GOV94MCC: Peacebuilding: Approaches to Reducing Ethnoreligious Conflict

Professor Melani Cammett
Government Department
E-mail: mcammett@g.harvard.edu
Assistant: Kathleen Hoover (kathleen_hoover@harvard.edu)

Course day/time: Thursdays, 3-5pm US EDT/EST
Office hours: Wed., 2:30-4:30pm US EDT/EST (Signup in advance here)

Course Overview
Ethnoreligious conflict seems to be on the rise – or at least shows few signs of abatement. Many countries in Africa, South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the Former Soviet Union have witnessed wars, conflict and riots that are ostensibly waged in the name of these identities. Even if they are not the root cause of these conflicts, ethnicity or religion often *becomes* politically salient as a result of political violence targeting ethnic or religious "others" and, once activated, exhibit remarkable stickiness in social and political life. When intergroup tensions have ratcheted up, is it possible to reduce their importance? Can a shared civic identity be (re)constructed in the wake of violence waged in the name of ethnicity or religion? This course explores these questions through an exploration of relevant social science literature and in-depth analyses of case studies of conflict and conflict resolution.

A key goal of the course is to bridge academia and policy by examining the implications of cutting-edge social science research for policies to promote peace and reconciliation – or at least improved intergroup relations – in the wake of violent conflict. Towards this end, we will focus on both the substantive issues raised by research on peacebuilding and identity politics and the data and methods used to support the arguments and associated policy recommendations in the work we encounter. What are the strengths and limits of different methodological approaches to peacebuilding, such as case studies, historical analyses and experimental research? How do distinct methodological approaches help us make sense of what "works" in improving intergroup relations and why interventions are successful in some contexts but not in others? How can we best understand the ways in which the local political, social and/or economic context affects efforts to promote peace and reconciliation?

Requirements
The course requirements include:

Assignment #1: The politicization (and non-politicization) of ethnicity
Pick a country with multiple cultural communities (i.e., a "plural" society). Write a memo on whether ethnicity (such as religion, race, origin, etc.) is salient in public life and is a source of violent or nonviolent tensions in the country. What causes ethnicity to matter or not matter in this context?

- Be clear about how you define significance in this context. Is your definition limited to the political, or does it also entail social or economic significance? Consider whether and how these factors might be connected.
- Make sure to discuss how different communities interact.

The memo should be 3-4 pages, double-spaced with 1-inch margins and should reference at least one reading from each week in Unit 1, with at least 3 or 4 course readings overall.

Submit your essay electronically on Canvas in either PDF or Word format. You can submit the memo at any time during Unit I. The last date of submission is **Sept. 24 by 9am EDT** (before the last meeting for Unit I).

Assignment #2: Institutional Design
Imagine that you are an advisor brought in to recommend the institutional design for a country that has just emerged from a conflict. Write a memo outlining what institutions you would recommend the government to adopt and why. You can choose a specific post-conflict setting to discuss or have a general discussion about post-conflict settings.

- Be clear about your goals in the post-conflict setting and why you prioritize one goal over another (e.g. focusing on conflict prevention over economic development)
- Explain how the institutional design you recommend will help to achieve the specified goals.
- You may write about a country case already discussed in the course. If you choose not to address a case discussed in the readings or class, be sure to spend some time researching the context about which you are writing.

The memo should be 3-4 pages, double-spaced with 1-inch margins and should reference at least 1 reading from each week in Unit II, with at least 3 or 4 course readings overall.

The memo should be electronically submitted on Canvas. Please make sure you upload a pdf or word copy. You can submit the memo at any time during Unit II, the last date to turn it in is **Oct. 22 by 9am US EDT** (before the first meeting for Unit III).

Assignment #3: Group project
You are a researcher working with an NGO tasked with designing a societal intervention to reduce prejudice and promote intergroup tolerance in a post-conflict setting. In a memo or report format, outline the intervention you propose to implement. Take one of the studies you have read in Unit III as a model and choose a post-conflict setting from one of the cases covered in the course.

For the intervention, make sure to address:
- The goal of the intervention or what you hope to accomplish;
- The context you are working in;
- The theoretical basis of the intervention (i.e. the contact hypothesis, ingroup policing, or another underlying mechanism aimed at achieving the outcome);
- The precise nature of the intervention;
- The actors involved (both participants and implementers);
- A preliminary logistical plan discussing when the intervention will take place, how long it lasts, time interval(s) when the outcomes will be measured, and anticipated challenges and some potential solutions to them.

During the first week of Unit III, you will be split into small groups for the assignment. Some class time will be set aside for the groups to organize themselves and deal with logistics.

The assignment has two components:
1. Presentation of the proposed intervention in seminar on **Thurs., Dec. 3**.
   a. Each presentation will last about 15-20 mins followed by a 5-10 mins for Q&A with all seminar participants
2. Memo/Report due on **Dec. 4 by 9am US EST**
   a. 5-7 pages, double-spaced to be submitted by one participant on behalf of the group, with the names of all group members on the memo

Assignment #4: Final project

Proposal
The major assignment for the course is a research project, which may take the form of a research paper or a proposal for a peacebuilding intervention. (See final project instructions below.) To ensure that you are on the right track and leave yourself sufficient time to produce a strong final product, you are required to upload a 1-2 paged outline of your proposed project to the course website no later than **Mon., Dec. 7 at 9am US EST**.

The proposal should include the following elements:

- Statement of a falsifiable research question, ideally in the form of a puzzle
- Identification and brief discussion of the range of potential explanations or hypotheses to be assessed in the paper
- Identification of potential cases (i.e., countries, sub-national units, etc.) for in-depth analysis in the paper
- For research papers: Possible data sources and proposed methods of data analysis
- For interventions: Broad description of proposed intervention.
- Preliminary bibliography

Final research project
For the final project, you have two options:

1) Final papers should address a topic of direct relevance to the course such as why and how a particular conflict was resolved or a structured, focused comparison between two conflicts that have witnessed distinct outcomes. The paper should include the following elements:

- Statement of a falsifiable research question, ideally in the form of a puzzle, with a clear outcome to be explained
- Brief statement of tentative hypothesis
- Identification and brief discussion of the range of possible rival and/or complementary hypotheses or explanations of the phenomenon in question, situated in relevant scholarly literatures
- Elaboration of tentative hypothesis, ideally with more in-depth discussion of logic, mechanisms and observable implications
- Justification of case selection
- Data sources
- Methods of data analysis
- Conclusion, including (re)statement of the importance of the question and implications for future research and/or for policy-making

2) In lieu of a research paper, you may choose to design another intervention or elaborate on the intervention you designed with your group as a research paper, developing its theoretical foundations and research design as stated in the guidelines for the research paper. Use one of the studies in Unit III as a model.

Final projects should not exceed 10-12 double-spaced pages and must be uploaded to the course website by **Wed., Dec. 16 at 9am US EST**.

Grading
Grades will be assigned on the following basis:

Attendance and active participation (10%)
Short essays (45% or 15% each)
Final paper proposal (5%)
Final paper/project and proposal (40%)

Materials
Available on the course website.

Some readings on the syllabus employ econometric and experimental methods, often aimed at making causal inferences from quantitative data. Training in such methods is not a requirement to take this course, but those who are unfamiliar with these approaches are encouraged to read the following or consult similar resources:

Steven V. Miller. Reading a Regression Table. Blog Post, August 13, 2014. Available here.

Jessica D. Blankshain and Andrew L. Stigler. "Applying Method to Madness: A User's Guide to Causal Inference in Policy Analysis." Texas National Security Review 3, no. 3 (Summer 2020). Available here.

Policies
Please note the following requirements and expectations. In the interest of upholding the rule of law, exceptions to these policies cannot be granted without a documented excuse. Any potential obstacles to meeting these requirements and expectations should be communicated to the professor as far in advance as possible, ideally at the outset of the semester. The global Covid-19 pandemic and consequent shift to an online format have created challenging conditions and every effort will be made to accommodate student needs in these difficult times.

No Late Work: Assignments will lose ½ grade for each late day except in the case of documented, serious medical or family problems.

Absentee Policy: Synchronous attendance at seminar meetings is critical and mandatory. In the case of absence from the seminar, a two-page (approx. 600-1,000 words) critical analysis of the readings must be submitted by the end of the same day unless students can provide documented reasons for an emergency exception. These papers may not substitute for attendance; two or more absences will result in deductions from the final grade.

Abide by the Harvard College Honor Code: Reacquaint yourself with the Honor Code here.

Individual work: For all written work in this class, with the exception of the group project, students' ideas must be their own. Students may read each other's work and offer feedback to each other. However, all idea generation and writing for submitted assignments must be done individually, and the resultant work must reflect individual effort. It is also essential to adhere to standard citation practices in the social science and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have informed the work.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability should present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the Professor within the first two weeks of class meetings. All discussions will remain confidential.

COURSE TOPICS

I. FOUNDATIONS: PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING IN "PLURAL" SOCIETIES
This section of the course will cover core concepts in the study of conflict resolution and reconciliation. It will also explore the most prominent explanations for the outbreak of identity-based conflict, addressing the conditions under which conflict does and does not break out in societies with diverse ethnic and religious populations.

Week 1 (Thurs., Sept. 3): Introduction and overview
No assigned readings
In-class exercises and discussion

Week 2 (Thurs., Sept. 10): What is peace?
Is "peace" the absence of violence or can we understand peace (and related concepts) in more "active" or "positive" terms? Can we think of peace as a spectrum of outcomes? What can learn from Catholic-Protestant relations in early modern Europe about what peace actually looks like on the ground in post-conflict settings?
- Institute for Economics & Peace. *Positive Peace Report 2019: Analysing the factors that sustain peace*. Sydney, October 2019, pp. 12-22.
- Daniel Bar-Tal and Gemma H. Bennink. "The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process." In *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation,* edited by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 3-20 ONLY.
- Roger Mac Ginty. "Everyday peace: Bottom-up and local agency in conflict-affected societies." *Security Dialogue* 45, no. 6 (2014): 548-564.
- Torsten Kolind. *The New Bosnian Mosaic*. London: Routledge, 2007, ch. 5.
- Wayne P. Te Brake. *Religious War and Religious Peace in Early Modern Europe*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2017, chs. 1 and 13.
- Benjamin J. Kaplan. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, Introduction, ch. 9.

Further reading (not required)
- Nicholas Sambanis. "What Is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (2004): 814–858.
- John Paul Lederach. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1997, ch. 3 ("Reconciliation: The Building of the Relationship" and ch. 4 ("Structure: Lenses for the Big Picture").
- Hugh Miall. *The Peacemakers: Peaceful Settlement of Disputes since 1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, ch. 6 ("Peaceful Settlements in Practice"), ch. 7 ("Peaceful Settlements in Practice: A Comparative Study"), and ch. 9 ("Conflicts Involving Ethnic Issues").
- David Keen. "War and peace: What's the difference?" *International Peacekeeping* 7, no. 4 (2000): 1-22.
- See reports and papers on the [CDA: Practical Learning for International Action](#) website.

Week 3 (Thurs., Sept. 17): When is ethnoreligious identity <u>not</u> politicized?
What explains why some societies with diverse ethnic or religious groups have never experienced conflict along these lines? How did some societies gradually overcome deep-seated religious tensions and legacies of religious violence to establish norms and practices of tolerance? What lessons might their experiences offer for resolving ethnic or religious conflict?
- Andreas Wimmer. *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018, chs. 1, 2 and 8.
- Laia Balcells. "Mass Schooling and Catalan Nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19, no. 4 (2013): 467-486.
- Edward Miguel. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya Versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (April 2004): 327-362.

Further reading (not required)
- Eugene Weber. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1979.
- James Fearon and David Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 4 (1996): 715-735.
- Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. "Threats to territorial integrity, national mass schooling, and linguistic commonality." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 11 (2016): 1446-1479.
- Peter Sahlins. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.
- Christina Saulich and Sascha Werthes. "Exploring local potentials for peace: strategies to sustain peace in times of war." *Peacebuilding* (2018): 1-22.

Thurs., Sept. 24: Submit assignment #1 before 9am US EST

Week 4 (Thurs., Sept. 24): When does ethnic or religious conflict break out? Insights from studies of Hindu-Muslim riots in India
What is "identity"? How can we define religion, ethnicity and related social identities? How do scholars explain the emergence and persistence of conflict along ostensibly ethnic or religious lines? What can we learn from debates about the outbreak of Hindu-Muslim riots in India?
- Kanchan Chandra and Steven Wilkinson. "Measuring the Effect of 'Ethnicity.'" C*omparative Political Studies* 41, nos. 4–5 (2008): 519-526 ONLY.
- Paul R. Brass. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003. ch. 1.
- Ashutosh Varshney. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003, chs. 1 and 5.
- Steven I. Wilkinson. *Votes and violence: Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, ch. 1.
- Saumitra Jha. "Trade, Institutions, and Ethnic Tolerance: Evidence from South Asia." *American Political Science Review*. 107, no. 4 (2013): 806-832.

Further reading (not required)
- Donald L. Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985., chs. 1, 3, and 4.
- Ashutosh Varshney. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In *The Oxford Handbook on Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009: ch. 12 (pp. 274-294).
- Kyle L. Marquardt and Yoshiko M. Herrera. "Ethnicity as a Variable: An Assessment of Measures and Data Sets of Ethnicity and Related Identities." *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (Sept. 2015): 689-716.
- Rogers Brubaker. "Language, religion and the politics of difference." *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 1 (2013): 1-20.
- Maya Sen and Omar Wasow. "Race as a Bundle of Sticks: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (2016): 499-522.
- James Fearon and David Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.
- Leonie Huddy. "Group Identity and Political Cohesion." *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary, Searchable, and Linkable Resource* (2015): 1-14.
- Barry R. Posen. "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47.
- John Mueller. "The banality of "ethnic war"." *International Security* 25, no. 1 (2000): 42-70.
- Nicholas Sambanis. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 3 (2003): 259–282.
- John F. McCauley. *The Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017, ch. 1 ("Introduction") and ch. 2 ("A Theory of Mobilizational Differences in Identity Type").
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (2010): 87-119.
- Julian Wucherpfenig, Philipp Hunziker, and Lars-Erik Cedarman. "Who Inherits the State? Colonial Rule and Postcolonial Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 4 (October 2016): 882-898.
- Janet I. Lewis. "How Does Ethnic Rebellion Start?" *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 10 (2016): 1420-1450.
- Ron Hassner. "To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility." *Security Studies* 12, no. 4 (2003): 1-33.

II. STATE-LEVEL INTERVENTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN
This section of the course focuses on how conflicts end – whether as a natural result of wartime dynamics or as a result of deliberative institutional design arising from local or external efforts to resolve the conflict – and ways to structure political institutions in post-conflict settings. Each week addresses the implications of national-level political conditions or institutions for post-conflict peacebuilding and explores these dynamics in specific cases.

Week 5 (Thurs., Oct. 1): Peacekeeping and international interventions
Some conflicts end as a result of international negotiations and may even entail physical guarantees such as the presence of UN troops to secure the peace. Under what conditions does third-party enforcement keep the peace and how does it shape the prospects for post-conflict peacebuilding and reconciliation? Does the "international community" have a "responsibility to protect"?

Guest: Mr. Farres Alkhaiyer, Former Executive Director, Al-Amal Al-Wahid (United Hope), Latakia, Syria.

- Virginia Page Fortna. *Does peacekeeping work?: Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008, ch. 1.
- Lise Morjé Howard. *Power in Peacekeeping*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, ch. 1.
- Rob Blair. "International Intervention and the Rule of Law after Civil War: Evidence from Liberia." *International Organization* 73, no. 2 (2019): 363-398.
- Severine Autesserre. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, Introduction.
- Alex J. Bellamy. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defense*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, ch. 1.
- Roland Paris. "The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention." *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 5 (2014): 569-603.

Further reading (not required)
- Barbara F. Walter, Lise M. Howard, and Page Fortna. "The Extraordinary Relationship between Peacekeeping and Peace." Forthcoming.
- Barbara Walter. *Committing to peace: The successful settlement of civil wars*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman and Megan Shannon. "United Nations peacekeeping and civilian protection in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 4 (2013): 875- 891.
- Milli Lake. "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization* 71, no. 2 (2017): 1-35.
- Vera Mironova and Sam Whitt. "International Peacekeeping and Positive Peace: Evidence from Kosovo." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 10 (2017): 74-104.
- Sabrina Karim. "Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness: Does Gender Neutrality Inhibit Progress?" *International Interactions* 43, no. 5 (September 2016): 1-26.

- Kyle Beardsley. "Agreement without peace? International mediation and time inconsistency problems." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 4 (2008): 723-740.
- Jacob Bercovitch and Karl DeRouen. "Managing Ethnic Civil Wars: Assessing the Determinants of Successful Mediation." *Civil Wars* 7, no. 1 (2005): 98-116.

Week 6 (Thurs., Oct. 8): The pros and cons of power-sharing
A vast body of literature debates the merits of various electoral and executive system institutional arrangements for post-conflict peace duration and governance. Power-sharing is a prominent institutional recipe for ending conflict and maintaining peace. What are the pros and cons of power-sharing? Under what conditions does it keep the peace? How does it affect post-conflict reconciliation among previously warring groups? What can we learn about power-sharing from comparative analyses of the South African, Bosnian and Lebanese cases?

Guests: Prof. Damir Kapidžić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Prof. Bassel Salloukh, Department of Social Sciences, Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon

- Carolyn Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. "The Art of the Possible: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Democracy." *World Politics* 67, no. 1 (2015): 37-71.
- Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005, ch. 2 ("Power-sharing as an impediment to peace and democracy").
- Timothy D. Sisk and Christoph Stefes. "Power Sharing as an Interim Step in Peace Building: Lessons from South Africa." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, edited by Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, pp. 293-317.
- Bassel F. Salloukh. "Taif and the Lebanese State: The Political Economy of a Very Sectarian Public Sector." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 25, no. 1 (2019): 43-60.
- Melani Cammett and Aytug Sasmaz. "Political Context, Organizational Mission, and the Quality of Social Services: Insights from the Health Sector in Lebanon." *World Development* 98, no. 3 (2017): 120-132.
- Damir Kapidžić. "A Mirror of the Ethnic Divide: Interest Group Pillarization and Elite Dominance in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Public Affairs* 19, no. 2(2019): 1720-1732.

Further reading (not required)
- Arend Lijphart. "Consociational Democracy." *World Politics* 21, no. 2 (1968): 207-225.
- Benjamin Reilly. *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, ch. 1 ("Introduction: Democracy in Divided Societies").
- Carolyn Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2003): 318-332.
- Melani Cammett and Edmund Malesky. "Power Sharing in Postconflict Societies: Implications for Peace and Governance." *Journal of Conflict Resolution 56,* no. 6 (2012): 982–1016.
- Michaela Mattes and Burcu Savun. "Information, agreement design, and the durability of civil war settlements." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 2 (2010): 511-524.

- Sarah Zukerman Daly. "The Dark Side of Power-Sharing: Middle Managers and Civil War Recurrence." *Comparative Politics* 46, no. 3 (2014): 333–53.
- Elisabeth King and Cyrus Samii. "Minorities and Mistrust: On the Adoption of Ethnic Identification to Manage Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 3 (2018): 289-304.
- Marie Joelle Zahar. "Power Sharing in Lebanon: Foreign Protectors, Domestic Peace, and Democratic Failure." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, edited by Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, pp. 219-240.
- Bassel F. Salloukh. "The Limits of Electoral Engineering in Divided Societies: Elections in Postwar Lebanon." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 3 (2006): 635-655.
- Argyro Kartsonaki. "Twenty years after Dayton: Bosnia-Herzegovina (still) stable and explosive." *Civil Wars* 18, no. 4 (2016): 488-516.
- Damir Kapidžić. "Democratic Transition and Electoral Design in Plural Societies: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina's 1990 Elections." *Ethnopolitics* 14, no. 3 (2015): 311-327.
- Stephan Rosiny. "Power Sharing in Syria: Lessons from Lebanon's Experience." Working Paper no. 223, GIGA Research Programme: Violence and Security, Hamburg, Germany, 2013.
- Harith Hasan Al-Qarawee. "Iraq's Sectarian Crisis." Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut, Lebanon, 2014.

Week 7 (Thurs., Oct. 15): Secession, autonomy and decentralization
Some policymakers and scholars argue that variants of political decentralization or even secession offer the best case for stability in conflict-affected settings. What do studies of partition and decentralization as well as the experiences of autonomous regions, such as the Catalonia region in Spain, or of independent countries that emerged through secession teach us about post-conflict resolution?
- Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil Wars." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 82-118.
- Dawn Brancati. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict through Decentralization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, Introduction and ch. 4.
- Ramon Maiz, Francisco Caamaño and Miguel Azpitarte. "The Hidden Counterpoint of Spanish Federalism: Recentralization and Resymmetrization in Spain (1978–2008)." *Regional & Federal Studies* 20, no. 1 (2010): 63-82.
- Laia Balcells, José Fernández-Albertos, and Alexander Kuo. "Preferences for Inter-Regional Redistribution." *Comparative Political Studies* 48, no. 10 (2015): 1318-1351.
- Hanna Leonardsson and Gustav Rudd. "The 'local turn' in peacebuilding: a literature review of effective and emancipatory local peacebuilding." *Third world quarterly* 36, no. 5 (2015): 825-839.

Further reading (not required)
- Peter Sahlins. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.
- Chaim Kaufmann. "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century." *International Security* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 120-156.
- Nadav Shelef. "Unequal Ground: Homelands and Conflict." International Organization 70, no. 1 (2016): 33-63.
- Edmund J. Malesky, Cuong Viet Nguyen, and Anh Tran. "The Impact of Recentralization on Public Services: A Difference-in-Differences Analysis of the Abolition of Elected Councils in Vietnam." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 1 (2014): 144-168.
- Thomas B. Pepinsky and Maria M. Wihardja. "Decentralization and Economic Performance in Indonesia." *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 11, no. 3 (2011): 337-371.

Thurs., Oct. 22: Submit assignment #2 before 9am US EDT

III. APPROACHES TO PEACEBUILDING
How do domestic and external actors actively build peace? What is the range of approaches to fostering peace, tolerance and reconciliation in the wake of ethnic or religious conflict? What are their respective track records of success and, more fundamentally, how can we conceptualize and measure "success" in achieving these outcomes after identity-based conflict?

Week of Oct. 8th: MOVIE NIGHT! In the week before our meeting, "get together" with fellow seminar participants to watch Coexist, which is available through the course Canvas website. Be prepared to discuss the film in seminar.

Week 8 (Thurs., Oct. 22): Truth and reconciliation commissions
What are truth and reconciliations commissions and what are they designed to achieve? Where and why have they been adopted? What factors explain their potential successes and shortcomings?
- James L. Gibson. "Does truth lead to reconciliation? Testing the causal assumptions of the South African truth and reconciliation process." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2004): 201-217.
- Amnesty International. "Northern Ireland: Time to Deal with the Past." London, Amnesty International, 2013. (Read main text, skim insets boxes.)
- Phil Clark. "Bringing the peasants back in, again: State power and local agency in Rwanda's gacaca courts." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014): 193-213.
- Jacobus Cilliers, Oeindrila Dube, and Bilal Siddiqi. "Reconciling after civil conflict increases social capital but decreases individual well-being." *Science* 352, no. 6287 (2016): 787-794.
- Marita Eastmond and Johanna Mannergren Selimovic. "Silence as possibility in postwar everyday life." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 6, no. 3 (2012): 502-524.
- Laia Balcells, Valeria Palanza, and Elsa Voytas. "Do Transitional Justice Museums Persuade Visitors? Evidence from a Field Experiment." *The Journal of Politics* (Forthcoming 2020): pp. 1-23.

Further reading (not required)
- Joanna Quinn, ed. *Reconciliation(s): Transitional Justice in Postconflict Societies*. Montreal and Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.
- Luc Huyse and Mark Salter, eds. *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict*. Stockholm, Sweden: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2008.
- Karen Brounéus. "Analyzing reconciliation: A structured method for measuring national reconciliation initiatives." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 14, no. 3 (2008): 291-313.
- Brandon Hamber and Grainne Kelly. "Beyond Coexistence: Towards a Working Definition of Reconciliation." In *Reconciliation(s): Transitional Justice in Postconflict Societies*, edited by Joanna Quinn. Montreal and Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, ch. 13 (pp. 286-310).
- Angelika Rettberg and Juan E. Ugarriza. "Reconciliation: A comprehensive framework for empirical analysis." *Security Dialogue* 47, no. 6 (2016): 517-540.
- Herb Kelman. "Reconciliation From a Social-Psychological Perspective." In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Reconciliation*, edited by Arie Nadler, Thomas Malloy, and Jeffrey D. Fisher. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 1-19.
- Rajeev Bhargava. "The difficulty of reconciliation." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 38, nos. 4-5 (2012): 369-377.
- David Bargal and Emmanuel Sivan. "Leadership and Reconciliation." In *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, edited by Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 1-25.
- Rama Mani. "Rebuilding an inclusive political community after war." *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 511-526.
- Megan Shore. "Christianity and justice in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A case study in religious conflict resolution." *Political Theology* 9, no. 2 (2008): 161-178.
- Kristin M. Bakke, John O'Loughlin, and Michael D. Ward. "Reconciliation in conflict-affected societies: Multilevel modeling of individual and contextual factors in the North Caucasus of Russia." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, no. 5 (2009): 1012-1021.
- Kristen Kao and Mara Revkin. "To Punish or to Pardon?: Reintegrating Rebel Collaborators After Conflict in Iraq." Unpublished manuscript, Gothenburg University and Yale University, Nov. 2018.

Week 9 (Thurs., Oct. 29): Interventions I: Intergroup contact and prejudice reduction
How can tolerance be promoted in the wake of violent conflict along identity-based lines? Can people targeted during wartime for their ethnicity or religion come to trust members of other groups who are perceived as enemies or aggressors? What kinds of interventions have been developed to promote intergroup tolerance in these settings and how have they fared?

Guest: Chagai Weiss, Pre-doctoral Fellow, Middle East Initiative, Harvard Kennedy School
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. "The Contact Hypothesis Re-Evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy* 3, no. 2 (2019): 129-158.
- Cyrus Samii. "Perils or promise of ethnic integration? Evidence from a hard case in Burundi." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (2013): 558-573.
- Chagai M. Weiss. "Curing Prejudice Through Representative Bureaucracies: Evidence From a Natural Experiment in Israeli Medical Clinics." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin – Madison, January 8, 2020.
- Salma Mousa. "Creating Coexistence: Intergroup Contact and Soccer in Post-ISIS Iraq." *Science* (Forthcoming).
- Claire L. Adida, Adeline Lo, and Melina R. Platas. "Perspective Taking Can Promote Short-Term Inclusionary Behavior Toward Syrian Refugees." *PNAS* 115, no. 38 (Sept. 18, 2018): 9521-9526.
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck. "Is it better not to talk? Group polarization, extended contact, and perspective taking in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36, no. 9 (2010): 1170-1185.

Further reading (not required)
- Maykel Verkuyten, Kumar Yogeeswaran, and Levi Adelman. "Toleration and Prejudice-Reduction: Two Ways of Improving Intergroup Relations." European Journal of Social Psychology. 50, no. 2 (2020): 239-255.
- Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp. "A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 90, no. 5 (2006): 751-783.
- Muzafer Sherif. *The Robbers Cave Experiment: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation*. [Orig. pub. as *Intergroup conflict and group relations*]. Wesleyan, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.
- Marcus Alexander and Fotini Christia. "Contextual Modularity of Human Altruism." *Science* 334, no. 6061 (December 2011): 1392-1394.
- Gabor Simonovits, Gabor Kezdi, and Peter Kardos. "Seeing the World Through the Other's Eye: An Online Intervention Reducing Ethnic Prejudice." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 1 (February 2018): 186-193.
- David Broockman and Joshua Kalla. "Durably Reducing Transphobia: A Field Experiment on Door-to-Door Canvassing." *Science* 352, no. 6282 (April 8, 2016): 220-224.
- Ryan D. Enos. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." *PNAS* 111, no. 10 (March 11, 2014): 3699-3704.
- Luke N. Condra and Sera Linardi. "Casual Contact and Ethnic Bias: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan." *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 3 (July 2019): 1028-1042.
- Dominik Hangartner, Elias Dinas, Mortiz Marbach, Konstantinos Matakos, and Dimitrios Xefteris. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?" *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 442-455.

- Melani Cammett. "Lebanon, the Sectarian Identity Test Lab." Project on Citizenship and Its Discontents in the Middle East, The Century Foundation, New York, April 11, 2019.

Week 10 (Thurs., Nov. 5): Interventions II: Superordinate and Intragroup Interventions
Beyond intergroup contact, what interventions do researchers and practitioners design to promote improved intergroup relations after conflict? What types of interventions can mitigate negative behaviors, whether by transcending group identity or focusing on behaviors within the ingroup? Under what conditions do these distinct types of interventions meet their goals?

Guest: Dr. David Romney, Post-doctoral Fellow, Weatherhead Scholars Program, Harvard
- Ruth K. Ditlmann, Cyrus Samii, and Thomas Zeitzoff. "Addressing Violent Intergroup Conflict from the Bottom Up?." *Social Issues and Policy Review* 11, no. 1 (2017): 38-77.
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck and Donald P. Green. "Deference, dissent, and dispute resolution: An experimental intervention using mass media to change norms and behavior in Rwanda." *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 4 (2009): 622-644.
- Rezarta Bilali, Johanna Ray Vollhardt, and Jason Ray David Rarick. "Assessing the impact of a media-based intervention to prevent intergroup violence and promote positive intergroup relations in Burundi." *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 26, no. 3 (2016): 221-235.
- David Romney. "Ingroup Policing in Intergroup Conflict." Unpublished manuscript, Government Department, Harvard University, August 2020.
- Paul Collier and Pedro C. Vicente. "Votes and violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria." *The Economic Journal* 124, no. 574 (2014): F327-F355.
- Alexandra A. Siegel and Vivienne Badaan. "# No2Sectarianism: Experimental Approaches to Reducing Sectarian Hate Speech Online." *American Political Science Review* (2020): 1-19.

Further reading (not required)
- Volha Charnysh, Christopher Lucas, and Prerna Singh. "The ties that bind: National identity salience and pro-social behavior toward the ethnic other." *Comparative Political Studies* 48, no. 3 (2015): 267-300.
- Christopher Blattman, Alexandra C. Hartman, and Robert A. Blair. "How to promote order and property rights under weak rule of law? An experiment in changing dispute resolution behavior through community education." *American Political Science Review* (2014): 100-120.

Week 11 (Thurs., Nov. 12): Peace education: The case of P2P programs for Israeli and Palestinian youth
Some international NGOs have developed "peacebuilding" programs to promote trust and tolerance through face-to-face interactions. A prominent example is Seeds of Peace, a program developed in 1993 that brings together teenagers from countries locked in conflict with each other in a summer camp in Maine every summer. Do these programs work? What are their strengths and limitations?

Guest: Phiroze Parasnis, Undergraduate Student, Harvard College (and former participant in Seeds of Peace)

- Gavriel Salomon. "Does peace education make a difference in the context of an intractable conflict?." *Peace and Conflict* 10, no. 3 (2004): 257-274.
- Phillip L. Hammack. "The Cultural Psychology of American-Based Coexistence Programs for Israeli and Palestinian Youth." In *Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Claire McGlynn et al. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, ch. 8 (pp. 127-144).
- Ifat Maoz. "Does contact work in protracted asymmetrical conflict? Appraising 20 years of reconciliation-aimed encounters between Israeli Jews and Palestinians." *Journal of Peace Research* 48, no. 1 (2011): 115-125.
- John Dixon, Linda R. Tropp, Kevin Durrheim, and Colin Tredoux. ""Let them eat harmony" prejudice-reduction strategies and attitudes of historically disadvantaged groups." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 19, no. 2 (2010): 76-80.

Further reading (not required)
- Gavriel Salomon and Baruch Nevo, eds. *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002.
- Ian M. Harris. "Peace education theory." *Journal of peace education* 1, no. 1 (2004): 5-20.
- Shelly Zhou, Elizabeth Page-Gould, Arthur Aron, Anne Moyer, and Miles Hewstone. "The extended contact hypothesis: A meta-analysis on 20 years of research." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 23, no. 2 (2019): 132-160.
- Vanessa Tinker. *Education for Peace: The Politics of Adopting and Mainstreaming Peace Education Programs in a Post-Conflict Setting*. Bethesda, MD: Academica Press, 2016, ch. 2.
- Judy Kuransky, ed. *Beyond Bullets and Bombs: Grassroots Peacebuilding between Israelis and Palestinians*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007.
- Craig Engstrom. "Promoting peace, yet sustaining conflict? A fantasy-theme analysis of Seeds of Peace publications." *Journal of Peace Education* 6, no. 1 (2009): 19-35.
- Daphna Canetti, Ibrahim Khatib, Aviad Rubin and Carly Wayne. "Framing and fighting: The impact of conflict frames on political attitudes." *Journal of Peace Research* (2019): 1-19.
- Christina Koulouri. 'Teaching on the "Balkan Express": A Collaborative Attempt to Write History for Reconciliation.' In *Perspectives on History* May 13, 2019. Available here.

Week 12 (Thurs., Nov. 19): Diversity, development and post-conflict peacebuilding
What is the relationship between development or inequality and conflict? Can resolving economic inequality prevent civil war recurrence - or outbreak in the first place?
- Michael Bauer et al. "Can War Foster Cooperation?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 30, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 249-274.
- Elisabeth King. "Can Development Interventions Help Post-Conflict Communities Build Social Cohesion? The Case of the Liberia Millennium Villages." CIGI Discussion Paper Series no. 9, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2013.
- Elisabeth King and Cyrus Samii. "Fast-track institution building in conflict-affected countries? Insights from recent field experiments." *World Development* 64 (2014): 740-754.
- Saumitra Jha and Moses Shayo. "Valuing Peace: The Effects of Financial Market Exposure on Votes and Political Attitudes." *Econometrica* 87 (2019): 1561-1588.
- Alexandra Scacco and Shana S. Warren. "Can social contact reduce prejudice and discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 3 (2018): 654-677.
- Florian Krampe. "Water for Peace? Post-conflict Water Resource Management in Kosovo." Cooperation and Conflict. 52, no. 2 (2017): 147-165.

Further reading (not required)
- Christoph Zurcher. "What Do We (Not) Know About Development Aid and Violence? A Systematic Review." *World Development* 98 (October 2017): 506-522.
- Barbara F. Walter. "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 371–388.
- Nicholas Sambanis. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 3 (2003): 259–282.
- James D. Fearon, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. "Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-conflict Liberia." *American Economic Review* 99, no. 2 (2009): 287-91.
- Oeindrila Dube and Juan F. Vargas. "Commodity price shocks and civil conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *The Review of Economic Studies* 80, no. 4 (2013): 1384-1421.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils Weidmann and Kristian Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (2011): 478-495.
- Chistian Houle. "Ethnic Inequality and the Dismantling of Democracy: A Global Analysis." *World Politics* 67, no. 3 (2015): 469-505.
- Jean-Paul Azam. "The Political Geography of Distribution." In *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1, edited by Benno Ndulu et al. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, ch. 6 (pp. 225-248).
- Sharon Barnhardt. "Near and Dear? Evaluating the Impact of Neighbor Diversity on Inter-Religious Attitudes." Unpublished manuscript. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Nov. 10, 2009.

Week 13 (Thurs., Dec. 3): Group presentations
No assigned readings; group members present proposed interventions

Fri., Dec. 4: Submit group project (assignment #3) before 9am US EST

Mon., Dec. 7: Final project proposal due at 9am US EST

Wed., Dec. 16: Final project due at 9am US EST