

What's Good for the Goose May Not Be as Good for the Gander: The Benefits of Self-Monitoring for Men and Women in Task Groups and Dyadic Conflicts

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The authors posit that women can rely on self-monitoring to overcome negative gender stereotypes in certain performance contexts. In a study of mixed-sex task groups, the authors found that female group members who were high self-monitors were considered more influential and more valuable contributors than women who were low self-monitors. Men benefited relatively less from self-monitoring behavior. In an experimental study of dyadic negotiations, the authors found that women who were high self-monitors performed better than women who were low self-monitors, particularly when they were negotiating over a fixed pool of resources, whereas men did not benefit as much from self-monitoring. Further analyses suggest that high self-monitoring women altered their behavior in these negotiations—when their partner behaved assertively, they increased their level of assertiveness, whereas men and low self-monitoring women did not alter their behavior.

Keywords: self-monitoring, sex, gender, negotiations, groups

The personality construct of self-monitoring accounts for differences in the degree to which people evaluate and control their behavior in social situations (Snyder, 1974, 1987). Self-monitoring can affect many important interpersonal dynamics, including cooperation, communication, and relationship building (for a review, see Gangestad & Snyder, 2000). Research in organizational behavior has found that self-monitoring has a positive effect on important employee outcomes such as promotions, interview success, network position, individual performance, and job satisfaction (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1982; Kilduff & Day, 1994; Kolb, 1998; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 2001; Stevens & Kristof, 1995). Because high self-monitors closely observe social cues and use them as guides in presenting themselves, they may possess an advantage in social and organizational environments in which strong norms are developed, and adherence to them is highly rewarded.

Much of the theory and research on the benefits of self-monitoring has assumed that such behavior can be equally useful to everyone. However, some studies have found evidence that self-monitoring can be more beneficial to one sex than to the other. For example, Garland and Beard (1979) and Ellis (1988) considered whether self-monitoring was more likely to predict leadership emergence for men or for women. They found that which sex the benefits of self-monitoring favored depended on the circumstances (Ellis, 1988). We are drawn back to this matter of whether self-

monitoring offers greater benefit for one sex or for the other because key questions remain unanswered. In particular, is self-monitoring more beneficial for women than for men in improving, or enhancing others' perceptions of, their performance on certain tasks?

Although we agree that self-monitoring behavior may be useful for anyone who must navigate complex social situations, we suggest it may be even more useful for those who have difficulty overcoming others' lowered expectations of their performance. Many performance contexts in organizations are gender stereotyped so that one sex is expected to outperform the other (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Some performance contexts may be feminine stereotyped; that is, men are assigned lower performance expectations because the nature of the task is believed to be better suited to the feminine gender. In these cases, men may benefit relatively more than women from self-monitoring behavior because it enables men to detect and counteract the use of negative gender stereotypes.

Most performance contexts in organizations are masculine stereotyped, however, so that women are assumed to be poorer performers than men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In these cases, self-monitoring behavior may have a more positive effect for women than for men. Women who are high self-monitors can adapt their behavior to counteract others' lowered expectations, thereby enhancing their performance and others' evaluations of it. On these same tasks, men may not benefit as much from self-monitoring because their gender-typed behavior suits the situation and/or others are inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt. In a pair of studies, we consider the benefits of self-monitoring for men and for women in task groups and dyadic conflicts—two performance contexts that favor a masculine stereotype (e.g., Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001). Our findings suggest that self-monitoring may not be equally useful for everyone; instead, the benefits of self-monitoring may depend on the influence of stereotypes and the nature of the task at hand.

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Self-Monitoring and Sex Differences

According to self-monitoring theory, people vary in their tendency to monitor and control their self-expressions in public (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000; Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors, who are concerned about others' perceptions of them, are prone to change their behavior to suit different situations and others' expectations. If they believe others are predisposed to view them negatively, then high self-monitors will be motivated to behave in a way that counteracts this negative view (Snyder & Copeland, 1989). Low self-monitors, however, are less concerned about how others perceive them and less able to diagnose these perceptions. They tend to remain more consistent in their behavior from one situation to the next, no matter how incongruent their self-expressions may be with others' expectations (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000).

Past research has considered sex differences in self-monitoring behavior, but this work has been characterized by mixed findings. On the one hand, research has found that women are more responsive to behavioral expectations than are men. Several studies have demonstrated women's greater emotional expressivity (e.g., Hall, 1984) and their ability to decode others' emotions (Boyatzis, Chazan, & Ting, 1993; Hall, 1984). Even at a young age, girls are better able than boys to match their expressions to suit the situation, as evidenced by research on the disappointing gift paradigm, in which girls masked their disappointment at receiving a meager gift more effectively than did boys (e.g., Cole, 1986; Saarni, 1984). On the other hand, a recent meta-analysis by Day, Schleicher, Unckless, and Hiller (2002) suggests that men are slightly more inclined to withhold their true feelings in interpersonal contexts. Similarly, work by Ickes (2003) casts doubt on the notion of so-called women's intuition, the purportedly acute ability of women to judge what others are thinking and feeling.

In the present research, we are not concerned with whether men and women differ in their overall level of self-monitoring behavior. Rather, we suggest that women may monitor their behavior in different ways from men in some cases because they face different behavioral expectations. For example, a recent study by Levine and Feldman (2002) found a significant interaction between men and women and self-monitoring as it related to eye contact in job interviews. Women who were high self-monitors were more likely to make eye contact than low self-monitoring women, but no significant differences were found for men. We would argue that this difference between the sexes may be rooted in a different set of behavioral expectations. Whereas men are expected to be assertive in interviews, women are not. However, women who are high self-monitors may recognize the potential benefit of demonstrating assertiveness and therefore increase their level of eye contact with the interviewer.

Self-Monitoring and Overcoming Negative Gender Role Stereotypes

According to role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), the stereotype of an effective manager focuses on masculine, or agentic, characteristics (e.g., assertive, controlling, confident), rather than on feminine, or communal, characteristics (e.g., affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic). Because others assume they have a predominantly feminine personality, women are perceived to lack

the predominantly agentic qualities needed to be successful in management roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 575). When women attempt to express agentic behavior, they are viewed less favorably than men who do so. Thus, women are faced with a dilemma—to be viewed favorably, they must demonstrate agentic characteristics that violate their feminine gender role, but such violations often incur a backlash from others (e.g., Rudman, 1998).

Women may be able to resolve this dilemma by becoming more aware of conflicting situational pressures and savvy in the way they attempt to reconcile them. Self-monitoring may help women decide when it is appropriate to violate their feminine stereotype by demonstrating agentic behavior. At the same time, it may help them minimize any potential backlash by being sensitive to social cues that suggest their behavior is perceived as overly assertive. Men, however, may have less of a need for self-monitoring because of their elevated status (Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Powell & Butterfield, 1979; Rosen & Jerdee, 1978). In fact, men may be given the benefit of the doubt in most circumstances, even if they violate others' expectations of appropriate behavior (Fagenson, 1990).

We propose that when low self-monitoring men and women display their "true colors," men are more likely to enact masculine, agentic behavior, and women are more likely to enact feminine, communal behavior. Because femininity conflicts with the masculine stereotype of managerial potential, women who are low self-monitors will tend to elicit prejudice from others and subsequently perform worse than men. However, at higher levels of self-monitoring, this difference will erode as women work to counteract negative gender stereotypes and minimize backlash.

How Self-Monitoring May Help Women in Mixed-Sex Task Group Settings

Female members of mixed-sex task groups often are subjected to negative gender stereotypes. Compared with men, women tend to have less influence over group decisions, in part because their behavior is less assertive. Men initiate communication more frequently, participate in discussions more aggressively, and evaluate others' output more openly (Berger, Wagner, & Zelditch, 1985). In contrast, women are less willing to speak in public and professional settings, particularly when others are likely to evaluate their statements (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1992). When women do speak, they tend to be less argumentative and more willing to agree with others' opinions (Eagly & Carli, 1981; Rancer & Baukus, 1987; Wiley & Eskilson, 1985).

For women, self-monitoring behavior—the ability to detect others' preferences and then shape one's self-expression accordingly—may be useful in overcoming the negative gender stereotypes ascribed to them. High self-monitors tend to be more successful in organizations, particularly in interdependent task settings, because they are more responsive to informational and social stimuli (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1982). Rather than rely on their own preferences, high self-monitors attend to social cues to "tailor and fashion an image" that others find appealing (Snyder & Copeland, 1989, p. 16). Women who are high self-monitors may be more willing and able to overcome their reticence in mixed-sex task groups, thereby enhancing others' impressions of them.

Self-monitoring may have a more positive effect on a woman's ability than a man's to acquire influence as a member of a mixed-

sex task group. Faced with conflicting role expectations that leave them uncertain about how to behave, relatively high self-monitors may be better able to decide when it is time to sit back and when it is time to speak up. For men, the need to monitor their communication style is less pronounced because they enjoy idiosyncrasy credit—others are already inclined to form more favorable impressions of male group members and to value their opinions (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). In short, self-monitoring will likely increase a woman's level of influence in a mixed-sex task group relatively more than a man's because in many organizational contexts, women face more challenges than men in acquiring influence.

Hypothesis 1: Self-monitoring will have a more positive effect on a female's level of influence in a mixed-sex task group than on a male's level of influence.

Self-monitoring behavior may also assist women in ensuring that their contributions to the group are recognized (Flynn, Chatman, & Spataro, 2001). Men tend to discount women's contributions because they take their assistance for granted—women are supposed to be more communal and supportive (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Heilman & Chen, 2005). Women may also be partly responsible for the lack of credit they receive. Unlike men, women tend to be modest about their successes because self-promoting behavior is a violation of the feminine gender role (Daubman, Heatherington, & Ahn, 1992; Heatherington et al., 1993; Kendall & Tannen, 1997; Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon, 1984; Singh, Kumra, & Vinnicombe, 2002). If women are loath to take credit for their work in group settings, then others may be inclined to dismiss their contributions as immaterial and insignificant (Flynn, 2003).

Women who are high self-monitors will likely avoid these traps. High self-monitors are more likely to use self-promotion, embellishments, and entitlements (i.e., taking responsibility for positive events), which often lead others to form more favorable impressions of them (Gilmore & Ferris, 1989; Kacmar, Delery, & Ferris, 1992). They may refrain from downplaying their accomplishments in task groups because they are more conscious of how this negatively affects others' perceptions of their contributions. Instead, they may clarify for others the work they have performed for the team (in a way, e.g., not construed as selfish and aggrandizing) so they receive due credit for their actions. Men have less of a need for self-monitoring behavior because they are assumed to be more valuable contributors. Women who acquire social influence in the group may be particularly effective at enhancing others' evaluations of their contributions. Those who have more influence in small groups tend to be given more credit for their ideas (Berger et al., 1985). Thus, social influence may mediate the relationship between sex and perceived contribution.

Hypothesis 2: Self-monitoring will have a more positive effect on perceptions of female group members' contributions than on male group members' contributions.

Hypothesis 3: Social influence will mediate the relationship between sex and perceived contribution to group outcomes.

Study 1

Method

Sample

Ninety-six people enrolled in a 2-year full-time master's of business administration (MBA) program at an American university participated in this study. Twenty-eight participants (29%) were women.

Procedure

As part of their curriculum during the first year, participants were required to complete a semester-long group project, which, with an associated presentation and ratings by other team members of their contribution to the assignment, accounted for approximately one third of their final grade in two courses (microeconomics and corporate finance). In the first week of classes, students were randomly assigned to four- or five-member teams. The demographic compositions of the teams were adjusted by representatives of the school administration to ensure that each team included at least one woman. In the end, 75% of the teams had 1 female member, and 25% had 2 female members.

Teams were asked to "value" a corporation of their choosing. Their valuation required "rigorous analysis of the firm's revenues and costs and projections of the firm's future growth and profitability." In addition, each team was required to complete an analysis of the firm's industry, its competitive strategy, and its corporate structure. At the end of the semester, the team submitted a single report of its analysis and recommendations. Each team member received the same grade on the assignment in both courses.

After the participants had submitted their final assignment, survey data were collected using multiple questionnaires distributed at different times. In one questionnaire, each participant was asked to provide ratings of herself on self-monitoring. In a separate online questionnaire, each participant was asked to rate each team member on a variety of dimensions, including social influence. In a third questionnaire, each participant was asked to evaluate their fellow team members on their perceived contribution to the group product (e.g., Chatman & Flynn, 2001). Participants were informed that these individual responses would remain confidential. All ratings were independently completed. The measures included in the questionnaire are described in more detail below.

Self-monitoring. We measured self-monitoring using a 13-item scale validated by Lennox and Wolfe (1984). The scale includes a subscale for Self-Presentation (e.g., "In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behavior if I feel that something else is called for") and a subscale for Sensitivity to Others (e.g., "I am often able to read people's true emotions correctly through their eyes"). Items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*certainly always false*) to 6 (*certainly always true*) ($M_{\text{females}} = 4.35$, $SD = 0.50$; $M_{\text{males}} = 4.19$, $SD = 0.52$).

Social Influence. Participants independently reported their perceptions of each member's influence within the team. Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly each of four statements characterized a focal team member's behavior during the course of the semester. The items were (a) "S/he is able to direct and steer meetings in his or her favor," (b) "S/he is able to persuade other people and change their opinions," (c) "S/he is able to build effective working relationships with others s/he doesn't get along with," and (d) "People seek his or her help in resolving conflicts." Respondents indicated the extent to which each of these statements characterized each member of their team using 7-point scales, ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*). The overall reliability (alpha) coefficient for the four-item scale was .82. Responses to the four items were averaged, yielding an overall measure of each respondent's perception of a focal individual's social influence. The average of these individual responses was then used to represent others' perceptions of each team member's social influence ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 0.57$).

Contribution to the group product. As part of the grade for the assignment, group members provided ratings of the focal individual’s contribution to the group’s final product. Each individual was asked to “assign a score, on a scale of 0 to 10, of how many points you would award each team member for his or her work.” We averaged teammates’ ratings of the focal individual (excluding self-ratings) to yield a single composite measure of each person’s overall contribution ($M = 8.59, SD = 1.44$).

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations are reported in Table 1.

We suggested that women will be viewed as less influential than men in small groups because they occupy a position of lower status in society and are subject to negative gender stereotypes. The pattern of ratings confirmed our expectations. Specifically, women were rated by their peers as having less influence than men over group decisions and outcomes (4.46 vs. 4.77), $t(95) = 3.07, p < .01$.

In Hypothesis 1, we predicted that women who were high self-monitors would be more influential than women who were low self-monitors in small groups, whereas men would enjoy the same level of influence regardless of their self-monitoring behavior. To test this idea, we conducted a hierarchical regression, in which we entered the sex variable (female = 0, male = 1) on the first step, the measure of self-monitoring on the second step, and the interaction between both variables on the third step. As expected, the impact of sex on social influence was positive and significant ($\beta = .24, p < .01$), so that men were rated as having more influence in the group than were women. The self-monitoring variable had no significant impact ($\beta = .05, ns$), but the impact of the interaction term was negative and significant ($\beta = -1.48, p < .05$), which suggests the impact of self-monitoring may have been more meaningful for women than for men.

We graphed the interaction at two levels of self-monitoring for men and women—one standard deviation below the mean and one standard deviation above the mean (Aiken & West, 1996). The graph of this interaction, which can be seen in Figure 1, shows the predicted outcomes for men and for women who are high self-monitors and low self-monitors. The graph suggests that women who were higher self-monitors were rated as being more influential than women who were low self-monitors (4.67 vs. 4.25), whereas men’s levels of influence were relatively equivalent, regardless of whether they were relatively high or low self-monitors (4.76 vs. 4.78). Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported. Looking at men and women separately, the main effect of self-monitoring

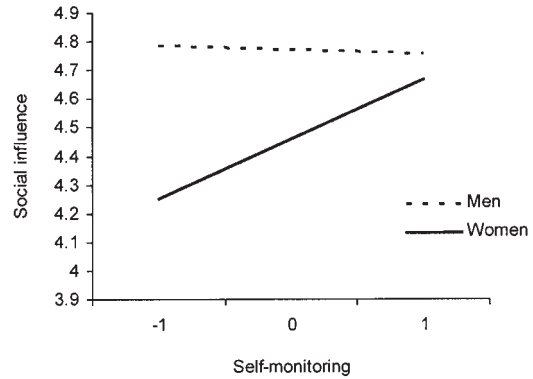


Figure 1. The impact of self-monitoring on social influence for men and women.

on influence was significant for women ($\beta = .42, p < .01$) but not for men ($\beta = -.07, ns$).

Second, we examined the effect of sex and self-monitoring behavior on perceived contribution to the group. As predicted in Hypothesis 2, women were considered to be less valuable contributors than their male colleagues (7.91 vs. 8.87), $t(95) = 3.08, p < .01$. We conducted a hierarchical regression (following the same steps described above) to determine whether the impact of self-monitoring on perceived contribution was significantly greater for men than for women. As expected, the impact of sex on perceived contribution to the group was positive and significant ($\beta = .30, p < .01$), so that men were rated as having contributed more than women. Although the main effect of self-monitoring was not significant ($\beta = -.02, ns$), the impact of the interaction term was negative and significant ($\beta = -1.41, p < .05$).

To clarify the nature of this interaction effect, we graphed the interaction at two levels of self-monitoring for men and women—one standard deviation below the mean and one standard deviation above the mean (Aiken & West, 1996). The graph, shown in Figure 2, suggests that women who were higher self-monitors were rated as having contributed more to the group than women who were low self-monitors (8.35 vs. 7.47), whereas men’s perceived contribution was slightly lower for high self-monitors compared with low self-monitors (8.78 vs. 8.96). Thus, Hypothesis 2 is

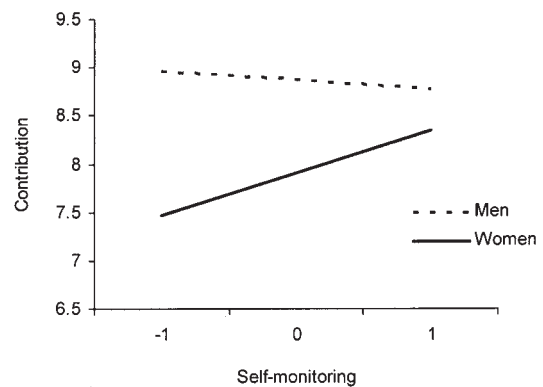


Figure 2. The impact of self-monitoring on perceived contribution for men and women.

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study 1 Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Sex			—		
Female	29%				
Male	71%				
2. Self-monitoring	4.24	0.52	-.17*	—	
3. Social influence	4.69	0.57	.31**	.22*	—
4. Perceived contribution	8.59	1.44	.30*	-.04	.37**

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

supported. Once again, looking at men and women separately, the main effect of self-monitoring on perceived contribution was significant for women, albeit only directionally ($\beta = .31, p < .10$), but the effect was not significant for men ($\beta = -.11, ns$).

Finally, our theoretical framework suggests that the increase in women's perceived contribution in work groups is largely because of their ability to influence others. A mediation analysis (Baron & Kenny, 1986) was conducted to test whether the impact that sex had on perceptions of individual contributions to the work group was mediated by social influence (see Figure 3). An initial regression model showed that sex predicted perceived contribution to the group such that men were judged to be more valuable members than were women ($\beta = .30, t(95) = 3.00, p < .01$). A separate model confirmed that the impact of sex on social influence (i.e., men were more influential than women) was significant and in the expected direction ($\beta = .24, t(95) = 3.07, p < .01$). In turn, social influence predicted a focal group member's perceived contribution to the group ($\beta = .36, t(95) = 3.75, p < .01$). In a combined model, the predictive power of the social influence measure fell somewhat ($\beta = .31, t(95) = 3.00, p < .01$), whereas the predictive power of sex dropped more substantially ($\beta = .21, t(95) = 2.05, p < .05$). To assess the magnitude of the decrease in explanatory power, we calculated the Sobel statistic. In this case, the Sobel value is 2.15 ($p < .05$), which suggests social influence acted as a mediator. However, we would not characterize these results as full mediation because the independent variable remained significant after the mediating variable was included in the same equation. Thus, Hypothesis 3 is partially supported.

We argued that women who are high self-monitors may be perceived as more valuable contributors in work groups because they are more sensitive to others' diminished expectations of their performance, and they can surpass such expectations by presenting themselves in a more favorable light. The subscales of the Lennox and Wolfe (1984) self-monitoring measure, which capture "sensitivity to others" and "self-presentation" may enable us to determine whether one or the other is relatively more important in explaining the success of high self-monitoring women. We reran the regressions described above using each of the subscales in place of the overall measure of self-monitoring. The results suggest that the Self-Presentation subscale explained more variance than the Sensitivity to Others subscale in predicting women's influence ($\beta = -.95, p < .05$ vs. $\beta = -1.03, ns$) and perceived contribution ($\beta = -1.13, p < .05$ vs. $\beta = -.71, ns$), although the effects for both subscales are in the hypothesized direction.

Finally, our groups varied slightly in their sex composition—groups had either four or five members, of which 1 or 2 were women. To be certain that this slight variation was not affecting the results, we reran our analyses, including dummies for three of the four possible group compositions (token woman in a group of five was the base group), but these dummy variables had no material effect on the results.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 identified an interaction effect between self-monitoring and sex on interpersonal influence and on perceived contribution in task groups. Women who were high self-monitors wielded more influence and were viewed as more valuable contributors than women who were low self-monitors and men. In our second study, we aimed to replicate this effect, but in a different performance context—a dyadic negotiation exercise. Research has found that men tend to be more successful negotiators than women (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters, Stuhlmacher, & Meyer, 1998), in part, because of the influence of gender stereotypes (Kray et al., 2001). Effective negotiators are believed to be assertive, decisive, and constructive—traits consistent with the masculine gender (Raiffa, 1982). In contrast, ineffective negotiators are believed to be emotional, bashful, and conciliatory—characteristics that are commonly associated with the feminine gender (Lax & Sebenius, 1986). Women and men tend to enact these gender stereotypes in negotiations—whereas women are more cooperative and collaborative, men are more assertive and demanding (see Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999).

Women who are high self-monitors may be able to improve their performance in dyadic negotiations because they recognize the value of altering their behavior, particularly in response to changes in others' behavior. Self-monitoring in interpersonal interactions is highly correlated with empathic accuracy—high self-monitors read their partners more accurately than low self-monitors (Ickes, Stinson, Bissonette, & Garcia, 1990). High self-monitors are not only more aware of others' thoughts and feelings but also more responsive to them as well. That is, they are more likely to align their thoughts, feelings, and behavior with those of their partners (Kilduff, 1992; Miell & LeVoi, 1985). This would indicate that high self-monitors are more likely to mirror the behavior of their negotiating partner. As their partners begin to behave more aggressively, high self-monitors will respond with more aggressive behavior of their own, whereas low self-monitors will not alter their behavior.

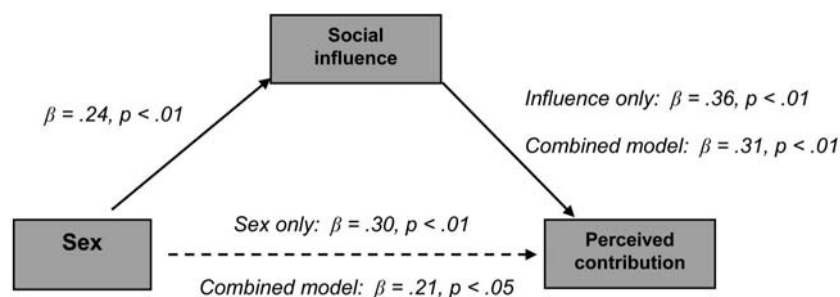


Figure 3. How social influence mediates the relationship between sex and perceived contribution.

This change in behavior may be stronger for women than for men. Men negotiate by using tougher bargaining tactics, such as threats, positional commitments, put-downs, interruptions, extreme offers, and ultimatums, whereas women are more likely to accommodate the positions of their negotiating partners, even at their own expense (e.g., Kimmel, Pruitt, Magenau, Konar-Goldband, & Carnevale, 1980; Neu, Graham, & Gilly, 1988; Womak, 1987). To be effective, women may need to adapt their negotiating style to include masculine (agentic) behavior as well as feminine (communal) behavior. For women, the advantage of behaving in a masculine, or agentic, manner may be relatively stronger when the bargaining issue is distributive (i.e., dividing a fixed pool of resources) rather than integrative (i.e., logrolling for mutual gain) or complementary (i.e., having identical interests) because tougher, more competitive bargaining tactics are more effective in negotiating distributive issues (Kray et al., 2001). Thus, women who are high self-monitors may perform better in negotiations than women who are low self-monitors, particularly when negotiating a distributive issue because they recognize the importance of and are able to enact assertive behavior in the negotiation.

Hypothesis 4: Self-monitoring will have a more positive effect on women's performance in a dyadic negotiation than on men's.

Hypothesis 5: The interaction between self-monitoring and sex will be stronger in predicting performance on distributive bargaining issues than in predicting performance on integrative or complementary bargaining issues.

Study 2

Method

Sample

Fifty-two MBA students participated in this study. Twenty-six participants (50%) were women.

Procedure

Female participants were asked to complete a dyadic negotiation exercise with a randomly assigned male classmate as part of a graduate course on management. The exercise involved the acquisition of a food exporter. Participants were randomly assigned to the role of buyer or seller. Prior to the negotiation, each individual was given a cover sheet with general instructions along with specific role information. They prepared on their own and arranged a meeting time and a place to complete the exercise. During the negotiation, participants were prohibited from physically exchanging role information.

The task allowed for a quantitative assessment of negotiation performance as determined by the dyad's agreement on four issues. One issue, which was distributive, focused on the years of a noncompete contract (0–10 years). Each year represented an equal amount of gain/loss for the buyer and for the seller. A second issue, which was complementary, involved some remaining contingent liability, which both parties wanted the seller to retain in entirety (every 10 percentage points of liability represented an equal amount of gain or loss for both parties). Finally, two remaining issues, which were integrative, dealt with the sale price of the company and with the number of the seller's family members who would remain employed. The sale price was relatively more important to the

buyer, and the number of family members retained was relatively more important to the seller. The highest joint outcome on these last two issues emerged when the buyer conceded entirely on the family members issue and the seller conceded entirely on the price issue.

The negotiation instructions clearly indicated that the participants' objective, whether they were the buyer or the seller, was to maximize their payoff. Participants were free to discuss the issues simultaneously or in any order of their choosing. The negotiation concluded when both parties came to a mutual agreement on terms. After reaching an agreement, the buyer and seller recorded the final terms and submitted them through a computer-based survey to the instructor. No parties failed to reach an agreement.

Self-monitoring. Once again, we measured self-monitoring using a 13-item scale developed by Lennox and Wolfe (1984). For each item, the participant rated himself on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*certainly always false*) to 6 (*certainly always true*) ($M_{\text{females}} = 4.22$, $SD = 0.40$; $M_{\text{males}} = 4.34$, $SD = 0.58$).

Negotiation success. Each student was given a payoff table they could use to evaluate their success in the negotiation. The maximum amount each party could receive was equivalent (5,500 points). The value assigned to each issue was broken down into 10 equal increments. For the noncontingent liability (complementary) issue, an incremental increase of 10% liability corresponded to an increase of 50 points. For the noncompete contract (distributive) issue, each additional year of the contract corresponded to a gain of 150 points for the buyer and a loss of 150 points for the seller. For the issues dealing with the sale price of the firm and the number of family members retained (integrative), the gains and losses incurred by the buyer and seller were not proportional. The seller gained 250 points for each additional family member retained and 100 points for each increase of \$1 million in the sale price. For the buyer, each additional family member let go represented a gain of 100 points, and each \$1 million decrease in the sale price represented a gain of 250 points. There was no significant difference in performance outcomes between the buyer and the seller (3,515 vs. 3,510), $t(50) = -.04$, *ns*.

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations are reported in Table 2.

According to Hypothesis 4, self-monitoring behavior should benefit women relatively more than men in dyadic negotiations. To test this idea, we ran a hierarchical regression in which we entered sex and the measure of self-monitoring on the first step and the interaction term on the second step. The impact of sex (female = 0, male = 1) on negotiation success was not significant ($\beta = .01$, *ns*), nor was the impact of self-monitoring on negotiation success ($\beta = -.03$, *ns*). The impact of the interaction term was negative and significant ($\beta = -2.69$, $p < .05$), however, which suggests that self-monitoring had a relatively stronger impact on outcomes for women than for men. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is supported.

The graph of this interaction, which can be seen in Figure 4, shows the predicted performance outcomes for men and for women who are high and low self-monitors. Women benefited relatively more from self-monitoring than did men. For men, self-monitoring had a negative effect on their performance in the negotiation (low self-monitoring = 3,655; high self-monitoring = 3,371). For women, however, self-monitoring had a positive impact on overall performance (low self-monitoring = 3,345; high self-monitoring = 3,678). Looking at men and women separately, the main effect of self-monitoring on overall performance was not significant for either sex ($\beta_{\text{women}} = .32$, *ns*; $\beta_{\text{men}} = -.24$, *ns*).

In Hypothesis 5, we predicted that self-monitoring would be particularly helpful to women on distributive bargaining issues, in which a unit of gain for one party entails a unit of loss for the other.

Table 2
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study 2 Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Sex					
Female	50%				
Male	50%				
2. Self-monitoring	4.28	0.49	.12		
3. Total score	3512.5	550.9	.00	-.03	
4. Score on distributive issue	752.9	334.1	.13	.11	.51**

** $p < .01$.

Once again, we ran a hierarchical regression in which we entered sex and the measure of self-monitoring on the first step and the interaction term on the second step. The impact of sex (female = 0, male = 1) on performance on the distributive issue was not significant ($\beta = .12, ns$), nor was self-monitoring ($\beta = .10, ns$). The interaction term, however, was negative and significant ($\beta = -3.09, p < .05$). Again, to clarify the form of the interaction, we graphed the interaction, shown in Figure 5. The graph indicates that women who were higher self-monitors performed better on the distributive bargaining issue than women who were low self-monitors (861 vs. 559), whereas men who were high self-monitors did somewhat worse than low self-monitoring men (high self-monitoring = 846 vs. low self-monitoring = 746). Looking at these differences more closely, the main effect of self-monitoring on women’s distributive outcomes is positive and significant ($\beta = .45, p < .05$), whereas the main effect of self-monitoring on men’s outcomes is not significant ($\beta = -.14, ns$). We also examined the performance outcomes between high self-monitoring men and women, using a median split on self-monitoring for each sex. Women who were high self-monitors actually outperformed men who were high self-monitors, but the difference was not significant, $t(24) = 0.48, ns$.

As for the effect of self-monitoring on negotiating integrative and complementary issues, the results of a pair of hierarchical regressions showed no effect for sex ($\beta_{integrative} = -.14, ns$; $\beta_{complementary} = .13, ns$), self-monitoring ($\beta_{integrative} = -.13, ns$; $\beta_{complementary} = .03, ns$), or the interaction term ($\beta_{integrative} =$

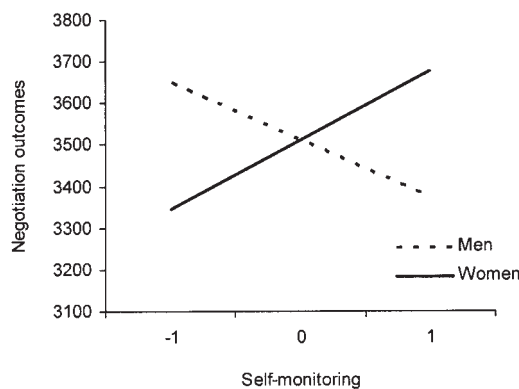


Figure 4. The impact of self-monitoring on negotiation outcomes for men and women.

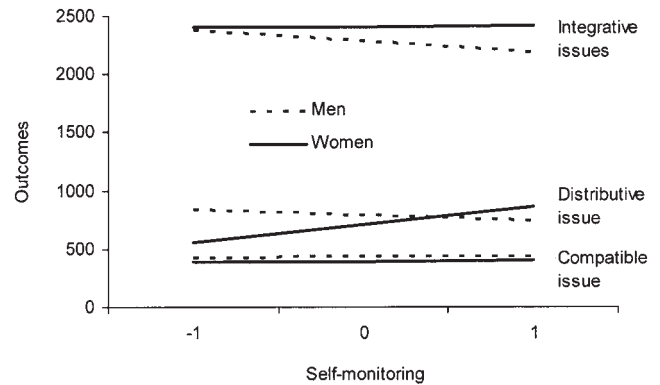


Figure 5. The impact of self-monitoring on distributive negotiation outcomes for men and women.

$-.99, ns$; $\beta_{complementary} = -.31, ns$). To test whether the interaction effect of sex and self-monitoring was significantly stronger on the distributive issue than on the integrative issues or on the complementary issue, we compared the relative magnitude of the coefficients from each regression following the steps outlined by Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003, p. 642). The test confirmed that the moderating effect of sex on self-monitoring was relatively stronger for the distributive issue, when compared with the integrative, $t(49) = 5.37, p < .001$, and complementary, $t(49) = 5.54, p < .001$, issues (see Figure 5). Thus, Hypothesis 5 is supported.

The consistent results between our analyses of the overall composite score and the specific score on the distributive issue are worth noting. One might argue that the distributive benefit obtained by female negotiators who are high self-monitors elicits a trade-off—their aggressive behavior in the negotiation increases their performance on the distributive issue but decreases their performance in negotiating other issues (integrative or complementary). This would indicate that their overall performance in the negotiation may not be improved by self-monitoring; rather, the effect of self-monitoring is simply “a wash.” Our analyses of the overall composite score cast doubt on this possibility, suggesting instead that female negotiators who are high self-monitors can improve their performance in negotiating distributive issues without sacrificing their performance in negotiating other issues.

We collected additional data to shed light on what high and low self-monitoring women are doing differently in these dyadic negotiations. We suggested earlier that self-monitoring may lead women to be more responsive—when their partner behaves more assertively, high self-monitoring women will become more assertive. To test this idea, we asked participants about their assertive behavior and their partners’ assertive behavior during the negotiation. Participants used a 6-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*a great deal*), to indicate the extent to which “I was assertive” and “My partner was assertive.” Women who were relatively low self-monitors (using a median split of 4.38) showed little tendency to match their behavior to their partner’s ($r = -.06$), but for women who were high self-monitors, their level of assertiveness almost perfectly correlated with their partner’s ($r = .93$). We analyzed this effect in a pair of regression equations (one for high self-monitoring women and one for low self-monitoring women), in which self-monitoring and perceived partner assertiveness were

entered on the first step, an interaction term was entered on the second step, and the dependent variable was the focal participant's level of assertiveness. As expected, the interaction effect was positive and significant for high self-monitoring women ($\beta = 5.23, p < .001$), but not for low self-monitoring women ($\beta = -1.06, ns$), which suggests that women who were high self-monitors were more responsive to their partners' assertive behavior compared with women who were low self-monitors. There was no main effect of self-monitoring on assertiveness for women ($\beta = -.24, ns$), which casts doubt on the notion that women who are high self-monitors are somewhat tougher; rather, they are more contingent in their behavior.

We also examined whether partner assertiveness translated into distributive gains for female negotiators who were high self-monitors. For women who were low self-monitors, performance on the distributive issue suffered when they were paired with more assertive partners ($r = -.51, p < .05$), whereas for high self-monitors, the correlation was negligible ($r = .03, ns$). Thus, women who were high self-monitors seemed able to adapt to being paired with a more assertive partner (by behaving assertively themselves), whereas low self-monitors seemed unable to do the same. Finally, we ran a set of regression equations (one for men and one for women) in which self-monitoring and perceived partner assertiveness were entered on the first step, an interaction term was entered on the second step, and the dependent variable was performance on the distributive issue. For women, the interaction term was positive and significant ($\beta = 3.87, p < .05$), which indicates that women who were higher self-monitors responded better than low self-monitors to their partner's assertive behavior (perhaps by matching it). In contrast, for men, the interaction term ($\beta = .99, ns$) was not significant, indicating that the effect of self-monitoring may be relatively stronger for women than for men.

General Discussion

We found support for the idea that self-monitoring can help women's performance relatively more than men's in certain task environments. First, in group settings, women who were higher self-monitors wielded more influence over fellow group members than women who were low self-monitors. In addition to increasing their level of influence, self-monitoring behavior helped women be seen as more valuable contributors in work groups. The added benefit of self-monitoring for men, however, was not as strong. Regardless of their level of self-monitoring behavior, fellow group members saw them as equally influential and valuable contributors. Second, at the dyadic level, women who were higher self-monitors claimed more resources in negotiations. Their improved success was particularly pronounced when they were negotiating over distributive issues, which typically favor assertive behavior (counterstereotypical behavior for women). Men, however, did not benefit as much from self-monitoring behavior in dyadic negotiations.

We believe these results point to new directions for theory and research on self-monitoring behavior. In the past, researchers have focused on identifying the main effects of self-monitoring on individual outcomes, but our findings suggest these effects may be stronger for some individuals than for others. We do not predict (nor find evidence) that men and women exhibit different levels of

self-monitoring. Instead, we propose that the impact of self-monitoring may be different for men and women because they experience different gender stereotypes. We hope our findings will encourage self-monitoring researchers to consider an interactionist perspective—self-monitoring may be more impactful when others' impressions of the focal individual are negatively affected by situational forces. Our results might also provoke broader questions about the consequences of self-monitoring for groups that are the targets of stereotyping and prejudice. It is not the case that self-monitoring is somehow less interesting or potent if its effects emerge differently or more strongly for members of discriminated groups. On the contrary, it becomes all the more interesting, with such interactions revealing something about the consequences of both self-monitoring and stereotypes.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Although our results were consistent with our predictions, they raise a number of important questions. First, we proposed that self-monitoring may mitigate the negative impact of gender role stereotypes by allowing women more behavioral flexibility (i.e., they can demonstrate agentic or communal behavior depending on the situation). We attempted to assess whether and how women who were higher on self-monitoring adapted their behavior to suit each specific situation. We found some preliminary evidence that the performance benefit of self-monitoring for women was driven by their ability to successfully exhibit masculine, or assertive, behavior in response to changes in situational pressure (e.g., their partner's level of assertiveness). Future research should develop and incorporate more specific measures of gender-typed behavior in negotiations or work groups that further test the logic underlying our hypotheses and eliminate some alternative explanations for our results.

Second, our measures of social influence and contribution are subjective, which may limit their accuracy. In the future, researchers might address this problem by assessing both variables more directly. Measures of social influence could be obtained by videotaping group meetings and measuring the frequency and duration of each member's participation in interpersonal communication (e.g., Anderson, John, Keltner, & Kring, 2001). More specifically, blind coders could be used to assess how frequently women and men downplay their accomplishments. We expect that women who are high self-monitors do this less frequently than women who are low self-monitors, which may help explain their ability to obtain more credit for their work. In addition, the four negotiation issues used in our experimental study were not presented in a particular order. This raises concerns about potential order effects and should be addressed in future research.

Third, we considered how self-monitoring may help women in certain performance contexts, but we did not consider how self-monitoring may help men. If we examine performance contexts that are feminine-gendered, then we may find that self-monitoring can be more helpful to men. In positions that evoke feminine gender stereotypes, such as nursing or secretarial roles, men may need to monitor their behavior more closely to suit situated expectations. However, even if men occupy a feminine role, the high status they enjoy from being a man rather than a woman may help them overcome any role incongruity, thereby mitigating the need for self-monitoring behavior (e.g., Fiske, 1993). Future research

that focuses on the benefits of self-monitoring in roles that are feminine-gendered is needed to test these competing ideas.

One of the surprising findings from our second study was the relatively poor performance of men who were high self-monitors compared with men who were low self-monitors. There may be several explanations for this finding. The worse outcome for men may be the result of sampling error. Alternatively, it may be that self-monitoring behavior corresponds to mimicry (e.g., Ickes et al., 1990). Men who are high self-monitors may fail to show the assertiveness needed to be effective in a distributive negotiation because they are reflecting the gender-typed behavior of their negotiation partner rather than their true level of assertiveness. This would imply that men who are high self-monitors may not benefit as much from self-monitoring when they are paired up with women as when they are paired up with men. Given that men dominate the executive ranks of organizations, perhaps men benefit from self-monitoring behavior in general but not in mixed-sex dyads, which occur less frequently.

Finally, we considered how self-monitoring may improve the performance of women, but not their reputations. Previous work has found that women's success in typically male jobs can draw negative reactions from their coworkers (Rudman, 1998). Women who are recognized as strong performers, particularly in tasks that are masculine in character, tend to be liked less than equally successful men (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). This presents an interesting question for future research: Can women who are high self-monitors reduce bias in others' attitudes toward them as effectively as they improve others' judgments of their performance? Snyder's (1974) original conceptualization of self-monitoring referred to a predisposition toward impression management. Recent theorizing has moved away from this idea, however, arguing instead that high self-monitors are not as interested in managing others' impressions as originally assumed (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000). It remains to be seen whether the self-monitoring behaviors women can rely on to improve their performance and others' impressions of it can also translate into greater liking and approval.

Conclusion

Personality researchers have lauded the benefits of self-monitoring in social situations. High self-monitors act as "chameleons," effectively changing their public image to suit the situated identity. But, do all "chameleons" benefit equally by changing their colors from one situation to the next, or do certain members of the species benefit more in certain situations? We find that demographic differences (particularly sex) may moderate the impact of self-monitoring in certain performance contexts. The question remains: What are some self-monitors doing differently from others that would explain their different levels of success? We found some evidence that responsiveness to changes in others' behavior may play a role, but more intense scrutiny is needed from future research.

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