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Activating an Integrative Mindset Improves the Subjective Outcomes of Value-Driven Conflicts

Carolin Schuster[1], Fieke Harinck[2], and Roman Trötschel[1]

1 Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany
2 Leiden University, Leiden, Germany

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Correspondence
Correspondence to Carolin Schuster, Faculty of Sustainability, Leuphana University Lüneburg, Universitätsallee 1, 21335 Lüneburg, carolin.schuster@leuphana.de.

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Abstract

The present study tests the effectiveness of a mindset intervention for negotiators in value-driven conflicts. We hypothesize that this intervention fosters integrative negotiation behaviors and subjective outcomes. In an experimental 2 (motive: value vs. utility) by 2 (intervention: mindset vs. control) design, 253 participants negotiated online with a simulated counterpart. In contrast to predictions, the mindset led to more integrative trade-offs among utility-driven but not value-driven negotiators. However, the results support the effectiveness of the mindset intervention to improve subjective outcomes of value-driven negotiators. Without the intervention, they perceive the negotiation outcome as significantly less positive than utility-driven negotiators with the same objective outcome. In addition, explorative analyses show that without the mindset intervention, value-driven negotiators respect their counterpart less as a person of equal worth than utility-driven negotiators; this is no longer the case after activating the integrative mindset. The implications of these findings for resolving value conflicts and improving tolerance between parties with different value priorities are discussed.

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Societies today are struggling with heated conflicts and negotiations that revolve around values and the convictions of the parties as much as the distribution of resources (Harinck & Druckman, 2017; Harinck & Ellemers, 2014; Schuster et al., 2020; Tetlock et al., 2000; Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002). For instance, in negotiations about climate goals may be driven by seemingly opposed convictions to protect nature or the economy (Thompson & Gonzalez, 1997) and in the discussion of lockdown measures during the present pandemic, conflicts arise between parties prioritizing the saving of lives and those upholding civil liberties (Schuster, 2021).

When a tangible issue linked to values requires a joint decision, the parties face not only the challenge of finding a win-win agreement—which by itself is quite difficult. An additional challenge is to make necessary concessions without feeling like a sell-out and standing behind the joint agreement with a counterpart who seems to follow fundamentally different principles in life (Tetlock et al., 2000). There is urgent need for research on how to overcome these challenges and on how value-driven conflicts can be better resolved (Harinck & Druckman, 2019; Harinck & Ellemers, 2014). The present research examines whether preparing negotiators with an integrative mindset (an inclination to collaborate, be curious, and be creative) intervention will lead them to engage in more cooperative negotiation behavior and reach a higher subjective evaluation of mutually beneficial negotiation outcomes. This research thus contributes to the development of practical approaches to guide negotiation and decision-making processes on issues linked to the parties' different values.

In the following, we first review previous research on specific obstacles in value conflicts and interventions to overcome them. Then, we summarize research that suggests that the mindset of value-driven negotiators might be a critical factor in value conflicts. We then explain our hypothesis that activating a more constructive mindset is a possible lever to improve subjective outcomes of value-driven negotiators, which is tested in the present study.

The Challenges of Value-Driven Conflicts

We use the term *value-driven conflicts* to refer to a situation where two or more parties experience an incompatibility between their positions about a specific issue needing to be resolved and in which they perceive their opposing positions are guided by values (Druckman & Zechmeister, 1973; Harinck & Ellemers, 2014). The term value-*driven* emphasizes that the parties do not necessarily hold fundamentally conflicting values but may find themselves in a material conflict revolving around argumentation driven by subjective values. For instance, the core values of tradition and sustainability are not fundamentally incompatible, yet two parties may prioritize them differently and engage in a value-driven conflict on how to distribute funds or how to develop an urban area. In contrast, we refer to a conflict in which the parties are mainly motivated by the benefits or costs of a potential outcome (e.g., economic profits) as a *utility-driven* conflict (Schuster et al., 2020).

The framing of conflicts as revolving around values has been shown to impair effective conflict resolution (for a review, see Harinck & Ellemers, 2014). Specifically, several studies have shown that negotiators reach lower joint and individual outcomes when the underlying interests in the issues are framed as value-driven, compared to driven by the utility of the negotiated resources (Harinck et al., 2000; Harinck & De Dreu, 2004; Harinck & Druckman, 2017; Kouzakova et al., 2012, 2013; Schuster et al., 2020). Harinck and Ellemers (2014) suggest that the ineffective conflict resolution observed in value conflicts may be rooted in the negotiators' experience that their identity is threatened (also Kouzakova et al., 2013). In a value conflict, the threat posed by conflicts over issues related to what one considers fundamentally right or wrong makes negotiators particularly unwilling to trade off concessions or to find mutually beneficial agreements (Tetlock et al., 2000; Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002). In fact, negotiators in value conflicts seem less interested in optimal

integrative outcomes (Stöckli & Tanner, 2014). They also strive less to reach integrative outcomes, even if they have the necessary information to identify them (Schuster et al., 2020).

Apparently, different motivational processes are elicited when individuals are driven by dearly held values than when they act based on interests and related potential costs and gains. Individuals are more likely to plan and show behavior relevant to their core values even when a behavior is personally costly (Hahnel et al., 2014; Karp, 1996; Schuster, 2021) and also seem to adapt a behavior less to how effective the behavior seems in reaching their goals (Schuster, 2021). The prevalent focus of individuals making such moralized decisions seems to be to avoid harm rather than maximize gain (Berman & Kupor, 2020). In summary, previous research suggests that a person who is driven by values when negotiating may strive less towards an overall optimal objective outcome, as in an integrative trade-off agreement, but rather to minimize harm on any issue, as in a compromise agreement.

Importantly, the objective outcome may not fully reflect what constitutes a successful negotiation. The subjective outcome may be even more relevant, particularly when it comes to decisions about working together in the future or decisions resulting in long-term outcomes (Curhan et al., 2006, 2009, 2010). Subjectively, negotiations are not only measured by how much they seem like a win or loss but also by the feelings they elicit about oneself (e.g., a sense of competence and acting in line with valued principles), by the perception of the process as fair and effective, and by a positive relationship with one's counterpart (Curhan et al., 2006). Unfortunately, value-driven negotiators also reach subjectively worse outcomes than utility-driven negotiators, even when they have similar objective outcomes (Schuster et al., 2020).

In addition, value-driven conflicts have been shown to elicit troubling interpersonal effects. Compared to utility-driven conflicts of interest, value-driven negotiators report lower motivation to cooperate (Harinck et al., 2000) and see less common ground with their counterparts (Kouzakova et al., 2012). The involvement of sacred values or moral imperatives is widely discussed as a barrier in intergroup conflicts that can lead to escalation and even justify violent acts against the other party (Atran et al., 2007; Friend & Malhotra, 2019; Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002). Moreover, studies on moral convictions show that strong moral attitudes, compared to other strong attitudes, lead people to be intolerant of attitudinally dissimilar others, decrease goodwill towards them and limit the ability to find procedural solutions in attitudinally heterogeneous group settings (Skitka et al., 2005). These findings point to the importance of finding ways of negotiating value-driven conflicts in a way that the parties leave the table with better subjective outcomes and an intact and respectful relationship with their counterpart.

Interventions to Resolve Value-Driven Conflicts

So far, there have only been very few studies that experimentally tested strategies and interventions to resolve value conflicts. Harinck and Druckman (2017) systematically tested a number of interventions and showed that inducing a shared identity or consideration of transaction costs does not improve the outcome of negotiations involving a value conflict compared to a resource conflict. However, after an intervention to enhance affirmation of the other party by thinking positively about them before the negotiation, value-driven negotiators no longer had a disadvantage (Harinck & Druckman, 2017). Other-affirmation, preferably combined with a complementary mediation style (Harinck & Druckman, 2019), is thus one first promising way to help shift negotiators' focus in a constructive direction, possibly also helping interpersonally to reduce implicit bias and prejudice (Legault et al., 2021). Its effectiveness may be limited somewhat as the message to think positively about the other party or even share such thoughts may not fall on fertile ground with all negotiators and in all contexts. Trainers or mediators might even find parties reluctant to follow this advice as such interpersonal affirmations may not be common in conflicts in a professional context. In addition, there is still a lack of research about interventions that improve subjective outcomes in value-driven negotiations. Nevertheless, the studies on interpersonal affirmations are crucial on a theoretical level as they

imply that in value conflicts, it may be particularly important to reduce interpersonal tensions and devaluation between the parties. They also imply that negotiators in value conflicts may profit from orienting their thoughts towards a more positive and constructive focus.

The Defensive Mindset of Value-Driven Conflicts

The literature discussed above suggests that value conflicts trigger a defensive mindset that is an obstacle to negotiating effectively. A mindset is a "psychological orientation that affects the selection, encoding, and retrieval of information; as a result, mindsets drive evaluations, actions, and responses" (Rucker & Galinsky, 2016, p. 161). Especially in complex social situations like negotiations, which require the ongoing analysis of information and appropriate reactions rather than following specific predefined recipes for success, mindsets can be crucial factors to bundle and guide constructive processing and the retrieval and execution of previously learned negotiation skills (Ade et al., 2018).

Support for the idea that a defensive mindset negatively affects the information processing of value-driven negotiators comes from previous research suggesting that they perceive the conflict as a clash of values even when those values are actually quite compatible and that this perception guides their negative evaluation of the outcome (Schuster et al., 2020). They also do not use trade-off opportunities even when provided relevant information about the other party's priorities. The typical mindset of negotiators in value conflicts seems to be characterized by the wariness and behavioral tendencies stimulated by threats: namely, the inclination to fight, flight, or freeze. In value-driven negotiations, this may be characterized by showing more forcing behavior (Harinck & Druckman, 2019), opting out of negotiating (again) with the person (Harinck et al., 2000), or being stalled on single issues and thus ending up with partial impasses (Schuster et al., 2020).

Activating a More Effective Integrative Mindset

As Ade et al. (2018) have identified, the mindset of successful negotiators in integrative negotiations is characterized by the inclination to persistent collaboration with the other party to find a mutually beneficial solution; curiosity about their underlying values, interests, and preferences that may help to identify them; and creativity to explore options to create value beyond the obvious. Based on this, it would be reasonable to predict that activating an integrative mindset will positively affect negotiations in general. However, there is also reason to assume that value-driven negotiators in particular may profit from a change of mindset. A comparison of the two mindsets—the integrative mindset suggested by Ade and colleagues and the typical threat-based mindset of negotiators in value conflicts—makes clear that an integrative mindset fostering the creative exploration of practical collaborative solutions is fundamentally opposed to a defensive mindset fixating on the right or wrong of moral convictions and on defending one's identity, sometimes only symbolically, in the face of a perceived threat. Given that value-driven negotiators seem to have a non-constructive mindset, we argue that activating an integrative mindset may particularly foster integrative behaviors and satisfaction with integrative agreements in a value conflict.

Besides reducing the aversion to making systematic integrative trade-offs, a mindset intervention may help the negotiator propose creative ways of resolving the dilemma of value conflicts. Field studies on conflicts about sacred values suggest that unexpected room for agreements may be opened up by reframing the values that the parties so fervently mean to follow (Atran & Axelrod, 2008). Valued principles often are highly ambiguous, leaving room for interpretation in what, for instance, "the sanctity of marriage" means and what is compatible with it or not (e.g., the marriage of homosexual couples). To acknowledge and respect the other party's values while creatively searching for compatibilities in what they entail may be an important strategy to resolving value conflicts. This openness to look beyond seemingly fixed positions is part of the integrative mindset.

Compared with interventions that encourage value-driven negotiators to think about positive aspects of their counterparts (Harinck & Druckman, 2017, 2019), the activation of an integrative mindset is meant to guide individuals in the negotiation towards curiosity and openness about each other's perspective and create chances to bridge different perspectives for mutual benefit. Both approaches may thus counteract a negative view of the counterpart but the integrative mindset also aims to foster the constructive processing of differences.

The Present Research and Hypothesis

In this study we experimentally test the effect of a mindset intervention on behaviors and subjective outcomes in a value-driven, compared to a utility-driven, conflict. The mindset intervention, which was newly developed for this study, was applied in a simulated online negotiation paradigm in a value-driven social conflict (Schuster et al., 2020). The intervention is based on the integrative mindset, a theoretical concept synthesized from the negotiation literature (Ade et al., 2018, 2019). Since a detrimental mindset in value-driven negotiation can be triggered by the situational framing of the issues as value-relevant, it seems likely that a more constructive integrative mindset can also be triggered by a brief intervention, as long as the negotiator has in principle the necessary skills (Ade et al., 2018). We predict the effects of the experimental manipulations on subjective negotiation outcomes and negotiation behaviors (offering integrative trade-offs).[1] Specifically, we predict, based on the findings by Schuster and colleagues (2020):

H1. The value motive worsens the subjective evaluations of the negotiation compared to the utility motive.

Following the logic that changing value-driven negotiators' mindsets from a defensive to an integrative focus will eliminate (some of) their dissatisfaction with the negotiation, we propose either a main or, alternatively, a moderating effect of the mindset intervention:[2]

H2a. The mindset manipulation improves the subjective evaluation of the negotiation compared to the control condition but does not decrease the disadvantage of value-driven negotiators (i.e., there is only a main effect across both the utility-driven and the value-driven conflict condition).

H2b. The mindset manipulation improves the subjective evaluation of the negotiation in value-driven conflicts in particular, and thus reduces the disadvantage of value-driven compared to utility-driven negotiators (i.e., there is an interaction effect).

Both hypotheses H2a and H2b reflect a successful intervention, but the alternatives provide different insights. Support for H2a (or even for a beneficial effect of the mindset only in the utility-driven conflict) would confirm the usefulness of the integrative mindset. Support for H2b would provide indirect evidence

[1] Theoretically, we would also predict similar effects on objective outcomes. However, the paradigm of the present study was constructed to keep objective outcomes fairly constant and to focus on subjective outcomes.

[2] In the pre-registration (see https://osf.io/beqhf), the effectiveness of the mindset (i.e., main effect or conditional effect) and the possible interaction patterns (i.e., two main effects or a specific interaction) were phrased as two separately numbered hypotheses. However, given that this was tested in the same pre-registered analysis, it seems redundant and was summarized here.

that value-driven negotiators are by default hindered by their (non-integrative) mindset and show a way to overcome this.

Similarly, we predict previously found effects of the value motive on integrative negotiation behaviors will be replicated, such as offering integrative trade-offs (Schuster et al., 2020). In addition, we pre-registered that we would examine "offering compromises" and "resisting to concede" as further indicators of negotiation behaviors. These three indicators are structurally related as they are calculated from the same observable behavior (i.e., the negotiators' succession of offers). However, the trade-off measure reflects changes in the successive allocation of interest achievement scores between the parties, whereas compromises, resistance to conceding, and concessions refer to the type of options that participants offer. The most integrative constellation of these types of offers would be making no compromises but partly conceding and partly resisting to concede.

H3. The value motive leads to less integrative trade-offs compared to the utility motive.

Given that the mindset intervention is applied to increase integrative trade-offs and mitigate this effect, it might be found only in the control condition.

H4a. The mindset increases integrative trade-offs compared to the control group in value- and utility-driven conflicts to a similar extent but does not reduce the difference between the two significantly (i.e., only a main effect of mindset).

H4b. The mindset increases integrative trade-offs compared to the control group in value-driven conflicts in particular, and thus reduces the disadvantage of value-driven compared to utility-driven negotiators (i.e., interaction effect).

We further explore several processes and outcomes that may be affected by the mindset. Specifically, we look at participants' concern for their own and the other's interests, which according to the dual concern model are both relevant for integrative conflict resolution (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986). In addition, we examine how negotiators' motives and the mindset interventions affect the extent to which their counterpart's offers are reactively devalued as not in one's best interest (a well-known obstacle to conflict resolution; Maoz et al., 2002; Ross, 1993) and affect respect for the counterpart as an equal human being (a highly relevant factor for tolerance between societal groups; Simon et al., 2015; Simon & Schaefer, 2018). Finally, we explore differences in open-ended comments to the counterpart, particularly regarding their valence and integrative focus.

Method

Transparency Statement

The complete materials, data, and an analysis script are available in the project folder on the open science framework. To ensure maximum transparency for the interested reader while keeping the article focused on the main research question, we also report additional preliminary and exploratory analyses in the supplemental online material (SOM) in the open science framework folder.

Sample and Design

Participants with English as their first language were recruited via prolific.ac. We planned to collect a sample of 256 participants to achieve a power = .80 to find a small interaction effect (η^2= .03) in our 2 (motive: value vs. utility) by 2 (intervention: mindset vs. control) experimental design. Of 292 who started the survey, 12 were excluded due to incorrect attention checks and 24 because they made a first offer that did not correctly reflect their interests.[3] In addition, three participants were excluded from the mindset condition because they chose to follow none of the mindset recommendations or considered all recommendations as (rather) not useful (see pre-registration file online). The final sample consisted of 253 participants (119 men, 132 women, and 2 of other genders) with a mean age of 36.22 years (*SD* = 11.76). Most participants were from the United Kingdom (160) or North America (64), and 67% had at least an undergraduate degree (160).

Negotiation Task and Experimental Manipulations

The task is a slightly adapted version of the paradigm developed by Schuster, Majer, and Trötschel (2020). After giving informed consent, participants received a description of their role in the upcoming negotiation. They were instructed to act as the manager of a travel company.

Motive Manipulation

Depending on the motive condition, they were provided with either their company's code of values endorsing sustainable travel (value motive) or with their company's target group analysis that showed their customers' preference for nightlife and events (utility motive). The motives were framed to suggest that the company was particularly interested in providing travel opportunities to central sites with less environmental impact, or more nightlife event options, respectively. Then five suggestive statements were given that were related to sustainability values, or customer orientation, respectively, to which participants indicated their agreement or disagreement. The purpose of these items was to strengthen participants' identification with the motive of their role (for a similar procedure, see Simon et al., 2008). Participants were then asked to indicate the number of statements they had agreed with. In the value condition, 94% agreed with all statements and 98% with more than three out of five; In the utility condition, 84% agreed with all statements and 100% with more than three.

The negotiation situation was then outlined and their party's priorities were described in more detail. Participants were told that the government had asked them to identify four out of twelve possible sites for future hotels together with another travel company. This required them to find an agreement with this company that would allow them to influence the selection of future tourist sites. They were also told that their company had three priorities concerning their code of values/target group analyses, which were weighted according to their preference for different sites. These were in the value condition: 1. protection of the ecosystem (triple weight), 2. building upon existing infrastructure (double weight), 3. minimizing emissions (single weight); and in the utility condition: 1. nightlife opportunities (triple weight), 2. availability

[3]A Chi-square test showed that slightly more participants failed the attention check in the utility condition (10 of 149) compared to the value condition (2 of 143), $\chi^2(1) = 5.23$, p = .022. Previous research has indicated that value-driven negotiations are characterized by higher personal involvement (Kouzakova et al., 2012) and stronger identification with the role (Schuster et al., 2020), which may have been reflected in participants' higher attention to the task when it was framed as being about values.

of events and activities (double weight), 3. accessibility (single weight). To make sure participants understood the instructions, they completed an attention check. They had to fill in the correct words from drop-down lists in a short text summarizing the parties, the number of issues to decide on, and their priorities. As the header stated, only participants who completed these correctly proceeded with the study.

Participants were then instructed to exchange offers in three rounds with their counterparts in an online negotiation. They received a table of the 12 possible hotel sites that indicated with a numerical value (ranging from -2 to 5) on how suitable each location was, based on the respective priority criteria, and each location's overall interest achievement score (i.e., the sum of all these values * the criteria weight). Then participants stated their first offer (i.e., the four sites they preferred) and answered the motive manipulation check.

Mindset Manipulation

After the first offer was made, participants were told to wait to be assigned to a counterpart. The mindset group was told to read an expert negotiation tip by choosing from three titles ("The mind of the effective negotiator," "Focus is everything," or "Lessons from 20 years of negotiations"), all of which led to the same mindset activation, and then rate that tip. The control group simply waited 20 seconds before they could continue. Giving participants a choice and letting them rate the mindset activation served to induce in them a sense of autonomy in following the mindset, rather than being asked to merely follow the experimenter's demands. The mindset activation consisted of the following three recommendations, which reflect the inclinations in the integrative mindset described by Ade et al. (2018, 2019) but which were explicitly expanded to include values and identity aspects besides interests:

> *"Be collaborative: Try to perceive the other party as a partner in this negotiation. Focus on finding a solution that fits your and your partner's values and interests as best as possible. In most negotiations, there is a chance that both negotiation partners are happy with the solution.*
>
> *Be curious: Enter this negotiation with an open mind and be curious about your partner's interests and priorities. Try to explore and truly understand your partner in order to find out what agreements would fit better or worse with their self-view and what they need to identify with a possible solution. Focus on the information that may help you to find an optimal agreement.*
>
> *Be creative: Take your time to think about various ways to resolve this situation and consider options that may not be obvious. Generate creative and maybe unconventional solutions by allowing yourself to "think outside the box". It is okay if you do not know if they would work or be immediately accepted by your counterpart. You may find a creative solution."*

After each recommendation, participants rated how useful they found it ($\alpha = .69$). They could also select those they would like to follow and write in open-ended text fields how they would do so in the upcoming negotiation.

Afterward, participants were told they had been matched with a counterpart, the Orange Travel Company, and received information about this company's motives and specific priorities. In the value motive condition, the counterpart preferred peripheral sites because of their value code to respect the local customs and traditional life in neighboring communities, protect historic sites and prevent over-tourism. In the utility motive condition, the counterpart preferred peripheral sites because their target group wanted seclusion, landscape, and outdoor activities. Participants then received their counterpart's initial position—which was always completely opposed to theirs—and were asked to make their first counteroffer. If this first counteroffer was not the Pareto-optimal solution, they received a second unattractive offer from the

simulated Orange Company counterpart, which they could accept or counter with a second offer. If this second counteroffer was not the Pareto-optimal solution, they received the Pareto-optimal solution as the ultimate offer, which they could either accept or reject and end with an impasse.

Participants were then told that before the government would be informed about the outcome, they could send their counterparts a message with questions or an additional proposal (open-ended). Finally, participants completed a final questionnaire including the measures described below.

Measures

Motive Manipulation Check

Participants rated their agreement with two single statements on a 5-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The items were "My proposal is driven by my values" and "My proposal is driven by economic interests."

Negotiation Behaviors

Based on the participants' second and third offers, several indicators were calculated. Integrative trade-offs were calculated as the ratio between summed interest achievement score gains for the counterpart and the summed interest achievement score costs for the participants, compared to the initial position. Values > 1 thus reflect that joint value was created, values < 1 that joint value was left on the table. In addition, by categorizing the 12 site options into participants' own preferences, compromise options, and other's preferences, we calculated the total number of sites proposed across rounds for the categories resistance to conceding, compromise, and concession (each ranging from 0 to 8, as there are four options of each type that could be proposed over two rounds).[4] Highly integrative behavior would be a combination of resistance to conceding and concessions (De Dreu et al., 2000). Previous research indicates, however, that value-driven negotiators prefer compromises despite lower joint value (Illes et al., 2014; Schuster et al., 2020; Stöckli & Tanner, 2014). As an explorative measure of behavior potentially affected by an integrative mindset, open-ended questions and proposals were assessed (qualitative analyses of the responses are reported in the SOM).

Subjective Outcomes

A version of the subjective value inventory (Curhan et al., 2006) adapted for consistent response formats across items (ranging from 1 = not at all to 7 = very much) was used to measure subjective outcomes. The 16 items reflect four dimensions: satisfaction with the instrumental outcome (e.g., "To what extent did you reach your negotiation goals, judging from the outcome?"), with the self (e.g., "To what extent did this negotiation negatively impact your self-image or your impression of yourself?" reverse coded), the process (e.g., "How fair would you characterize the negotiation process?") and the relationship with the counterpart (e.g., "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your counterpart as a result of this negotiation?").

[4] If they reached the Pareto-optimal outcome by their own suggestion in the second round, the values were copied to the third round to best reflect their proactive integrative negotiation behavior. If they accepted their counterpart's extremely unattractive second offer, the third round was missing (and thus 0 for each behavioral category) to best reflect their absence of negotiation behavior.

Following pre-registered procedure, all items were combined into a single subjective evaluation indicator (α = .94). Subscale analyses are reported in the SOM Tables S2 and S3.

Dual Concerns

Concern for self (α = .84) and concern for other (α = .88) were measured with three items each from Harinck & Druckman (2017) (e.g., "I was very much willing to serve the other's (my own) interests."). Participants rated their agreement on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much).

Perceived Integrative Potential and Regulatory Strategies.

Three items from Schuster and colleagues (2020) were rated on a 7-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). The items (e.g., "A win-win solution that satisfies both sides is possible.") show an acceptable internal consistency (α = .71). Regulatory strategies were measured with the 6-item scale by Sassenberg and colleagues (2007) adapted to a negotiation context. Participants rated which descriptions of behaviors best applied to them in the negotiation on 7-point semantic differential scales (e.g., striving for security vs. striving for success). Previous research (Kouzakova et al., 2013) had found effects of the conflict motive on this scale. However, the internal consistency was abysmal (α = -.03) and the intercorrelations were not at all in the expected pattern (see the SOM, Table S1). Therefore, we will refrain from analyzing this variable further.

Respect and Devaluation

Three items from Simon and Schaefer (2018) were adapted to a negotiation context (α = .84) and used to measure equality-based respect (e.g., "It was easy for me to see my counterpart as a person of equal worth."). Three items were created based on the concept by Ross (1993) to measure the extent to which participants devalued their counterpart's offers and intentions (α = .70). The items were: "I believe my counterpart proposed sites only based on their own interests," "My counterpart made offers that disregarded my interests," "I believe my counterpart's offers were for the sake of both of us" (reverse coded). Responses to all six items were on a scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree).

Conflict Perceptions and Understanding of the Counterparts Preferences

Participant's perceptions of the conflict as a value conflict (e.g., "It is about the clash of different moral convictions." α = .66) and as an interest conflict (e.g., "It is about distributing economic advantages." α = .54) were measured with three items each (Schuster et al., 2020). The scale ranged from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree).

In addition, participants were asked to rate how important they estimated several criteria to be for their counterpart, based on the negotiation. On a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 7 (very important), they rated the following criteria: Protection of the environment, protection of the local traditions, relaxing and quiet places for their customers, exciting and entertaining places for their customers.

Demographic Questions

Finally, participants' gender, age, highest education level, and home country were measured. They were also given space to comment on the study before being thanked and paid.

Results

Manipulation Check and Preliminary Analyses

The results refer to 2*2 ANOVAs with motive and intervention as factors, if not specified otherwise. As predicted, there was a significant main effect of motive on the manipulation check, $F(1, 249) = 81.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .247$. There was no main effect of the intervention, $F(1,249) = 0.76$, $p = 385$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$, nor an interaction effect, $F(1,249) = 1.352$, $p = .246$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$. Participants in the value condition reported that their first offer was more driven by values, $M = 4.53$, $SD = 0.90$, than participants in the utility condition, $M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.44$.

In addition, participants in the motive conditions who received the mindset did not significantly differ in how useful they found the mindset, $t(126) = 1.01$, $p = .161$, $d = 0.25$, CI [-0.10;0.59] (all CIs in this article are 95% CIs) . In both conditions (utility and value), participants rated the mindset as significantly more than moderately useful (the midpoint of the scale), *M*s =5.78/5.57, *SD*s = 0.77/0.92, *p*s < .001. The conditions also did not differ in the frequencies of intentions to follow the recommendation to be collaborative, curious, and creative, $\chi^2(1)$ =.125/.378/.176, *p*s = .724/.539/.675.[5] This rules out the possibility that the mindset was adopted differently by value-driven and utility-driven negotiators. Further analyses of the effects of the experimental conditions on conflict perceptions and the understanding of their counterpart's priorities, all in line with our predictions, are reported in the SOM (p. 2).

Hypotheses Tests

Subjective Outcomes

Given that we were interested in the subjective evaluations of objectively good outcomes, we analyzed subjective outcomes only of those who reached the Pareto-optimal outcome ($N = 191$), following the procedure of previous work with this paradigm (Schuster et al., 2020). Even though the task was constructed to lead participants towards this outcome (which was the only outcome accepted by the simulated counterpart and, if not proposed by the participant, finally proposed by them), 24.5% ended up with an objectively worse subjective outcome, which was reflected in their lower subjective evaluations of the negotiation, $t(83.4) = 3.54$, $p = .001$.[6]

Among the remaining participants who all reached the optimal objective outcome, there emerged a significant main effect of motive on overall subjective evaluations, $F(1,187) = 8.17$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$, and a significant motive*intervention interaction, $F(1,187) = 4.39$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. There was no main effect of intervention, $F(1,187) = 1.06$, $p = .304$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. As Figure 1 illustrates, this result means that the integrative mindset intervention in particular increased value-driven participants' satisfaction with the negotiation, $M = 5.22$, $SD = 0.88$, compared to the condition without the mindset, $M = 4.79$, $SD = 0.94$, $d = 0.47$, CI [0.07, 0.86]. Among utility-driven participants, satisfaction with the negotiation did not differ significantly between whether they received the mindset intervention, $M = 5.32$, $SD = 0.94$, or not, $M = 5.47$, $SD = 0.97$, $d = -0.15$,

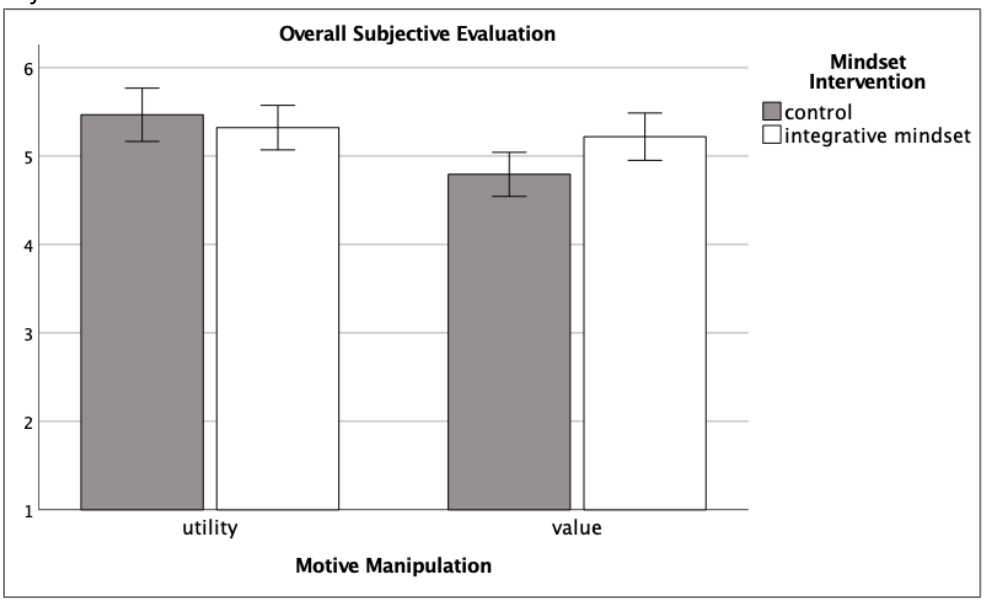
[5] These analyses were conducted including the participants who failed the pre-registered exclusion criteria on these measures.

[6] There was no difference between motive conditions in reaching the Pareto-optimal outcome, $X^2(2) = 1.63$, $p = .202$, nor between intervention conditions, $X^2(2) = 2.46$, $p = .293$.

CI [-0.58; 0.27]. Replicating previous research, the results also show that value-driven conflicts were evaluated more negatively than utility-driven conflicts, d = 0.71, CI [0.28;1.15] (Schuster et al., 2020). More importantly for the present study, this detrimental effect disappeared when negotiators were provided with an integrative mindset intervention, d = 0.11, CI [-0.28;0.50]. Detailed analyses of the subscales of subjective evaluations showed similar patterns on the evaluation of self and evaluations of the process and relationship subscales (see Table S4 and Figure S1 in the SOM).

Figure 1

Subjective Evaluations of the Negotiation with and without the Integrative Mindset Intervention in Value-Driven vs. Utility-Driven Conflicts



Note: Higher values indicate more positive evaluations. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

Negotiation Behaviors

Integrative Trade-Offs. The following analyses were conducted including all participants irrespective of the objective outcome. In contrast to predictions, there was no significant main effect of motive on integrative trade-offs, $F(1, 249) = 0.96$, $p = .327$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$, no significant main effect of the mindset intervention, $F(1,249) = 0.96$, $p = .328$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$, and a non-significant trend of interaction, $F(1, 249) = 2.94$, $p = .088$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. This trend reflects a pattern of conditional effects inconsistent with our hypothesis. As indicated by Figure 2, the integrative mindset intervention tended to lead utility-driven negotiators towards proposing more trade-offs, M = 0.81, SD = 0.42, compared to the control group, M = 0.67, SD = 0.44, d = 0.33, CI [-0.03;0.68]. Value-driven negotiators were similarly low in integrative trade-offs with, M = 0.67, SD = 0.31, and without the mindset, M = 0.71, SD = 0.37, d = 0.12, CI [-0.23;0.46]. Comparing the motive conditions showed that utility-driven negotiators did not make more integrative trade-offs than value-driven negotiators with the integrative mindset, d = -0.35, CI [-0.69;0.003], but nor did they without the mindset, d = 0.09, CI [-0.23;0.46].

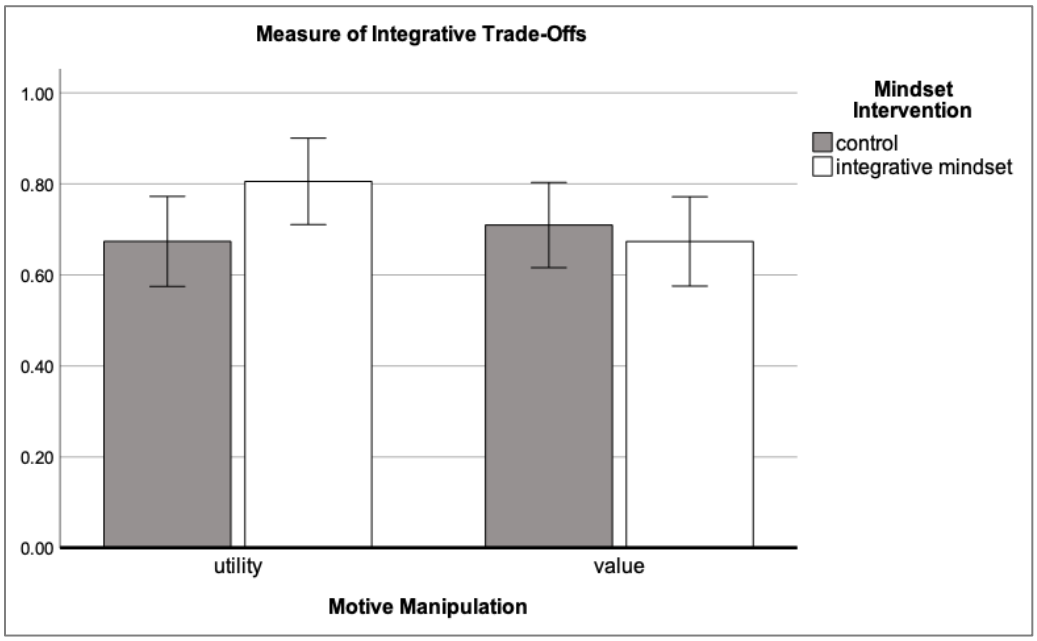
As more specific indicators of negotiation behavior, we looked at the types of offers participants made. Specifically, the eight proposed sites (four in each round) consisted of three different types of sites: concessions (sites preferred by their counterpart), resistance-to-concede sites (sites preferred by self), and compromises (sites not preferred by either side). Note that for each participant, the three indicators sum up

to eight and thus should not be interpreted as independent measures but complementary indicators of the same behavior.

Compromises. There was a significant main effect of motive on compromises, $F(1,249) = 17.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .065$. In line with previous research (Schuster et al., 2020; Stöckli & Tanner, 2014), value-driven participants suggested more compromise locations, $M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.92$, than utility-driven participants, $M = 1.71$, $SD = 1.73$, $d = 0.53$, CI [0.28;0.78]. No other effects were significant, Fs(1,249) <0.22, ps > .640, $\eta_p^2 < .001$.

Figure 2

Integrative Trade-Offs with and without the Integrative Mindset Intervention in Value-Driven vs. Utility-Driven Conflicts



Note: Higher values indicate more integrative trade-offs, i.e., offers that subsequently increase the counterpart's interest achievement at lower losses of interest achievement for the self. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

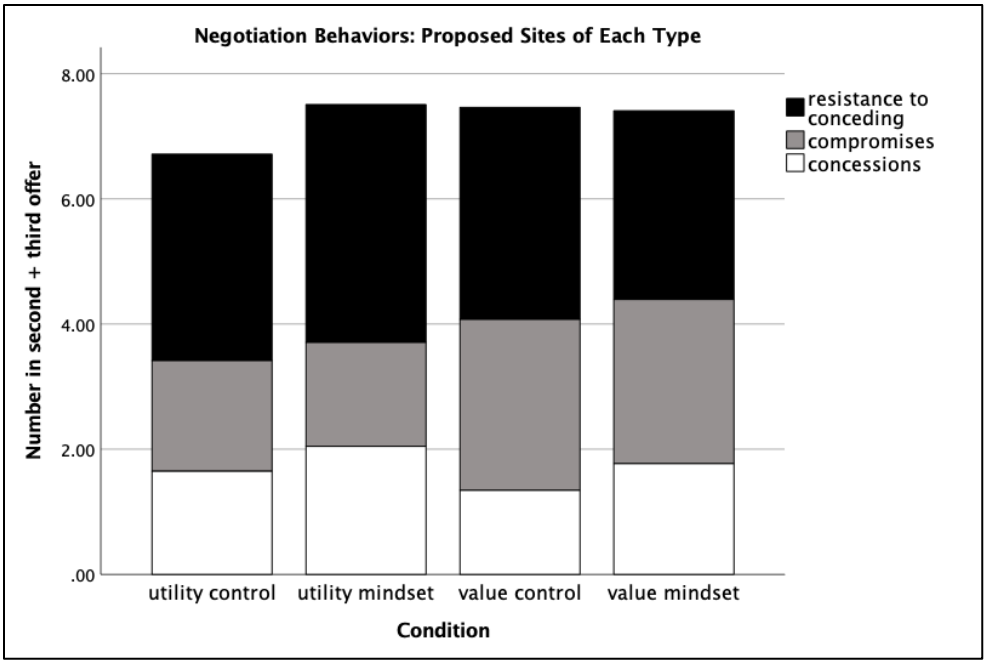
Concessions. There was also a significant main effect of the intervention on concessions, $F(1,249) = 4.99$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$, showing more concession offers in the mindset group, $M = 1.91$, $SD = 1.50$, than in the control group, $M = 1.49$, $SD = 1.43$, $d = 0.29$, CI [0.04;0.54]. The concession-decreasing effect of the value motive was not significant, $F(1, 249) = 2.49$, $p = .116$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$; nor was the interaction effect, $F(1,249) = 0.01$, $p = .933$, $\eta_p^2 = < .001$.

Resistance to Conceding. There was a significant interaction of motive and intervention on resistance to concede, $F(1,249) = 4.06$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$, but no significant motive effect, $F(1,249) = 2.58$, $p = .109$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$, nor an intervention main effect, $F(1,249) = 0.09$, $p = .767$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. At a moderate level (4 out of 8 possible instances of resistance) and in combination with concessions, this persistence may reflect trade-offs, but in its extremes, it can also reflect giving up or being overly stubborn. The interaction effect indicates that the mindset tended to make utility-driven negotiators more persistent in claiming their most preferred options, $M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.55$, compared to the control group, $M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.95$, $d = 0.29$, CI [-0.07;0.64], and value-driven negotiators less persistent in that matter, $M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.67$, compared to the control group, $M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.70$, $d = 0.22$, CI [-0.13;057]. Given that both conditional effects are non-

significant, these findings should not be interpreted as conclusive. Figure 3 illustrates the mean group differences on the three specific indicators.

Figure 3

Types of Sites Proposed by Participants in the Negotiation



Note: Participants proposed four sites in each of two rounds, which were summed. In each offer, they could choose between the same sites as in their initial proposal (resistance), the sites their counterpart initially proposed (concessions), or compromise sites.

In summary, the results on behaviors do not support the hypothesis that the mindset intervention leads value-driven negotiators to a more integrative negotiation style as reflected by more integrative trade-offs and fewer compromises. The results also only partially support the hypothesis that the value motive leads to less integrative negotiation behavior—which is supported with respect to number of compromises (the site-based indicator) but not significantly with respect to integrative trade-offs (the interest achievement score-based indicator).

Exploratory Analyses of the Mindset Interventions

To obtain a better understanding of the mindset intervention effect and its corresponding psychological processes in value-driven negotiations, we conducted exploratory analyses. First, a MANOVA of concern for the self and concern for the other did not show significant multivariate effects of the experimental factors. However, we found a univariate effect of the intervention on concern for the other, $F(1, 249) = 5.04$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .020$, which indicates that participants with the mindset intervention had slightly higher concern for the other, $M = 5.07$, $SD = 1.03$, than participants of the control condition, $M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.22$, $d = 0.30$, CI [0.05;0.55]. There also appeared to be a non-significant trend for the type of conflict (utility- vs. value-based conflict), $F(1,249) = 3.44$, $p = .065$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. Negotiators in the value-conflict condition

reported slightly less concern for the other, *M* = 5.04, *SD* = 1.17, than negotiators in the utility-conflict condition, *M* = 4.76, *SD* = 1.09, *d* = 0.32, CI [-0.03;0.67]. Concern for the self was not affected by the factors.

Second, the value motive led to lower perceived integrative potential, $F(1,249) = 22.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .083$. There was a non-significant trend for this effect to be moderated by the intervention, $F(1,249) = 3.47$, $p = .064$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. The difference between the value condition, *M* = 5.10/5.41, *SD* = 1.24/1.25, and the utility condition, *M* = 6.07/5.84, *SD* = 1.00/1.11, was present in both the control and the mindset conditions but tended to be smaller when negotiators were provided with the integrative mindset intervention, *d* = 0.86, CI [0.49;1.23] / *d* = 0.36, CI [0.00;0.71].

Third, the motive affected the reactive devaluation of the counterpart's offers, $F(1, 249) = 7.97$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$, such that the counterpart's proposals were devalued more in the value condition, *M* = 4.02, *SD* = 1.36, than in the utility condition, *M* = 3.53, *SD* = 1.36, *d* = 0.36, CI [0.11;0.61]. There was no main effect of the mindset intervention, nor an interaction effect, $F(1,249) = 1.48/0.56$, $p = .224/.453$, $\eta_p^2 = .006/.002$.

Fourth, there was a motive*intervention interaction effect on participants' respect for their counterpart, $F(1,249) = 4.15$, $p = .043$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$. Without the integrative mindset, participants in the value-driven condition respected their counterpart significantly less as a person of equal worth, *M* = 5.40, *SD* = 1.33, than those in the utility-driven condition, *M* = 5.84, *SD* = 1.14, *d* = 0.35, CI [0.00; 0.71]. With the integrative mindset, value-driven participants, *M* = 5.84, *SD* = 0.95, respected their counterparts at least as much as utility-driven participants, *M* = 5.66, *SD* = 1.32, *d* = 0.16, CI [-0.19;0.51].

Discussion

This research investigated the effects of a mindset intervention in value-driven conflicts. Specifically, we were interested in whether activating an integrative mindset—that is, an inclination to collaborate, be curious, and be creative—would lead to more integrative trade-offs and better subjective evaluations of an integrative negotiation outcome. Given the particular aversion to integrative negotiation in value conflicts, we expected that value-driven negotiators might benefit more from this mindset intervention than utility-driven negotiators. Our findings support that the mindset successfully counteracts the low subjective evaluation of integrative outcomes typical for value-driven negotiators, even though it only increases integrative trade-off behaviors in utility-driven negotiators. Value-driven negotiators with or without the integrative mindset instead avoid integrative trade-offs and resort to offering compromises. In addition, value-driven—compared to utility-driven—negotiators see their counterpart's offers as more selfish and perceive the overall integrative potential to be lower, regardless of the mindset intervention. In addition, the mindset had promising exploratory interpersonal effects, such that it generally increased concern for the other party and that it led value-driven negotiators in particular to see their counterpart as a person of equal worth with a right to be taken seriously.

The finding that value-driven negotiators, when they do not receive the mindset intervention, are considerably less satisfied with the negotiation than utility-driven negotiators, is in line with previous research (Schuster et al., 2020). Supporting our hypothesis, however, our novel results show that after receiving an integrative mindset intervention, no differences in the subjective evaluation of the negotiation could be observed. This evaluation includes satisfaction with the objective outcome (which was an integrative agreement) as well as with the self, the process, and the relationship to the counterpart. A more positive subjective outcome, as well as increased respect and concern for the other, may be highly relevant for mitigating the escalation of intergroup conflicts, which often are problematically construed as revolving around values (see Atran et al., 2007; Friend & Malhotra, 2019; Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002). As subjective evaluations relate to a willingness to engage in further negotiations (Curhan et al., 2010) and respect reduces

prejudice and facilitates recategorization as a common ingroup (Simon et al., 2015; Simon & Grabow, 2014), the findings suggest further potential indirect benefits of integrative mindset activation.

Regarding objective behaviors, the results are less conclusive. Our primary measure of integrative trade-offs indicates whether individuals create value by increasing the interest achievement score of their subsequent offers for the other while keeping their own interest achievement losses low. Contrary to our hypotheses, the mindset did not foster more integrative negotiation behavior particularly among value-driven negotiators. Instead, the mindset only improved integrative trade-offs among utility-driven negotiators, who—when they had not received the mindset intervention—were similarly resistant to integrative trade-offs as value-driven negotiators. Overall, the mindset was thus still beneficial.

Looking at the specific types of offers made by participants, the results confirm previous findings that value-driven negotiators make more compromise offers than utility-driven negotiators (Schuster et al., 2020), and this was not mitigated by the mindset intervention. A more integrative negotiation style than offering compromises would be to resist conceding on some of one's own highly preferred issues and to simultaneously concede on some less preferred issues. We find that the mindset intervention increases concessions overall but only increases resistance to conceding among utility-driven negotiators.

In sum, the present work sought to find support for an intervention that would foster integrative negotiation in value-driven conflicts. Indeed, the findings show that the mindset intervention increases subjective evaluations of an integrative negotiation in a value-driven conflict even though it does not increase integrative behaviors. The latter provides further support to the literature showing that value-driven negotiators strongly resist integrative tradeoffs but rather prefer compromises (Harinck & Druckman, 2017; Illes et al., 2014; Schuster et al., 2020; Stöckli & Tanner, 2014). Value-driven individuals may even be in a different motivational system—one in which objective criteria to maximize utility-based benefits are generally less important than achieving moral benefits (Berman & Kupor, 2020; Berns et al., 2012; Schuster, 2021). A mindset intervention designed to help negotiators find an objectively optimal joint outcome may be futile if, subjectively, it appears morally suboptimal to the target person.

Limitations and Implications for Further Research

Like most experimental studies, the present research has several limitations to consider. First, it found positive effects of the mindset on subjective and interpersonal outcomes in a scenario task with a counterpart that would accept nothing less than an integrative outcome—and, if necessary, ultimately proposed one itself. It is not clear whether the mindset would similarly improve subjective outcomes if participants negotiated with a more distributively-minded counterpart.

Second, the study is limited by its simulated nature. Given that no real interaction took place and that the simulated counterpart's negotiation behavior was constant no matter what the participant did, the negotiation situation did not allow for the same dynamics and variations in negotiation behaviors as an interactive laboratory or field negotiation study would allow. This limited range of measured behaviors may have restricted the effects of the manipulation. However, previous research has shown that online simulation can elicit similar motive effects as an interactive negotiation about the same issues (Schuster et al., 2020). Furthermore, we replicated the findings of previous research in terms of subjective outcomes and compromise offers but not interest achievement-based integrative trade-offs. Offering integrative trade-offs requires more elaborate processing of the interest achievement scores of each option than a categorical evaluation of options (e.g., compromise option) or a summative evaluation. Therefore, effects on the variables that are easier to process may be more reliably detected in an online study, which tends to suffer from less reliable attention by participants.

In addition, the online simulation also restricts the potential of the mindset to orient individuals towards a more thorough processing of the other party's communications. Participants' opportunities to find

creative solutions are also limited in a negotiation paradigm with fixed issues and interest achievement score charts. Options like a trade-off agreement contingent on both high environmental standards and concepts for promoting local culture were not possible in this simulation (even though some open-ended comments brought up such ideas, see SOM). Therefore, the effects of the integrative mindset found in this study may fall short of its actual potential to improve outcomes qualitatively. To understand better whether it can ultimately improve mutually beneficial negotiation behaviors in value conflicts, future research could widen the focus to include creative integrative behaviors beyond quantitatively measurable outcomes (Atran & Axelrod, 2008, e.g., recommend symbolic concessions). In addition, the experimental mindset activation intervention tested here most likely has a smaller impact than mindset-oriented negotiation training, in the context of which the integrative mindset was first described and recommended (Ade et al., 2018). Given these limitations, the results of the present research are still promising with regard to steering utility-driven negotiators toward more integrative negotiation behaviors and improving subjective outcomes and interpersonal relations in value-driven conflict.

In general, however, controlled experimental studies can only provide first insights into potentially effective practical interventions. The present findings, therefore, do not necessarily imply that a short, text-based, online mindset intervention will affect conflict resolution in practice—albeit small interventions, including mindset interventions, *can* have substantial real-world effects (Okonofua et al., 2022; Walton, 2014; Walton & Wilson, 2018). It has been argued that for interventions to work in practice, they need to be experienced as rewarding when applied (Walton & Yeager, 2020). Therefore, an important remaining question is when, how, and by whom integrative mindsets could be activated in practice. Besides training negotiators' mindsets (see suggestions by Ade et al., 2018), a possible implication for third parties could be to check whether the disputing parties are in the right state of mind to search collaboratively, curiously, and creatively for an integrative outcome. Thereby, it would become salient that progress may hinge on their mindset. Further research is needed to test such approaches in the field.

In conclusion, future research is needed to test the effects of an integrative mindset on negotiators in value conflicts in interactive contexts and their field of practice. Besides, it seems particularly promising to further investigate the interpersonal potential of an integrative mindset. Even if negotiators in value conflicts still tend toward compromises in the objective outcomes, much is won if they walk out of the conflict subjectively satisfied and full of respect for their counterpart.

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Author Bios

Carolin Schuster is Assistant Professor for Applied Social Psychology at Leuphana University Lüneburg. One of her major research interests concerns the role of values in negotiations and for socially relevant and sustainable behaviors. She also conducts research on the roots of gender inequalities and the promotion of equality in different domains.

Roman Trötschel is a Professor of Social and Political Psychology at the Leuphana University of Lüneburg. His research focuses on cognitive and motivational processes in negotiations. Under his direction, the 'Negotiation Research Group' (NRG) at Leuphana University investigates joint decision-making processes in negotiations on ecological, economical, or societal conflicts in which negotiators seek to initiate, shape or manage the transition to sustainable agreements.

Fieke Harinck is Assistant Professor at Leiden University, in the department of Social, Economic and Organizational Psychology. Her research interests are value-based conflict and the effects of interventions such as appreciating the other party, different mediation styles or improvisation training on negotiation processes and outcomes