The counter-stereotypical gender dilemma

A qualitative study about women and their experience of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma when deciding salary claims in salary negotiations

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Abstract

This study focuses on the mechanisms of women behaviour in salary negotiation, in particular the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma, a concept this study develops. The dilemma is based on a conflict between the woman role (with characteristics such as submissiveness, friendliness and communality) and the negotiator role (with conflicting male characteristics such as being strong, being dominant, being assertive and being rational) and is defined as the dilemma of whether to act in accordance to the gender stereotypical role or counter the stereotypical gender role in salary negotiations. The purpose of this study is thus to deepen the understanding of women behaviour in wage negotiations and in the long run contribute to pay equality between men and women. The research question is: how do women experience the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma when deciding salary claims in salary negotiations? 12 women working in white collar – female dominated professions were interviewed. The findings showed that women experienced salary negotiations as in conflict with their sense of self, this sense of self included many characteristics of the stereotypical woman role. This conflict caused women to lower their salary claims as they found high salary claims to be in conflict with who they are. The participating woman also expected backlash for going outside the woman role and claim high salary, this also caused women to lower their salary claims. However the findings also showed that women developed strategies to deal with this dilemma and contexts that mitigated the dilemma where identified.

Keywords

Salary negotiations, role-theory, role-conflict, gender-roles, gender-stereotype
1. Introduction

It is often said that the world is in constant progress, a progress of equality and everyone’s equal value. A big part of this progress is the growth of gender equality, especially in working life among western countries. Women have in a relatively short time transformed from being regarded as housewives whose main focus should be their home and children, to people capable of working and contributing to a better future outside of home. However, although men and women have enjoyed a rising equality on the labour market for the past 50 years, there are still aspects of working life inequality that can be attributed to gender. The gender pay gap has long been a major aspect of inequality on the labour market in many western countries (Blau & Kahn, 2007). Sweden holds the 3rd place in the Gender Equality Index (UNDP, 2018), still women’s salaries only make up 88.7% of men’s salaries. Furthermore, the unexplained pay gap between men and women is 4.3% (Medlingsinstitutet, 2018).

Many studies of the gender pay gap have noted that gender differences in wage-negotiation behaviours contribute to the pay gap (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Gender roles are prevalent in salary negotiations and the salary claims of the individuals. Behaviours associated with the stereotypical woman role such as submissiveness, friendliness and communality are widespread among women in salary negotiations (Lindsey, 2015 p. 3; Beere, 1990 p. 251; Koenig, 2018). Yet, salary negotiations create another role, a negotiator role with different behavioural expectations such as being strong, being dominant, being assertive and being rational, characteristics that are also linked to the male gender role (Kray & Thompson, 2005). As a result, women may experience a counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. This means a dilemma of whether to act in accordance to the gender stereotypical woman role or counter the gender stereotypical role in salary negotiations and adopt a male negotiator role that can lead to greater success in salary negotiation outcomes. This is because, counter-stereotypical behaviour is often necessary for higher salary and thus for wage equality (Kray & Thompson, 2005). This study is therefore focusing on this dilemma women might experience concerning whether to conform to the female gender role or counter the stereotypical female role and behave in a stereotypically male way during salary negotiations, as well as developing it as a concept.
This study builds upon the existing research but goes deeper into this dilemma by qualitatively investigating women’s dilemma consciousness when deciding how to act in a wage negotiation and the implications for the actual behaviour. Through hearing about women’s experiences with wage negotiations, I examine the impact of the dilemma on behaviour, strategies women adopt to manage the dilemma, and contextual factors that can mitigate it. This is an important topic because of the little weight that existing research has given to the mechanisms that drive women’s wage negotiation behaviour.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to deepen the understanding of women behaviour in wage negotiations, in particular the dilemma, its impact as well as contextual factors, and in the long run contribute to pay equality between men and women.

1.2 Research question

How do women experience the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma when deciding salary claims in salary negotiations?

1.3 Counter-stereotypical gender dilemma

This study defines the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma as the dilemma of whether to act in accordance to the gender stereotypical role or counter the gender stereotypical role in salary negotiations. By combining role theory with the outspread literature in research areas such as gender roles, socialization and salary negotiations, the dilemma has been created and conceptualized as a theoretical concept. This conceptualization works as a base to further empirical investigation. By creating the concept of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma I hope to contribute to a better understanding of women’s behaviour in salary negotiations and explore an area that has not previously been explored as a combined entity of role theory salary negotiations, gender roles and socialization.

2. Delimitations

First, to increase the equality in pay between men and women it is crucial to focus on the woman perspective of the experience of salary negotiations and the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. This is because it is primarily women that are affected by the counter-
stereotypical gender dilemma as there is a conflict between the stereotypical women’s role and the role of a negotiator, and therefore women also suffer the outcomes of this dilemma in salary negotiations (Kray & Thompson, 2005). Their experience could bring otherwise invisible mechanisms to light and in that way contribute to pay equality. This study also focuses on working age women employed in woman-dominated professions. The difference between the average salaries of men compared to the average salaries of women is bigger in occupations that are dominated by women than in occupations that are dominated by men. In addition, women-dominated occupations also suffer from lower average salaries overall (Lönelotsarna, 2017). These two factors separate women dominated occupations from other occupations, which means that the gender dilemma in salary negotiations could possibly affect women in women dominated professions more and differently than women in occupations that are dominated by men. Those factors are the reason for the focus on women-dominated occupations. Because people that operate in white-collar professions have more room to impact their salaries through wage negotiations than people that operate in blue-collar professions, this study is also limited to white-collar professions. White-collar professions practice individual salary negotiations to a greater extent because the salaries of blue-collar professionals are more often regulated by unions. In addition, the wage distribution in white-collar professions is significantly wider than the wage distribution in blue-collar professions (Scb, 2016). Lastly, this study also focuses on working-age women and sets the age of availability for the interviews to ages 18-65. The exact age limitation is decided on the basis of ethical and practical reasons.

3. Theory and previous research

In this study role-theory is used to make sense of and conceptualize the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma in wage negotiations. Role theory is used as it offers explanations about the mechanisms of behaviours of people or groups of people and therefore can give important insights to women’s behaviour in wage negotiations and thus contribute to answer the research question of this study. Previous research is also applied and presented to strengthen, develop and contextualize role theory to a salary negotiations setting. It is important to note that the previous research that is presented mostly consist of international literature from the western world. Even in a western world context Sweden is often considered a gender equal country. As previously mentioned, Sweden ranks as the 3"th most developed country in the
area of gender equality and has one of the world’s highest female labour market participation at 60.7% (UNDP, 2018). Even so, the literature can be seen as relevant as many western world countries have lower but comparable female labour force participation and gender equality (ibid). In addition, the unexplained gender pay gap in Sweden at 4.8% (Medlingsinstitutet, 2018) can still be considered big enough to relate to other western world literature in this area. Still, this should be a consideration when reading the literature.

3.1 Role theory

Role theory has derived from the works and thoughts of many, including influential theorists as Mead, Morena, Linton, Parsons, Goffman, Merton and many others. It is thus not one single theory but rather a field of study and a collection of many theories and works on the topic of roles (Biddle & Thomas, 1966 p. 8-9). In this section I will therefore refer to role-theory as the summarized concept of roles, based on the conceptualization works of this field.

Role theory starts on the premise that individuals play different roles in different situations in life and society, and that very different individuals can act in the same way if placed in the same context (Turner, 2001 p. 233). The role-performance and the actions of the individuals are based on the social norms, demands and rules for the position they occupy and is evaluated by self and others. This process can, in Goffman’s terminology be linked to a theatrical play where actors portray different roles, but where the performance of the different roles is based on external factors such as the script of the play, the instructions of the director and the performances and roles of the co-actors. The audience evaluates how good the roles where played and either claps or boos (Biddle & Thomas, 1966 p. 4).

For the purposes of this study of the gender dilemma in wage negation, there are several relevant elements of roles: action, prescription evaluation and sanction. Action refers to behaviours that are previously learned by the individual. The action could in this sense be described by the different theorists as the role-performance, the role enactment, role behaviour or role pattern. Action is in most cases overt, but can also be covert. In those cases the action is instead called motives. This refers to motives that would be action if it were overt (Biddle & Thomas, 1966 p 27). In this study, action is mainly going to centre on women and their behaviours in salary negotiations. As the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma consist of the choices of different behaviours, action will have a central role in the theorising of those behaviours.
Prescription refers to behaviours that are expected to be performed in a certain role. It stands for the expectations, the norms and the rules that exist. Prescription has in the same way as action a distinction between overt and covert prescription. The overt prescription can be translated to demands while the covert prescription can be translated to norms. Action or behaviour is often controlled by prescription regardless if the actor is an active participant of the prescriptions or not. Prescription can be either positive or negative. Positive prescription means that certain behaviour is encouraged for a certain role while negative prescription means that certain behaviour is discouraged in a certain role (Biddle & Thomas, 1966 p 27). As the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is based on assumptions of how women should act in salary negotiations, this element of the role theory is an important step to understand women's experiences of the dilemma. For example, in a case where the woman choses between staying within the woman role or going outside the woman role in salary negotiations, prescription could have an impact.

Another central concept of role theory is evaluation. Role performance (action) is evaluated by what is called evaluative behaviours of others. This behaviour can approve or disapprove the role performance. This can be done overt in terms of assessment of the behaviour or covert in terms of values. Sanction is a related element that refers to the positive or negative reinforcement towards the role performer. It is used to change the behaviour of the actor, often to increase the conformity with the existing perceptions of how a role should be played. Positive sanction encourages the behaviour of the actor by for example reward or motivation while negative sanction discourages the behaviour of the actor by for example punishment (Biddle & Thomas, 1966 p 27-28). This is important to this study as the reactions and action of others could guide the women to choose certain approved behaviours for women and thus affect the experience of the dilemma.

To summarize, individuals play roles based on a set of expectations that the role player (individual) is guided by for that specific role. The individual is then judged by how well he or she confirms this set of expectations that exist for the specific role. The judgment comes both from others but also from the role players themselves (Biddles & Thomas, 1966; Turner, 2001).
3.1.1 Role conflict

As role theory assumes that individuals have many different statuses, roles and responsibilities within roles, this can cause role-conflict. Role theory distinguishes two types of role-conflicts: intra-role conflict and inter-role conflicts. An intra-role conflict is the conflict within a specific role. As a specific role means many different functions and responsibilities as well as many different expectations from different subgroups, those functions, responsibilities and expectations could not be compatible with each other, which would cause a conflict within the role. On the contrary, an inter-role conflict is a conflict between different roles of an individual that is based on the inconsistency of the different roles that the individual is playing. When an individual experience that the performance of two or more roles that the individual has is contradictory to each other and calls for contradictory behaviours, it creates a conflict between those roles. This could for example mean contradictory behaviours such as kindness/aggressiveness, openness/scheming and likewise (Turner, 2001 p. 244-246).

Role theory is important to the purpose and the research question of this study as it allows us to consider the relationship between gender roles and the role of the wage negotiator to see if there is likely conflict, something that the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is based on. As well as provide explanations and understanding of the women’s experience in salary negotiations.

3.2 Gender roles, negotiator role and stereotypes

As gender often is recognized as a status in society, it is interconnected with roles and thus the behaviours of the actors. Women (including mothers, daughters and other female related statuses) are in nearly all world societies of lower status than men (including fathers, sons and other male related statuses). Therefore, the expected behaviours of women are different than the expected behaviours of men and as a consequence men and women take on different gender roles (Eagly & Kite, 1987). In accordance to role theory, this expected behaviours has to do with perceptions, rules and norms in society. Eagly & Kite (1987) studied gender perception in 14 different countries and found that women are more associated with community characteristics while men are more associated with agency characteristics. The female role is often associated with behaviours such as love, nurturing, self-sacrifice, friendliness and emotional intelligence while the male role is associated with behaviours such as decision-making, instrumental behaviours and breadwinner (Lindsey, 2015 p. 3; Beere,
Men should avoid showing weakness, be independent and not be shy, while women should avoid showing dominance and be communal (Koenig, 2018). The gender-role play is both caused and contributes to stereotypes of women and men and shapes the norms and rules for the different genders (Lindsey, 2015 p. 3; Beere, 1990 p. 251).

A good and effective negotiator that has a chance to succeed in negotiations is often linked with personal characteristics of the individual such as being strong, being dominant, being assertive and being rational. Those same characteristics are also linked to the male gender role. Women are instead emotional, submissive, accommodating, passive and weak, characteristics that is also linked to an ineffective negotiator. This means that there is a role conflict between the female role and the effective negotiator role (Kray & Thompson, 2005). The conflict between the female gender role and the role of an effective salary negotiator has also been studied by Bear (2011) that focused on the connection between incongruence between gender roles and negotiation topics and the avoidance of salary negotiation in a study paper that included 137 alumni from a business university. She found that there was a positive relationship between gender role incongruence with the negotiation topic and the avoidance of negotiating. Women avoided negotiation topics that were linked to a stereotypically male role, in higher extent than men. This confirmed the relationship between female role and an effective salary negotiator role to be in conflict with each other.

The table below summarizes the gender roles found in literature and relates them to the role of a successful negotiator.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender roles</th>
<th>Negotiator role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submissive</td>
<td>Dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>Rational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-sacrificial</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodating</td>
<td>Decision-maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Summery of the male and female gender role compared to the negotiator role. Source (Eagly & Kite, 1987; Lindsey, 2015 p. 3; Beere, 1990 p. 251: Kray & Thompson, 2005)
3.3 Male and female roles specific to salary negotiations

As seen in table 1, stereotypically female role characteristics directly or indirectly conflicted with the negotiator role while the stereotypically male characteristics in many cases confirmed with the negotiator role. In wage negotiations, those gender roles expectations are reflected in women asking for less pay than men, as well as women not initiating salary negotiations in the same extent as men, which are factors that are argued to contribute to the gender wage gap (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Women’s lower likelihood of initiating a wage negotiation and the tendency to ask for less pay have been observed in many studies. For example, Eriksson & Sandberg (2012) studied the gender differences in the initiation of salary negotiations in an experiment that included 204 Swedish students. The study found that men were more likely to initiate a negotiation for higher compensation than women. While 42% of the men initiated a negotiation the number for women was 28%. Furthermore, Babcock, Laschever, Gelfand & Small (2003) studied female and male MBAs that recently graduated from university. They found that male MBAs that had graduated from the same program had 7.6% higher starting salary than their female counterparts. The reason for that is that while women accepted the manager’s initial offer, men negotiated a higher salary. While 57% of the male MBAs attempted to negotiate a higher salary, only 7% of women did the same. In addition, according to Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon (1984) women believe they are less worthy and less entitled to compensation, compared to men. The gender roles also have an impact on the tactics used by the genders to negotiate a higher salary. While men used active behaviours such as being aggressive and asking for a higher salary than needed, women used indirect self-promotion which is consistent with their female social role. Such indirect self-promotion could for example be to describe their motivation to do a good job instead of highlighting what they achieved (Kaman & Härtel, 1990). This finding means that gender roles are prevalent in salary negotiation situations as they guide the behaviours of women to ask for less salary and negotiate less for salary increases than men.

3.4 Reinforcements of the gender roles from the inside

Gender stereotypes are internalized and shape one’s sense of self. This means that role conflict in wage negotiations can mean that women do not just feel they have to act in a counter
stereotypical way but they actually feel like they have to do something that is unauthentic and unnatural to them, something that is in conflict with their sense of who they are as persons.

3.4.1 Socialization of gender roles and its connection to sense of self

The stereotypes, perceptions and gender roles of women and men are often preserved by socialization, the process in which individuals take on gendered qualities, behaviours and personalities. In this process the individuals become aware of how a girl or women should act and how a boy or man should act according to their gender. It is in this process the individuals get a sense of self as a girl or a boy through the expectations of the environment. Later, the individuals are also part of the socialization of others through their own socialized expectations on each genders behaviour (Wharton, 2014 p. 37). Socialization is thus not only a way to learn what the female and male role means and what perceptions and expectations is attached to each gender role, but also a process where the individual form the sense of self i.e. the general idea of who they are, in accordance to the people’s expectations and perceptions about the gender roles. The sense of self is in this way connected to the gender roles that exist in society and shapes people’s understandings of themselves as male or female and the behaviours that each specific gender brings. The process occurs early in life, but continues throughout life. Although the sense of self is not only constructed by gender, gender influences the sense of self in large extent through the socialization of the gender roles (Wharton, 2014 p. 38-44). In this way the sense of self often reflects aspects of the gender roles that exists in society.

A number of studies have highlighted the role of socialization in the stereotypical gender role-playing and its influence on the sense of self. Eccles, Jacobs & Harold (1990) studied for example the parent role in socialization of children’s skills in athletics and mathematics and found that parents play a role in influencing and shaping children to engage in gender role stereotyped activities, even later on in life. The study found that parents have a perception and attribution gender-bias where parents attribute different skills to different genders, which affects the parent’s expectation for their children. This in turn, affects the children’s self and task expectations as well as the children’s self-perception and choices of action in accordance to the parent expectations. In this way, the parents influence the children to engage in gender role stereotypical activities, through influencing the children’s view of themselves. Hence, the
gender roles expectations of the parents become the foundation of the children’s own internalized personalities. Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross (1972) studied socialization of preschool children through award winning picture books and found that the female and male characters where portrayed in accordance to the stereotypical gender roles; Boys where active while girls where passive, men were portrayed as having different occupations while women was often portrayed as mothers or wives. This was argued to affect the children’s self-image in accordance to those stereotypical gender roles and influence their future choices of action. This previous research implies that the sense of self has many of the characteristics of the stereotypical gender roles as the gender roles are socialized to shape people’s sense of self as female and male (Wharton, 2014).

3.4.2 The clash between the sense of self as a female and the role of the negotiator
As the role of women and the role of an effective salary negotiator are conflicting according to the societal perceptions, for women to have success in negotiations in terms of achieving higher pay, they must act in a stereotypically male way and therefore counter the female role. This means that they have to be more competitive, self promote and ask for higher pay then they need, initiate salary negotiations themselves and be confident. Those male behaviours are going to conflict with their female role (Kray & Thompson, 2005) which means that that the negotiator role is also going to conflict with the women’s sense of self as their self-perception often is socialized in accordance to the gender roles, as explained above (Wharton, 2014). This conflict thus works as a self-regulating reinforcement, making the decision to counter the stereotypical gender role in salary negotiation difficult. As discussed above this often results in women sticking with their female roles and their sense of self, which shows in women asking for less pay, initiating fewer salary negotiations and using more indirect self-promotion tactics than men (Kaman & Härtel, 1990: Major, McFarlin, and Gagnon, 1984; Babcock, Laschever, Gelfand & Small, 2003).

3.5 Reinforcement from the outside: backlash
Gender roles are not only self-regulated in the sense that the regulation comes from the inside, but regulation also often comes from the outside. When women go outside of the stereotypical gender roles in salary negotiations and display stereotypically male characteristics such as dominance, activeness and self-promotion, they often experience backlash in accordance with the role theory. This is the central idea of sanction that is presented in role theory and used to
change the behaviour of an actor, often to confirm with the stereotype (Biddle & Thomas, 1966).

Research confirms that women experience backlash in wage negotiations. Bowles, Babcock & Lai (2007) did a series of experiment of the likelihood of initiating negotiations and the penalization that follows the initiation of a negotiation for higher pay for men and women. The study showed that women were penalized more than men for initiation negotiations for higher pay and were given twice as low hireability grades than men when asking to initiate a negotiation about higher pay. This had to do with the perceived niceness of women that initiated the negotiation. The experiments included both university students and university educated adults as well as adults in America across the different experiments. Rudman (1999) investigated another stereotypically male salary negotiation characteristic of “(direct) self promotion” and did a 3 experiment study that has found that self-promotion among women is a social risk factor. Although the study found that women’s self-promotion had positive consequences for competence rating, it had negative consequences when it came to the social and hireability ratings. This is because self-promotion is a counter-stereotypical gender behaviour that leads to social penalization even if it also is important to career and pay of women. Furthermore, the same effect can be seen with other stereotypically male behaviours in salary negotiations. For example Powers & Zuroff (1988) showed that women that show signs of self-confidence can be seen as unwanted. The study was an experimental study that included 48 female undergraduate students where 4 female students were confederates. The confederates enacted 3 different roles: self-enhancing individual, neutral individual and self critical- individual. The roles were played as the groups where asked to do a task. The respondents where then asked to grade both their own and others performance including the confederates. The study found that the subjects rated the self- enhanced confederates as competent but socially unattractive. Overall, the self-enhancing confederates had overall lower grades than both the self-critical and neutral counterparts. In addition, Miller, Cooke, Tsang, & Morgan (1992) found in an experimental study that active and self-boosting women were seen as less socially involved than men who boosted themselves. Social involvement is defined with variables such as social sensible, honesty, likability, attractiveness and intimateness. Women that boosted themselves and their accomplishments violated stereotypical female behaviour and where penalized for that with lower grades than males.
3.6 Hypothesis

Although many aspects of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma have been uncovered in prior research, there is only limited research that has brought this all together and combined with a sense of women’s consciousness of this dilemma, and their conscious strategies for managing it. The following hypothesis construction has the purpose to provide structure as well as setting a foundation for the analytical process of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. The use of hypotheses in qualitative phenomenological research has long been discussed in the scientific community. It is certainly unconventional but can be seen as another valuable way to frame and explain scientific and qualitative narratives with the aim to produce knowledge (Chigbu, 2019). Qualitative hypothesis testing is done through qualitative methods. The hypotheses can be confirmed or falsified by non-numerical tools, such tools are verbal data collected on the field, for example interviews. Therefore, the terms of confirmation or falsifications are not comparable to the quantitative methodology, but should be seen as ingredients of preconceptions and reflections (ibid).

Based on the literature presented, combined with existing research on women’s consciousness of this dilemma, the following hypothesis is constructed. For all of the hypotheses, the analysis includes both a textual and a structural contexts analysis.

- Hypothesis 1a: Women often experience wage negotiations as in conflict with their sense of who they are.
- Hypothesis 1b: This challenge to sense of self includes many components of the stereotypical women’s gender role.
- Hypothesis 1c: Women are taking this conflict into account in wage negotiation choices.
- Hypothesis 2a: Women expect backlash when countering the stereotypical female gender role in wage negotiations
- Hypothesis 2b: The expected backlash leads to avoidance of high salary claims
4. Methods

In this part, the methodology of this study is going to be presented and explained, this includes the general approach of this study, the data collection, sample, data analysis as well as ethical considerations, role as a researcher and validity and reliability.

4.1 General approach

The phenomenon this study wants to investigate is salary negotiations and the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma that can occur for women in salary negotiations. As a result, the phenomenological approach best suits the purpose and the research question of this study. A phenomenological research approach focuses on a certain phenomenon that is common to all of the respondents and wants to study people’s lived experiences of this phenomenon. It thus collects the common meanings that a group of individuals place on their experiences of the phenomenon. The aim is to collect similarities between people’s experience of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013 p. 78-82). Implementing this approach for this research means constructing research question based on the lived experience of individuals, which is also central to a phenomenological research. Secondly, this study distinguished a clear phenomenon of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma and is interested in the common meaning that women put in their experiences of this phenomenon in salary negotiations.

4.2 Data collection procedures

The data collection method used in this study is semi-structured interviews. In total, 12 semi-structured interviews are conducted and collected. All interviews were conducted one to one and lasted between 35-50 minutes. They were then recorded and transcribed. The transcribed material was used as the basis of the data analysis. Interviews are recommended as the data collection method in phenomenological research as they in accordance to the general phenomenological approach are based on the respondents’ own experiences of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013 p. 163). As this study’s research question is designed to suit the phenomenological approach and analyse the women’s experience of the gender dilemma in salary negotiations, it is important that the data collected provide the respondents’ own stories and experiences in their own words. Interviews are thus indicated by the purpose, the research question and the general approach of the study.
Semi-structured interviews were selected because they offer flexibility. In practice this means that the interviews are structured in a way that specific themes that are important to the study can be pre-decided but still give the respondent room to dictate the content of the answers within that theme. It also provides flexibility in the sense that the questions do not have to be in the same order and both the researcher and the respondent can return to questions if they feel that is important and add questions to follow up the answer. While semi-structured interviews might not provide the complete focus on the respondents’ worldviews and therefore runs the risk of not being a total representation of the respondents’ unbiased views, this can be compensated by the flexibility the semi-structured interviews provide, as well as the assurance that the relevant themes will be discussed. In addition, semi-structured interviews are often preferred when the interviews are being compared, which is the case for this study (Bryman, 2002 p.414-416).

To address the semi-structural interviews’ disadvantage of respondents’ lesser room for free discussion of the phenomenon, the interviews started with open-ended questions that focus on the respondents’ own context and story and then became more specific to different themes that are important to the study, before introducing the gender dilemma in the end. As mentioned above, it is not necessary to strictly follow the interview protocol but the introduction of the gender dilemma only in the end is always to be followed. This approach is recommended by previous research as it gives the chance to contextualize the phenomenon from the respondents’ own words before clarifying how it played out in their circumstances (Bevan, 2014). The full interview-protocol can be found in appendix A.

4.3 Sample

This study uses a purposeful sampling strategy. This strategy is common in qualitative research and refers to the fact that the decision of who to include in the study and thus how to select participants is done purposefully by the researcher. This is done to select the participants that can best answer the research question (Creswell, 2013 p. 154). In particular, the study uses a criterion sample, which is one of the purposeful sampling strategies. A criterion sample is a sample where the respondents all meet certain criterion that is important for the quality assurance of the study (Creswell, 2013 p. 158). For instance, a common criterion in a phenomenology is that the respondents all have experienced the phenomenon that is being studied. This is also the main reason this sample approach is recommended for a
phenomenological research (Creswell, 2013 p. 148). The specific criteria for this study are listed below.

- The respondents must be women. This criterion is established to suit the purpose, the research question and the delimitations of this study.
- The respondents must have experienced salary negotiations. This criterion is established to ensure that all the respondents have experiences relating to the phenomenon. In accordance to previous scientific work on phenomenology as a research method (Bevan, 2014) this study does not require the respondents to have experienced the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma, but rather only salary negotiations. This is because the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is a contextualization of behaviour in salary negotiations. It is therefore valuable to not specify the gender dilemma from the start to reduce the risk of influencing the results. In addition, the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is a phenomenon on a very high theoretical level that can be hard for people to comprehend which would make the respondents answers of whether they have experienced it unreliable. The requirement of having experienced salary negotiation is on the other hand in the best interest of the study as salary negotiations works as a basis of the phenomenon and is essential to this study.
- The respondents must be 18-65. This is a criterion to ensure that the respondents are adults of working age.
- The respondents must work in occupations that are dominated by women. This is to suite the study’s delimitations and is made sure by The Swedish Occupational Register (SCB, 2016) that lists the existing occupation according to their gender balance
- The respondents must work in white-collar professions. This criterion is also due to the study’s delimitations. To distinguish white-collar professions from blue-collar professions the SSYK12 (SCB, 2012) is used together with SCB recommendation for the division of white and blue-collar professions based on SSYK12.

To find suitable respondents, different companies and social functions were researched online. Those companies and social functions were required to operate in white-collar fields that had a focus on female dominated professions. Companies that had online pages that listed
the employees, their professions and contact information were prioritized. In those cases, the possible respondents were contacted directly with an information email about the study and a request to participate. In the cases were the companies did not have contact information of the employees online, the company or social function was contacted and asked to distribute the information paper about the study with contact information. The respondents could then seek contact directly if they were interested in participating or had any further question. The above mentioned criteria was included in the information paper as well as controlled for in the later stages. The information paper also disclosed the purpose of this study, this included information about wanting to understand salary negotiations through a gender and woman perspective. The fact that this was mentioned could contribute to increase the interest of participation of individuals who feel very strongly about such subjects and therefore are engaged in women issues, this could in turn make the sample partly bias. Although in this case, there was an ethical value of revealing the purpose of the research and the bias was not assessed as significant enough to question the ethical values of this study. Overall, 28 different companies or social functions of different sizes were concerned, through which the employees was contacted either directly or indirectly. Because of the restriction of time and resources only companies that were located in Stockholm or near Stockholm was contacted. In some cases the snowballing sample strategy was used. In particular, it was used when respondents that were being interviewed themselves suggested people that could suite the study. In those cases, contact information was exchanged and contact made directly to the respondent. In total 2 of the respondents participating in this study were contacted through snowballing sample. Snowballing sample can often have the disadvantage of decreasing the generalizability of the study (Pruchno et al., 2008), but given the time frame, the fact that this was only done as a complementary measure, the advantage of the knowledge that the respondents will have a lot to say and the fact that generalizability is not the main aim of this study, the snowballing sampling strategy was decided to be suitable for this study.

4.3.1 Characteristics of the participants in this study
The characteristics of the participants that chose to participate in this study and thus the sample of this study can be seen in table 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Biomedical analyst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen in the table the distribution between ages is centred around late 40s and early, middle and late 50s, with a considerable amount of respondents also in their 20s. This leaves a gap in between those age groups that is only represented by 1 respondent. This implies an uneven distribution that could hurt the generalizability of this study, but because generalizability is not the main goal of this study and the fact that this study has a relatively small sample size as a whole, the small representation of females in the age groups of 30 and early 40s is considered acceptable for this study. By comparison, the distribution of female-dominated and white-collar professions is as can be seen, relatively outspread with two professions that occur twice: those are the professions of social worker and accountant. Furthermore, some professions require university degrees and some does not. Although professions such as administrator does not require a university degree they are still included as white-collar professions in accordance to SCB:s (2016) recommended division between white and blue collar professions. Overall, the distribution is acceptable but could be considered bias, which is important to keep in mind when drawing conclusions from this study.

### 4.4 Data analysis procedures

Data analysis in a phenomenological research incorporates a textual description and a structural description. The textual description describes what the respondents experienced in terms of the phenomenon, while the structural description focus on the context and the setting that impacted what the respondents experienced. The phenomenological data analysis also has a short paragraph that combines and connects the textual and the structural description of the
phenomenon and thus describes the essence of the experience. This is done to better the understanding of the experience as a whole (Creswell, 2013 p. 78-82, 195). Both the textual and the structural analysis is based on “significant statements”. That is, important words, sentences or quotes from the respondents’ interviews that highlight the respondents’ experience of the phenomenon. Those significant statements are then grouped into clusters of meaning and themes of similar significant statements that highlight certain parts of the respondents’ experience with the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013 p. 80-82).

The phenomenological data analysis is used because it answers the purpose and the research question of the study. As the analysis focuses on the significant statements it derives from the respondents’ experience of the phenomenon of the gender dilemma in salary negotiations, which is central to the purpose and the research question. It also analysis the similarities between women as the themes and the cluster of meanings are collected, which also is a central aspect of studying women as a group, which this study intends to do. The data analysis is also for this reasons recommended when the general approach in the study is phenomenological (Creswell, 2013 p 81-82).

Furthermore, the analysis is abductive with elements of deduction. This is due to the fact that the data analysis is based on both pre-decided themes that derive from the theory and previous research as well as new themes that might not be significant in the literature but has shown significance in the interviews. Examples of pre-decided themes are “sense of self” and “backlash” while examples of new themes includes contexts and strategies respondents identified as important to understand the experience of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma as well as sub-themes to the pre-decided themes, for example “differences between backlash from employer compared to colleagues”. Furthermore, the concept of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is in itself abductive. It is derived from theory and literature, but is constructed as a new concept where different research areas are combined and where the experiences that the respondents attributed to the dilemma are used to develop the concept, irrespective of whether the themes are pre-decided or not. The theoretical and empirical conceptualization of the dilemma is thus going between new and previously researched themes. In this way, both new and old themes contribute to new insights of the concept, as neither old nor new themes have previously been researched in the context of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. This approach is also in consensus with the purpose of
phenomenological research, as phenomenological research wants to describe and give new insights to people’s experiences of a phenomenon.

4.5 Ethical considerations

In the Swedish context, salary and salary negotiations are seen as relative sensitive subjects, especially in relation to the employer. As such, the ethical issues of this study deserve special recognition. This study follows the Swedish research council’s guidelines for ethical research practice (2017). In practice, this means a number of considerations that is going to be discussed below.

First of all, all participants of the study have given informed consent. This means that the participants have prior to giving consent been informed about the aim and the purpose, as well as the overall theme of the study to ensure their understanding of what they consent to participate in. This was realized through the initial email about participation. The participants have also been given the opportunity to ask questions to further their understanding later on in the process and thereafter reach a decision. The participants were never under any pressure to answer immediately and was thus given time to make a grounded decision. The participation is thus also been voluntary, which has also been informed prior and during the interviews. Furthermore, the participants have been given the information that they can withdraw their participations at any time prior, under or after the interview until the study is published.

As the subject of salary and salary negotiation is relatively sensitive, the participants were also given an assurance of their anonymity towards the employer as well as the greater public. This is assured through de-identifying individuals in the study i.e. taking away anything that can connect certain individuals to certain answers (for example names), as well as using upmost caution in the cases where the individuals are not contacted directly but rather through their employer. This means that only the first contact is made to the employer of the participant in the sole purpose to spread information about the study and the possibility of participating. All further contacts it made directly between the individual and me as a researcher, which ensures the individuals anonymity towards the employer.

This study has also taken measures to increase the confidentiality. The content of the interviews has not been discussed outside of the paper, neither has the personal details that can link individuals to certain answers or companies. The interview recordings have been
safely saved on a phone that can only be opened with a PIN that is exclusive to the researcher. The interview recordings as well as other data connected to the participating individuals are destroyed after the publishing of the study.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the study

To ensure the trustworthiness of this research, this study is considering the five main aspects of trustworthiness in qualitative research: those are credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and reflexivity (Korstjens & Moser, 2017).

Credibility refers to the truthfulness of the findings and includes question of whether the findings and the analysis is presented in accordance to the respondents’ original views (Korstjens & Moser, 2017). In this study, this is ensured by awareness of how preconceptions could affect the interpretation of the findings, as well as having a close dialog with respondents about the interpretations of the interviews. For example, in some cases, the interpretation was emailed back to the respondent for clarification. By emailing the interpretations of quotes back to the respondents and asking for clarification, the correctness of the findings were increased, as the analysis was based on quotes that better described the respondents’ views. Credibility was also increased as the interviews only focused on 4-5 topics and therefore left time to go deeper into the different topics and clarify any uncertainties. Transferability i.e. the degree to which the results can be transferred to other context is in this study considered through offering a thick description of the methods and findings that includes the experiences and behaviours of the respondents as well as different contexts in which those experiences may increase or decrease. This makes the reader able to create an understanding of which contexts the findings could be transferable to and to which contexts they are not. As such, the study gives the reader necessary information to evaluate the transferability to other contexts that may not be discussed in the study. Other aspects that are considered are dependability and conformability, while dependability refers to the consistency of the study and thus to the standards of the research design, conformability refers to the neutrality and thus the inter-subjectivity that can occur in the data. The dependability and conformability is both considered by making conscious decisions in the research design. Such decisions are for example letting other students read the interview-questions and evaluate the neutrality of the questions, focusing on follow-up questions that start with “how”, “what”, “who”, “why” and “where” to decrease the risk of bias follow-up questions and be open to the possibility that the findings may not confirm the hypothesised, as well as focusing
on raw data in the data analysis so new themes can be identified without inclination toward any direction. The analytical process has also been documented carefully, this includes all decisions, thoughts, sampling, data management and likewise. This is, to make it easier for an outsider to judge the dependability and conformability of the study. The last concept of trustworthiness is reflexivity and refers to the self-reflection. This is elaborated on in part 4.7: Role of the researcher.

Despite the above described measures that have been taken to increase the trustworthiness of this study, there is room for improvement. To further increase trustworthiness of this study, all interpretations and analysis could for example have been sent to all respondents. This was not done due to time limitation but would have increased the correctness of the findings. In addition, the research could have been more delimited to deepen the understanding of the context that constitutes the phenomenon and thus increase the transferability. Still, trustworthiness was considered in this study and measures were taken to ensure the quality of the study.

4.7 Role of the researcher

It is important to reflect upon the researcher’s role in the study and its findings. This is because the researcher is an individual and individuals are subjective and have preconceived notions that could impact the study and its findings (Creswell, 2013 p. 259; Korstjens and Moser, 2018). I will therefore try to analyse my role as a researcher in this paper.

Firstly, I myself am a woman. I have experienced salary negotiations and the dilemma of whether to go outside of my woman role and claim high salary or stay within my woman role and claim lower salary. This is in fact what inspired me to do this research. As I have experienced the phenomenon in question I thus have preconceived notions. This could impact the study negatively as it could directly or indirectly influence the findings to conform to my own notions and experiences. To minimize this risk, I stayed aware of my personal preconceived notions throughout the research process, in particular the question construction of the interviews and data analysis. Nevertheless, the risk of influencing the findings through preconceived notions can not completely disappear by being aware of them. This means that there is a possibility that the findings to some extent are unconsciously influenced by my own bias. At the same time, there is also feminist research (DeVault, 1990) that highlight the female researcher’s own experience as a strength when conducting qualitative research about
women specific issues and suggests an in-cooperation of the researcher’s/interviewer’s personal involvement in the interview. This is because women to women interviews have the advantage of the fact that the participant can identify with the interviewer and therefore be more open in the interview. I also acknowledged this approach in the study. In practice, incorporating those two approaches meant that I as the researcher was aware of my preconceived notations and my own experience but chose to encourage the women to women advantage by for example confirming the respondents’ statements and showing the respondents that I also have experienced this and understand, but not influencing the answer by telling my own story or letting the question construction be influenced by my own experience. This understanding and confirmation of the respondents’ experiences could thus lead to the respondents in this study feeling more comfortable with telling their unfiltered story, especially since this is a theme many might consider as sensitive. At the same time, I minimized the influence of my own experience on the findings by actively working with awareness of the possible bias my preconceived notions can cause. I thus focused on the raw material of the respondents’ statements, as well as actively worked in the question construction to construct questions that are not leading but make the respondents feel connected to me. This combination of the two approaches could thus leads to a more correct interpretation of the respondents’ reality.

5. Results

The results are presented below. This is done in a textual description where the experience of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is presented and is structured after the different hypothesis, and a structural description where those experiences and hypothesis are contextualised. There is also a part that elaborates on alternative patterns that do not match the hypotheses. Lastly, both the textual and structural experience is summarized in a section called “essence”.

5.1 Textual description

The textual description is presented below. That includes a description of what the respondents experienced in terms the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. The description is presented in the order of the hypotheses regarding the sense of self, role conflict, impact, backlash and avoidance of high salary claims.
5.1.1 Hypothesis 1A - Sense of self

A clear pattern could be seen across the interviews where the respondents described salary negotiations as something that contradicts their own perception of who they are as persons. In particular, important salary negotiator characteristics such as being able to accentuate yourself, argue for your ability, have self-confidence, be loud and demanding. Almost all participating respondents mentioned this indirectly. The respondents described the above characteristics of salary negotiations as something they were not comfortable with and something that they did not like doing. One example of this indirect description of salary negotiations as something contradictory to the respondents’ perception of who they are is the statement below where respondent G talks about arguing for your ability and pay raise as something uncomfortable and unnatural.

\[\text{It’s really hard… you are always afraid to be seen as someone that shows off and try to show things that do not exist in the reality… so salary negotiations are not fun… I sometimes force myself… but naturally you don’t want to do that. (Respondent G)}\]

Another example of this can be seen below, where respondents A talks about the ability to sell yourself and argue for what you know you are good at, as something that she sees as a challenge from within herself in salary negotiation

\[\text{The biggest challenge for me… still… regardless of how hard I work with myself… it is to be able to sell myself… and really talk about the things I am good at… even if I worked with myself a lot and try to highlight my strengths… this is still hard. (Respondent A)}\]

The majority of the participating respondents also went further and explicitly stated that this is not who they are. The term “me as a person” was often used to distinguish themselves from the salary negotiation situation and the characteristics that they associated with salary negotiations. An example of this is the statement below where the respondent talks about why she accepted a salary she thought was too low.

\[\text{Of course I could have stand firm and insisted a bit more, but I feel that’s not who I am… I don’t know… my personality is not like that… me as a person is not the one who dominates in a room… but I am the one who doesn’t have so much to… or I do have things to say… but not in that specific sense. (Respondent E)}\]
Another example of this is the following extract from an interview where the respondent also sees important salary negotiator characteristics as standing tall and being insistent as conflicting with personality traits such as being friendly and not causing trouble, which she identifies with.

*It feels like you have to stand tall and insist... if you don’t say anything you will get the yearly pay rise and nothing more... that’s my experience at least.*

**Do you feel you are able to do that?**

*Not always, not always... you don’t want to... I have... my boss is a very humble person so I don’t want to say conflict... but me as a person I don’t want to cause trouble for people.* (Respondent F)

This example shows the emphasis that the respondents puts in the emotional aspect of salary negotiations and highlights the desire to please all. In fact, the women often referred to salary negotiation as something that should have the goal of finding a solution that fits all instead of only raising the salary. For example “The goal is to rise my salary as much as I can but so that both parties go away happy, because you want them to be happy with you... so yes...” (Respondent D)

As can be seen, there was a very strong pattern of experiencing salary negotiations as conflicting with the sense of self, therefore hypothesis H1a is confirmed.

### 5.1.2 Hypothesis 1B - Role conflict

The challenge to sense of self includes many components of the stereotypical women’s role. As the above result indicates, the respondents highlighted characteristics such as being able to accentuate yourself, argue for your ability, have self-confidence, be loud and demanding as something that characterises salary negotiations but contradicts themselves as persons. Instead they described themselves as low-key, not argumentative and emphasised their will to cooperate with the employer. This is something that corresponds with the stereotypical woman role that is described in the literature and can be seen in table 1. According to that, women should be submissive, friendly, communal and not show dominance, women should also be loving, self-sacrifice and show emotional intelligence (Lindsey, 2015 p. 3; Beere, 1990 p. 251; Koenig, 2018). It is therefore clear that the interviewed women described themselves in accordance to the gender role that exists in society, according to the literature.
In fact, the women themselves also described the different gender roles and norms that they could see in society and could be affecting their salary negotiations, in accordance to both the literature but also to themselves as persons. The norms that in their experience existed for the woman role was very similar to how they described themselves as persons. For example

“It is definitely ... that girls should be a bit more scared and cautious... and maybe not badger as much as men... (...) if you for example look at a classroom the boys are allowed to make a lot more noise than girls.. that’s just how it is”
(Respondent K)

Another example of the women’s perception of their role as women is:

I think that the general perception of women is that women should be cautious, nice and accommodating... there is this perception of a nice female person... as soon as you get away from that you are not so nice anymore. Especially the thing about accommodating... it is... it is how a woman is expected to act, you are expected to listen to arguments and meet in the middle, to find compromises and be gentle in your demands. (Respondent G)

Here, you can find many of the characteristics that the respondents also used to describe themselves as persons. With the literature and respondents’ own perceptions in mind, the result shows that H1b can be confirmed.

5.1.3 Hypothesis 1C - Impact

We have now established the conflict between the salary negotiation situation and the respondents’ sense of who they are, we have also established that the sense of who they are include many components and is similar to the stereotypical woman role, in this part we will therefore establish if this impacts wage negotiations choices in regard to salary claims. The patterns that can be seen across the interviews indicate that this conflict does have an impact when it comes to salary negotiation choices. As the respondents have taken on the women role as their sense of who they are, and the stereotypical women’s role is conflicting with the main characteristics that is needed in salary negotiations, the respondents is experiencing it hard to have high salary claims. When for example asked where they would place their salary claims, almost all said low or low-middle. They also described the impact different gender role norms have had on their salary claims as follows.
“I was thinking the other day... because I know a guy that I was classmates with in university and he has a very good internship at silicon valley... he is extremely good at what he does... so I thought “what would he have done if he was in my situation”... and I know he would have had so much self-confidence going in to salary negotiations and he would have had a really high salary claim... and then I think “what am I doing, I would never dare to have as high salary claims and go in there with the same attitude”.... And I really do think that this is the difference between women and men... because women is the ones who should be calm and not have as much focus on their carriers. (Respondent D)

This statement shows that the respondent has lower salary claims because of this conflict. It is also clear the she experience high salary claims as something that is contradicting both herself as a person and the women role. Another example of this is:

This was not too long ago... maybe two weeks ago... I got very disappointed because I had a different expectation and I did not get the salary raise that I expected... so I asked my male colleague “have you had the salary talk already or are you going to have a union representative sit with you” and he was like “I will not accept everything, I will insist and speak up if I wont get what I want”... so then I thought but that’s not what I did... and that’s a clear difference... he was like “no I am going to speak up” but that’s not who I am as a person. (Respondent F)

Another way the respondents described the impact this conflict had on their salary claims is the fact that they see high salary claims as something unnatural to them. Therefore they prepare beforehand and convince themselves to claim a higher salary than they feel comfortable doing, but when the moment of salary negotiations comes they go back to what is natural to them and reduce their claims. The following is an example of this when asked why the respondent claimed a salary that that she called relatively low.

First of all I try to prepare myself as much as I can, I do all kind of things... those forms... the manuals you get from the union... so I try to prepare myself and think I will say this or that... but then when you are sitting there... it is completely different... it just naturally comes out of you  (Respondent A)

In the context of the interview this means that the natural is the lower salary claim. Another example of this is “I try to prepare myself and motivate why I want this salary... and I think
you should be able to say... but then... I as a person... I think that I am going to say 130 but then in the last moment I bail” (Respondent B)

Overall the conflict between the respondents’ sense of who they are and the salary negotiations situation influences the respondents to lower their salary claims to conform with the stereotypical gender roles. This means that H1c is confirmed.

5.1.4 Hypothesis 2A - Backlash

Another pattern that can be seen across the interviews is the fact that the participating women expect backlash for going outside their gender role and claim high salary. Although the respondents do not explicitly say that the backlash is because of going outside the gender role and instead describes it as backlash for having high salary claims, it is already established above that the respondents do not associate high salary claims with their sense of who they are and thus the female gender role.

The backlash is expected to come from both employer and colleagues. When it comes to the employer, one respondent expected for example the employer to terminate a interview if the salary claims where to high.

*Always a judging look, they look at you then they write something down and then maybe if... if it the salary claim is way to high... if you are at a interview for example... they might want to terminate the interview because they can’t be bothered to continue... so they might say ”well that’s all”... That’s how it feels to me anyway... that the salary question comes up and then directly after, they say ”that’s all... thank you for coming”... then you know that this was not good.* (Respondent B)

Another example of this is the following where the respondent describes what would happen if she tried to argue for a higher salary than what her manager initially gave her.

...if I were to just go and say “but I want those 5% of salary raise”... then... we would end up in a real discussion... and a mean a proper discussion... so to speak... because... no they are just thrifty... the salaries is their biggest spending and they want them down... that could possibly contribute to ruin the relationship. (Respondent H)
When it comes to the expected backlash from other colleagues, the backlash is different in its form. While the backlash from the employer is based on economic reasons, the backlash from colleagues is based on emotional reasons. Here is an example of that

*If someone finds out that someone has a higher or lower salary than someone else... they might think that it is unfair and start to look at you all the time to find things I do wrong, for example what time I go home and things like that. It just causes unnecessary conflicts... like jealousy, backstabbing and so on.*

(Respondent E)

Although, the backlash from colleagues is often limited by the controlled salary talk between colleagues. As can be seen in the statement above, the described conflicts are also described as unnecessary. This is because many of the respondents choose to not mention the exact numbers of their salary to their colleagues and describe the behaviour as the norm at their workplace. The following statement is an example of this. "*In our group we are not that open with our salaries (...) its nice to not know other (people’s) salaries and vise versa because if someone thinks that he or she does a better job than someone else it can cause conflicts.*”

(Respondent F). Another example is the following interview extract from respondent C where she indicates both a norm of not talking about salaries and consequences if you do so.

*I don’t talk about salary raises with them

*Why*

*No but I don’t know... no one does where I work... if you want a salary raise you go to the boss not to your colleague... and maybe that has to do with consequences that you are... that you want to avoid.*

(Respondent C)

Overall, the respondents report backlash from mainly the employer but also colleagues to some extent. Although the respondents do not explicitly say the backlash is because of going outside the gender role, it can still be assumed due to both the literature and the respondents’ classification of having high salary claims as something that is not included in the female role. With this caveat, hypothesis H2a is therefore confirmed.

5.1.5 Hypothesis 2B - Avoidance of high salary claims

While there is not much evidence of the respondents taking colleagues expected backlash into account in salary negotiation choices as there is a culture of silence when it comes to salaries
which means that colleagues are not likely to know enough to initiate a backlash, the expected backlash from the employer is instead described as an deciding factor when deciding salary claims. The respondents do not feel comfortable to claim “high” salaries and argue for higher salaries because of the expected backlash from the employer. That backlash can be very direct or more indirect and can manifest itself as a ruined relationship between the boss as the representative of the employer and the respondent. For example

*It is hard to have high salary claims... even if I want to... mainly, I think that it is very risky... so then I feel that I... I usually don’t want to take that risk, because if the result of that is that my boss and me don’t agree... even if I won’t be fired... there can be situations where I will be forced to find something else... and so, I want to avoid those situations.* (Respondent G)

Or the following statement from respondent D that shows the fear of how the employer might react as well as the importance of being liked by the employer.

*I think the biggest fear is the fear of how the counterpart will react... because the one time I claimed a high salary at company A... I did it online so I didn’t have to speak with anybody, I didn’t know anybody... so I felt I could write something higher... but now at company B when I sat down with people and we click really well... I just want them to like me... and not dislike me because of what I claim... so I went down in salary claim... in like one second.* (Respondent D)

Although the respondents avoid the collegiate backlash by not discussing salaries, the expected backlash from the employer is causing the respondents to lower their claims. Therefore hypothesis H2b is partly confirmed.

### 5.2 Structural description

The textual description showed that the women experienced the counter-stereotypical dilemma in salary negotiations as a conflict between who they are as persons and the role they have to take on to succeed in salary negotiations. This challenge to sense of self included many components of the stereotypical female gender role. This impacted the wage negotiation choices as the women avoided high salary claims. When the women adopted a negotiator role and thus went outside of the stereotypical female gender role, they experienced backlash that also led to the avoidance of high salary claims. However, there are also important contextual
factors shaping the dilemma as women also develop strategies for dealing with the dilemma. This section is going to present those factors.

5.2.1 The impact of experience

According to the respondents, the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma is made easier with time and experience. While the dilemma is very strong in the beginning of a career, time and experience makes it easier to adopt stereotypically male behaviours in salary negotiations, which contributes to respondents feeling more comfortable claiming a higher salary. The respondents describe this as a process of working with oneself. In particular, this accounts for behaviours such as being able to sell yourself and talk about your worth, to have high self-confidence, argue for what you are good at, and highlight your strengths. One example of this is:

*It really took me about 30 years before I stopped being ashamed of asking about salary raises, so in that way it has been a process. Today I say it how it is, I am selling myself because I do have the knowledge, the experience and I know what I can offer. My latest interview was on Thursday so I said that I offer my competence, my knowledge and my qualities but I cost. It took 30 years of my life to come to this point and I think I missed a lot, I could have had a much higher salary if someone had helped me in those decisions.* (Respondent A)

This can also be exemplified with the following example that manifest this process of personally adapting from submissiveness to being able to accentuate yourself and your abilities.

*...so when I educated myself and started to have salary claims it became so much harder. I was very ashamed for even arguing for a salary that was below average. I though that I was young and therefore maybe not as competent as the others... it just didn’t feel natural to do that... And I couldn’t justify it for myself but with time I started to feel more comfortable with claiming higher...so its definitely a process... but is has always been a consideration, what I can claim to first of all feel comfortable and also so that other people don’t find me crazy.* (Respondent E)

In addition, the younger respondents often talked about the presented patterns as something that they hope is temporary and was thus aware of the impact that experience and time could have on their perception of who they are and their ability to claims salary. In the following example Respondent B will demonstrate this when asked about her salary claims that she classifies as low to middle.
I don’t know... why I think this way... it's because I am introverted as a person...
I think this is going to get better in the future... when you have a bit more experience... right now I am quite inexperienced and I feel that it is affecting me a bit... but yes, it is my personality really. (Respondent B)

Another example is:

I think it is very uncomfortable to sit there and discuss my salary and what I am worth... I don’t know... it’s a bit.... I don’t know why I feel that way but I think it could be the fear of how the counterpart will react (...) I don’t want to live with that my whole life and I think that when I have a bit more experience in maybe 10 years things will be different and I will be able to claim the salary I want. (Respondent I)

As can be seen, experience and time is thus a context that decreases the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. This is something that can both be seen with older respondents that talk about their experience and younger respondents in their expectations.

5.2.2 A good relationship with the manager decreases the dilemma

Many respondents have highlighted the relationship between the employee and the boss as a context that can affect the dilemma. A good relationship can for instance diminish the expected backlash as well as making it more comfortable for respondents to have a stereotypically male behaviour in salary negotiation choices. Therefore it is a process of building trust in which the employees knows they are not at risk of backlash and can act without being judged. An example of this is the following statement:

Right now, I don’t feel I have a hard time saying what I want in salary negotiations... and that has to do with the fact that I am very comfortable with my boss, and that makes everything so much easier... had he not been there I might have found it harder to argue for myself and my abilities in salary negotiations but I know he values me and that makes me feel comfortable.
(Respondent K)

Another example of this is when respondent E talks about a situation where she initiated a salary negotiation and asked for a raised salary. According to her, that specific situation was created by the fact that she had a good friendly relationship with her boss that she could trust. The statement is as follows:
When I worked at company C I kind of just went to her and said “I think I should have 28 000 in salary”... but that situation was so different because I had a really good friendly relationship with my boss and I knew her outside of work... I knew I could trust her and that she wouldn’t have though less of me for doing that... Otherwise I don’t know if I would have done that and I would definitely not have done that at my current workplace (Respondent E)

Both statements demonstrated that the gender dilemma is not as strong in a context where the respondents have a relationship with their managers that are based on trust.

5.2.3 The importance of regular salary meetings, feedback and an evaluation structure

Another context in which the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma decreases in salary negotiations is when there is a clear policy of regular, formal meeting about salary with established procedures as it gives an evaluation structure to the salary negotiations and a baseline to self-assessment and in particular self-promoting. This is because the salary talk becomes more natural to the respondents in this context, which makes the respondents feel more comfortable to argue for oneself. An example of this is the following statement.

I wouldn’t say that I am afraid to lose my job but the whole situation is just unnatural... it makes it complicated... it’s so much easier to just have regular salary talks... it would make it easier to say that I want a salary raise (...) because now I feel uncomfortable... that I have to ask myself... it just becomes an unnatural situation that I am not comfortable with. (Respondent C)

On the contrary, the following example is of a respondent that has this kind of regular meeting and established procedures for that meeting, something that she thinks is instrumental for her ability to feel comfortable with salary negotiations. This statement highlights the important of an established evaluation structure as it gives women a chance highlight their strengths and results since the last meeting as well as an opportunity to get feedback. The feedback can to some extent confirm the self-promoting. For example:

I think they have developed a really good system where both me and my employer grades me, and there is a lot of questions... very detailed about task assignments, execution and working environment and knowledge about the organisation and all possible things... so you read through that and grade
yourself 1 to 5 and then you go through this together with your boss... in this way it makes is easier to point to the things I have done good. It just feels better do to it this way than me sitting here telling what I am good at... and I think we often come to an agreement.

(Respondent H)

Although it is important to remember that this statements do not mean the dilemma disappears but rather decreases in a context of regular meetings of salary talks, as many of the respondents who mentioned this also talks about the gender dilemma as an existing fact that affects them in other parts of the interviews.

5.3 Alternative explanations

It is important to recognize that all respondents did not consider the dilemma in the way the hypothesis stated. Some recognized the dilemma as a general dilemma but did not feel or show any effects of it in their salary negotiations. For example “I’m a relatively self-critical person but I do not have any problems motivating the things I’m good at, despite the current structures in society” (Respondent J) Another example of this is:

I don’t feel like the society has an expectation on me in particular, but I do think that its easier for men to negotiate because men do have higher salary even if they do the same work... so I don’t feel it has affected my behaviour but I do think that girls are expected to be a bit less self-confident. (Respondent L)

A few respondents also put a different meaning to the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma and explained the reasons why they did not go outside the female gender role as something that did not have to do with their perception of who they are or the expected backlash. Instead it had to do with prioritizing family-life and children ahead of salary raises as a conscious choice. For example:

I have been home a lot with four children. I have no problems with my salary for that reason lagging behind. It is an active choice I made that meant that money did not matter to me because it was more important to invest in my children so that they felt good and became independent prosperous adults. (Respondent J)

This is also related in the gender dilemma as there is a choice to stay in a stereotypical female gender role but the reasons are different from those hypothesised.
There are also alternative perspectives that can be found in the literature. Research has for example shown that women are more critical of themselves than men and thus give themselves lower assessments. Minter et al. (2005) studied this subject with surgical residents and found that female residents consistently underestimated their abilities and reported lower self-assessment grades than their male counterparts despite equivalent performances. Pallier (2003) found a similar result. He studied adults and their self-assessment of accuracy in cognitive tasks and found that men had a tendency to overestimate their performance and express higher levels of confidence than woman. As women has reported lower self confidence and self assessments, this could be an alternative explanation to why women experience struggle to have high salary claims and motivate them with self promoting.

There are thus alternative perspectives in both the interviews and literature. Although all in all, this is only a marginal part of the respondents’ interviews and is therefore not elaborated on any further.

5.4 Essence

The essence of the finding is the fact that the participating women; women in white collar-female dominated professions recognized the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma through their description of their experience of salary negotiations. The dilemma was experienced both indirectly through societal gender-role norms that manifested themselves in the respondents perception of who they are, as well as directly where the respondents expected backlash based on experience. The statements also showed the conciseness of decision-making in salary negotiations that manifested itself through avoidance of high salary claims, which confirmed the stereotypical female gender behaviour. In addition, those findings were slightly different in different contexts as experience, a good relationship with the manager and a regularly scheduled time for assessment and feedback made the negotiation choices easier and the dilemma smaller.

6. Discussion

The results of this research have implications for wage negotiations, but it also has some limitations. In this section the results, their implications and limitations are going to be
discussed. Suggestions for further research are also going to be presented. The section is going to end with a short paragraph where the conclusions are going to be summarized.

6.1 The main findings and their conformity to the literature

To answer the research question and summarize the findings, the participating women experienced the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma in salary negotiation as a conflict between who they are as persons which often included stereotypically female role traits, with the role needed to negotiate high salary and which often included stereotypically male characteristics. The negotiator role characteristics were thus in conflict with the stereotypical woman role and the women as persons. The perception of themselves as not associated with the male salary negotiations behaviours such as arguing for their own worth, highlight their own strengths, accentuate themselves, be loud and demanding, led the participating women to have low salary claims as this conflict impacted their salary claim choices. This finding is in consensus with the existing literature in this area and thus fully confirms hypotheses H1a, H1b, H1c. In addition, the respondents expected backlash for high salary claims, mainly from the manager. The backlash affected the participating women to lower their salary claims to avoid conflicts. This is also fully supported by the literature. Moreover, the literature also states that the backlash is because of women acting outside their gender roles. Nevertheless, this was not conformed in the findings. Hypotheses H2a is with this caveat, therefore confirmed while H2b is only partially confirmed as the expected backlash only affected the participants if it came from the manager.

Another important finding was that the strength of the dilemma was context sensitive. Experience, quality of the relationship with the manager and the structure of salary negotiation were factors that affected the strength of the dilemma to either increase or decrease. Those contextual factors were not found in the literature but have shown to be significant in the interviews. This is thus a new finding from this research that should be taken into account in further research.

6.2 General discussion

The above presented findings contribute to a deeper understanding of women’s behaviour in salary negotiations as the research purpose of this study stated. As there is an inter-role conflict between the woman role and the negotiator role, defined by role theory as a conflict
between the meanings of two different roles, different and conflicting meanings are prescribed to each role. Women define themselves through the stereotypical woman characteristics that are prescribed to the woman role by society and that is in conflict with the prescribed negotiator attributes. As such, the meaning of being a woman and the meaning of being a negotiator are conflicting with each other. Women’s salary negotiation behaviour is therefore affected. Behaviours such as claiming lower salary than wanted, difficulties of highlighting strengths and self promote are behaviours that in part comes from the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma and the conflict between the woman role and the negotiator role. In a role theory terminology, the findings can be described as women role-playing and acting the role of a woman in salary negotiations as a consequence of socialization. The role-playing is based on characteristics that are prescribed to the woman role by society; those same characteristics are in conflict with the characteristics that are prescribed to the role of a negotiator. When the women role-play and act the roles, they get evaluated both by themselves and others. If the women go outside of the characteristics that are prescribed for the woman role they get sanctioned with backlash from others or regulate the behaviour by themselves. This contributes to them staying in the woman role in salary negotiations. Factors such as experience could be argued to affect their own perception of the woman role as they work with oneself to allow themselves to embrace the male characteristics of the negotiator role, while factors such as regular salary meetings and a good relationship with the manager could be argued to be based on the manager’s permission for the women to go outside of the woman role without sanction, but only in the context of salary negotiations.

The women’s experience of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma in salary negotiations and the effects of this experience is an important step in the way to understand the salary negotiation difficulties facing many women working in white collar – female dominated professions, in particular in salary claim choices, and in the long run contribute to pay equality between men and women. Those experiences could help understand why many women may perform inferior in salary negotiations and make other choices than men. In this way, it could strengthen the argument that this can explain a part of the pay gap between men and women, as well as pointing out the significance of social roles and behavioural norms in the gender pay gap.
6.2.1 Addressing wage inequality by minimizing role conflict

As the gender roles are socialized to manifest itself as a part of ones personality, which in this study is presented as the participants not identifying themselves with male characteristics needed to negotiate high salary and have high salary claims, it becomes clear those gender roles starts its influence early in a persons life. In accordance to the literature, socialization occurs in both the relationship and communication from parents and other important people in a child’s life (Eccles, Jacobs & Harold, 1990), as well as from children’s literature and other media outlets (Weitzman et al., 1972). Those socialized children then shape the socialization of others through their own socialized expectations on each genders behaviour (Wharton, 2014 p. 37). In accordance to this, the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma has roots in every child’s childhood and should therefore also be treated in accordance to that. Gender role consciousness from parents, teachers and other important people in children’s lives could be an important step in the way to minimizing the role conflict between the woman role and the negotiation role by encouraging those behaviours that is not often associated with female behaviours, behaviours such as being loud, sporty and in that way redefine gender roles so that women can feel they can take up space and resources the same way men can. Even so, it is not as simple as it seems. Gender role behaviours and reinforcements are often unconscious behaviours that can manifest themselves without the individual knowing or despite the individual’s effort to not conform with the gender roles (Eccles, Jacobs & Harold, 1990). As such, such behaviours can be extremely hard to change even when the individual is educated and aware of the situation.

The role conflict could thus also be attacked from another perspective that focuses on conscious behaviours such as the way we talk about salary negotiations. By including salary negotiations in the feminist movement to wage equality and discussing negotiating for a higher salary as a way to care for yourself and your family, could in the long run work to change woman role and reducing the conflict with the negotiator role.

Although, to reduce the role conflict do not only have to mean to change the woman role, the negotiator role and the performance assessments in salary negotiations could also change to include more stereotypically female characteristics such as soft values that can be seen in table 1. In that way the role conflict that the participating women experienced with the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma in salary negotiation could decrease.
6.2.2 Creating the right in-work context

As the findings showed, contexts such as set procedures, policy of regular salary talks at the workplace and a good relationship between the employee and the manager could lead to women feeling more confident in salary claim choices as the salary negotiation becomes more natural to them. Making changes to the context can thus mitigate the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. Such changes are investment in personal relationships in workplaces (in particular worker-manager relationships), eliminating the combative idea of a strategic negotiation as well as regular salary talks and established procedures that provides a structure of self-assessment and presenting of worth. Those changes in the contextual setting of salary negotiations are thus ways to unstigmatize salary negotiations and force the salary conversation to discussions what would not have been discussed without the procedures. As the findings also established that the dilemma and difficulties to claim high salary decreased with experience, regular salary talks could also be a way to force experience.

Although as the finding showed, those contexts could not take away the gender role challenges and thus the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma but rather mitigate it and make the salary talk more natural.

6.2.3 Is salary negotiations really necessary?

If salary negotiations are affected by gender roles and its norms and thus limits women’s choices in relation to salary claims, if the women experience salary negotiations as a conflict that has emotional burden and imposes a financial cost, it could be argued that salary negotiations systematically disadvantage women. Are such salary negotiations really necessary? Workplaces almost always have managers that are aware of employees’ performance. In many cases, performance can also be measured with numbers and statistics. If the possibility of the strategic salary negotiation is taken away and instead is replaced with regular salary talks where the manager decides the salary raise based on pre-decided qualifications, the gender aspect in salary negotiations could be decreased. Although, there have been research that has shown that statistics and pre-decided qualifications is not an assurance of complete equality as statistics could be biased as well. There is for example data that shows that women’s work and contributions are being graded more poorly relative to men (Bauer & Baltes, 2002; Davison & Burke, 2000), something that could have an opposite effect on pay equality. While this is not an unproblematic question, it should be raised and discussed, as should further research be done on this matter before action is taken.
6.3 Limitations

The presented findings suggest several avenues for interventions into wage inequality, however there are a number of limitations in this study that should be discussed and acknowledged. The most central is the fact that this study has a small sample size of 12 respondents while only delimited to women that works in white collar– female dominated professions. This means that there is a small but relatively heterogeneous sample that represents a wide area of the world. While heterogeneous samples often can strengthen the arguments for patterns found, it is important to remember that the small sample size can mean biases that would be easier to detect if the sample was more delimited and homogenous or bigger in size, as well as the fact that some aspects of the gender dilemma might not have been detected due to the small sample size. Another limitation in the sample is the spread of ages as a large amount of respondents is ether under 30 or over 49, it has thus a relatively small representation of middle aged women, this is also something that has to do with the relatively small sample size but limited delimitation. It is therefore important to acknowledge that this study should work as a pre-study to inspire further research in this area as well as contribute with an analytical perspective of women’s behaviour in salary negotiations and not aim to generalize the finding to a bigger context. From an analytical perspective, this study is of interest even from the specific context of this study. Although, the analytical value should also be contextualized to the limitations that this research possesses, such limitation is the degree of which the study is guided by hypothesis. It is undoubtedly unconventional for phenomenological research as it could be argued to limit the unfiltered experience of the respondents. Even if there is no way to confirm that the finding would be the same if a inductive framework would be adopted, there is factors that point to that direction. For example, one important indication is that the respondents often mentioned themes related to the hypotheses before the questions was mentioned to them, which suggests that those themes would be significant without the hypotheses as well.

6.4 Further research

As mentioned above the findings of this study should inspire further research to focus on the qualitative, the women’s perspective of their own experience of gender roles and their impact in salary negotiations and salary claim choices. By focusing on the women’s own experience, deeper findings can be found that would help understand the mechanism of salary negotiations and the differences between men and women. In the long run this could help
understand and prevent the gender pay gap. In terms of role theory and the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma, future research could take these findings forward by piloting different workplace programs to minimize conflict in wage negotiations. Another implication for further research is to focus on women in other contexts, for example women in male dominated profession or women in general to compare how those women experience the dilemma and the experienced impact of gender roles in salary claim choices. The keyword here is experience, because there is a shortage of quantitative research focused on experience in this area of research, something this study want to inspire to further investigate on.

6.5 Conclusions

As presented earlier, the Swedish society as well as other societies in the world still suffer from wage inequality and gender pay gap. This gender pay inequality is in part because salaries are often determined through negotiations, which poses a particular problem for women: the problem of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma. By qualitatively examining women that work in white collar- female dominated professions and their experience of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma, this study found that women are aware of the dilemma and often experience negotiations as conflicting with who they are as persons. This challenge to self includes many characteristics of the stereotypical female role, characteristics such as being submissive, communal, friendly and not demanding or dominating the negotiation. At the same time women expected backlash if they adopted a negotiator role and used stereotypical male characteristics that did not conform with the woman role. By learning about their experiences, this study was also able to identify the impact of the dilemma. It was found that woman avoided high salary claims and conformed to the woman role. This study also identified strategies they adopted to manage the dilemma such as continuously working with oneself and the ability to sell oneself, and contextual factors that mitigate the dilemma. Such factors are experience, the quality of the manager-worker relationship and the existence of established regular salary meeting that gives the salary negotiations an evaluation structure and a baseline for self-assessment.

The value of this research is the fact that it develops the concept of the counter-stereotypical gender dilemma and looks at women’s experiences of the dilemma and their contexts and strategies in approaching wage negotiations. In this way, it contributes to the analytical value of this study. This new insight will shed light on possible ways to intervene in this problem,
for example working on redefining the essence of the stereotypical woman role, redefining the negotiations situation or creating the suggested in-work negotiation context.

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Online sources


Appendix A: Interview protocol in Swedish

Historien
   - Hur känner du för den lön du har nu
   - Hade du kunnat göra något annorlunda i löneförhandlingen för att höja den (ytterligare)

Löneförhandlings-situationen
Nu kommer jag ställa lite frågor om löneförhandlingssituationen.

2. Berätta hur du upplever löneförhandlings-situationen?
   - Vad tänker du på?
   - Hur känner du dig?
   - Vad har du för förhopningar på löneförhandlingar
   - Har du en strategi? I så fall vilken?

3. Skulle du säga att dina löneanspråk i löneförhandlingar ofta är låga, medel eller höga?
   - Hur tänker du kring det? varför är det så?

4. Skulle du säga att det är lätt, medel eller svårt för dig att ställa ett högt löneanspråk på en löneförhandling?
   - Varför är det så?

5. I de situationer där du har känt att du har förtjänat löneförhöjning. Hur har du gått tillväga för att få det? Har det lyckats?
   - Känner du dig bekväm med det här sättet?
   - Händer detta ofta (att du gör såhär)?

6. Tänk på någon gång när du har haft ett högt löneanspråk
   - Hur kände du inför det?
   - Vad fick dig att ställa ett högt anspråk?

7. Tänk istället på en gång när du har haft lågt löneanspråk.
   - Vad fick dig att ställa ett lågt löneanspråk?
   - Hur kände du inför det?

Kontext
Nu kommer lite bredare frågor om löneförhandlingen och kontexten till att du upplever löneförhandlingen som du gör.

   - Hur påverkar dessa utmaningar dig i löneförhandlingar

Omgivning
Nu kommer jag ställa lite frågor kring din omgivning och deras förväntningar och reaktioner på ditt beteende i löneförhandlingar. När jag säger omgivning så tänker jag både på samhället i stort men också din närmaste omgivning.

10. Hur blir enligt dina erfarenheter i löneförhandlingar ett högt löneanspråk bemött av arbetsgivaren?
   - Varför?
   - Är det likadant för lågt löneanspråk eller finns det en skillnad?

11. Berättar du för dina nära kollegor om dina tankar kring löneförhandlingen. Till exempel vad dina förhoppningar är innan löneförhandlingen, eller dina tankar efter löneförhandlingen?
   - Varför är det så?

12. (om ja) hur reagerar de?

13. Vad brukar du få för tips av människor runt omkring dig när du ska in i en löneförhandling?
   - Brukar du ta till dig tipsen?

Kön i löneförhandlingar

   - Berätta om ett tillfälle där du kände att dessa olika förväntningar påverkade din löneförhandling. (framför allt ditt beteende men också andras)
   - Skulle du säga att detta är vanligt förekommande i ditt arbetsliv?
   - Vart brukar dessa förväntningar komma ifrån?


Berätta om ett tillfälle då ditt beteende i löneförhandlingar kan ha bidragit till könslönegapet eller hjälp att minska könslönegapet i ditt yrke eller på ditt företag.
   - Förklara? Hur då?