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Pay Negotiations Differences in Men and Women
How Gender's Effect on Self-Advocacy Contributes to Sex Discrimination in Corporations

by

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Introduction

While it is a sad reality that the glass ceiling and the wage gap are experiences that women in corporate America struggle with on a daily basis, legislature such as the Equal Pay Act, has done little to mitigate the disparity between men and women, not only in pay, but also in opportunity for mobility. Additionally, while efforts to increase awareness of the wage gap and diversity in pay issues, such as the creation of Equal Pay Day by the National Committee on Pay Equity (NCPE) in 1996, may have helped to create more conversation and awareness, the effects of the wage gap and lack of promotion opportunities have not substantially changed.

Over their lifetimes, women tend to make significantly less money than their male counterparts. Despite smaller initial pay gap differences between males and females in entry-level jobs, women have a significantly lower chance of being promoted internally than men. For every 100 men getting their first promotions, only 72 women were being promoted, with even lower numbers for women of color (Minor). This “broken rung effect” leads to fewer women in the later promotion pipelines as well (Women in the Workplace). The gap between men and women being promoted continues to expand once the number of promotions per individual increases. As the promotion gap continues to widen over time, the percentage of women in the most highly-paid, senior positions continues to decrease. For example, according to the Women in the Workplace study of 2021, women held 27% of the positions at a Senior Vice President level and just 24% in the C-Suite level (Women in the Workplace 2021). With each missed promotion opportunity, a woman’s pay gap increases, which further widens the income disparity and promotion disparity between men and women in the corporate sector.

The pay gap between men and women also becomes more significant over the time of their careers. While there are statistics that show that the wage gap, pre-COVID-19, was around 17%, due to COVID-19, the gender gap among all workers is, as of 2021, 27% (Hegewisch, Mefferd). As the pay gap continues and the promotion gap continues to expand, over a 40-year career, this disparity becomes exponentially worse. The average income lost due to the wage gap and lack of career progression for all women over that time span is \$406,000. That picture is far more bleak for women of color where the average Latina can expect to lose more than \$1.1 million compared to her white male counterparts in United States’ corporations (“The Lifetime Wage Gap by State for Women Overall”). That pay gap also contributes to an overall wealth gap between men and women as well. A single white woman has a net worth of 92 cents on the dollar and a black woman has a net worth of 8 cents on the dollar compared to single white men (Struyven et. al). With mothers in the US being the primary breadwinners in ½ of all households, the expansion of the pay gap contributes to a reduction in investments, higher education, and property gains for those families (Anderson). While many men try to explain away the wage gap on income disparities such as women working fewer hours, concentrating on lower paying jobs, and parental leave, even the adjusted wage gap considering all of these factors, still shows a significant gap in wages between men and women.

Even though women tend to have equal or better education credentials than, and equivalent work experiences as, their male counterparts, women lag behind in pay and promotions in corporations in the United States. Additionally, the wage gap tends to grow in highly-paid careers. While there is a 9% gap in male and female teachers, that gap widens to 23% for

managerial positions (Current Population Survey: Wage and Salary Workers—People 25 Years and Older by Median Usual Weekly Earnings, Education Level, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Sex). This disparity is especially true in highly specialized fields such as information technology. In 1991, women made up over a third of the IT workforce, but in 2018 women made up only 26% of the IT workforce (Annabi). In IT organizations, women are considered inherently less capable and legitimate than their peers (Annabi). The gender gap in technology is also shown in leadership and directorial positions with only 8 percent of Tech Companies having women serving on their board of directors (Fan). Women in gender-typed positions are less likely to receive opportunities for career advancement and are more likely to have their work devalued compared to their male counterparts (Fan).

Although organizations tend to advocate for diversity and expansion of women in the workforce, in practice that does not always result in pay or promotional equality due to implicit bias against women. In a study published in the proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America found that both professional and non-professional evaluators preferred the entrepreneurial pitches made by men rather than women, even when the content of their pitches was the same. The study also found that evaluators judged the physical attractiveness of males as a benefit to the effectiveness of their entrepreneurial pitches, but physical attractiveness did not matter for pitches by women (Brooks, et al). Therefore, even as women are consistently evaluated as less credible than men, they are also not evaluated on the same criteria as men as physical appearance being a bonus to credibility .

One of the barriers of entry to women in corporate America is employers not wanting to have an employee that will potentially take maternity leave. While fatherhood tends to help men in Corporate America seem more responsible and trustworthy, motherhood, and even the potential of motherhood, hinders women from being hired and promoted within organizations. Less than half of the women who work on Wall Street are mothers, compared to the 74% of men who work on Wall Street who have children (Ackman). The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found that women with children have an extra 5% wage disparity between them and their male counterparts compared to women without children (U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission). Pregnancy discrimination is still a major form of sex discrimination that corporations struggle to overcome. 24% of women, who froze their eggs so that they could have children later in life, cited their professional life as the reason that they did not pursue motherhood earlier (Rosenburg). There are many stories of women being let go when they inform their employer that they are pregnant. There are also stories of women not making it past the first round of interviews when they are just as, if not more, qualified than the other candidates because they are showing, and the potential employer can surmise they are pregnant (Suddath). Just having the potential of having to take maternity leave, or even actually needing maternity leave, is not a valid reason for not hiring a candidate, however that is one of the factors that contributes to the wage gap and glass ceiling that are present in The United States.

In 2021, there are only 37 women who are CEOs of Fortune 500 companies. While that number is up from 2016, where there were only 24 Fortune 500 CEOs, and only two women had ever been the CEO of more than one Fortune 500 company, this increase in women in C-Suite roles still is not proportionate to the number of women working in Fortune 500 companies (Reingold). In 2022, women only hold 14.8% of top management positions in the United States. (Dworkin et al.) Even more concerning, is that studies show that once one woman reaches top

management, it is unlikely that another woman will also reach top management, as the percentage of corporations that has more than one woman in top management has never exceeded 8.5%. (Dworkin et al.) Women do not just struggle with pay but attaining promotions is harder for women than it is for men, which contributes to the wage gap that exists in the United States in the 21st Century. The concept of the glass cliff also affects women's ability to climb the corporate ladder.

Even if women can remain on the much longer path to upper management for women than men, women are more likely to be blamed and removed from their positions when something goes wrong than their male counterparts (Reingold). However, research done by the Peterson Institute of International Economics found that firms that have more gender diversity in C-Suite levels have a 6 percentage point increase in net profit (Smedly). Part of the issue with females reaching top management and leadership positions, is that even the companies that do have women in executive roles don't have pipelines to bring more women from management up to upper management and beyond. Instead, many organizations bring women up from non-executive positions in order to achieve diversification (Smedly). This promotion from non-executive to executive, for the sole purpose of diversification, may lead to an increase in learning curve and a potential for mistakes. Therefore, even if a woman can be promoted to upper-level management or even C-Suite positions, she is more likely to lose her position than a man in the same organization.

All of these facts should concern organizational leaders tasked with ensuring corporate social responsibility. Many organizations are seeking to create or improve their diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) efforts however wage and pay differences are often disregarded in favor of other measures. Sex discrimination in organizations did not disappear after the Equal Pay Act and the Family and Medical Leave Act and needs to be addressed internally in organizations and externally in order to diminish the effects of sex discrimination in corporate America.

How Gender Affects Negotiations

I have been fortunate to have had an internship with the same company for more than 3 years. During my tenure within said organization, I have switched teams and roles twice, which gave me first-hand experience with negotiation for wage increases. As I switched teams and took on a role that required more operational and technological expertise, I expected to be compensated accordingly. When I received my initial promotion offer, I was disappointed that the offer did not reflect the expertise and experience that I, and I alone, could bring to the team. The position I was being promoted to required first-hand business knowledge, which I had gained after working in the company's business operations for over 2 years. It also required specialized technology skills that I had gained in classes for my Information Systems Major. After receiving my new wage offer, I was disappointed that the offer did not match what I knew had been offered to less experienced males for similar positions and did not adequately compensate for my skills and experience. After discussing the offer with my mentor, it was suggested that I send my Human Resources Representative and Hiring Manager an email attempting to negotiate for a higher wage. After much deliberation and struggling with not wanting to sound ungrateful or be perceived that I was bragging, I emailed both parties asking for more money to better reflect my qualifications. I carefully laid out my qualifications, the standard wages being offered by other companies for similar positions, and the uniqueness of my experience and tenure within the company. I was, thankfully, granted the new wage I requested but the experience left me feeling uneasy and uncomfortable. After talking with a couple male

friends of mine, I got the impression that men don't sense the same level of discomfort and unease that I did when they attempt to negotiate for salaries and promotions.

While there are multiple external factors that ingrain sex discrimination into organizations, women in organizations tend not to negotiate for themselves the same way that men do. The research, since 2015, shows that women now attempt to ask for pay and promotions at nearly the same rate as their male counterparts. However, the research also shows that they are not receiving the same promotions and raises as the males (Women in the Workplace 2021). While research shows that the proportion of women negotiating has increased, the only study that has found that women negotiate at the same rate as men was studying women negotiating on a broad range of career issues, such as career accommodations and research funding, not just on salaries and promotions, where research still shows women are less willing to negotiate (Bowles, et al. "Reconceptualizing What and How Women Negotiate for Career Advancement."). 14% of women studied negotiated on family-centered topics, while none of the males studied negotiated for themselves on that topic (Bowles, et al. "Reconceptualizing What and How Women Negotiate for Career Advancement."). Women also tend to focus more on "bending" organizational policies, such as obtaining a personal exception, when negotiating for themselves rather than shaping organizational policies to reflect desires and needs (Bowles, et al. "Reconceptualizing What and How Women Negotiate for Career Advancement."). This lack of successful advocacy for themselves further leaves women behind within organizations.

Women, in general, are less comfortable in negotiating for raises and promotions than their male counterparts, which contributes to the wage gap and the disparity between women and men in leadership positions in corporations. A study found that 60% of men said that they feel comfortable negotiating for their salary, but only 42% of women also say that they are comfortable negotiating for their salaries. (Dworkin et al). Women are also less likely than men to reenter in salary negotiations if they have been turned down in the past. (Dworkin et al). Admittedly, there are certainly other, numerous social factors that contribute to the gender pay gap and the glass ceiling in corporate America. However, women not feeling confident and comfortable in negotiating for their worth does make it harder for women to overcome the other obstacles that inhibit gender equality within organizations.

When addressing female tendencies to not negotiate effectively for themselves, while they are in the workforce, an examination of the psychological factors that make them less likely to advocate for themselves in negotiations is imperative. In *Gender Differences in Negotiation: Implications for Salary Negotiations*, Julia Johnson argues that there are three factors that affect why women are less successful in self-advocacy in the workplace than men. The first factor that Johnson argues affects women's lack of success in negotiations is that women tend to undervalue the economic worth of their work and skillset (Johnson). Women tend to believe that they are entitled to less compensation for their work, than a man in the same position would believe. Due to this acceptance of lower compensations, women tend to be less confident in negotiations than men do. The second reason that women are less likely to negotiate for themselves is that women, in general, tend to be less likely to participate in salary negotiations than men, especially when the outcome of these negotiations seems unclear before entering the discussions (Johnson). Women tend to feel less comfortable with self-advocacy if there is uncertainty that doing so will be successful. Although the worst answer that could come out of a salary negotiation is "no," women feel less comfortable with the idea of the outcome of negotiations not going in their favor. Finally,

another reason women advocate for themselves less successfully is that women feel more comfortable negotiating on the behalf of others, rather than advocating for themselves (Johnson). Studies show that women tend to be less aggressive and assertive when advocating for themselves than for someone else. Also, women tend to be less likely to fear loss in credibility and tend to be more likely to speak out socially when it is in advocating for someone other than themselves. These factors that women feel, while in the workforce, are important to understanding why women tend not to advocate for themselves with the same insistence and success rates as do men.

Not only do women tend to be less effective in negotiations than their male counterparts, they also are less likely to continue negotiations than males are, which is a contributing factor in why women make less money than men do in the same roles with the same qualifications (Andersen et al.) As stated, women ask for raises and promotions as often as males yet are far less likely to receive them (Women in the Workplace 2021). Social Role theory also explains how gender plays a major role in influencing the outcome of negotiations. Social Role theory explains that the feminine gender role is inconsistent with the negotiator role, whereas the masculine gender role fits naturally within the negotiator role (Amanatullah and Morris). Therefore, women feel that they are violating their gender roles when they initiate in negotiations. The inconsistency with the negotiator role and the feminine gender role also explains why women have lower expectations, perceive less of their individual instrumentality within an organization, and more negative estimations of their capabilities than men do (Reif et al.).

It is also important to understand the gender roles placed on young girls that lead to women not feeling as comfortable in negotiations as men do. According to the Harvard Law School Program on Negotiations, young girls are expected to be accommodating and relationship-oriented, which affects the way that women approach negotiations (Shonk, “Women and Negotiation: Narrowing the Gender Gap in Negotiation.”). Girls are taught to try to appease others, especially males, which contributes to women’s desire not to create tension or disrupt the current work environment. Research shows that women who do negotiate for themselves tend to receive backlash (Shonk, “Women and Negotiation: Narrowing the Gender Gap in Negotiation.”). This further reinforces to women that they should not upset gender norms by negotiating for themselves. A study found that women do tend to walk into negotiations with the same goals, so the gender gap may not be due to women wanting less money, but women also fear social backlash from negotiating for too much, so they amend their goals to receive less backlash (Amanatullah and Morris). The way that society teaches young girls to act and think affects their ability to successfully advocate for themselves in their careers, in the future.

Ways for Women to Overcome Gendered Differences in Negotiations

Although there are many societal factors that make women feel uncomfortable negotiating for themselves, that is not to say that there are not things that women can do in order to make sure that they feel more comfortable arguing for greater compensation and promotions. Women who do not negotiate their starting salary on average lose \$7,000 their first year of employment, and over their 45-year careers, women who opt not to negotiate, lose between \$650,000 and \$1 million (de Janasz and Cabrera). It is imperative that women take steps in ensuring that they feel comfortable negotiating for their salaries and promotions, in order not to be left behind by their male counterparts.

According to the Harvard Law School Program of Negotiations, one of the best ways for women to be successful while negotiating for salaries or promotions is to not focus on the negotiations being negotiations for themselves. Rather, women need to view themselves as agents of change for their organizations. This, then, helps them believe they are advocating for the organization's needs (Shonk, "Women and Negotiation: Narrowing the Gender Gap in Negotiation."). This idea allows them to mitigate the disparity of the lower economic results that women get from negotiating raises, salaries, and promotions for themselves versus the economic results that they get when negotiating the same for others. When negotiating for other people, women narrow the gender gap in outcomes of negotiating. Therefore, by viewing themselves as an agent of their organizations, women can focus more on how they align with organizational values and goals and advocate for that in negotiations. This also helps women feel less social backlash from negotiations as they feel that their negotiations align with their organizational values.

Women should also work to gather salary data about their company before entering into negotiations so that they can better understand and estimate their worth monetarily. While corporations might not always be completely transparent about salaries and wages of all employees, researching to get a better understanding of what median salary of roles in a firm and within an industry can help a woman better visualize her own worth based on her qualifications (de Janasz and Cabrera). Also, planning and rehearsing a persuasive explanation of what achievements and skills warrant higher wages increases effectiveness in salary negotiations (de Janasz and Cabrera). Ensuring that one is fully prepared before the negotiations even start is one way to ensure that women start off their negotiations with the same confidence and understanding as their male counterparts would.

Another strategy that women should utilize, in order to better self-advocate, is to remind themselves that negotiating for better compensation or promotions is not bragging on skills. The American Association of University Women found in their research that many women do not want to seem ungrateful for their current or proposed salary and do not want to come across as bragging about themselves (Stevens and Whelan). Focusing on how their skills and experiences add value to their position, or future positions, while negotiating is one of the ways to mitigate those feelings of not wanting to brag or being ungrateful. Men do not feel like self-advocacy is bragging. One way to mitigate the feelings of bragging is to point to objective benchmarks that provide reasons for higher compensation or reasons for promotion, so that the woman is not seen as greedy or overly ambitious, but rather pointing out consistencies in the external market or within an organization's precedent (Hollander-Blumoff). Therefore, it is imperative that women highlight how their skills are beneficial to an organization and their economic worth so that they are not out-negotiated by their male counterparts.

In order to overcome feelings that negotiations are a competition, or a win-lose situation, women should focus on viewing negotiations as coming to a mutual agreement. Viewing negotiations as an opportunity to reach mutual agreement on wage, salary, promotions, or benefits, would integrate the negotiator role more into the feminine gender role and help women bypass gender discrepancies in pre-negotiation mentalities (Reif et al.). Women who use the relational "I-we" strategy when negotiating minimize the social backlash from negotiating because they show concern for the other perspective and frame the negotiation as coming to a consensus based on a myriad of factors rather than solely demanding for more money or a promotion (de Janasz and

Cabrera). Rebecca Hollander-Blumoff, who teaches classes to women on negotiation strategies, suggest that women should be explicit about the value of the personal relationship and connection they have with the person, or people, they are negotiating with and then “turning” the topic of discussion to the issues that they wish to negotiate on (Hollander-Blumoff). By viewing and preparing for negotiations for salaries and promotions as both parties coming to a mutual agreement, women can better prepare for negotiations and perform better during negotiations to mitigate gendered effects on negotiated outcomes.

Strategies for Organizations to Implement to Mitigate Gendered Negotiation Differences

While discussing strategies for women to better approach negotiations, it is essential that organizations recognize the gender differences in willingness to negotiate and gendered economic outcomes of negotiations and assist in mitigating those differences. Although the number of women who negotiated their salaries grew from 34% of women in 2017, to 45% of women in 2018, there is still a statistically significant difference in men who negotiated for their salaries than women who negotiated for theirs (Gurchiek). The American Association of University Women found that women are statistically, significantly more likely to negotiate for better salaries or promotions when they feel like their organization has negotiable wages (Stevens and Whelan). Women are also just as likely to negotiate for better salaries as men when an explicit opportunity to negotiate appears. This has major implications for how organizations should respond to gendered economic outcomes in salary negotiations.

In order to combat women’s resistance to want to advocate for themselves and fears that they will receive backlash from doing so, organizations should make it clear that salaries are negotiable. This would help to mitigate women’s feelings of not wanting to advocate unless there is a clear opportunity for negotiations. Robert Half, a global staffing firm, surveyed 2,800 managers in 2018 and found that 70% of managers expected a candidate to negotiate for better salaries (Robert Half). If managers are expecting their employees to negotiate salaries, it is imperative that organizations make it understood to all employees and potential employees that self-advocacy is welcome and accepted. This will help women overcome those emotional barriers that make them not want to be perceived as ungrateful for initial salary and position offers. This also will ease thoughts of not wanting to create tension between women and their managers or colleagues by negotiating for salaries or promotions. By creating an organizational culture that encourages self-advocacy, corporations can overcome gendered barriers to negotiation.

Organizations also need to focus on training managers to treat all potential and current employees who instigate negotiations with equity. Hannah Bowles, a professor at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, and other researchers from Carnegie Mellon researched the effects of gender on negotiations and found that managers penalized women more for instigating negotiations than they did men (Bowles et al., “Social Incentives for Gender Differences in the Propensity to Initiate Negotiations: Sometimes It Does Hurt to Ask.”). When examining the social cost of negotiation, researchers found that women had a higher social cost of negotiating for higher salaries than their male counterparts (Bowles). This means that women’s reluctance to negotiate is not irrational but, rather, an accurate read of their social environment. A study found that when negotiations were framed as being more “cooperative” than “competitive,” in order to put the negotiations in a feminine frame, that women initiated negotiations more and had better results in those negotiations because they did not feel as if they were violating their

gender roles in entering in negotiations (Andersen et al.) Organizations need to train managers to treat everyone negotiating salaries the same way, despite gender, to ensure that they are not enabling sex discrimination or encouraging women to not seek just compensation.

Negotiation skills training within an organization, across gender lines, helps everyone within an organization learn to effectively negotiate for themselves as well as the organization. By creating a culture that embraces negotiation skills, the social cost of negotiations are lessened. Simple strategies for negotiations, as presented in books like Getting To Yes by By Roger Fisher, William Ury & Bruce Patton, that focus on the human aspect of negotiations, is likely to appeal to a woman's tendency to focus on a win-win scenario or mutual satisfaction as described by Andersen. This also helps to minimize the perception that it is just women who need help in negotiating and that by "fixing women you fix the wage gap." Organizational leaders implementing policies to invite and encourage negotiations to open doors for all employees, men and women, will create mutually beneficial arrangements within an organization that will lead to employee growth and retention.

Another thing that organizations should do, to ensure fair treatment of all current and future employees, is to emphasize that evaluation criteria for raises, hiring, and promotions is consistent across gender lines. A study, by a group of researchers at Rutgers University, found that past the screening process for hiring and promotions, where their credentials have already been evaluated and they have moved forward to the interview phase, the focus remains on men's competence for the job, but moves to women's social skills in the interview process (Konnikova et al.). This subtle form of sex discrimination enables men to get hired and promoted more than women and contributes to the gender gap that is prominent in corporate America. Organizations should routinely audit their negotiating behavior to ensure that all employees are being treated equally and fairly during negotiations (Shonk, "Challenges Facing Women Negotiators: The Impact of Leadership Styles on Strategic Decisions.") By routinely and consistently auditing negotiation behaviors internally, corporations can ensure that employees are being treated in the same manner, so that creative solutions, that meet both parties' needs and wants, can be met. A study created by a group of researchers from the University of California, Berkley and the University of Pennsylvania found that negotiators lie to women more than men during negotiation proceedings and lead women into deals under false pretenses more than men because women are seen as less competent (Kray, et al.). By auditing negotiations, corporations can ensure that they are holding negotiators responsible to the ethical standards of the organizational culture and also build employee trust that they will be treated equitably during negotiation proceedings. Corporations also need to focus on creating criteria for interview evaluation for all employees so that interviewers can not use their implicit bias to further leave women behind.

Another way organizations can mitigate gendered differences in hiring, wages, and negotiated salaries is to provide interviews and negotiation meetings on a flexible or more family-friendly schedule so that women with children are not penalized for accommodating their work hours for their children's schedules (Dworkin et al.). This would also lead to a more inclusive work environment for fathers who also are accommodating their work hours to their children's schedules. Building a culture that supports employees with families and their needs would also lead to long term benefits for the organization, such as employee retention and becoming more attractive to younger workers. Accommodating and supporting employees, or future employees, in their flexibility to schedule and change meeting times for interviews and negotiations increases

trust within an organization and ensures that motherhood is not a limiting factor of employment status or salary compensation in order to diminish the effects of gender discrimination in hiring and negotiations.

Finally, in order to overcome gender barriers that enable discrimination, corporations need to provide increased transparency. A contributing factor of why women do not feel comfortable negotiating for salaries is that they do not know how to benchmark their target salaries (Stevens and Whelan). A study showed that when employees were encouraged to discuss pay or provide information on pay scales, misconceptions about pay and employee worth were corrected (Dworkin et al.). Women have lower compensation expectations than men. Ambiguity in pay facilitates and reinforces the gender gap and the glass ceiling. Transparency in hiring, promotion, and compensation also keeps organizations accountable for justifying the choices made, especially if a man were to be promoted or paid more than a woman. Transparency keeps organizations accountable for their decisions and helps women better prepare for negotiations so that they do not end up making less money than their male counterparts.

Conclusion

As previously discussed, in this paper, there are multiple factors that enable sex discrimination to thrive in corporate America. Sex discrimination comes in many shapes and colors, such as not wanting to hire pregnant women, passing women up for promotions because of their status of motherhood, women being more likely to be removed from their upper management positions when things go wrong compared to their male counterparts, and economic differences in negotiated outcomes based on gender. Sex discrimination is something organizations should be concerned with their participation in and facilitation of and examine, internally, how to diminish its effect on female employees.

Organizations need to clarify that wages are negotiable and increase visibility into compensation plans, hiring, and promotions. While there may not be explicit decisions made by organizations to pay women less and promote men over women, implicit bias and improper training of hiring and promotion managers facilitates the wage gap and the glass ceiling. Increasing transparency within an organization will help to diminish the effects of sex discrimination. Routinely auditing negotiation proceedings will ensure that corporate negotiators are reflecting the ethical and moral practices of the organizations and will minimize the effects of implicit bias on the economic effects of negotiations by gender. Also, by having meetings and negotiations on a flexible schedule, or on a more family-friendly schedule, organizations can ensure that they are not punishing or limiting the career growth of women, and men, with families. By providing negotiation training for all employees, firms can create more inclusive and collaborative work environments, while also not reinforcing the stereotype that only women need help in self-advocacy.

Throughout this paper we have discussed the organizational factors that enable sex discrimination and we have also discussed how gender affects salary and promotion negotiations. Women are significantly less likely to negotiate for higher salaries and promotions than men and, when they do, there is also a significant gendered difference economically and socially as a result of those salary and promotion negotiations. Women are less likely to negotiate for themselves because they feel, accurately, that they will receive social backlash, they do not understand the

economic value of their skills, and do not know how to benchmark a just and equitable salary for their skills and experiences. Women are also less likely to attempt to negotiate again if negotiations have not turned in their favor previously. While new studies have shown that women have started negotiating more, it is not negotiating for salaries and promotion, and when women do negotiate for themselves on those topics, women are usually told no more often than their male counterparts. Women do not always realize their salaries are negotiable and society has taught women that they need to appease all people, especially men. Implicit bias towards thinking women are less competent than men also affects women's willingness to negotiate and further contributes to the gap in economic returns from negotiations by gender.

In order to better self-advocate, there are a few things women can do in order to mitigate the gendered economic and social effects of salary negotiations. Since women tend to negotiate better for others than they do themselves and receive less social backlash from negotiating for others than they do for negotiating for themselves, women should focus on viewing themselves as change agents for their organization and negotiate for themselves on how they align with the organization's goals and values.

Women also need to focus on how their skills and experiences deserve adequate compensation due to the value and expertise they bring to the job so that they do not feel like they are bragging. Women do not feel as comfortable negotiating for themselves as males do but, by focusing on their role in the organization and by how their skills add value to the organization, women can advocate for themselves better. Women should also prepare for their negotiations by researching internal salary and promotion data, along with industry-wide salary and promotion data, so that they can better benchmark their worth. By highlighting organizational or industry-wide precedent and how each woman's specific skills and qualifications achieve the criteria of those precedents, women can minimize the feelings of bragging and the social backlash associated with bragging. Another strategy women can implement is framing the negotiation as a collaboration between both sides, rather than a competition, so that they can highlight the value of personal relationship and use that relationship to find a mutually beneficial agreement.

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