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The Center for Study of Rationality

Abstract Booklet

# **Conflict and Moral Concern: Media, Psychology, Rationality and Emotion**

**International Workshop**

**Conference Chairs:**

**Prof. Ilana Ritov   Prof. Ifat Maoz   Prof. Eyal Winter**

**June 6-7 2012, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem**

**All proceedings will be in English**

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# Day 1, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2012 (Givaat Ram, The Center for the Study of Rationality)

## Opening Lectures

*Chair: Eyal Winter*

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### ***The more who die, the less we care: psychic numbing and genocide***

[PAUL SLOVIC, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, OPENING LECTURE](#)

Most people are caring and will exert great effort to rescue individual victims whose needy plight comes to their attention. These same good people, however, often become numbly indifferent to the plight of individuals who are “one of many” in a much greater problem. Why does this occur? The answer to this question will help us answer a related question that is the topic of this paper: Why, over the past century, have good people and their governments repeatedly ignored mass murder and genocide? I shall draw from psychological research to show how the statistics of mass murder or genocide, no matter how large the numbers, fail to convey the true meaning of such atrocities. The reported numbers of deaths represent dry statistics, “human beings with the tears dried off,” that fail to spark emotion or feeling and thus fail to motivate action. Recognizing that we cannot rely only upon our moral feelings to motivate proper action against genocide, we must look to moral argument and international law. The 1948 Genocide Convention was supposed to meet this need, but it has not been effective. It is time to examine this failure in light of the psychological deficiencies described here and design legal mechanisms and political institutions that will enforce proper response to genocide and other forms of mass abuses of innocent human beings.

### ***Less than meets the eye? Studying identifiable victim effects outside the laboratory***

[SCOTT ALTHAUS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, OPENING LECTURE](#)

Most of the psychological research on how casualty information affects popular support for military conflicts studies individuals in experimental settings. In contrast, most of the political science research on war support looks at aggregate opinion dynamics in observational settings. Because it is so difficult to document the nature or content of casualty information that reaches individuals outside of controlled laboratory settings, this political science research has tended to model casualty effects as a simple product of increasing numbers of casualties, without considering how this casualty information is actually communicated to individuals within a society. These different approaches lead to conflicting conclusions about the nature and importance of the public’s “casualty sensitivity” in shaping the dynamics of popular support for military conflicts. The present study aims to reconcile these two approaches by clarifying how casualty information has historically been communicated to American news audiences, and by studying how local information flows about identifiable victims influenced local opinion dynamics about American involvement in the Iraq War. In line with the identifiable victim literature, this observational analysis confirms that local casualty rates have larger negative effects on war support than national casualty rates. However, this analysis also

suggests that the effects of identifiable victims are temporary rather than durable, that these effects decay rapidly, and that these effects influence citizens who avoid news exposure to a greater degree than citizens who pay close attention to news outlets.

### *Panel 1*

*Chair : Yechiel Klar*

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#### ***The singularity effect of identifiable victims: Is it a matter of culture?***

[TEHILA KOGUT, BEN GURION UNIVERSITY, PAUL SLOVIC, DECISION RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON & DANIEL VÄSTFJÄLL, DECISION RESEARCH & LINKÖPING UNIVERSITY, SWEDEN](#)

The singularity effect of identifiable victims refers to people's greater willingness to help a single identifiable victim, as compared with a group of victims experiencing the same need. We present two studies exploring the cultural sources of this effect. In the first study, the singularity effect was found only among western Israelis (a more individualistic group) and not for Bedouin participants (a more collectivist group). In addition, individuals with higher collectivist values were more likely to contribute to a group of victims. The second study finds a causal relationship between collectivist and individualistic orientations and the singularity effect by showing that enhancing people's collectivist values using a priming manipulation increases contributions to groups of victims as compared with single victims.

#### ***Identifiability effect, charitable giving, and inter-group conflict***

[ILANA RITOV, HEBREW UNIVERSITY & TEHILA KOGUT, BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY](#)

#### ***Take off the poker face: Regulating anger in emotionally charged negotiations***

[SIMONE MORAN, YOELLA BEREBY-MEYER & HILA MODIANO, BEN GURION UNIVERSITY & MAURICE SCHWEITZER, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA](#)

Emotions play a crucial role in negotiation. Little previous work, however, has studied emotion regulation in negotiation. In two experiments we examine how down-regulating anger by means of expressive suppression (inhibiting its expression) versus cognitive reappraisal (construing the situation in a way that modifies its emotional impact) affects outcomes of emotionally charged negotiations. To evoke intense emotions we used a political negotiation task which in the Israeli context is considered to be highly emotional - namely, evacuating a settlement in the West Bank. We also pre-selected participants with extreme left and right political views. Regulating anger by means of expressive suppression (compared to reappraisal) led to more deadlocks, inferior joint outcomes, and more hostile evaluations of counterparts and relationships. These results suggest that the advice of many popular negotiation text books to suppress emotional displays and "keep a poker face" may at times have detrimental consequences in terms of objective as well as subjective outcomes.

## Panel 2

*Chair: Esther Schely-Newman, Hebrew University*

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### ***What (might) make us care? Moral exclusion and moral concern in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***

IFAT MAOZ, HEBREW UNIVERSITY

Moral exclusion occurs when individuals or groups are perceived as outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply and is typical of intractable conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian one. Those who are morally excluded are perceived as nonentities, expendable, or undeserving. Consequently, harming or exploiting them appears to be appropriate, acceptable, or just. This broad definition encompasses both severe and mild forms of moral exclusion, from genocide to discrimination. Survey (and other) data regarding Jewish-Israeli attitudes towards Palestinians shows marked manifestations of moral exclusion along side smaller "islands" of moral concern. This paper relies on empirical –survey and experimental - data to discuss what (might) make us care. It surveys factors, cues, and mechanisms that may decrease moral exclusion and induce moral concern towards the other in conflict- focusing on informational cues regarding gender and facial features and on the role of trust and of emotional processes.

### ***“Make it go away”: Journalistic defense mechanisms for covering dissonant deaths during war***

GADI WOLFSFELD, IDC, PAUL FROSH & MAURICE T. AWABDY, UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

This exploratory study attempts to explain how journalistic routines for covering violent conflict lead to the construction of ethnocentric news. A distinction is made between two sets of routines. One set is permanent and ensures ethnocentric control over the flow of information, while a second set varies as journalists construct coherent narratives for particular events. This latter set of routines is further broken down into what are labeled the ‘Victims Mode’ and ‘Defensive Mode’ of reporting. The Victims Mode is used when one’s own citizens have suffered an especially tragic loss of life, while the Defensive

Mode is employed when one’s forces have carried out an attack that has inflicted a similar loss on the enemy. It is argued that each of these modes of reporting parallels psychological reactions that have been found in individuals. The ideas raised in the theoretical discussion are investigated by comparing coverage of two events by Israeli and Palestinian television. Two events were chosen for analysis: a Palestinian

suicide bombing that killed 19 Israelis, and the killing of Hamas leader Sheik Salach Shehadeh in which 16 Palestinians were killed. An in-depth reading of the six news broadcasts provides important insights into how journalists’ routines ensure a steady flow of culturally acceptable news stories that reinforce hatred between enemies.

## ***Seeing ourselves as the victims; seeing ourselves as the perpetrators - Insights from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict***

YECHIEL KLAR & HADAS BARAM, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

In most ethnopollitical intractable conflicts (the Israeli-Palestinians conflict is no exception) both parties see themselves as the rightful party and the ultimate victim of the other side's illegitimate status and historical misconduct. They are generally 'protected' from the other side's narrative of the conflict (which is commonly described as lies, fabrications, and propaganda). We explore the behavioral consequences of uninvited exposure to the other side's historical narrative. In Study 1, Jewish-Israeli students were required to read either an Israeli (ingroup = "the rightful victims") or Palestinian ("ingroup = unjust perpetrators") historical account of the conflict, while refraining from any cognitive rebuttal. Glucose (i.e., M&M candies) consumption was three times higher under the other side's narrative, mediated by the emotional difficulty with it. In Study 2, Spelling and typing mistakes (indications of executive failure) were significantly higher under the other side's narrative, mediated again by difficulty. In Study 3, Jewish and Arab participants (varying in their commitment to protect the ingroup narrative) were sequentially exposed to two experimentally created, five-minute videos, in which the ingroup is either the historical victim or perpetrator. Results of this study (underway) and implications for reconciliation processes will be discussed.

## ***Sensitivity to moral threats increases when safety needs are satisfied: Evidence of hierarchical organization of psychological needs***

NURIT SHNABEL, ILANIT SIMANTOV-NACHIELI & ARIE NADLER, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

According to the Needs-Based Model transgressions threaten victims' sense of agency and security and perpetrators' moral image. Consequently, victims are motivated to restore their agency whereas perpetrators are motivated to restore their moral image. Focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which Israeli-Jews are sometimes victims and sometimes perpetrators, the present research examined which need – to restore agency or moral image – exerts greater influence on Israeli-Jews' pro-social tendencies (aggression or help) toward the Palestinians. Studies 1 and 2 revealed that the need for 'powerful Israel' but not for 'moral Israel' determined participants' pro-social tendencies. However, reaffirming the perceptions of Israel as strong and resilient lead to greater willingness to give up power for the sake of morality, resulting in greater pro-social behavioral tendencies (Study 2). These results suggest hierarchical organization of needs: in contexts where major threats to groups' agency and morality are posed, the more basic need for agency and safety must be satisfied before group members become sensitive to the higher-order need for positive moral-image.

### **Panel 3**

*Chair: Scott Althaus*

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## ***Mediated suffering in a culture of distraction: phatic morality***

[DR. PAUL FROSH, HEBREW UNIVERSITY](#)

An unresolved paradox haunts the analysis of media representations of suffering and the moral sentiments of viewers. On the one hand contemporary media-saturated societies are increasingly experienced and theorized as cultures of noise, overload, saturation and distraction. The sheer quantity of intense stimuli, perpetually augmented by new technologies and practices of replication and dissemination, threatens to overwhelm the individual's ability to interpret, engage with and act upon particular images or texts in any meaningful way. On the other hand, however, much of the work on moral response to mediated suffering is based on an implicit privileging of both audience attention and singular narratives or images, assuming intense viewer engagement with an isolated image or text in an ideal viewing situation – or at the very least positing images so powerful that they are uniquely capable of arresting the viewer's itinerant gaze. This 'attentive fallacy' means that most of our encounters with media – habitual, inattentive, unremarkable - are written off in advance as (at best) obstacles to emotional and cognitive engagement which must be overcome for genuine ethical response to become possible.

This paper challenges the automatic assumption that moral sensibility has a *necessary* basis in audience attentiveness and intense involvement with the representations of others. While accepting the ethical power of singular images of suffering and the attention they demand, it focuses on the work of 'phatic morality', the moral ground of low-intensity habituation to strangers created by long-term, routine, ambient forms of mediated connectivity as well as by the powerful combination of singularity and generalizability that characterizes modern audio-visual media. Focusing on television, it elaborates the features and limitations of phatic morality by exploring frequently denigrated aspects of the medium: the creation of non-reciprocal communicative relations between viewer and viewed; the transience of those depicted; the substitutability of depicted individuals and the aggregation of their images over time. Modern media, it argues, are a moral force because they act as an everyday, institutionalized social procedure for placing distant strangers within the framework of those whom we can recognize as human like us, for ensuring that specific 'others' are always already 'other *people*'. This routinized moral ground of connectivity underpins and accompanies more intense ethical responses to the plight of particular individuals that can emerge in the media.

***Why Americans can't think straight about "killer" drones: How media coverage of air power shapes and distorts public understanding of modern warfare***

[BRUCE WILLIAMS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA](#)

***Militant Moderation: The history and historiography of peace extremists in the ACW as sectional conflict***

[MENACHEM BLONDHEIM, HEBREW UNIVERSITY](#)

Politics remained committed to the cause of compromise and peace. But once the extremists won the day and the union was snapped into two antagonistic and before long warring sections, the centrists of pre-war politics found themselves at the extremes of the politics of either militaristic sectional regime. The first part of this paper will zero-in on one response to this dynamic: the

transformation of the erstwhile moderates into extremists (or “Copperheads” in Civil War terminology). Some of the Copperheads would even become terrorists in the cause of moderation and peace. The second part of the paper highlights an opposite dynamic in the realm of Civil War historiography. It traces the paradoxical antagonism of moderate and liberal American historians to the Copperheads—the champions of moderation and anti-war activism in the course of the Civil War.

### ***TV and PTSD: scattered thoughts on distant trauma***

[AMIT PINCHEVSKI, HEBREW UNIVERSITY](#)

Recent studies in psychiatry propose the notion of distant trauma as "the reaction (memory, thinking, symptoms) to a disastrous event, experienced at the time of the event, but from a remote and realistically safe distance" (Terr et al, 1999). While the diagnosis of PTSD has traditionally been restricted to firsthand and immediate experience, it seems the condition is now spreading afar both in etiology and implication. This presentation attempts to explore the role of media in this development from a critical cultural perspective. Ranging from 9/11 TV audiences, through video-gamers and drone operators, to VR trauma therapy, I will consider how the screen is increasingly becoming the locus of both cause and cure of PTSD. That PTSD can be dissociated from proximity might also be telling of the changing relation between agency and moral responsibility, an issue similarly related to the media

## **Day 2, June 7th, 2012 (Mount Scopus, Beit Meirsdorf Faculty Club)**

### **Opening Lectures**

*Chair: Ilan Yaniv, Hebrew University*

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### ***Is peer punishment a volunteer's dilemma?***

[SIMON GAECHTER, UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, UK, \(JOINT WITH JUDITH AVRAHAMI, YAAKOV KAREEV & ILANA RITOV, HEBREW UNIVERSITY\)](#)

In this talk I will first discuss what we know about the role of punishment to sustain pro-social cooperation in social dilemma situations, where individual incentives and collective benefits are in conflict. I will argue that punishment experiments have taught us a lot about people's moral judgments of selfish behaviour in cooperation problems. One important finding is that many people are willing to punish even in situations where other people could punish as well. So punishment itself is a “second-order cooperation problem”, where free riding is possible. A further important observation is that modern societies shun “peer punishment”: punishment is typically done by authorised institutions. People don't take punishment into their own hands but call the law enforcement institution, which is itself a costly action, to apply punishment. In

the main part of the talk I will present a new set of experiments that investigates to what extent punishment is subject to a volunteer's dilemma: if reporting wrong-doers to law enforcement is costly, people might hope other's do it and punishment might therefore constitute a volunteer's dilemma.

## ***Emotions and mind reading***

EYAL WINTER, HEBREW UNIVERSITY

We introduce emotions into an equilibrium notion. In a mental equilibrium each player "selects" an emotional state which determines the player's preferences over the outcomes of the game. These preferences typically differ from the players' material preferences. The emotional states interact to play a Nash equilibrium and in addition each player's emotional state must be a best response (with respect to material preferences) to the emotional states of the others. We discuss the concept behind the definition of mental equilibrium and show that this behavioral equilibrium notion organizes quite well the results of some of the popular experiments in the experimental economics literature. Based on data collected from the British TV game "Split or Steal" we will discuss the interesting phenomenon of implicit coordination in games, and will demonstrate how the theory of Mental Equilibrium explains it.

## ***A theory of socio-economic harmony***

RAMZI SUELIMAN, HAIFA UNIVERSITY

I propose a new theory of fairness called "Theory of Socio-Economic Harmony". The theory assumes rational self-favoring, but non-myopic players, who strive to maximize their utilities across a horizon longer than the immediate present. The theory posits that elimination of tension between players is crucial for sustaining interactions, and thus is in the best interest of all interacting players. According to the theory tension reduction and harmony are pursued not out of moral, other regarding tastes, but out of sheer self-interest.

In the context of asymmetric two-player money-transfer games in which the entitlement for the divisible goods is in the hand of one player (e.g., an allocator in an ultimatum or dictator game) the theory yields a unique social equilibrium. Rather than keeping the entire goods minus  $\epsilon$ , as prescribed by the sub-game perfect equilibrium, or dividing equally, as prescribed by the equality principle, the social equilibrium prescribes that allocators should keep a ratio of  $\Phi$  out of the entire goods (and grant the recipient a ratio of  $1 - \Phi$ ), where  $\Phi$  is the Divine Ratio ( $\Phi = (\sqrt{5} - 1)/2 \approx 0.618$ ). This is a significant result given the properties of this phenomenal number, and its importance, in mathematics, physics, biology and life sciences, aesthetics, art, music, etc.

In the context of experimental games, the social equilibrium at the Divine Ratio suggests an intriguing explanation to the puzzle of the mean offer of  $\approx 40\%$ , observed in ultimatum games across large and small-scale societies. This is a profound result since it implies that when one player has complete entitlement for allocating goods, harmony requires asymmetry (or homochirality) in allocation. Because equality neglects the asymmetry in entitlement rights, it is tension arousing and inferior to the Divine Ratio allocation rule.



With regard to macro-level socio-economic variables, disharmony (defined as the absolute deviation from the Divine Ratio equilibrium) correlates negatively with individualism and the rule of law and positively with power distance and the GINI inequality index.

Aside from its theoretical significance, the potential applications of the theory in real life are plenty. As example, by modeling organizational structures as n-person “game trees”, the theory could be used for specifying the conditions required for reducing tension and disharmony in institutions. Another, more straightforward application is to use the theory for evaluating the degree of disharmony in the workplace, which could arise from salary gaps between management and employees in different job positions.

Finally, it is argued that since countries, like big firms, are more rational and less emotional than individuals, inter-group and inter-state conflicts are natural candidates for testing the theory’s prediction of what might qualify as fair settlements of inter-group inter-state conflicts.

## Panel 4

*Chair: Tamir Sheafer, Hebrew University*

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### ***How societies prevent moral concern in intractable conflict***

**DANIEL BAR-TAL, TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY & RAFI NETS-ZEHNGUT, HEBREW UNIVERSITY**

The objective of this paper is to discuss and analyze the role of the narratives that construct parties involved in conflict. This work is based on the assumption that constructed narratives are one of the determinants for the eruption and continuation of violent conflict, as well as for the resistance of the parties involved in the conflicts to recognize their moral responsibility either for the eruption of the conflict and/or for the carried violence with the atrocities. Thus, we will first describe and elaborate upon the nature of the collectives’ narratives. Then we will explain why in contemporary times narratives are needed and widely used by parties involved in a violent conflict, when is initiated and then for its maintenance. We propose that leaders (or agents of conflict), who lead to conflict or react to its initiation, must construct explanations, rationalizations, and justifications for the conflict, first to society members, and then to the international community. Moreover, they must maintain this narrative throughout the conflict in order to justify its continuation –until the process of peace making begins. We further assume that these narratives fulfill important functions in the lives of the individuals and collectives who participate in protracted and violent conflicts. They satisfy basic human needs and also compete for the support of the international community.

In the next part we will specify the major themes that tend to universally appear in these narratives and also will elaborate upon their selective, biased and distortive characteristics. Later, we will explain why the narratives are so powerful, and often exert a determinative influence on conflicts’ continuation. Finally, the paper will discuss major implications of the narratives’ standing and influence in intergroup violent and lasting conflicts; and it will end with some general constructive suggestions for changing them, in order to facilitate peacemaking process.

### ***False Negotiations: The non-ethical art and science of not reaching an***

## **agreement**

[EDY GLOZMAN, NETTA BARAK-CORREN & ILAN YANIV, HEBREW UNIVERSITY](#)

### ***False and genuine reconciliation: victim's resentment and the perpetrator's "negative possession of identity"***

[ARIE NADLER, TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY](#)

Reconciliation is a concept that has been used with increasing frequency by scholars of intergroup conflict. Yet, like other general and abstract concepts, e.g., peace, it often meant different things to different people. The presentation will begin by a discussion of the different dimensions in intergroup reconciliation and consider different kinds of processes of reconciliation. It will pay special attention to the distinction between processes of Instrumental and processes of Socio-Emotional reconciliation. It will continue to the distinction between 'genuine' and 'false' reconciliation. This discussion will rely on Jean Amery's conceptual analysis of "consummation of victim's resentment" and perpetrator's "negative possession of identity" as necessary elements in 'genuine reconciliation'.

## **Panel 5**

*Chair: Paul Frosh, Hebrew University*

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### ***Remembering moral commitments: The news media as agents of collective prospective memory***

[KEREN TENENBOIM-WEINBLATT, HEBREW UNIVERSITY](#)

While memory can be both retrospective and prospective, referring to either what happened or what needs to be done, scholarship on media and collective memory has focused on retrospective memories. Shifting the focus to the functioning of the news media as agents of prospective memory, this paper develops the notion of Mediated Prospective Memory. This new construct, which encompasses the various media practices by which collective prospective-memory tasks are shaped and negotiated, is intended to shed light on the complex relationships between past, present and future in news discourse; create a much needed bridge between the theoretical frameworks of agenda setting and collective memory; and provide one possible answer to the question of what can be the news media's unique contribution in relation to collective moral commitments. The conceptual model is developed based on a study of the media coverage of seven cases of kidnapping and captivity around the world, including stories of Colombian, French, Israeli, and U.S. citizens, who were taken captive in the first decade of the 21st century during the conflicts in Colombia, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Gaza.

## ***Human rights and memory***

[NATAN SZNAIDER, TEL AVIV COLLEGE](#)

In this paper I would like to examine the emergence of the contemporary Human Rights Regime and how its political and cultural validation in a global context is posing challenges to nation-state sovereignty. Human rights have assumed the aura of the sacred, become an integral part of international relations, and are institutionalized into domestic legal and political practices. I examine the nexus of human rights and political legitimacy through the analytic prism of historical memories, referring to shared understandings and responsibilities the past has for the present concerns of a community. This global proliferation of human rights norms, is driven by the public and frequent, ritualistic attention to memories of their persistent violations. They identify the emergence of a global cultural "memory imperative" which is expressed in a set of political and normative expectations to engage with past injustices. Memory politics of human rights have become a new form of political rationality and in many cases a prerequisite for state legitimacy.

### ***The unexpected effects of long term terror: The Israeli experience***

[ZOHAR KAMPF, HEBREW UNIVERSITY \(JOINT WORK WITH TAMAR LIEBES, HEBREW UNIVERSITY\).](#)

The study questions the possible emotional and moral effects of continuous exposure to terror attacks. We regard the live viewing of terror attacks as a particularly intense form of viewing a tragic moral drama, of the kind that Aristotle has observed. The most relevant feelings in this context are those of fear and fury toward the perpetrators of terror and pity toward the victims of terror, as long as "they" belong to "our" category of identity. We then consider what happens to these basic feelings when terror strikes regularly. Taking the Israeli experience between 1996 and 2004 as a case study, we analyze practices of coping with a constant reality of terror. We suggest that the routinization of terror in the daily lives of Israelis works toward moderation of media coverage of terror and, in parallel, moderation of emotional effects of terror, as seen in the changes in the public daily routine and in the de-radicalization of political attitudes. Moreover, the moderation of terror effects opens up an ethical possibility to feel empathy also toward civilian victims on the side of the "other".

### ***Panel 6***

***Chair: Ifat Maoz, Hebrew University***

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### **Does a shortage in self control affect fairness considerations and moral behavior?**

[YOELA BEREBY-MEYER, BEN GURION UNIVERSITY](#)

Biased self-serving interpretations of fairness behavior are a major obstacle to conflict resolution. We show that our ability to be more forgiving and to consider the circumstances that cause the other party's seemingly unfair behavior or cause our own immoral behavior depends on the availability of self-resources. In two experiments, one with the ultimatum game and the second with "a die under the cup paradigm", we demonstrate that with resources participants counteracted and overcame initial tendencies towards simplistic emotional responses or dishonest behavior, while no such corrections occurred when participants' self-resources were depleted or when they had little time to decide.

We discuss implications of our results for conflict resolution. Without both parties having self-resources, negotiation and reaching an agreement are likely to become very difficult. Situations in which a party experiences depletion, through the need to cope with physical threats or adversities, fatigue, emotional stress, etc., should be avoided when attempting to solve a conflict situation.

## **Social motives in intergroup conflict and cooperation**

[Ro'i ZULTAN, BEN GURION UNIVERSITY \(JOINT WORK WITH ORI WEISEL OF THE MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS, JENA\).](#)

Laboratory and field experiments show that conflict with another group leads people to contribute in in-group social dilemmas. In particular, higher contributions in an intragroup Prisoner's Dilemma game were observed when the game was embedded in intergroup conflict. This phenomenon is typically attributed to enhanced group identity due to the common fate of the in-group. We study different social motivations that come into play with intergroup conflict by (a) manipulating the framing of the game as either a competition between groups or a game of externalities and (b) studying an asymmetric game, in which contributions made in one group harm the other group, but not vice versa.

We hypothesize that (i) group identity affects groups whose members' payoffs depend on the contributions in another group, thereby creating common fate and leading to higher contributions; (ii) social welfare considerations positively affect groups in which contributions have no negative externalities on other groups and negatively affect groups in which contributions reduce the payoff of out-group members; (iii) a taste for reciprocity leads people to contribute more only when there are mutual and symmetric group externalities; (iv) the conflict frame induces group identity whereas the externalities frame triggers other-regarding preferences and care for social welfare.

Our data reveals a strong framing effect, whereby conflict induces pro-social individuals to contribute more under a conflict frame but to contribute less under an externalities frame, in line with hypotheses (i), (ii) and (iv). Hypothesis (iii) is not supported by the data, however, as contribution levels are higher in the asymmetric game. Finally, although conflict induces low contribution levels under an externalities frame, in line with hypothesis (ii), the explanation based on social welfare considerations predicts a similar reduction in contributions for all groups that carry negative externalities for other groups. Surprisingly, results in the asymmetric game reveal exactly the opposite: members of groups that are harmed by contributions in other groups withdraw contributions.

We conclude that voluntary participation in group conflict crucially depends on whether the conflict is perceived as a competition between groups or as a situation involving mutual harm. We introduce the concept of 'victim effect', by which external threat induces people to behave selfishly

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*CLOSING REMARKS: PAUL SLOVIC*

