminine, following previous two-stage inductive studies on lay categories (Keller & Loewenstein, 2011). Our first source was our own online open-ended questionnaire, where we asked white-collar employees located in Mainland China and the *United States* to provide examples of negotiation goals and behaviors that they associate with being masculine and feminine in B2C and B2B negotiations. The second source was online microblogs (e.g., Twitter and Weibo) that capture lay people's references to negotiation goals and behaviors deemed masculine and feminine as part of their day-to-day experiences. Open-ended questionnaires enable us to learn how people think about each lay category when prompted, whereas online microblogs enable us to learn how people discuss each lay category as part of their day-to-day communication. By combining these two sources, we capture a range of potential examples that can be further analyzed in Stage 2.

## Methods

### *Open-ended Questionnaires*

We recruited 101 Chinese participants (mean age = 27.0, 52 men, 42 women, 3 did not indicate gender) via Witmart (also called Zhubajie) and 57 American participants (mean age = 32.7, 25 men, 31 women, 1 did not indicate gender) via Amazon Mechanical Turk, both crowdsourcing marketplace websites, to complete an open-ended questionnaire. These methods of participant recruitment have been demonstrated to yield reliable data (for Mechanical Turk, see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; for Zhubajie, see Sun, Wang, Yin, & Zhang, 2015; Ye & Kankanhalli, 2015). All participants had working experience and were above 21 years old. All participants were randomly assigned to either a B2C or a B2B negotiation context condition. Responses from participants with different national backgrounds were deleted (one in Chinese participants sample and eight in the U.S. sample). Both Chinese and

American samples reached saturation required in qualitative research as advocated in a grounded approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Within each negotiation context condition, each participant answered two open-ended questions about negotiations. For those in the B2C negotiation context condition, we asked participants: “How would you describe a very masculine (or feminine) way of bargaining while shopping? Please provide examples.” For the B2B negotiation context, we asked participants: “How would you describe a very masculine (or feminine) way of negotiating on behalf of a firm? Please provide examples.” The order of the question for “how masculine” and “how feminine” was randomized to limit response bias.

From the open-ended questionnaires, we compiled 388 answers in total (where one participant could provide more than one example of negotiation behaviors), 168 from Chinese participants, and 220 from American participants. These responses were coded separately by two independent, bilingual coders (an author and a research assistant). Each coder looked for reoccurring patterns of a type of goal or a type of behavior mentioned as indicating either being masculine or feminine, in either of the two negotiation contexts.

To narrow our results to answers that we could confidently interpret the meaning, we excluded some answers based on a narrow set of criteria. First, we excluded answers that were too abstract to reflect a specific type of goal or behavior and the participant’s example was insufficiently concrete. We did this because it was difficult to ascertain the meaning. For example, “using manipulative tactics” can indicate many different types of behaviors. Second, we excluded answers where individual-level or cultural-level differences in views on sexuality made it difficult to ascertain the meaning. For example, “flirting with the other party” could be gender specific or not gender specific and thus saying it was “feminine” to do so without knowing whether their belief applied specifically to opposite-sex negotiation partners could not be ascertained. Third, we excluded answers that spoke about the specific context and thus we were unable to ascertain whether it applied to a negotiation goal or behavior. For example, “telling the salesperson that he is just looking around” could be a negotiation tactic or a specific shopping style.

All remaining answers that were mentioned at least twice were included in our analysis and consolidated to form broad types of negotiation goals and behaviors. In some cases, we reclassified the answers. For example, we changed references to negotiator’s traits within a context to behaviors when they clearly reflected behaviors. For example, we changed “be dominant during the conversation” to “dominating the conversation.” In addition, we coded answers with double-negative descriptions such as “not to get the best deal is nonmasculine” as an affirmative answer with the opposite meaning (e.g., “getting the best deal is masculine”). The final result was 61 broad types of negotiation goals and behaviors, with 41 types from American participants and 49 types from Chinese participants. Twenty-nine types of goals and behaviors were shared between the two cultures: the American participants exclusively contributed 12 types, and Chinese participants exclusively contributed 20 types. Overall, the two coders’ intercoder reliability (Pearson’s  $r$ ) was .77~.92,  $p < .003$ .

### **Microblogs**

For Chinese data, we used the online microblogging website Weibo (微博) (<http://s.weibo.com/weibo/>; Guo, Li, & Tu, 2011), which provides an outlet for Chinese participants to talk about their day-to-day experience by posting in a forum. We searched for all posts that included gender-related terms, that is, “男” (*nan*) for male or man, “女” (*nü*) for female or woman, and negotiation-related terms, including, “谈判” (*tan pan*), which is used to indicate “negotiate” in B2B and other formal contexts, and “砍价” (*kan jia*), “议价” (*yi jia*), and “讨价还价” (*tao jia huan jia*), which are used to indicate “negotiation” or “bargaining” in B2C contexts. We received 530 responses on 183,572 results in total, posted from April 1, 2013 to November 8, 2014. We narrowed the results to include only information with references to masculine or feminine negotiating goals and behaviors, which revealed 172 valid responses for content analysis. Following the same procedure as used for the online questionnaire, we found 42 types of goals

or behaviors, of which 31 were overlapping with the types provided by open-ended responses. The inter-coder reliability (Pearson's  $r$ ) was .80~.84,  $p < .001$ .

For the American data, we explored Twitter, the most popular microblogging website in the *United States*. We searched for all tweets (posts) that referenced “male,” “female,” “masculine,” “feminine,” “man” or “woman,” “negotiation,” and “negotiate” or “bargain.” A search found 60 responses, yet only two explicitly referenced gender in negotiation contexts, and each reference already corroborated data revealed in the online questionnaire. We believe that because Twitter has a far more constrained character length (140 Chinese characters enables typically 3–5 times more words than 140 English letters), the number of tweets that made explicit reference to the gender association of a negotiation behavior was limited.

Combining both online and microblogging sources, we generated 72 types of goals and behaviors. In order to analyze general patterns, we further classified the goals and behaviors according to previous research in negotiations in two different ways. We first distinguished *goals* from *behaviors*, with goals signaling intentions to behave in certain ways in the future (e.g., “getting the best possible deal for the negotiator”; Amanatullah, Morris, & Curhan, 2008). We further classified behaviors into seven different types: *prenegotiation behaviors* (the behaviors that are conducted before the negotiation, e.g., “Exploring alternative deals and making comparisons before negotiating”; Peterson & Lucas, 2001), *negotiation initiation behaviors* (the negotiator initiates or does not initiate a negotiation in various situations, for example, “Initiating a negotiation even when the other party indicates that the deal is not negotiable”; Small, Gelfand, Babcock, & Gettman, 2007), *offers* (the specific behavior of how a negotiator gives an initial offer or a counteroffer in different situations during the negotiation, e.g., “Initially offering a deal that is much worse for the other party than what the other party expects”; Bolman Pullins, Haugtvedt, Dickson, Fine, & Lewicki, 2000; Moran & Ritov, 2002), *manipulative tactics* (the skillful method that the negotiator chooses to use in order to make the other party act in the way that the negotiator wants in negotiation, e.g., “Pretending to leave the negotiation”; Kyl-Heku & Buss, 1996), *verbal statements* (what the negotiator specifically says during negotiation, e.g., “Mentioning the flaws of the other party's product”; Graham, 1985), *expressions* (the emotion that the negotiator expresses and the affective tone of communicating conveyed by nonverbal signals, e.g., “Using a domineering tone throughout the negotiation”; Barry, Fulmer, & Van Kleef, 2004; Belkin, Kurtzberg, & Naquin, 2013), and *postnegotiation behaviors* (the behaviors conducted by the negotiator at the end stages of a negotiation or after the negotiation is finished, e.g., “If they cannot reach an agreement, keep returning to the other party and negotiating until one gets a satisfactory offer”; Brett, 2007).

In addition, we found that many of the goals and behaviors could be classified as *cooperative* or *competitive*, based on classification schemes used previously in coding negotiation behaviors (Adair & Brett, 2005). *Cooperative goals and behaviors* (or otherwise referred to as value creating) are behaviors that aim to reach mutually beneficial agreements, create joint gains, and prevent conflict escalation. They are often associated with “win–win” or “integrative,” encounters. *Competitive goals and behaviors* (or otherwise referred to as value claiming) are behaviors that aim to increase the value claimed by one party at the expense of the other party with an approach often associated with “distributive” or “win–lose” encounters (Sebenius, 1992).

## Analysis and Results of Frequency of Mentions

The list of goals and behaviors for each sample, with the frequency of mentions by each sample in each context for those both categorized as masculine and feminine, are described in Table 1. For answers to the online questionnaire, we found consistent patterns for American participants across the B2C and B2B contexts. In the B2C context, American participants provided more competitive ( $f = 55$ ) than cooperative goals or behaviors ( $f = 1$ ) as instances of being masculine and provided more cooperative ( $f = 12$ ) than competitive goals or behaviors ( $f = 5$ ) as instances of being feminine,  $\chi^2(1, 73) = 42.18$ ,

Table 1  
*Occurrence Frequency of Negotiation Goals and Behaviors as Indicators of Masculinity and Femininity in Different Cultures and Negotiation Contexts*

Goals/Behavior	USA		China (Weibo)					
	B2C		B2B		B2C		B2B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>Goals</b>								
<b>Competitive</b>								
Feeling satisfied from the negotiating							(2)	
Getting the best possible deal for the negotiator	1		4				4 (2)	3 (1)
<b>Cooperative</b>								
Ensuring that the other party gets a good deal				5	(1)			1
Ensuring that the negotiator appears generous					2 (5)			(1)
Ensuring that the negotiator does not get embarrassed or loses face					2 (11)			(1)
Helping the other party				5	(4)			(1)
<b>Prerenegotiation Behaviors</b>								
<b>Competitive</b>								
Exploring alternative deals and making comparisons before negotiating							7	
Conducting a systematic calculation to determine the bottom line (minimum agreement) before negotiating							(4)	
Developing a set of strategies and tactics to use while negotiating							(3)	1 (5)
Conveying to acquaintances that negotiating would be very easy for the negotiator							(2)	
<b>Cooperative</b>								
Conveying to acquaintances that negotiating would be difficult for the negotiator								(3)
<b>Negotiation Initiation Behaviors</b>								
<b>Competitive</b>								
Initiating a negotiation even when the other party indicates that the deal is not negotiable	1						(9)	
Initiating a negotiation even when the negotiator is satisfied with the current deal							2 (1)	
Initiating a negotiation even when the other party is a friend or acquaintance							1 (3)	
Initiating a negotiation even when the negotiator is in the presence of several other acquaintances							(3)	
<b>Cooperative</b>								
Accepting the initial offer without negotiating when the other party indicates that the deal is not negotiable							(4)	
Accepting the initial offer without negotiating when the negotiator is satisfied with the current deal			1				3	
Accepting the initial offer without negotiating when the other party is a friend or acquaintance							(3)	
Accepting the initial offer without negotiating when the negotiator is in the presence of several other acquaintances							2 (1)	
Accepting the initial offer without negotiating despite knowing that the offer given by the other party is negotiable			5	2	20 (28)			
Making a deal before asking the terms of the deal							2 (1)	
Quitting without any negotiating if the negotiator cannot afford the other party's initial offer			1				(2)	
<b>Offers</b>								
<b>Competitive</b>								

**Table 1**  
(continued)

Goals/Behavior	USA		China (Weibo)					
	B2C		B2B		B2C		B2B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Initially offering a deal that is much worse for the other party than what the other party expects	13				(8)		7	
Making a counteroffer that is much worse for the other party despite it appearing that the other party may suffer from the outcome or does not make much profit from the deal	1						2	
Making a counteroffer that is much worse for the other party despite the other party saying that the current deal is the bottom line							3	
Making a counteroffer that is much worse for the other party despite the negotiator’s initial offer being rejected			13				2	
Making a counteroffer that is much worse for the other party despite the other party already giving a satisfactory offer							3	
Neither competitive nor cooperative								
Initially offering only one deal and asking the other party to “take it or leave it”	1				21 (2)			
Offering a compromise deal when the negotiator’s initial offer is rejected	7		17		3		6	
Making the negotiation as short as possible	1				5 (5)			
Continuously haggling over every penny	2		1				26 (5)	
Cooperative								
Initially offering a better deal for the other party than what the other party expects	3		1		7 (9)			
Manipulative Tactics								
Competitive								
Demanding that the other party offers something extra	1		1				1	
Demanding to talk with the other party’s superior if the deal is not attractive							2	
Demanding the best offer that the other party can ever give	2		1				1	
Promising to introduce some of the negotiator’s contacts to the other party to sweeten the deal							5	
Promising the other party a long-term business arrangement if the offer is good							2	
Pretending to leave the negotiation	3		1		1		3	
Pretending not to be interested in the other party’s product							(2)	
Pretending to be an expert about the other party’s product	1						(1)	
Probing the other party to find out what the other party’s bottom line is							4	
Threatening to find an alternative	4		1				3	
Lying about what the negotiator can afford now			3					
Telling the other party about better alternative offers	5							
Verbal statement								
Competitive								
Raising detailed evidence to persuade the other party	2						(1)	
Mentioning the flaws of the other party’s product			1		1		5	
Complaining that the other party’s offer is too painful to bear	1						1	
Continuously discussing the deal without discussing anything personal							(2)	
Neither competitive nor cooperative								
Asking for very detailed information about the product or service	1		1				2	



**Table 1**  
(continued)

Goals/Behavior	USA		China (Weibo)					
	B2C		B2B		B2C		B2B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Mentioning the personal relationship between the negotiator and the other party, if any	1			1				
Mentioning shared traits or experiences between the negotiator and the other party		2						1
Cooperative								
Mentioning that one does not care about the money					1	(1)		
Revealing the negotiator's "bottom line" (minimum amount willing to offer)					3			
Providing excuses for why the negotiator makes an offer that is less desirable to the other party		1		1				
Continuously chitchatting with the other party with little discussion about the terms of the negotiation itself		1						(3)
Praising the other party				2	(1)		5	
Saying "I'm sorry" frequently	1			1				
Expression								
Competitive								
Using a domineering tone throughout the negotiation	12		8			(2)	16	(4)
Using fast paced speech			2					1
Speaking louder than the other party	5		3					4
Not giving the other party a chance to speak			2					1
Interrupting the other party's speech	2							1
Staring sharply at the other party	1		1					1 (1)
Remaining calm when the other party gives an competitive counteroffer			1					(4)
Neither competitive nor cooperative								
Listening attentively to the other party's defense		1		3				
Laughing joyfully throughout the negotiation						(5)		(3)
Cooperative								
Blushing with embarrassment during the whole negotiation						(4)		(2)
Postnegotiation behaviors								
Competitive								
Cannot help laughing when taking advantage of the other party at the end of the negotiation							1	(1)
If they cannot reach an agreement, keep returning to the other party and negotiating until one gets a satisfactory offer							1	(1)
Neither competitive nor cooperative								
Still hesitating over whether or not to make a deal at the end of the negotiation		1					4	(1) 3
Cooperative								
Ending the negotiation and accepting the other party's offer when it appears that the other party may suffer from the outcome or does not make much profit from the deal						2		
Ending the negotiation and accepting the other party's offer when the other party says the current deal is the bottom line						2	(1)	

Notes. B2C, business-to-consumer; B2B, business-to-business; M = Masculine, F = Feminine.

$p < .001$ . Consistently in the B2B context, American participants provided more competitive ( $f = 38$ ) than cooperative goals or behaviors ( $f = 0$ ) as instances of being masculine and provided more cooperative ( $f = 17$ ) than competitive goals or behaviors ( $f = 0$ ) as instances of being feminine,  $\chi^2(1, 55) = 55.00, p < .001$ . Chi-square tests showed that negotiation context did not influence how American participants categorized these behaviors,  $\chi^2(1, 128) = .93, p > .333$ .

In contrast, Chinese participants had different frequencies depending on the negotiation context. Specifically, in the B2C negotiation context, Chinese participants mentioned more cooperative goals or behaviors ( $f = 121$ ) than competitive goals or behaviors ( $f = 1$ ) as masculine way of negotiating, while they provided more competitive goals or behaviors ( $f = 105$ ) than cooperative goals or behaviors ( $f = 6$ ) as feminine way of negotiating,  $\chi^2(1, 233) = 206.11, p < .001$ . However, in the B2B negotiation context, Chinese participants mentioned more competitive goals or behaviors ( $f = 49$ ) than cooperative goals or behaviors ( $f = 1$ ) as masculine way of negotiating, but provided no competitive goals but 11 cooperative goals or behaviors as feminine way of negotiating,  $\chi^2(1, 61) = 54.80, p < .001$ . Chi-square tests showed that negotiation context significantly influenced how Chinese categorized these behaviors,  $\chi^2(1, 294) = 17.46, p < .001$ .

## Stage 2

In Stage 1, we generated 72 types of negotiation goals and behaviors in B2C and B2B contexts that American participants and Chinese indicated as masculine or feminine. Based on the frequency results, we found key areas of cross-cultural differences, with the American participants consistently mentioning more competitive behaviors as masculine negotiating and cooperative behaviors as feminine negotiating and Chinese participants mentioning competitive behaviors as feminine negotiating and cooperative behaviors as masculine negotiating in B2C contexts, but the opposite in B2B contexts. To follow-up on these results more quantitatively, the goal of Stage 2 is to present the goals and behaviors from Stage 1 in a questionnaire to participants in the *United States* and *China*, and have them rate them as masculine, feminine, or both, in order to further explore what negotiators consider to be a masculine negotiator, a feminine negotiator, and how such judgments vary depending on the cultural context and the situational context.

Using a questionnaire has several advantages. First, the qualitative data from Stage 1 only provided information on what people found were prototypically masculine and feminine goals and behaviors. The use of a questionnaire allows participants to consider a more thorough set of negotiation goals and behaviors to rate as masculine or feminine, including those that they would not necessarily have come up with on their own. This is critically important for understanding the impact of culture on categorization because while prototypicality is a major driver of categorization, it is not the only factor that influences category membership (i.e., which items are members of a particular category). For example, individuals may be looking at other exemplars of following certain rules and these categorization schemes are not always aligned with prototypicality (Love, 2013). Category membership is most important for understanding the category-behavior link, as it determines whether someone will in fact interpret the specific negotiation goal or behavior as masculine and feminine.

Second, by using ratings on similar items yet with two different contexts, we are able to distinguish between two different types of cultural effects: cross-cultural differences in values and cross-cultural differences in the attention to context. Furthermore, we are able to see how the two factors may interact, as the analysis can reveal divergent patterns in each context and thus different manifestations of cross-cultural differences in values in people's categorization of negotiation goals and behaviors as masculine and feminine.

Third, we do not only measure ratings on how masculine and how feminine, but we also ask participants to rate their overall impression of each goal and behavior from the perspective of the other party in the negotiation. By asking each respondent to rate their overall impression of the goal or behavior from

the perspective of the other party, we can measure the extent to which each goal or behavior is socially appropriate within each culture for a particular context. This enables us to understand in more depth the reasons why we may find differences in what constitutes masculine and feminine negotiation goals and behaviors across cultural and situational contexts. If, for example, negotiators are supposed to behave differently between B2C and B2B negotiation contexts, the behaviors that give a positive impression may be different between the contexts, and this may influence whether they believe a behavior is masculine or feminine, reflecting different gender roles in negotiation.

## Methodology

We recruited 279 Chinese (mean age = 29.0, 135 men, 138 women, 6 did not indicate gender) via Witmart and Sojump and 311 American participants (mean age = 35.2, 171 men, 135 women, 5 did not indicate gender) via Amazon Mechanical Turk to complete a questionnaire. All participants had working experience and were above 18 years old. All participants were randomly assigned to six conditions: 2 negotiation context (B2C vs. B2B)  $\times$  3 negotiator gender (no gender indicated vs. male vs. female). We included three conditions for mentioning the negotiator's gender for robustness in order to ensure that the results were consistent regardless of whether the behavior was conducted by a man or a woman, or without gender information. Seven responses of non-American participants in the U.S. sample were eliminated.

The beginning of each questionnaire varied depending on the negotiation context presented. For the B2C negotiation context, the participants were first asked to “think about a scenario where a person is shopping for a car.” For the B2B negotiation context, we first asked the participants to “think about a scenario where a business development manager is discussing with a potential supplier of a key component that can be used for the product line of the manager's company.” The negotiator's gender was either indicated as male or female, or was not indicated at all. We then included the 72 items developed in Stage 1, with the same items in each context and with only slight variations in language in order to fit the context. As linguists have stated, masculine and feminine are antonyms, which means they are used as contrasts, but individuals can define the contrast in many different ways (Jones, 2003). Thus, considering the possibility of the permeability between categories, we measured the two gender-related categories separately and did not assume that one was mutually exclusive to the other. Specifically, all participants rated each goal or behavior on how masculine the goal or behavior was on a 4-point scale with 1 = *very nonmasculine*, 2 = *slightly nonmasculine*, 3 = *slightly masculine*, and 4 = *very masculine*, and how feminine on another separate 4-point scale with 1 = *very nonfeminine*, 2 = *slightly nonfeminine*, 3 = *slightly feminine*, and 4 = *very feminine*. All participants also rated their overall impression of each negotiation goal or behavior if they were the other party negotiating with the negotiator on a 4-point scale with 1 = *very negative*, 2 = *slightly negative*, 3 = *slightly positive*, and 4 = *very positive*.

## Results

To analyze the results of the ratings of the 72 items, we first aggregated the ratings based on the culture, the negotiation context (B2C or B2B), and whether the item indicated cooperation (22 items) or competition (40 items). Because the negotiators' gender did not affect the ratings for how masculine or how feminine, for parsimony, we combined the data of no gender, male, and female conditions and controlled for this variable in our analyses. Participant's sex was also included as a control variable in the analyses and did not yield any interactive effects with the other focal variables for any category of behavior. The average ratings for cooperative and competitive behaviors for each culture and context are depicted in Figure 1.

We used a series of repeated-measures ANOVA for our statistical analyses in order to show the interaction between the rating of how masculine versus how feminine the goal or behavior was, the culture,

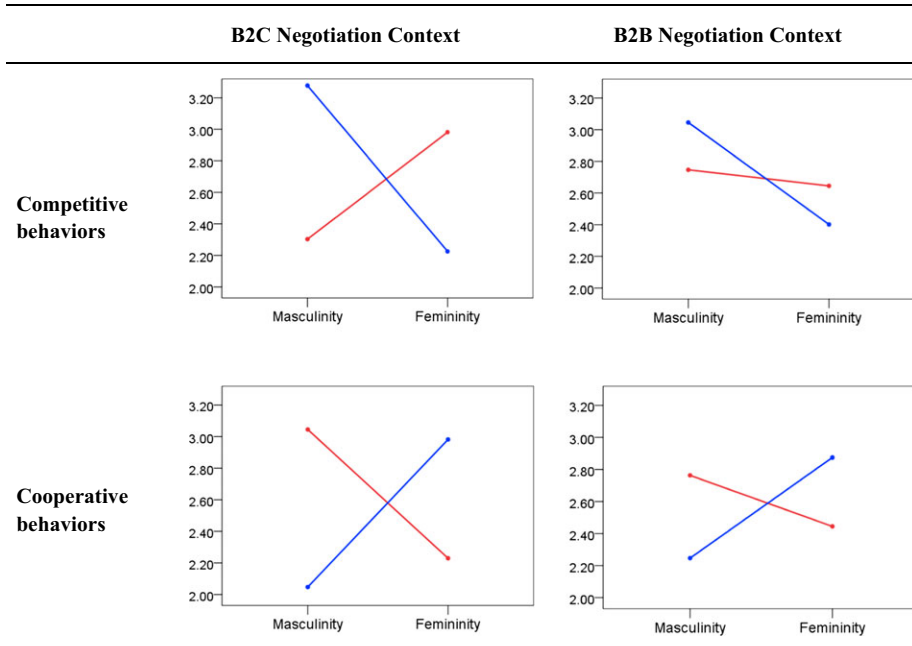


Figure 1. Culture and context effects on masculinity and femininity ratings of aggregated competitive and cooperative negotiation goals and behaviors (— American, — Chinese).

and the negotiation context. Results of a repeated-measures ANOVA showed that to what extent competitive goals and behaviors indicate being masculine and feminine depends on both culture and negotiation context,  $F(1, 566) = 110.12, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$ . The same was found for cooperative goals and behaviors,  $F(1, 566) = 64.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$ . Specifically, American participants categorized competitive behaviors as more masculine than feminine in both the B2C negotiation context,  $F = 141.91, p < .001, \eta^2 = .48$ , and the B2B negotiation context,  $F = 51.46, p < .001, \eta^2 = .26$ ; and American participants categorized cooperative behaviors as more feminine than masculine in both the B2C negotiation context,  $F = 4.62, p < .033, \eta^2 = .03$ , and the B2B negotiation context,  $F = 11.69, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ . However, Chinese ratings on how masculine or feminine the goals and behaviors were contingent on the negotiation contexts. Chinese participants categorized cooperative goals and behaviors as more masculine than feminine in both the B2C negotiation context,  $F = 73.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .35$ , and the B2B negotiation context,  $F = 6.42, p < .013, \eta^2 = .05$ . However, Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors differently in different contexts: in B2C negotiation contexts, Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as more feminine than masculine,  $F(1, 140) = 65.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .32$ ; whereas in the B2B negotiation context, Chinese participants categorized competitive behaviors as equally masculine and feminine,  $p > .95$ .

Given that we did not find differences in ratings in China on how masculine and how feminine the competitive behaviors were within B2B negotiation contexts, we decided to further explore whether we could further analyze competitive behaviors. One possible explanation is that different types of competitive behaviors are more or less socially appropriate in B2B contexts in China. Accordingly, we separated the two types of competitive behaviors based on whether Chinese participants, on average, rated the behaviors positively in the B2B context and then split the analysis of how masculine and how feminine based on the ratings. We conducted a series of one-sample  $t$  tests and found that 10 competitive behaviors were significantly  $>2.5$  (the midpoint) and thus socially appropriate behaviors, and 20 items that were significantly lower than 2.5 and thus socially inappro-

priate behaviors. One predominant aspect of those competitive goals and behaviors rated as socially appropriate in China was a presumed goal of claiming value while still signaling an effort at building a relationship. This included, for example: “promising the other party a long-term business arrangement if the offer is good” is a tactic aimed at convincing the party to give a better deal while also conveying an intention to build a relationship. Socially inappropriate competitive behaviors, on the other hand, signaled a disregard for the relationship, for example: “making a counteroffer that is much worse for the other party despite it appearing that the other party may suffer from the outcome or does not make much profit from the deal.” Competitive goals and behaviors rated as socially appropriate in China in the B2B context, in fact, had lower ratings in China for social appropriateness in the B2C context,  $F(1, 269) = 36.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$ . This provides further evidence that goals and behaviors deemed socially appropriate within the B2B context in China indicate relation-oriented signals not found in the B2C context.

Results of a series of ANOVAs, in fact, revealed distinctions in the categorization of goals and behaviors as masculine or feminine depending on the social appropriateness for the given culture within the given context. As shown in Figure 2, American participants consistently categorized both socially appropriate and socially inappropriate competitive behaviors as more masculine than feminine across both negotiation contexts,  $F_s > 6.50, p < .012, \eta^2 > .04$ . In B2C contexts, Chinese participants categorized both socially appropriate and socially inappropriate competitive behaviors as more feminine than masculine,  $F_s > 201.21, p < .001, \eta^2 > .41$ ; all simple effects were significant or marginally significant,  $p < .066$ . However, in B2B negotiation contexts, Chinese only categorized socially appropriate competitive goals and behaviors as masculine,  $F(1, 131) = 10.56, p < .002, \eta^2 = .08$ , and only categorized socially inappropriate competitive behaviors as feminine,  $F(1, 135) = 6.67, p < .011, \eta^2 = .05$ .

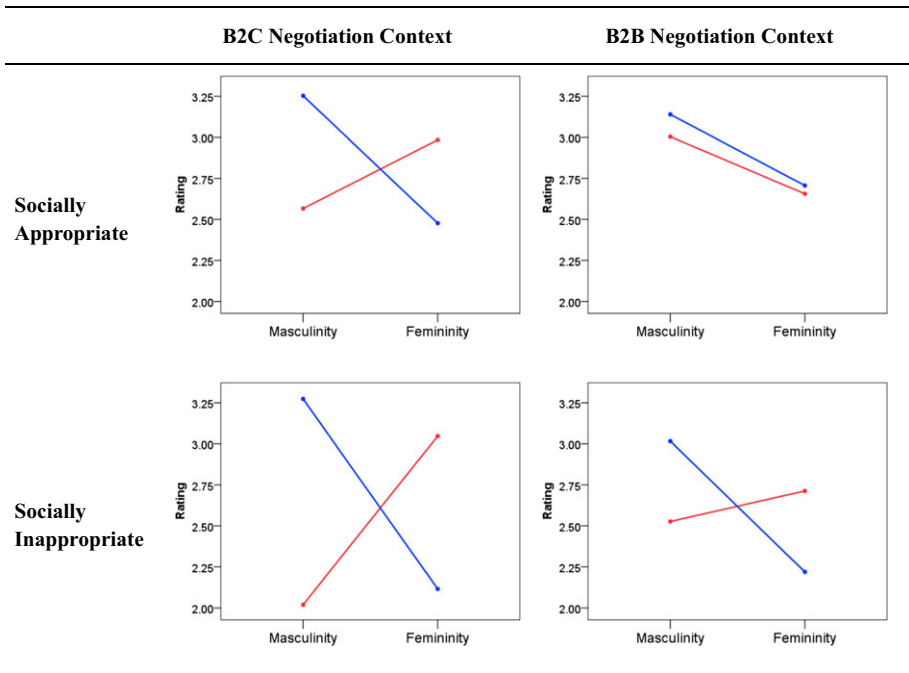


Figure 2. Culture and context effects on masculinity and femininity ratings of socially appropriate versus socially inappropriate competitive goals and behaviors (— American, — Chinese).

## Supplementary Results

Recent research on negotiations in the *United States* has found that the focal item of negotiation has implications on the gender role in negotiations (Bear & Babcock, 2012). For example, items that men typically buy (e.g., motorcycles) are more likely to put men at an advantage in negotiations. Specifically, research has found that American women have a disadvantage in negotiating over the purchase of a car (Ayes, 1991). Therefore, to ensure that the patterns of results were not attributed to the focal item of “the car,” we ran a supplemental study with an antique, considered a gender-related neutral item, as the focal item in a B2C negotiation. We recruited 52 American participants online via M-Turk and 72 Chinese participants online via Sojump and followed the same procedure except for the label of the item being purchased.

As in our main study, we first aggregated the ratings based on the culture, and whether the item indicated cooperation (22 items) or competition (40 items), and we controlled for negotiator’s sex and participants’ sex. Results of a repeated-measures ANOVA showed that, consistent with the results of the negotiation over a car, the extent to which competitive goals and behaviors indicated being masculine and feminine in the negotiation over an antique also depended on culture,  $F(1, 119) = 117.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .50$ . There were only marginal differences on gender-related categories found between negotiations over an antique and car,  $p = .096$ , and cultural influences on gender-related categories for the negotiation over an antique differed from those in the B2B negotiation,  $F(1, 398) = 61.87, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$ . A similar pattern was found for cooperative goals and behaviors in the B2C negotiation over an antique: The cultural variance was slightly alleviated in the negotiation over an antique compared to the negotiation over a car,  $F(1, 408) = 3.40, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ , but gender-related categories still varied across cultures,  $F(1, 119) = 133.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .53$ . The cultural influence in the negotiation over an antique was still different from the cultural influence in the B2B negotiation,  $F(1, 398) = 21.77, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . Specifically, in the antique negotiation context, American participants categorized competitive behaviors as more masculine than feminine,  $F(1, 48) = 14.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23$ , and categorized cooperative behaviors as more feminine than masculine,  $F(1, 48) = 7.24, p < .01, \eta^2 = .13$ . Conversely, in the antique negotiation context, Chinese participants categorized cooperative goals and behaviors as more masculine than feminine,  $F(1, 69) = 11.66, p < .002, \eta^2 = .15$ . The descriptive pattern was the same as found in the results of negotiation over a car.

## General Discussion

Previous literature on gender-related categories in negotiations has predominantly focused on general context-free traits such as warmth and competence. Drawing on the ideas that competence is defined by what a culture values (Cuddy et al., 2015) and cultures vary in their relative attention to the situational context (Peng & Nisbett, 1999), we examined how the specific negotiation goals and behaviors that indicate being masculine and feminine are shaped by cultural and situational contexts. We engaged in a two-stage mixed method study on how participants from the *United States* and China categorize negotiation goals and behaviors as masculine and feminine in B2C and B2B negotiation contexts. Our results showed that, in fact, gender-related categories are contingent on both cultural and situational contexts, as we found cultural differences associated with values across both B2C and B2B negotiation contexts, as well as differences based on the negotiation context within China.

In Stage 1, we analyzed the negotiation goals and behaviors mentioned as indicators of being masculine and feminine in open-ended questionnaires and online forums, resulting in a list of 72 goals and behaviors. In Stage 2, we analyzed people’s ratings of the 72 negotiation goals and behaviors found in Stage 1 as indicators of being masculine and feminine. The results of both stages were consistent: American participants associated cooperative goals and behaviors with being feminine and competitive goals and behaviors with being masculine in both B2C and B2B contexts. At the same time, while the

negotiation context did not influence how the American participants categorized goals and behaviors, Chinese participants categorized differently depending on whether they were in a B2C or B2B negotiation context. Specifically, for B2C negotiations, Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as feminine and cooperative goals and behaviors as masculine. In B2B contexts, Chinese participants also categorized cooperative goals and behaviors as masculine, but categorized competitive goals and behaviors as feminine only if they had a negative impression (an indicator of social inappropriateness). Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors deemed socially appropriate, on the other hand, as masculine.

Taken as a whole, the results suggest that not only do differences in cultural values (i.e., collectivism vs. individualism) and differences in attention to context (i.e., holistic thinking vs. analytical thinking) play a role in shaping gender-related categories of negotiation goals and behaviors, but that the two factors interact. The categorization of men as resource providers and women as homemakers is prevalent in most societies (Eagly & Wood, 1999), which is why men have a higher capital ownership than women in most societies (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Polachek & Xiang, 2009; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). However, while the traditional role of men as breadwinners and woman as homemakers is similar, the type of behaviors that are expected as part of each gender role is different in each society, reflecting different preferences for negotiation outcomes based on cultural values. Our results point to this difference, as the American participants were more likely to categorize competitive behaviors as masculine and cooperative behaviors as feminine, whereas the Chinese participants were more likely to categorize competitive behaviors as feminine and cooperative behaviors as masculine. We attribute this difference to a difference in emphasis of outcomes. In individualistic cultures where economic gain is the dominant goal in negotiations (Kray, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2001, 2002; Riley, 2001), value claiming is the most critical component of negotiation and thus more likely to be associated with masculinity. In collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, where relational outcomes are emphasized (Hofstede, 1984; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), cooperative tactics that are aimed at building relationships (even at the cost of claiming value from the negotiation) are associated with masculinity.

At the same time, our findings highlight cultural differences in sensitivity to context and its interactive effect with cultural values. East Asians have been found to be more attentive to contextual factors in both attribution (Morris & Peng, 1994) and perception (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000) tasks. We found such cross-cultural differences among our participants in the categorization of negotiation goals and behaviors. In particular, given a greater attention to context, the Chinese participants were more likely to distinguish goals and behaviors between B2C and B2B negotiation contexts—and the behaviors that they did, in fact, distinguish were ones that demonstrated competence within a collectivistic context. For example, Chinese participants were more likely to categorize “promising the other party a long-term arrangement if the offer is good” as masculine, but only in a B2B context. The tactic is competitive because it claims value, yet it also signals relationship building. Within a collectivistic society that distinguishes different gender roles as leaders of their respective domains, this greater attention to situational context establishes two different categorization schemes in B2C and B2B contexts, albeit both focused on relationship building.

## Theoretical Implications

By examining how differences in cultural values and attention to situational contexts interact to affect the categorization of negotiation goals and behaviors as indicators of being masculine and feminine, our results have implications for four areas of research. First, we contribute to research on gender in negotiations by introducing the interplay of culture and context and by using lay categories of specific goals and behaviors within specific contexts as a mechanism. Negotiation scholars have long argued that men are more competitive than women in negotiating (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters et al., 1998) and use gender stereotypes such as how being masculine involves agentic traits and being feminine involves

relational traits (Kray & Babcock, 2006; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Rudman & Phelan, 2008) to explain the gender difference of negotiation behaviors and outcomes. Our results among American participants confirmed the previous literature.

However, our research shifts the discussion by demonstrating that when examining the specific negotiation goals and behaviors that people categorize as masculine or feminine, the categories do not just reflect broad, context-free gender-related categories, but specific meanings that are, in many ways, specific to particular cultures. We maintain the same premise that gender-related categories reflect gender associations with competence, likely rooted from the traditions of men as being resource providers and women being homemakers (Eagly & Wood, 1999). We further demonstrate that its effects are culturally conditioned and the cultural effect is multifaceted. First, because of differences in individualism versus collectivism, different cultures will emphasize economic or relational outcomes when evaluating negotiation goals and behaviors (Brett & Gelfand, 2006), and our results suggest that this creates differences in the goals and behaviors people categorize as masculine or feminine. Second, because of differences in holistic versus analytical thinking, some cultures will pay more attention to contextual factors in establishing gender-related categories. We found evidence of this in further distinguishing between socially appropriate and socially inappropriate competitive behaviors when categorizing behaviors as masculine. Our results therefore suggest that in order to understand how people use gender stereotyping in negotiation, it is important to look at the interaction between cultural and situational context.

Secondly, our results have implications for the study of research on gender inequality more broadly. As discussed earlier, in Western cultural contexts, passiveness of female negotiators has been found to influence downstream outcomes for women (Bowles & McGinn, 2008). But our results suggest that in Chinese culture, more competitiveness for female negotiators in negotiation is not a ticket to greater gender equality. Instead, in Chinese culture, the gender gap is more likely attributed to issues relating to relational outcomes and the expectation that women are not expected to focus as much on relations. As a result, competitive behavior among women is not only tolerated but expected in some contexts (such as in consumer contexts), but not in regard to behavior that helps women gain relational outcomes. Therefore, while previous research in the *United States* has found that women who act like men will suffer backlash for acting aggressively (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013), our results suggest that the backlash effect may occur differently in China or other collectivistic societies that pay close attention to situational contexts. As our results found, only certain types of competitive behaviors are considered masculine and these were all behaviors considered socially appropriate overall within the negotiation context. Therefore, just as in the *United States*, the double-edge sword of being too masculine or too feminine applies to China, but in this case, we identified a particular set of competitive behaviors that are relational in orientation. Therefore, power and status still play a role in undermining women's ability to use negotiation behaviors to get ahead, albeit with different sets of behaviors involved. Future studies can explore the dynamics between the categorization of these specific behaviors, relational outcomes, and long-term economic gains in negotiations within collectivistic cultural contexts.

Thirdly, our work also sheds light on the domain of culture and negotiations by demonstrating how lay categories of masculine and feminine negotiation goals and behaviors serve as a mechanism that links culture, context, and relational outcomes within specific negotiation contexts. By demonstrating how lay categories of masculine and feminine negotiation goals and behaviors vary by culture and context, we provide a more comprehensive understanding of how culture influences the negotiation process. Instead of a single effect (e.g., collectivism associated with passiveness, Trubisky, Ting-Toomey, & Lin, 1991), our results suggest that culture shifts the emphasis of gender-related categories in contextually contingent ways. We demonstrate that negotiations, which are a quintessential component of business activity, are shaped by culture, and at the same time the manifestation of cultural influence in gender stereotypes is specific to situational contexts. This issue is particularly salient given cultural differences in attention to situational context. Culture and negotiation research, accordingly, would benefit from moving beyond just the old question of “are there cultural differences” or the more recently asked question “how do



cultural differences vary across different contexts” to a more nuanced perspective which asks the question “how does culture influence specific categories within specific situations that set negotiators’ roles.” Future research can consider how lay categories instruct our understanding of how culture interacts with other contextual factors to create different roles, such as hierarchical roles within an organization or professional identities as part of B2B negotiations.

Lastly, the theoretical contribution of the article can go beyond the domain of negotiation by shedding light on how different cultural factors interact to influence behavior. For example, due to greater holistic versus analytical thinking compared to Americans (Masuda & Nisbett, 2001), Asians are more inclined to explain the outcome of another person’s behavior in terms of situational factors (Choi et al., 1999; Morris & Peng, 1994). Consistently, our findings indicate that when categorizing specific goals and behaviors as masculine or feminine, Chinese participants also relied more on contextual information than American participants. This, in turn, made differences associated with cultural values more salient.

The results of our study demonstrate that holistic thinking and collectivism interact to form context-specific emphases on relationships and the implications of this finding can go beyond gender and negotiation. More importantly, through our examination of specific goals and behaviors in specific situational contexts using a mixed method design, we were able to uncover areas where the two cultural factors combine. Future research can use our approach to examine beyond the negotiation context. For example, research on culture and leadership (Torelli, Leslie, Stoner, & Puente, 2014) has shown that the association between competence and status is stronger for people from individualistic cultures (as compared to from collectivistic cultures) and the association between warmth and status is stronger for people in collectivistic cultures (as compared to in individualistic cultures). Thus, integrating our theory, empirical approach and findings, different cultures, and contexts may also generate different categories of leadership behaviors that reflect relationship building but only in particular situational contexts.

### Implications for Practice

Our results also have implications for negotiation practice. In particular, we suggest that for both male and female negotiators and for those negotiating with them, an oversimplified view of being masculine and feminine without considering culture and context may lead to inappropriate stereotyping. This issue is particularly salient in intercultural negotiations because Westerners may be prone to mis-stereotyping men and women from China by overgeneralizing the established categories of masculine and feminine negotiating, if they do not follow the more nuanced relationship between culture, gender, and context. Our results also support previous research that states that in China short-term gains from negotiation may be overlooked in response to the demand for relational outcome building (Wong et al., 2007). Our results suggest that the interaction between culture, gender, and context should be considered as one important factor in determining whether a negotiation partner is more or less likely to engage in competitive negotiating.

Our results also have implications for broader policies on gender inequality. Our results suggest that improving short-term negotiation outcomes for women in Chinese culture is not sufficient in helping to reduce gender inequality. More attention should instead be made to either increasing women’s relational outcomes, decreasing negative stereotypes of Chinese woman who seeks relational outcomes (Yang, 1994), or the reduction of relational outcome’s role in society (Zhang, 2006).

### Limitations

As in all studies, there were limitations to our studies that could be addressed in future research. Firstly, while relational outcomes were a critical feature of our theoretical explanation for our results about the relationship between gender, culture, and context, we did not specifically capture relational outcomes empirically. Future research can examine the specific ways in which relational outcomes shape gender

roles in negotiations such as through motivation (Curhan & Overbeck, 2008) or the construction of mental models (Van Boven & Thompson, 2003). In addition, future research can address the processes that influence how male and female negotiators in different cultures weigh relational concerns in different contexts where the outcomes have different implications for the negotiator's relational outcome. Is it a linear effect or are there tipping points that trigger different categories of masculine and feminine negotiating?

Secondly, we were not able to assess how these different categories influence negotiation outcomes beyond impressions of negotiation goals and behaviors. Future research will benefit by examining different negotiation outcomes. For example, previous research has found backlash effects on women who negotiate in masculine ways (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013). Future research can examine the backlash effect in collectivistic cultural contexts. In addition, dyadic or organization contexts may interact with these greater societal influences. For example, egalitarian negotiation contexts in the *United States* with lower power and status differences have been found to reduce economic and increase relational outcomes only for men (Curhan, Neale, Ross, & Rosencranz-Engelmann, 2008). The effects of these contexts may be different in collectivistic cultural settings, as relational behaviors are symbols of patriarchy.

Thirdly, given the interactive role of culture, gender, and context in negotiation, future research can also address the role of gender stereotypes in an intercultural context. For example, future research can address whether Chinese women are able to translate stereotypes of competitiveness in negotiating in B2C context into B2B contexts, or whether Chinese women are able to exploit Western female stereotypes in negotiating with Westerners.

Finally, there were some limitations due to our qualitative analysis and survey methodology. Future research can examine the causal effects of lay categories of masculine and feminine negotiating through the development of scales or by manipulating gender stereotypes in experiments. Future research can also look at larger samples that can capture individualism–collectivism, holistic thinking, or other cultural variables more systematically. And as we only included two negotiation contexts, future research can benefit from manipulating other negotiation contexts that have been demonstrated to influence gender effect in negotiation, such as the self- versus other-advocacy negotiations (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010).

## Conclusion

Despite these limitations, our research made an important contribution to research on negotiations by demonstrating that gender, culture, and situational context should not be treated as separate factors influencing negotiating behaviors and social outcomes through a comprehensive examination of what people think indicates being masculine and feminine. Our study results suggest that when we talk about masculine and feminine negotiators, we must also ask the question of “who?” and “when?”

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