Genocide Prevention Integration APT
Case of Kenya
Spring 2013 & Fall 2014 – CONF 690/890

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This APT is (a 6-credit course) will run from Spring 2013 through Spring 2014. Students can register to participate on a semester-by-semester basis. For more information, contact Bridget Moix (bmoix@masonlive.gmu.edu)

Mission: Our APT offers a participatory space and process in which we seek politically relevant knowledge and practices to facilitate the emergence of a sustainable and effective genocide prevention system.

Summary: This course aims at integrating early warning systems knowledge to prevent and mitigate genocide and atrocity risks in the current situation in Kenya. Students will track and analyze ongoing, multi-level early warning and prevention efforts through Kenya's national elections in March/April in 2013, drawing on S-CAR's relationships with actors involved in these efforts, which include community-based peacebuilders in Kenya, national players in Kenya and the US, and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). Students will focus on describing, visualizing, and analyzing the emerging early warning systems in Kenya. They will then develop policy and program recommendations for improving the early warning "system" in Kenya, especially around the integration, coordination, effectiveness, and sustainability of such system. Students will test and distribute these recommendations with key partners and decision-makers as a means of applying the course's shared-learning to advance theory and practice. Funds are being sought to include a week-long fact-finding trip to Kenya to meet with and gather information from key constituencies in Kenya, and possibly organize a lessons-learned conference.

Context: In March 2013, Kenya will hold its first national elections since the 2007/2008 elections violence that killed more than 1,300 people, displaced tens of thousands, and nearly tipped the country and region into much more catastrophic chaos. Fortunately, the violence was effectively halted and a peace agreement was secured through a combination of local and international mediation and peacemaking efforts. For the past five years, Kenyan officials and civil society organizations have been working to implement a sweeping agenda of reform, including a new constitution, with hopes of averting future risks of violence and establishing more participatory and accountable governance. While important progress has been made, significant warning signs remain that the core issues of conflict have not been adequately addressed. The International Criminal Court is also opening cases against four individuals currently running in the elections who have been accused of organizing violence in the 2007/2008 crises. The cases will be opened at the Court in April, when the presidential run-off election will also take place.

The coming elections could be a moment of further consolidating an ongoing but very fragile peace process, or a new spark that reignites violence in even more devastating ways. Experts

predict that if the elections trigger a new bout of violence, it will likely be even more widespread and deadly. In a hopeful demonstration that the prevention of mass violence is moving from political rhetoric toward practical action, the Kenyan government, civil society, and a broad array of regional and international actors are actively engaged in efforts to prevent elections violence and ensure the country continues on a path of reform and reconciliation. As such, Kenya represents an important "case study in real time" of atrocities prevention policies and practice.

Why an APT?
- Kenya provides a real-time case study for examining how local, national, regional, and international actors are trying to put emerging policies on atrocities prevention into practice.
- An APT course focused on atrocities prevention in Kenya through the 2013 elections offers students an opportunity to analyze, better understand, and apply theory and practice in a particular conflict situation on issues such as integrated early warning systems, local peace capacities, atrocities prevention, multi-stakeholder peace processes, and ethno-political conflict.
- The Genocide Prevention Program at S-CAR has relationships already established with government and civil society actors at the international, regional, national, and local levels working on violence prevention in Kenya. These actors are linked to one another to varying degrees of effectiveness. Still, the self-awareness of the systems as a whole is emerging.
- An APT would provide both a rich and timely learning lab for better understanding atrocities prevention theory and practice that might contribute something unique to efforts to prevent violent conflict in Kenya and beyond.

What will students do?
- Research and analyze violence prevention efforts underway in Kenya by various stakeholders (UN, Kenyan government, ICGLR, INGOs, Kenyan civil society, local community efforts).
- Monitor and analyze developments in Kenya in the lead up, during, and aftermath of the national elections in March 2013, applying conflict resolution theories to better understand the conflict and opportunities for furthering peace processes and preventing violence.
- Identify gaps and opportunities where a systems approach might contribute to violence prevention efforts.
- Develop policy and practice recommendations coming out of or directly with participants of the lessons learned conference to improve early warning and atrocities prevention efforts in the future.
- Publish the report and its recommendations as a GPP/S-CAR report.
- Distribute the report with key decision-makers, through face-to-face meetings as well as other communications, to help advance improvements in early warning systems for genocide and atrocities prevention.
- Apply their practice to help improve theory on genocide and atrocities prevention.
- If funding is available, carry out a fact-finding mission in Kenya and/or organize a post-elections lessons learned conference that will draw together key actors that have been involved in violence prevention efforts, from international-regional-national-local levels,

to reflect together on efforts undertaken leading up to and during the elections and gather lessons into a report. (Scope of this component will depend on funding.)

Theory Component

Students will apply a conflict systems lens to analyzing the early warning and atrocities prevention efforts in Kenya, drawing from new approaches to understanding deep-seated conflicts as complex systems. By exploring current early warning and preventive practice in Kenya from a systems lens, the course takes a practice to theory approach and seeks to test and improve upon current systems peacebuilding theory.

Course Requirements

1   **Class Meeting** - once a month at a time and through modalities to be defined by class.

2   **Initiative and Collaboration** – Students will be expected to take responsibility for one component of what is essentially a teamwork project. This will require both individual initiative and leadership in developing and implementing the assigned component, as well as collaborative work together with the group to integrate the various components.

3   **Readings and Conceptual Application –** Students are required to complete all readings and actively work with the group while developing practice to theory learning.

4   **Project Design and Implementation –** This course is fundamentally an experimental project. Students will actively participate in both designing and implementing a project to monitor and evaluate early warning efforts underway in Kenya by various actors to help prevent elections violence, using a systems approach.

5   **Reflective Practice and Learning –** This course will include a reflective practice and learning process whereby students will take time to debrief and reflect on their work individually and together.

Grades will be based on individual project portions and cooperative collaboration in creating final group report/presentation.

Required Readings

Robert Ricigliano, *Making Peace Last: A Toolbox for Sustainable Peacebuilding.* Paradigm Publishers, 2012.

International Crisis Group, *Kenya's 2013 Elections,*
http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/kenya/197-kenyas-2013-elections.pdf?utm_source=kenya-report&utm_medium=3&utm_campaign=mremail

National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management, *Consolidating Early Warning and Early Response Capacity in Kenya towards 2012 and Beyond,* Forum Report, Nairobi September 22-23, 2011.

National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management, *National Conflict Mapping and Analysis; Peace and Conflict Trends in Kenya,* 2011.

UWIANO: Platform for Peace, *Strategic Leadership and Peace Agenda for 2012, and Beyond: Strengthening Coordination and Leadership towards Peaceful Elections and Successful Political Transition in Kenya 2012/2013.*

Dorina Bekoe, *Voting in Fear: Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa.* United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

Humanity United, *Ears to the Ground: Anticipating Violence in an Environment of Risk and Uncertainty, Formative Evaluation Report, Conflict Early Warning in Liberia*, 2011.

Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Uganda, *Conflict Prevention and Early Warning* training materials.

The UNDP Guide to Elections and Conflict Prevention, http://unipsil.unmissions.org/portals/unipsil/media/publications/Elections_and_Conflict_Prevention.pdf

Other Recommended Readings and Reports on Kenya

Human Rights Watch, *Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance,* 2008. http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/files/Kenya.pdf

James Ndung'u and Manasseh Wepundi, *Transition and Reform: People's Peacemaking Perspectives on Kenya's post-2008 Political Crisis and Lessons for the Future*, Saferworld, http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/Kenya%20PPP%20report%20reduced.pdf

Saferworld and Conciliation Resources, *People's Peacemaking Perspectives, Kenya 2012,* policy brief,   http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/Kenya%20PPP%20briefing.pdf

Friends Committee on National Legislation, *Kenya's National Elections: Violence Renewed or Crisis Prevented?,* 2011. *http://fcnl.org/assets/Kenya_Policy_Brief_2011.pdf*

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, browse the website at *http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-kenya*

Michela Wrong, *It's Our Turn to Eat: Story of a Kenyan Whistle-Blower*, Harper Perennial, 2010.

Jennifer Brass, "Blurring Boundaries: The Integration of NGOs into Governance in Kenya." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April 2012.

Matthew Levinger (2009), "Geographical Information Systems Technology as a Tool for Genocide Prevention: The Case of Darfur," *Space and Polity, 13:1, 69 — 76.*

Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF), "Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policy Makers." Read Chapter 2: Early Warning: Assessing Risks and Triggering Action, pp. 17-33.

Amnesty International, Science for Human Rights, browse the website at http://www.amnestyusa.org/science-for-human-rights/page.do?id=1650018 and its implementation .nd read especially its implementation in the in the DRC

Marta Poblet (ed.), *Mobile Technologies for Conflict Management: Online Dispute Resolution, Governance, Participation*. Springer, 2011. Read Ch. 3. Appropriate Mobile Technologies: Is Grassroots Empowerment for All? Ken Banks; Ch. 4. Mobile Technology, Crowdsourcing and Peace Mapping: New Theory and Applications for Conflict Management; Jessica Heinzelman, Rachel Brown, and Patrick Meier; Ch. 5. How to Crowdsource Election Monitoring in 30 days: The Mexican Experience; Oscar Salazar and Jorge Soto.

USAID, *Technical Guidance Handbook: Electoral Security Framework, July 2010.*

Peter Coleman (2011), *The Five Percent: Finding Solutions to Seemingly Impossible Problems.* Perseus Books Group.

Global Systems Initiatives, browse the website at http://www.globalsystemsinitiatives.net/

Honor Code
All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at academicintegrity.gmu.edu. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. If you have questions about when the contributions of others to your work must be acknowledged and appropriate ways to cite those contributions, please talk with the professor.

S-CAR requires that all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic

databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit a student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. S-CAR's policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace or substitute for it.

Spring Semester Work Plan

Weeks 1-3, Jan. 22-Feb 8: Systems Approaches and Project Design

> Discussion with Ted Perlmutter

> Applying systems engineering to the Kenyan context
> > Discussion with members of NAE/USIP Kenya Working Group

> Developing systems map of Kenya early warning/electoral violence prevention efforts
> > (This is already beginning by NAE/USIP working group)

> Designing project plan and developing individual work plans
> > Students will identify a set of early warning systems that they will take responsibility for tracking through the elections. Students will design individual work plans for their piece of the project, including outreach to key actors, research and analysis, and plans for monitoring and evaluating their early warning component through a systems lens.

Weeks 4-6, Feb 11-March 1: Project Implementation and Reflective Learning

> Discussion on systems peacebuilding with Rob Ricigliano and Louise Diamond (by Skype)
> > "What is the role of mapping, and is it useful?" and "How can we help people think about the use of mapping?"

> Implementation of individual work plans.

> Online/teleconference group reflection and learning sessions

> Preparation for monitoring early warning systems through elections

Week 7, March 4: Kenya's National Elections

> Discussion with Raymond Kitevu (or Rob Shramo)
> Monitoring early warning systems and documenting process

Week 8, Mar 11-15: Spring Break

Weeks 9-11, Mar 18-April 5: Analysis and Evaluation

Discussion with Kenyan Ambassador

Understanding what happened from a systems approach

Analyzing gaps and successes

Regrouping for April Run-Off (if expected)

Week 12, April 8-12: Run-Off Elections Monitoring of Early Warning Systems

Weeks 13-15, April 15-May 3: Further Analysis, Evaluation, and Compiling Recommendations

Discussion with Gideon from NSC (or from State Department)

Understanding what happened through run-offs

Analyzing gaps and successes of early warning systems

Writing group report/presentation on early warning systems in Kenya

Implementing final portions of project to date
> This may include planning or implementing some portion of a specific lessons learned process with actors involved in early warning efforts, to be determined based on feasibility and funding.

Week 16, May 6-10: Wrap Up, Reflections, and Lessons Learned

Planning for Next Phase of APT – summer/fall, for those participating further

Products and Outputs:
1. Directory of institutions and people involved in Violence Prevention Efforts in Kenya
2. Systems Map of Elections Violence Prevention Efforts in Kenya
3. Working relationships and communications with multi-level actors working on early warning in Kenya.
4. Report /presentation on early warning systems in Kenya elections 2013, including analysis of gaps, successes, and recommendations for next steps in Kenya and for improving early warning systems in general.
5. Reflective learning on the process, including final group debrief session.