


and disadvantaged groups. *Why is it important to explicitly note this?* The representations, framings, and language used by social scientists can inform and influence the public discourse about the topics that they study. Hence, our purpose in this commentary is to highlight that disadvantaged and advantaged groups should not be equated with attackers and defenders, and the relations between disadvantaged and advantaged groups should not be described as “a clash between one side seeking change and ... victory, and the other side ... protecting against loss and defeat” (De Dreu & Gross, abstract). Rather, as opposed to the AD-G’s utility matrix, a disadvantaged group’s success in changing the status quo does not necessarily involve a loss to the advantaged group. For example, from a broad historical perspective, white Americans did not “lose” because of the abolishment of slavery and racial segregation, and men did not “lose” because of the suffrage movement’s success in achieving voting rights for women. Concurring with Paulo Freire’s (1970) notion that “the great humanistic task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and their oppressors,” we argue that changing the status quo toward greater equality may benefit both the advantaged and the disadvantaged – by allowing individuals to enjoy secure and positive social identities (Nadler & Shnabel 2015) and live to their full potential to the benefit of society as a whole.

Levels of analysis and problems of evidential support in the study of asymmetric conflict

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Abstract

The contribution by De Dreu and Gross oversimplifies the complexity of the topic. I provide counterarguments that undermine the two sweeping contentions on which the article’s argument depends, and I argue that asymmetric conflict is best understood at the finer-grained level of studying the sequences of strikes and counterstrikes that the rival actors have in store for one another.

De Dreu and Gross provide a welcome contribution to the theory of conflict by questioning the assumption of symmetry pervading much of the existing game theoretical literature. They bring to the foreground of current debates the significance of distinguishing between attack and defense and demonstrate this point through a wide-ranging review of neurobiological, psychological, and cultural mechanisms associated with this distinction. These merits notwithstanding, their contribution oversimplifies the complexity of the topic in several distinct ways that, taken together, cast doubt in the theoretical and practical insights of their proposal.

In this commentary, I show that counterexamples can be adduced to undermine two key sweeping contentions on which the target article’s argument depends. To begin with, the claim

that “group-level defense creates a common fate for defenders that is absent in attackers” (sect. 4.5, para. 1) is a generalization that ignores the obvious fact that “the defenders” are never a homogeneous group in all respects. There are multiple axes of social difference, including, but not limited to, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, (dis)ability, and social class (Simandan 2019d). These axes of social difference induce profound heterogeneities in the specific “fates” that the various subgroups constituting the higher-order grouping of the “defenders” will face. To illustrate, given that Nazi ideology specifically targeted the elimination of Jews; Roma; disabled people; and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (commonly referred to as *LGBT*) minorities, the occupation by Nazi Germany of large swaths of Europe during World War II resulted in very different outcomes for these ideologically targeted minorities compared with the less “problematic” ethnic majorities of the occupied territories (Childers 2018). To give another illustration representative of the ethnic fragmentation associated with the political geography of the nation-state, Transylvania has belonged to Romania for the last hundred years, but, before that, it was a part of the Habsburg and then Austrian-Hungarian empires (Treptow 1997). Even though Romanians constitute the ethnic majority, the province has a substantial Hungarian minority. Given what we know about homophily and ethnocentrism (Bizumic 2019; Currarini et al. 2009; Jones 2018; Salter 2008; Stavenhagen 2016), it strains credulity to suggest that if Hungary were to invade Transylvania, the fate of the occupied would be a “common fate,” regardless of whether they are the Romanian majority or the Hungarian minority.

The second and equally problematic sweeping contention on which the target article’s argument depends is the claim that “the negative consequences of failed defense are stronger and more extreme than the consequences of failed attack” (sect. 5.1, para. 4). On the one hand, this second claim presupposes and therefore reproduces the questionable assumptions about the alleged common fate of “defenders” of the first claim. On the other hand, the historical and military records suggest that the relative severity of failed defense *versus* failed attack depends on the contextual specificities of the conflict under investigation. To illustrate, a viable competitive strategy is for a party to act weak and/or oblivious so as to bait its rival into a rushed, overconfident attack (Freedman 2015). Because the attack wasn’t surprising at all, the defenders can mount a counterattack that can often be devastating for the original attackers on two grounds: firstly, the intelligence and foresight of the defenders can give them time to orchestrate a well-thought-out counterattack; secondly, because the initial attack was induced by the defenders’ tactic of appearing weak and/or oblivious, the powerful counterattack is especially likely to take them by surprise and to find them unprepared and vulnerable (see also Simandan 2010; 2018b; 2019a).

I also argue that the manner in which the authors model attack and defense as games of strategy is misleading to the extent that it does not take into account the optimal level of analysis at which such modelling should take place. More specifically, asymmetric conflict is best understood at the finer-grained level of studying the sequences of strikes and counterstrikes that the rival actors have in store for one another (Simandan 2018a; 2019b; 2019c). In other words, it is less productive for the study of conflict to think in terms of attackers *versus* defenders than to think in terms of the specific chains of moves and countermoves that, taken together, constitute the higher-order “conflict.” De Dreu and Gross mention only in passing this micro-level of analysis (sect. 3.4), and this analytical oversight severely circumscribes the

range of insight that their current framework can offer. This problem should be remedied in their future work by more carefully articulating the study of conflict at finer-grained levels of analysis. As a constructive suggestion of how this task could be carried out, I end this commentary by briefly delineating four complementary criteria for classifying move/countermove pairs (for details, see Simandan 2018a; 2019b; 2019c). The first criterion is *intentionality*, and its application allows us to appreciate the fact that counterforce creation does not require conscious decision-making, and that, therefore, we can usefully distinguish intended countermoves from unintended counterforces. A second criterion that carries significant analytical traction in characterizing move-countermove dyads is the degree of *similarity* between the substantive, intrinsic features of the initial move and the properties of the subsequent response. Its application yields two broad categories: similar (or symmetric) countermoves, which describe responses that are of the same kind as the triggering move, and dissimilar (or asymmetric) countermoves, which refer to reactions that are substantively different from the initial trigger. The third criterion by which move-countermove pairs can be usefully classified is the degree of *concentration of human agency* involved. One can thereby distinguish between individual countermoves and collective or diffuse responses. This distinction is significant for theoretical and methodological reasons in both the social sciences and historiography. Finally, the fourth criterion is *the time elapsed* between the initial move and the countermove. The distinction of immediate countermoves from delayed countermoves (1) brings out the complication that even immediate responses cannot happen instantaneously, (2) prompts the further classification of delays themselves into unavoidable and deliberate delays, and (3) opens questions about the advantages of making use of deliberate delays when crafting one's reaction to a competitive challenge.

Using political sanctions to discourage intergroup attacks: Social identity and authority legitimacy

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Abstract

De Dreu and Gross offer novel solutions to discouraging attackers via political sanctions. We offer insights from social psychological and criminological research on when such sanctions would work and when they could backfire. We argue that the influence of such sanctioning ultimately rests upon the extent to which such authorities can claim to represent the society that they serve.

Authorities have a distinct position in our societies in that a mere appointment to such duty warrants a form of power and influence over society's behaviours. People usually obey authorities if they perceive them as legitimate (Tyler 2006), and policies and reforms introduced by political authorities have a direct influence on social norms (Guimond et al. 2013; Tankard & Paluck 2016). In their article, De Dreu and Gross (D&G) suggest that authorities are among solutions to prevent grave intergroup conflict by introducing political sanctions, discouraging potential attackers. In this commentary, we elaborate on this argument by considering when political sanctioning can be effective in preventing conflict and when it could backfire, provoking reactive attacks further. We argue that the extent to which authority is perceived to represent people whom they are meant to serve is key in the extent to which political sanctions are effective.

On one level, the effect of political sanctioning on behaviour seems straightforward: sanctions discourage behaviours by altering the cost-benefit considerations such that unwanted behaviours become more costly to the actor. From this point of view, it does not matter what kind of relationship exists between the authority and potential attackers, as long as the latter is afraid of losing resources valuable to their group if they disobey the former. These ideas go back to the early theories on equity (Adams 1966; Messick & Cook 1983), whereby people are considered to be rationally weigh potential gains to one's own investments in an exchange. Judgements of authority resource distributions, in this perspective, are underpinned by the crude input-output exchanges. As D&G acknowledge, attacks tend to be less coordinated and, in turn, riskier; having another danger relating to the subsequent sanction could indeed decrease the likelihood of an attack. Thus, if instrumental motives were the sole basis for complying with authorities, then people would comply when the promise of rewards and threat of sanctions are such that compliance maximises benefits (or minimises loss).

But are authorities simply sources of rewards and punishments? Tyler and colleagues have long argued that people obey authorities that treat them fairly for relational rather than instrumental reasons; such fair and respectful treatment tells them something about their social standing in the society (Tyler & Lind 1992). Similarly, the threat of sanctions alters not only the cost-benefit implications of an action, but also our understanding of the relevant social relationships. For example, through being forced to follow a course of action against our will, we may come to see our relationship with an authority as unequal and conflictual, which, in turn, will make it difficult for the authority to subsequently appeal to a sense of duty to obey (Turner 2005). Moreover, if attack behaviour serves to enact a group identity and understanding of the world, then sanctions will not necessarily counteract the motivation for it in the way that a simple cost-benefit account would suggest. For example, in the case of a terrorist group whose very *raison d'être* is rooted in the perceived illegitimacy of the status quo, sanctioning by the authorities would be entirely in line with the worldview from which their violence derives its meaning. Indeed, as Turner also points out, to be punished by an illegitimate authority could become a badge of honour, just as a promise of reward can be resented as an attempt to control through bribery. The point is that whether a reward or sanction serves to encourage or discourage a behaviour has as much to do with the social relationship within which it is administered as with any kind of inherent value. Moreover, to the extent that sanctions are felt by a wider group of people than those already engaged in conflict, there is the potential for escalation

two decades ago indeed suggests, that negotiation can be instrumental in resolving attacker-defender conflicts. Readiness theory provides a good starting point to analyze and predict when and why attackers and defenders initiate negotiations as a means to resolve their differences.

R4.2. Regulating emotions

Inherent in readiness theory and critical to get negotiations started is an element of hope that future waste can be prevented, and optimism about creating an end to the conflict (Bar-Tal 2001; Pliskin & Halperin 2016; Pruitt 2007). Hopelessness and concomitant apathy may be, indeed, among the key emotional states that characterize disadvantaged groups in society (Shnabel & Becker). Optimism requires the belief that the other can change (viz., malleability; Halperin et al. 2011). Thus, to get negotiations started and to seek constructive rather than violent resolution of conflict, interventions may target the antagonist's hope and optimism.

Work summarized by Cernadas Curotto et al. shows that this can be done and indeed contributes to constructive conflict resolution. For example, Cernadas Curotto et al. draw on the idea that people are motivated to feel certain ways, and we agree that defenders may (i) have different emotional preferences than attackers, because certain emotions (ii) are instrumental to the antagonist's goals in the conflict. Sheretema discusses how such emotional states and preferences like guilt and inequity aversion, on the one hand, and anger and regret aversion, on the other hand, can lead to substantial deviations from what rational selfish agents in attacker-defender conflicts should do. Indeed, in recounting his experiences as a mediator in the Balkan conflicts, Holbrooke (1999) describes a good example of such instrumental use of emotions: "Karadzic...said that our draft proposal was unacceptable. Suddenly, Mladic erupted. Pushing to the center of the circle, he began a long, emotional diatribe. ... This was the intimidating style he had used with the Dutch commander at Srebrenica, with Janvier, and with so many others. He gave off a scent of danger. ... I did not know if his rage was real or feigned, but this was the genuine Mladic, the one who could unleash a murderous rampage" (pp. 150–51). Cernadas Curotto et al. discuss several interventions to change emotions and emotion-based preferences, including reappraisal training and compassion training. Compassion training, in particular, may enable attackers to inhibit their willingness to change the status quo through violence and contribute to a de-escalatory move that allows both the attacker and the defender to negotiate rather than fight.

R4.3. Summary and conclusions

Asymmetric conflicts between attackers and defenders may not only be more frequent than the widely studied symmetric conflicts, but they may also offer and require different measures and interventions for conflict resolution and peace settlement. Next to the economic interventions we discussed in our target article, research and theory on negotiation, readiness, and emotion regulation offer interventions for conflict resolutions and suggest important pathways to peace.

R5. Conclusion

The conflicts that humans create and fight within and between groups can be meaningfully modeled as games of strategy.

Grounded in the observation that emerging conflicts are more often between those who seek change and revision of the status quo, and those who seek to maintain and protect the status quo, we proposed to consider attacker-defender conflicts in more detail.

Our framework, along with the commentaries on our target article, largely focused on human conflict and the neuropsychological and sociocultural mechanisms that operate during attack and defense. The commentaries refined and added insights about the structural features of asymmetric conflict, the strategies people choose, and the tactical maneuvering that can take place, along with key moderators of group identification and possibilities for conflict resolution.

Whereas the study of human conflict largely neglected asymmetric conflicts between attackers and defenders, scholars in biology have long recognized the distinct dynamics between (group-hunting) predators and (herds of) prey. Without denying the possibility of unique psychological and cultural capabilities of the human species, we agree with Radford et al. and Ridley & Mirville that integrating the study of animal conflict with that of human conflict can be mutually beneficial and fruitful. Among other things, such integration can shed light on the long-term selection pressures emanating from asymmetric conflicts between attackers and defenders (Hafer; Mifune & Simunovic), including the possible group-selection pressures on the emergence of the (human) propensity for cooperation, indirect reciprocity, and parochial altruism (viz., Bowles & Gintis 2011). Ultimately, such integration should enable a biologically tractable, ecologically valid, and psychologically plausible theory of conflict and cooperation within and between groups that is amenable to interventions for constructive conflict resolution and reduced suffering.

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[The letters "a" and "r" before author's initials stand for target article and response references, respectively]

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