

# NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST GUIDEBOOK 2013–2014

INSIDE:

- + CONTEST RULES
- + SAMPLE OF A PREVIOUS WINNING ESSAY

SCHOLARSHIP COMPETITION FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS  
DEADLINE: FEBRUARY 10, 2014

*Security Sector Reform,  
Political Transition,  
and Sustainable Peace*



**UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE**

2301 Constitution Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20037

For more about the essay contest, visit  
[www.usip.org/npec](http://www.usip.org/npec)



## NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST 2013–2014

# Security Sector Reform, Political Transition, and Sustainable Peace

SCHOLARSHIP COMPETITION FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

## Contents

+ Introduction	
+ What Do Essay Contest Winners Receive?	2
+ 2013–2014 Topic and Question	
+ When Is the Deadline?	3
+ What Does the Institute Provide to Help Students and Teachers Participate?	
+ Who Is Eligible?	4
+ How Will Your Essay Be Judged?	
+ What Are the Essay Requirements?	5
+ Essay Requirement Checklist	
+ Essay Submission Directions	6
+ Participating With No Access to Internet	
+ How to Choose a Coordinator	7
+ Sample Winning Essay from 2012–13	8
+ The Board of Directors and Members Ex Officio	14

# Introduction

The international system has witnessed dramatic changes in the recent past. Developments around the globe and at home challenge us to rethink the role of the United States in the international community. What is our nation's place in this increasingly complex global picture? How do we best promote respect for human rights and the growth of freedom and justice? What can we do to nurture and preserve international security and world peace?

The United States depends on knowledgeable and thoughtful students—the next generation of leaders—to build peace with freedom and justice among nations and peoples. In the belief that questions about peace, justice, freedom, and security are vital to civic education, the United States Institute of Peace established the National Peace Essay Contest to expand educational opportunities for young Americans.

## The National Peace Essay Contest

- + promotes serious discussion among high school students, teachers, and national leaders about international peace and conflict resolution today and in the future;
- + complements existing curricula and other scholastic activities;
- + strengthens students' research, writing, and reasoning skills; and
- + meets National Contest Standards.

## What Do Essay Contest Winners Receive?

### College Scholarships

State-level selection categories include the fifty U.S. states, Washington, D.C., U.S. Territories, and American students abroad. First place state-level winners compete for national awards.

**1 National award, first place: \$10,000\***

**1 National award, second place: \$5,000\***

**1 National award, third place: \$2,500\***

**53 State awards, first place: \$1,000 each**

(\*national awards include state award amounts)

### Invitation to the Awards Program in Washington, D.C., for National Winners

The three national winners are invited to Washington D.C., for the awards program. The Institute pays for expenses related to the program, including travel, lodging, meals, and entertainment. This unique three-day program promotes an understanding of the nature and process of international peacebuilding by focusing on a region and/or theme related to the current essay topic. Program activities have included the following:

- + taking part in a simulation exercise in which students assume roles of national and international leaders, examine issues, address crises, and formulate and propose solutions;
- + meeting with U.S. government officials and political leaders;
- + participating in briefings by highly regarded practitioners and foreign government officials;
- + visiting historical and cultural sites;
- + attending a musical or play;
- + sampling international cuisines from some of Washington's most interesting ethnic restaurants.

## NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST 2013–2014 TOPIC AND QUESTION

### *Security Sector Reform, Political Transition, and Sustainable Peace*

Transitioning to peace and democratic governance raises challenging questions about how to handle security forces. What do you do with a police force that has been trained to serve a repressive government and protect the status quo? What do you do with an army that has been fighting in a civil war? What do you do with rebel forces that may know how to fight but know very little about civilian life?

One expert has characterized security sector reform (SSR) as changing a soldier or policeman from someone that a child would flee in fear to someone that the child would seek for protection. While it is important to consolidate the state's monopoly of force, so that armed groups do not menace the population, it is also critical to transform the security institutions that protect the state and its citizens into professional, effective, legitimate, apolitical, and accountable actors. Because many security agencies were used as instruments of repression or were active in armed conflicts, transformation of the security forces will also help societies in transition from war to peace and new democratic governments build credibility among their populations. But, training of operational security forces must also go hand-in-hand with institutional development.

Security sector reform can help fix dysfunctional security sectors in countries emerging from years of internal warfare or authoritarian rule by helping armed forces and police embrace a new mission of meeting the human security needs of their populations. This requires restraints on the use of power by security institutions such as the police and the military so that they no longer act with impunity. Principles of good governance—transparency, accountability, civilian oversight—must also apply to security forces. In addition to reform of the defense, justice and interior ministries, security reform should include the involvement of all non-state actors in society. It is also important to emphasize that reform of the security sector must be a process that is done with (rather than done to) local authorities and requires input from civil society. By implementing such reforms, new governments can demonstrate their commitment to providing security and protecting basic freedoms and citizens' rights. These are the goals of the ongoing efforts at security sector reform in North Africa and were important foundations for the democratic changes created in much of Latin America over the past two decades.

### *How does security sector reform contribute to sustainable peace?*

In your analysis, discuss the following in 1,500 words:

- State your argument for how best to reform the security sector within societies in transition.
- Support your argument by briefly analyzing two cases from the past 30 years of countries in transition from war to peace or from authoritarian to democratic governance.
- Discuss the impact of successful reform of the security forces on sustained peace and/or the absence of such reform on the prospects for political change and sustainable peace.
- Discuss whether the successful transformation of the security forces in post-war societies will differ from achieving security reform in societies in political transition.
- Drawing upon your two case studies, identify challenges to security sector reform and conditions that allow it to take place successfully.
- Conclude your essay by putting forth your ideas on the key elements necessary for successful reform of the security sector.

### *When Is the Deadline?*

Entries must be **received online by 11:59 PM EST, February 10, 2014.**

### *When Do You Announce the Winners?*

**Participants are notified in May of their essays' status.** Students and coordinators should not contact the Institute for information about the status of the essays unless they do not receive a notice in May.

# Welcome to Washington D.C.



## What Does the Institute Provide to Help Students and Teachers Participate?

This guidebook contains, in addition to the requirements, a national winner's essay as a sample. Also, we have created a study guide for teachers and students.

You may download the study guide as well as this guidebook from our website ([www.usip.org/npec](http://www.usip.org/npec)). Some hard copies of these materials are available and may be requested by using the online registration form found on our website.

## Who Is Eligible?

Students are eligible to participate if they are in grades nine through twelve in any of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, the U.S. territories, or if they are U.S. citizens attending high school overseas. Students may be attending a public, private, or parochial school. Entries from home-schooled students are also accepted. Previous first-place state winners and immediate relatives of directors or staff of the Institute are not eligible to participate. **Previous honorable mention recipients are eligible to enter.**

Students must have a contest coordinator who can review the essays and act as the key contact between participants and the Institute. It is to the student's advantage to have a coordinator review the essay to make sure it is complete, contains all the necessary forms, is free from typographical and grammatical errors, and addresses the topic. See page 7 for further information about the contest coordinator.

**We encourage students of all backgrounds and ability to participate in the contest.**

# How Will Your Essay Be Judged?

Essays are sent to state-level judges—qualified experts selected by the Institute who evaluate the essays according to the criteria described below. National winners are selected from among the first-place state essays by the Institute's board of directors. The decisions of the judges are final. The Institute reserves the right to present no awards at the state and national levels, or to reduce the number of awards if an insufficient number of deserving entries is received.

**An excellent essay uses well-researched ideas and facts to hold together logical and compelling argument(s) and presents thoughtful solution(s) to the problem. It also reflects a student's ability to organize complex facts and ideas, bring in his/her own interesting perspectives and ideas to the analysis and recommendation(s), and pay attention to writing style and mechanics (grammar, syntax, and punctuation).**

## What Are the Essay Requirements?

For the purpose of the National Peace Essay Contest, an essay is a three-part paper that lays out and develops a position in response to the essay contest question. Researching the topic to gain greater knowledge about critical issues raised in the question and to find examples that support your argument is crucial. However, the essay should be more than a research paper, a narrative description of events, or a statement of opinion.

## Your Essay Should Have the Following Structure

- + **Introduction:** Introduce the subject and state your **thesis**. The objective is to demonstrate that you understand the essay contest question and have formed a response to it.
- + **Body:** Develop your arguments and assertions using **research and analysis**. The process of analysis may include comparing and contrasting, differentiating among several ideas or events, critiquing a variety of perspectives, interpreting results, or drawing inferences. **Be sure to identify the sources of your information or ideas using a standard citation method.**
- + **Conclusion:** Capture the significance of the research and analysis presented in the essay as well as your recommendations. Drawing on ideas already presented, you should demonstrate that your conclusions support the thesis you put forward. Your aim is to convince the reader that your thesis, facts, and analysis are reasonable, significant, and valid. Leave an impression.
- + **Recommendations:** There is no one best way to structure your recommendations. For example, you may choose to weave your recommendations throughout the body of your paper or build up to them, presenting them toward the end of your paper. The decision for how to make your ideas flow and hold together is up to you.
- + **Credit the Sources of Information and Ideas:** Use a widely used **standardized method and style** such as MLA, Chicago, or APA to consistently give credit to the sources of the ideas and information used in your essay. Use **endnotes** to give credit to the sources of your information or ideas. **Do NOT use footnotes or in-text citations.** Our online submission interface does not accept footnotes and in-text citations count toward your word limit. Also include a **bibliography or a references list** for the works that you have cited in your essay or have consulted to write your essay. Endnotes and the bibliography are not part of the total word count.
- + Essays that use a variety of sources—academic journals, news magazines, newspapers, books, government documents, publications from research organizations—fare better in the contest. **General encyclopedias are not acceptable as sources, including Wikipedia.com.** The USIP study guides are not acceptable as sources, but you may find the study guide bibliography a useful way to begin your own research. Essays citing general encyclopedias in notes or bibliography may be disqualified. **Websites and Web pages should not be the only source of information for your essay.** When citing Internet sources, include the following information: author(s), title of work, Internet address, and date information was accessed.

## Your Essay Must

- + address all parts of this year's contest question in English;
- + **not** have your name, teacher's name, or school name anywhere in the essay;
- + have a descriptive title;



- + have no more than 1,500 words; the word count limit includes all words in the text, but does not include the title, bibliography, or endnotes;
- + follow accepted standards regarding attribution of quotations, arguments, and ideas of others, using endnotes; and
- + include standardized citations and a bibliography with Internet sources listed separately.

**For additional help writing your essay, use our study guide. A PDF version is available at [www.usip.org/npec](http://www.usip.org/npec)**

## Essay Requirement Checklist

- ☐ Is your essay written in English?
- ☐ Does the essay answer this year's essay contest question on page 3?
- ☐ Does your essay address all parts of the contest question?
- ☐ Have you given your essay a descriptive title?
- ☐ Is your essay no more than 1,500 words long?
- ☐ Have you made sure that your name, school, or city does **NOT** appear anywhere in the essay?
- ☐ Have you scrupulously followed accepted standards regarding attribution of quotations, arguments, and ideas of others within the body of your paper and bibliography?
- ☐ Does your essay have standardized citations and bibliography, which follow the APA, Chicago, or MLA styles?
- ☐ Does your essay have endnotes? Please make sure you did **NOT** use footnotes.
- ☐ Are your Internet sources listed separately from other sources in your bibliography?
- ☐ Have you reminded your coordinator that s/he must approve your essay after you submit to complete the submission process? There is a grace period of twenty-four hours after your deadline for coordinators to approve the essay (Feb. 11, 2014 at 11:59 PM).

## Essay Submission Directions

### How Do I Apply and Submit My Essay?

We are now accepting all essays online. All students must have a coordinator and all coordinators must register online before their students register and submit their essay. Please see the steps below. Students and coordinators will be able to start registering and submitting essays starting **November 8, 2013**.

- + **Step 1:** Coordinators register at <http://npecregister.usip.org/>
- + **Step 2:** Coordinators will receive a unique link or coordinator key to give to his/her student(s). This link will be emailed to the coordinator when his/her registration is complete. (Please check your spam folder if you do not receive the email within a few minutes of registration). The link will be unique to the coordinator, but may be used by multiple students. The coordinator will then give his/her student(s) this unique link.
- + **Step 3:** Once the student has received the link or coordinator key, students register either by clicking on that unique link or at <http://npecregister.usip.org/> and entering their coordinator key by hand.
- + **Step 4:** Once students have registered, they can submit their essay. To submit an essay, students will complete the essay requirements checklist, enter a title, and cut and paste their essay, printed bibliography, internet bibliography, and endnotes into separate text boxes. Coordinators will be notified by email when a student has submitted an essay.
- + **Step 5:** Coordinators login to approve each student's essay to certify that **the work is the student's own** and that **the information regarding the student's eligibility is true**. Student's entries are complete only after the coordinator approves the essay.

## Participating With No Access to Internet

Coordinators and students who cannot access the Internet may contact the Institute by phone to receive materials by mail. We will also send you a simple set of directions and forms for submitting paper entries. Fulfilling request for paper materials can take up to six weeks. Please plan accordingly.

**Please email us at [essaycontest@usip.org](mailto:essaycontest@usip.org) with any questions.**

## How to Choose a Coordinator

A coordinator is the key contact between students and the United States Institute of Peace. The coordinator may be selected by the student and can be any adult—teacher, parent, youth leader, etc. USIP does NOT select coordinators.

The four requirements for the coordinators are to: 1) register online, 2) give their individual link or coordinator key to their students, 3) help each student write an essay that meets our requirements, and 4) approve the students' essay entries online to make sure that the submission guidelines have been followed. Essays are successfully entered in the contest only when a coordinator approves the essay. Coordinators need not contact the Institute to participate.

### A Coordinator

- + ensures that essays are conceived and written by students and represent the students' own thoughts;
- + reviews the essays to ensure that they follow the guidelines and to check for grammatical and typographical errors;
- + may coordinate individual submissions of many students (from a whole class, for example).

In addition to this guide, a study guide on the essay contest topic is available from our website: [www.usip.org/npec](http://www.usip.org/npec). The study guide briefly discusses the most important issues concerning the essay question topic and also includes features such as a glossary, discussion questions, and activities to encourage critical thinking and active learning. The guide also lists readings and multimedia resources for additional learning opportunities.







2012 National Peace Essay Contest Winning Essay

## + The Impact of New Media on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management

National First-Place Winner

**Emily Fox-Penner**

---

Maret School, Washington, DC  
Coordinator: Susan Vitka

No new technology can engineer positive change on its own. Peace, defined by inclusivity, representation, cooperation, and respect, is built through human connections. New media[i] are revolutionary in their ability to forge these connections, allowing individuals across all strata of society to spread messages to each other and become participating members in a digital community.[ii] Recognizing their potential for spurring political and social change, civil society organizations have harnessed new media to reach formerly excluded or underserved communities in campaigns targeting issues ranging from development and health to violence.[iii]

Equally important, new media can provide a platform where ordinary citizens can create new movements; when these movements successfully translate digital momentum into real-world action, new media genuinely catalyze peace. The “Twitter Revolutions” of the last few years have sparked debate over extent to which new media alter the dynamics of change. [iv] New media can create a space for sharing independent information and voicing dissent and lower the entry costs of participation; however, new media also can be used to monitor and persecute activists and disseminate messages of hate.[v] They are not a solution to conflict, but can facilitate cooperation and expand participation. New media are best leveraged for peace when they empower ordinary individuals who might otherwise be excluded, silenced, or reduced to the condition of bystander to participate in dialogue and action that affirms their dignity and voice. This potential, as well as some of new media’s risks and limitations, can be seen in

two case studies: the events leading to the fall of the Mubarak regime in Egypt in 2011 and the post-election crisis in Kenya in 2008.

In January 2011, millions of Egyptians protested President Hosni Mubarak's long history of civil and human rights abuses, ousting the strongman's 30-year-old regime in just three weeks. New media played a significant role in priming Egyptian society for a revolution. Prior to the revolution, the Mubarak regime heavily censored traditional media but not the Internet (Ali 204; Megenta 49). As a result, Egyptian youth, urbanites, established movements and opposition parties went online to disseminate independent information, engage in debate, and organize.[vi] Several bloggers gained national and international prominence offline, allowing them to publicize human rights issues that the mainstream establishment had previously suppressed. [vii] Activists also used Facebook and other new media sites to rally young people around human rights and justice causes. Two of the organizations that lent crucial momentum to the January 2011 revolution - the April 6th Youth Movement and "We Are All Khaled Said" - began as Facebook campaigns, whose pages documented abuses and connected followers to important news.[viii] In effect, "technology acted as a 'magnet' for activists," creating an alternative sort of civil society (Meier 172).

The successful revolution in Tunisia inspired the Egyptian community of activists coalesced by new media to launch their own revolution. "85,000 Egyptians pledged on Facebook to attend 'Revolution Day,'" (Ali 185) which activists had set for January 25th. On that day, the protest moved from cyberspace to Tahrir Square. As hundreds of thousands of Egyptians poured into the streets and images of violence went viral, the Mubarak regime shut off the Internet and restricted mobile phone service (Cowie). Momentum continued to grow as the leadership of online movements joined opposition political groups in using traditional organizing tactics, including megaphones, posters, and leaflets (Dreyfuss). Mass protests continued through early February. On February 11th, Mubarak resigned.

In Egypt, new media empowered citizens to express dissent and gave birth to a community of citizen-activists who led change. They transformed thousands of frustrated and suppressed Egyptian youth into engaged citizens. New media fostered a culture of activism, as shared grievances became legitimized grievances and political dialogue helped give rise to the expectation of a fair and just society. They facilitated solidarity across different strata of society.[ix] They created a cadre of digital activists who also spearheaded real-world campaigns.[x] New media did not, however, cause Egypt's revolution. They did spur some citizens onto the streets, but "a lot of people who [had] never touched keyboards in their lives came out [to protest]" (Nadine Wahab, administrator of "We Are All Khaled Said" Facebook page, cited in Sutter). For new media to have the greatest effect for peace, access must spread beyond the urban and elite populations and online activism must be paired with real world organizing.[xi] Nothing can circumvent the need for serious work on the ground to shape Egypt's future towards peace; the mere involvement of new media in precipitating change does not ensure a particular political outcome. While new media can foster, broaden, and empower a movement, as they did in Egypt, the movement must translate its energy into ongoing political and social action.

In Kenya, disputed elections in December 2007 triggered a three-month crisis in which new media were used both to promote and prevent violence. Hours before Kikuyu President Mwai Kibaki claimed victory, election coverage had shown Luo opponent Raila Odinga leading by a million votes (Goldstein 4). Ethnic violence exploded in response to the apparent fraud. Text-messages inciting ethnic violence circulated.[xii] Kenya's most popular online message-board, Mashada, was so overrun with hate speech that administrators took the site offline. [xiii] Violent mobs of both Luo and Kikuyu men and boys were organized and often paid by local political and tribal leaders.[xiv] Some of these gangs were organized by new media, but many were formed in community meetings (Rawlence 45). In response to the violence, an online community of peacebuilders mobilized to spread messages of humanity and peace.[xv] The most significant innovation was the creation of an online map documenting instances of violence based on citizen reports.[xvi] That platform, Ushahidi, accepted reports via email, Twitter, online form, and text message, allowing any Kenyan with access to a mobile phone[xvii] to share their experience. [xviii] After 1,100 deaths and 300,000 displacements (Simons), the crisis ended in April with the formation of a unity government including Kibaki and Odinga's parties.

In Kenya, the same new media that purveyed messages of violence also spread messages of peace. The extent to which it defused the crisis remains unclear, but Ushahidi exemplifies how new media can create a community of peacebuilders that otherwise would not exist; aggregating individuals' reports of conflict allows a diverse network of advocates for peace to pool their goodwill and knowledge.[xix] Any person with access to Internet or mobile phone service can contribute information to save lives: new media transform the average citizen from bystander into witness. [xx] Ushahidi's application of new media promotes a sense of agency, giving each of its participants the recognition that his or her experience matters. Putting oneself on a map can be the first step to demanding recognition from society, just as participating in online political debate can lead to demanding political enfranchisement.[xxi] Some risk is inherent in crisis-mapping, because malicious actors can contribute deliberately

provocative or misleading information, but this risk is minimized the greater the size of the crowd, and the better connected each member is (Meier).

In both Egypt and Kenya, new media played a notable role in empowering participation among citizens who may otherwise have been silenced in the face of repression and violence. In networked societies, new media can convene a community of activists and bolster capacity for dissent. New media are vulnerable to manipulation by promoters of violence, but this danger cannot be forestalled without suppressing the same qualities that make the technology such a powerful peacebuilding tool. New media can be a force for peace only so long as the platforms themselves remain transparent. To that end, private companies like Facebook, Twitter, and Skype, which may prioritize profit over peace, must be made to disclose any interaction or collaboration with any government, whose agendas may be driven by “security” or repression more than by peace, so that activists can make informed choices as to which technologies to trust. Governments need to confront how to approach new media in the context of existing domestic and international laws and civil rights protections.

More broadly, while there is much discussion about technological fixes to the issues of government surveillance and persecution of peacebuilders through new media, focusing on technological fixes threatens to distract from the broader political and social reforms necessary to build lasting peace.[xxii]The presence of new media does not supplant the need for progressive governments and NGOs to train and support activists and civil society. Efforts to promote new media must be seen as one component in a larger agenda to bolster human rights and justice with resources, training of advocates, and political diplomacy. Literacy, access to basic resources, and lack of dire physical want are prerequisites for the use of new media that are unmet for many humans in most desperate need of peace: a freedom agenda is only relevant in concert with a development and human rights agenda. New media will be a force for peace so long as they promote human connection, as it is human, not technological, connections that form the foundation of peace.



## Citations & Notes

- [i] “New media” include the Internet, blogs, microblogs like Twitter, social networks like Facebook, and cell phone and SMS technology.
- [ii] New media for the first time promote communication that is “many to many” (Shirky Ted Talk), democratizing dialogue and collective organization. While new media broaden participation, however, there remains a significant digital divide between those with access to new media and those without, usually the very poor, rural, and illiterate.
- [iii] For example, the anti-gang violence organization CeaseFire sends text messages promoting nonviolence and seeking community input to high-risk youth in Chicago multiple times a week (PeaceTxt). Plan International piloted a program in Benin using mobile technology to report child abuse; the Eastern Congo Initiative is developing a system utilizing mobile phones to report and gather evidence and prosecute cases of sexual assault (Plan International; Eastern Congo Initiative).
- [iv] The term “Twitter Revolution” was coined in 2009 to describe the post-election protests in Moldova and later applied more generally to any display of dissent or revolution in which social networking played a role (Morozov).
- [v] See Aday et al, Etling et al, Heaven, Megenta, Shirky Ted Talk, and Morozov for a more complete discussion of new media’s pros and cons in facilitating political and social change.
- [vi] For example, the Kefaya, or “Enough” movement, which began offline in 2004 to call for real, competitive elections, rapidly moved online and prompted the birth of many liberal blogs. In 2006, Egypt’s most prominent opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood, also took to the web (Megenta 51).
- [vii] For example, Mahmoud Salem, Wael Abbas, Malek Mustafa, Nawara Negm, and Mona Eltahawy were tapped by traditional media sources like Al Jazeera, which reaches an audience vastly larger than online media in most of the Arab world (Megenta 53; Sutter; Couric).
- [viii] The April 6th Youth Movement was started by a 27-year-old woman, Esraa Abdel Fattah Ahmed Rashid, who had little experience in social organizing (Ali 209). In 2008, she received a mass text message publicizing a planned textile workers’ strike, and created a Facebook group to boost support for the strikers. The group garnered tens of thousands of likes and members debated what forms of protest they would adopt in solidarity with the strikers. On April 6th, 2008, thousands gathered in Tahrir Square and over a hundred people were arrested (Megenta 55), but the Facebook group remained active long after this protest, posting news, links, updates, and photos.
- “We Are All Khaled Said” was created to protest the brutal police murder of Said after he posted online a video showing police divvying up confiscated drugs and cash (Heaven). The page continues to “document widespread fraud” (Giglio) and aggregate important news for its 350,000 followers, although it is worth noting that the page is entirely in English and it is unclear how many of its audience are of the 6.25 million Egyptians who have Facebook accounts (Mubarak).
- [ix] Perhaps the most notable example is the April 6th Youth Movement, which led college students in Cairo to protest on behalf of striking textile-workers (Megenta 54).
- [x] In many cases these achievements may be difficult to replicate if repressive regimes engage in more active or successful online surveillance or propagandizing. See Morozov, *The Net Delusion* for a more complete discussion.
- [xi] This feature is clear from the current parliamentary elections in Egypt, where technologically savvy liberals are losing to Islamists in part because the Islamists have a much stronger campaign presence in poor rural areas beyond new media’s reach. In addition to the digital divide, important factors include the Muslim Brotherhood’s decades of organization and the ideological appeal of the Brotherhood and other conservative Islamist parties to broad swaths of society. Additionally, many digital activists themselves characterize their role as watchdogs and critics, not as politicians (Owen).
- [xii] These messages encouraged “dominat[ion]” and “slaughter” and invited recipients to text names of members of targeted ethnicities to given numbers (Goldstein 4).
- [xiii] Both platforms have been compared to Radio Milles Collines, which played a significant role in inciting the Rwandan genocide (Greenwald).
- [xiv] Leaders of some groups used inflammatory rhetoric calling for violence if the results were not to their liking even before the elections took place (Rawlence 45).
- [xv] For example, the website Mashada was rerouted to a website called “I Have No Tribe” where Kenyans were encouraged to post messages of unity and peace and hate-speech was deleted by administrators. Bloggers took on the role of investigative journalists after Kibaki imposed a broadcast blackout on the topic of the elections, reporting political developments and incidents of violence as well as highlighting reconciliation efforts (Goldstein 8; Were). The mobile service provider Safaricom sent out messages encouraging peace and calm to all 9 million of its Kenyan customers (Quist-Acton). Thus the difference between these platforms and Radio Milles Collines was that they allowed for moderating voices to challenge the call for violence.
- [xvi] Prominent Kenyan blogger Ori Okolloh proposed the idea of melding GoogleMaps technology with participatory media inputs on her blog, and other Kenyan techies across the globe collaborated to get the system up and running; the birth of the website itself illustrates the unprecedented level of collaboration new media permits between geographically remote people who share a common goal (Sattotuwa).
- [xvii] 42% of Kenyans had mobile phone access in 2008 (AudienceScapes); the number would be 60% today (CIA World Factbook).
- [xviii] Ushahidi means “testimony” in Swahili.
- [xix] Ushahidi now describes itself as a platform for “democratizing information, increasing transparency and lowering the barriers for individuals to share their stories” (Ushahidi App for iPhone). Since the formation of the Ushahidi company in 2008, which turned the software from a “mashup” into a freely available and customizable open-source platform (Ushahidi.com), this form of crowdsourced crisis-mapping has been used in over 130 countries to map everything from earthquake damage to instances of election fraud.
- [xx] Authors Jessica Heinzelman et al have proposed the idea of a single “Peace Map” as a way of connecting individuals and organizations dedicated to peace across the globe who would actively mobilize for peace in their own communities while drawing from the strength of the global peace community: “More than creating a sense of active peace, the Peace Map gives non-violent actors access to equivalent, if not better, resources, information, and collective support than is provided by violent networks... it has the vision to promote peace, analyzing and celebrating triggers of cooperation and community rather than conflict (Heinzelman et al 52).
- [xxi] In the instance of MapKibera, a project undertaken to chart out the homes of people in the largest slum in Africa, “social media gave the people of Kibera a way of insisting they not just be serviced by their government but recognized by the country as a whole” (Hopkins). Egyptian women who text reports of sexual harassment to HarassMap are then provided with information about counseling and legal recourse, and HarassMap volunteers use the reports to identify high-risk areas where they engage in dialogue with the community (Scialom).
- [xxii] Evgeney Morozov coins the term “internet-centrism” to describe the tendency to focus on the technology rather than the principles.

## Bibliography

### Print Sources

- Alterman, Jon. “This Revolution Isn’t Being Televised.” *New York Times* 30 Dec. 2011.
- Andersen, Kurt. “2011 Person of the Year: The Protester.” *Time* 26 Dec. 2011: 56-89.
- Clements, Charlie. Personal interview. 24 Dec. 2011.



Friedman, Thomas. "Watching Elephants Fly." New York Times 8 Jan. 2011: 11.

Gettleman, Jeffrey. "Somalia's Insurgents Embrace Twitter as a Weapon ." New York Times 15 Dec. 2011: A14.

Gladwell, Malcolm, and Clay Shirky. "From Innovation to Revolution: Do Social Media Make Protests Possible?" Foreign Affairs Mar.-Apr. 2011: 153-54.

Hattotuwa, Sanjana. Foreword. Mobile Technologies for Conflict Management. Dordrecht: Springer , 2011. v-vii.

Heinzelman, Jessica, Rachel Brown, and Patrick Meier. "Mobile Technology, Crowdsourcing and Peace Mapping: New Theory and Applications for Conflict Management ." Mobile Technologies for Conflict Management . Ed. Marta Poblet. Dordrecht : Springer , 2011. 39-53.

"Islamists of Every Stripe to the Fore ." The Economist 3 Dec. 2011.

Morozov, Evgeny. The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom . New York: PublicAffairs, 2011.

Netherlands. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Role of Governments in Protecting and Furthering Internet Freedom. 9 Dec 2011.

Owen, John M, IV. "Why Islamism Is Winning ." New York Times 6 Jan. 2012.

Eastern Congo Initiative. Prevention of Gender Based Violence through Technology (Project Idea). Microsoft Word file. Private correspondence from Bernard Balibuno, November 15th 2011.

"A Riche History ." The Economist 17 Dec. 2011: 85-88.

Shirky, Clay. "The Political Power of Social Media." Foreign Affairs Jan.-Feb. 2011: 28-41.

Simons, Marlise. "Four Kenyans to Stand Trial at Hague Court in 2008 Violence ." New York Times 24 Jan. 2012.

Wasik, Bill. "Crowd Control: How Social Media Fuels Social Un

## Web Sources

"Crowdsourcing and Conflict Prevention" Meeting Summary ." International Peace Institute and United Nations Development Program Roundtable on Crowdsourcing for Collaborative Conflict Prevention, November 9, 2011. International Peace Institute. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Abdallah, Nagwa. The Role of the Media in the Democratic Transition in Egypt: A Case Study of the January 2011 Revolution . Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism . University of Oxford. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012.

Aday, Sean, et al. Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics . United States Institute of Peace. Sept. 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Alexander, Anne. "Internet Role in Egypt's Protests ." BBC News. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Ali, Amir Hatem. "The Power of Social Media in Developing Nations: New Tools for Closing the Global Digital Divide and Beyond ." Harvard Law School Human Rights Journal 24 (2011): 185-89, 208-210. Harvard Human Rights Journal. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Allam, Abeer. "Online Law Curbs Saudi Freedom of Expression ." Financial Times 7 Apr. 2011. NewsBank Academic Library Edition. Accessed 19 Dec. 2011.

Badawi, Nada. "Spirit of Volunteerism Continue to Dominate Tahrir Square ." Caravan . American University in Cairo, 11 Dec. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Bahree, Megha. "Citizen Voices." Forbes Magazine 8 Dec. 2008. Forbes Magazine. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Ben Gharbia, Sami. "The Internet Freedom Fallacy and the Arab Digital Activism ." ihya. 10 Feb. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Bosker, Bianca. "Egypt's Facebook Use Skyrockets Following Internet's Return." The Huffington Post 2 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Bratic, Vladimir, and Lisa Schirch. When and Why to Use the Media for Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding. Ed. European Centre for Conflict Prevention. Search for Common Ground. Dec. 2007. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Brisson, Zack. "The Role of Technology in the Egyptian Revolution ." Reboot. 18 Mar. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Browning, Jonathan. "Vodafone Says It Was Instructed to Send Pro-Mubarak Messages to Customers." Bloomberg News 3 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Cambanis, Thanassis. "The Inevitable Rise of Egypt's Islamists." The Atlantic 8 Dec. 2011. The Atlantic. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Chowdhury, Mridul. The Role of the Internet in Burma's Saffron Revolution . Berkman Center for Internet and Society . Harvard University , 28 Sept. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Clark, Bev. "Mobile Technology Gives Zimbabweans a Voice ." Interview by Ken Banks. NewsWatch. National Geographic , 21 Dec. 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Colvin, Mark. "Taking the Twit out of Twitter and Finding Value ." The Punch . Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Conflict Situations ." Take Back the Tech. Association for Progressive Communications' Women's Networking Support Programme. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Court, Julius. People Power II in the Philippines: The First E-Revolution? Overseas Development Institute. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Cowie, James. "Egypt Leaves the Internet ." Renesys Blog. 27 Jan. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Coyle, Diane, and Patrick Meier. New Technologies in Emergencies and Conflicts: The Role of Information and Social Networks. Ed. UN Foundation and Vodafone Foundation. 2009. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"The Crisis Mappers Network." Crisis Mappers Net. Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and John Carroll University , n.d. Web. 20 Dec. 2011. .

"Crisis Mapping and Early Warning ." Harvard Humanitarian Initiative . N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Dec. 2011. .

Cullum, Brannon. "With Twitter and Facebook Blocked in Egypt, Protesters Turn to Proxies ." Movements.org Blog. 28 Jan. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Curron, Paul. "Make Text Not War? ." humanitarian.info. 24 Apr. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Denning, Dorothy. "Cyberwarriors: Activists and Terrorists Turn to Cyberspace ." Harvard International Review (May 2006). Harvard International Review . Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Diamond, Larry. "Liberation Technology ." Journal of Democracy 21.3 (2010): 70-83. Journal of Democracy. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Dreyfuss, Robert. "Who Is Behind the Egyptian Protests?" The Guardian 2 Feb. 2011. The Guardian. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012.

"Egypt ." The World Factbook . CIA, 5 Dec. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

El Amrani, Issandr. "Egypt's Revolution Urgently Needs Leadership ." The Guardian 21 Nov. 2011. The Guardian. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

El-Hawawy, Mohammed, and David Keyes. Interview by Ray Suarez. PBS Newshour . PBS. 31 Jan. 2011. PBS Newshour. Transcript. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Eltahawy, Mona. "Role of Facebook in Uprising ." Interview by Katie Couric. CBS Evening News . CBS News . 9 Feb. 2011. CBS News. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Etling, Bruce, Robert Faris, and John Palfrey. Political Change in the Digital Age: The Fragility and Promise of Online Organizing . N.p.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. Berkman Center for Internet and Society . Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Fallows, James. "The Connection Has Been Reset ." The Atlantic Mar. 2008. The Atlantic . Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Fowler, Geoffrey. "Facebook Sees Egypt Usage Spike ." Wall Street Journal 2 Feb. 2011. Wall Street Journal. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

"Fresh Protests Erupt in Egypt ." Al Jazeera English. 28 Jan. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Ghannam, Angy. "Islamists in Egypt's Tourist Spots Win Surprise Support ." BBC. 28 Dec. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Giglio, Mike. "Middle East Uprising: Facebook's Secret Role in Egypt ." The Daily Beast. Newsweek , 24 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Gladwell, Malcolm. "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted ." The



New Yorker 4 Oct. 2010. New Yorker. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Goldstein, Joshua. The Role of Digitally Networked Technologies in the Ukrainian Orange Revolution . Berkman Center for Internet and Society . Harvard University , Dec. 2007. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Goldstein, Joshua, and Juliana Rotich. Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post-Election Crisis. Berkman Center for Internet and Society . Harvard University , 29 Sept. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Gordon, Bennett. "Mapping the Crisis ." Utne Reader 18 Nov. 2009. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011]. .

Green, Duncan. "What Caused the Revolution in Egypt?" PovertyMattersBlog. The Guardian , 17 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Greenwald, Ted. "Profile: David Kobia ." Technology Review 2010. Technology Review. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Hackman, Alice. "Bringing the World to Tahrir ." Common Ground News Service. 20 Dec. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Hanno, Mohamed. "The Role of the Internet in Egyptian Elections." Egypt's Awakening. 17 Dec. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Hattotuwa, Sanjana. "Interview with Ory Okolloh on Post-Election Violence in Kenya, Cyber-Activism and Ushahidi." ICT for Peacebuilding. 17 Mar. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Hauslohner, Abigail. "Is Egypt About to Have a Facebook Revolution? ." Time 14 Jan. 2011. Time. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Heaven, Will. "Egypt and Facebook: Time to Update Its Status ." NATO Review 2 (2011). Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Heimans, Jeremy. "How to Start a Movement ." Interview by Jane Margolies. ChangeObserver . The Design Observer Group, 13 June 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Hersman, Erik. "Reporting Crisis via Texting ." TED. Feb. 2009. TED.com . Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Hesse, Monica. "Crisis Mapping Brings Online Tool to Haitian Disaster Relief Effort." The Washington Post 16 Jan. 2010. Washington Post. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Hopkins, Curt. "Kenyan Elections: A Real-Time Mobile Revolution ." ReadWriteWeb. 5 Aug. 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Hopkins, Curt. "Residents One of Africa's Largest Slums Put Their Home on the Map." ReadWriteWeb. 29 Sept. 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Howard, Ross. The Media's Role in War and Peacebuilding . Institute of Communication Studies. University of Leeds , 6 Feb. 2003. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"How the Internet Refused to Abandon Egypt ." Daily Mail 30 Jan. 2011. Daily Mail . Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Huffington, Ariana. "Facebook, Twitter, and the Search for Peace in the Middle East ." The Huffington Post. 24 Nov. 2010. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

"Infographic: Egypt Elections Explained ." Al Jazeera English. 27 Nov. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Initiative for Vulnerable Populations ." KoBo Project. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

The Iranian Election on Twitter: The First Eighteen Days. Web Ecology Project. 26 June 2009. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Kenya." The World Factbook. CIA. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012.

Kenyans for Peace with Truth and Justice. "Count Down to Deception: 30 Hours that Destroyed Kenya." 18 Jan. 2007. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Kenya's Dubious Election ." BBC. 8 Jan. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Lake, Eli. "Iran Prepared To Track Dissidents on Social Networks ." The Washington Times 20 June 2009. Washington Times. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Leyne, Jon. "Islamists Battle for Votes in Rural Egypt ." BBC . 14 Dec. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"LIBYA: How Online Mapping Helped Crisis Response." Irin . UN Office for the

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 12 May 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Livingston, Steven. Africa's Evolving Infosystems: A Pathway to Security and Stability . Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 2011. Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Megenta, Abiye. Can It Tweet Its Way to Democracy? The Promise of Participatory Media in Africa . Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism . University of Oxford. Accessed 7 Jan. 2012. .

Meier, Patrick. "Amplifying Somali Voices Using SMS and a Live Map: #SomaliaSpeaks." iRevolution. 8 Dec. 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Meier, Patrick. "Is Ushahidi a Liberation Technology?" iRevolution . 8 Aug. 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Meier, Patrick. "SMS for Violence Prevention: PeaceTXT International Launches in Kenya." iRevolution. 12 Dec. 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Meier, Patrick. Verifying Crowdsourced Social Media Reports for Live Crisis Mapping: An Introduction to Information Forensics. iRevolution. 29 Nov. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Meier, Patrick. "Why Bounded Crowdsourcing is Important for Crisis Mapping and Beyond." iRevolution . 7 Dec. 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Meier, Patrick, and Jennifer Leaning. Applying Technology to Crisis Mapping and Early Warning in Humanitarian Settings. Harvard Humanitarian Initiative , Sept. 2009. Web. 20 Dec. 2011. .

Meier, Patrick. "Do "Liberation Technologies" Change the Balance of Power Between Repressive States and Civil Society?" Diss. Tufts Fletcher School, 2011. iRevolution. Accessed 7 Jan. 2012. .

Miard, Fabien. Call for Power: Mobile Phones as Facilitators of Political Activism. 8 Feb. 2009. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Mobile Communications in Kenya ." AudienceScapes. InterMedia , 2010. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012.

Morozov, Evgeny. "How the Net Aids Dictatorships." TEDGlobal 2009. July 2009. TED.com. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Morozov, Evgeny. "Moldova's Twitter Revolution ." Net.Effect: How Technology Shapes the World . Foreign Policy Magazine, 7 Apr. 2009. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Morozov, Evgeny. "Picking a Fight with Clay Shirky ." Net.Effect: How Technology Shapes the World . Foreign Policy Magazine , 15 Jan. 2011. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Mubarak, Ahmed. "Two Million Egyptians Joined Facebook Since the Revolution ." Al-Masry Al-Youm 18 Apr. 2011. Al-Masry Al-Youm . Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Munyi, Patrick. "R@iHub Infographic [Converted]." iHub. 30 Sept. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

"Not Just Talk: Clever Services on Cheap Mobile Phones Make a Powerful Combination -- Especially in Poor Countries ." The Economist 27 Jan. 2011. The Economist. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

O'Dell, Jolie. "How Egyptians Used Twitter During the January Crisis ." Mashable. 1 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Partnership for Public Service. "Karen Turner: Harnessing the Power of Mobile Devices ." The Washington Post. 11 May 2009. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Plan International, and Frontline SMS. Case Study: Frontline SMS at Plan International. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

PopTech, Medic:Mobile, and Ushahidi. PeaceTxt: Using Mobile Technology to Prevent Violence . Vimeo . PopTech , 18 Oct. 2011. Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

"Projects: Technology ." Human Rights Center . UC Berkley. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Quist-Arcton, Ofeibea. "Text Messages Used to Incite Violence in Kenya ." Morning Edition . NPR. 20 Feb. 2008. NPR. Transcript. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Rakha, Marwa. "HarassMap: New Technology Facilitates the First Anti-Sexual Harassment Project in Egypt." ThinkAfrica Press 6 Jan. 2011. ThinkAfrica Press. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Rawlence, Ben, and Chris Albin-Lackey. Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance . Human Rights Watch. Mar. 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

RDC Elections 2011 Mapping. Center for Forced Migration Studies at Northwestern University. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Scialom, Florence. "Mobile Phones Give Harassment Victims a Voice in Egypt." Frontline SMS. 8 Mar. 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Shirky, Clay. "How Social Media Can Make History ." Ted@State 2009. June 2009. TED.com . Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Smith, David. "Africa Calling: Mobile Phone Usage Sees Record Rise After Huge Investment ." The Guardian 22 Oct. 2009. The Guardian . Accessed 27 Dec. 2011. .

Sutter, John. "The Faces of Egypt's 'Revolution 2.0.'" CNN. 21 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Sutter, John. "Ushahidi: How to 'crowdmap' a disaster ." CNN International. 25 Oct. 2010. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

"Timeline: Egypt's Revolution ." Al Jazeera. 14 Feb. 2011. Accessed 15 Jan. 2012. .

Underleider, Neal. "The Syrian War Crowdsourcing Experiment." Fast Company 21 Sept. 2011. Fast Company. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

"Users." Freedom Fone. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Vijayan, Jaikumar. "Is the Role of Social Media in Egypt Being Overstated?" Second Take. ComputerWorld , 12 Feb. 2011. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

Voix des Kivus. Columbia Center for the Study of Development Strategies. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Wanjiku, Rebecca. "Kenya Moves to Thwart Mobile-Phone Crimes ." CIO. 16 May 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Weaver, Matthew, and Haroon Siddique. "Libya, Syria and Middle East unrest - Friday 16 September 2011." The Guardian UK. 16 Sept. 2011. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

Were, Daudi. "Kenyans Pulling Together -- Kenya Election 2007." Mentalacrobatics. 5 Jan. 2008. Accessed 7 Jan. 2012. .

Wolf, Naomi. "The Middle East's Feminist Revolution." Project Syndicate. Accessed 6 Jan. 2012. .

"Woman In War Program: Research to Inform Policy ." Harvard Humanitarian Initiative. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

York, Jillian. "Why I Don't Believe in 'Net Freedom.'" Jillian C. York. 1 Feb. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Ziemke, Jen. "The Accelerating Pace of Change." Jen Ziemke Blog. 12 Mar. 2011. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Zuckerman, Ethan. "Draft Paper on Mobile Phones and Activism." My Heart is in Accra. 26 Apr. 2007. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Zuckerman, Ethan. "Kenya: Citizen Media in a Time of Crisis." My Heart is in Accra. 20 June 2008. Accessed 8 Jan. 2012. .

Zweynert, Astrid. "Crisis Mapping Brings X-ray Style Clarity to Humanitarian Response." AlertNet. Thomson Reuters Foundation , 12 Oct. 2009. Accessed 20 Dec. 2011. .

## United States Institute of Peace

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan institution established and funded by Congress. Its goals are to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote postconflict peacebuilding, and increase conflict management tools, capacity, and intellectual capital worldwide. The Institute does this by empowering others with knowledge, skills, and resources, as well as by its direct involvement in conflict zones around the globe.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

**J. Robinson West** (Chair)  
Chairman  
PFC Energy  
Washington, D.C.

**George E. Moose**  
(Vice Chairman)  
Adjunct Professor of Practice  
The George Washington University  
Washington, D.C.

**Judy Ansley**  
Former Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor  
National Security Council

**Eric S. Edelman**  
Ambassador and Career Minister  
U.S. Foreign Service

**Joseph (Joe) Eldridge**  
University Chaplain  
American University

**Kerry Kennedy**  
President  
Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights  
Washington, D.C.

**Ikram U. Khan**  
President  
Quality Care Consultants, LLC  
Las Vegas, NV

**Stephen D. Krasner**  
Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, CA

**John A. Lancaster**  
Secretary of the Board of Trustees  
Handicap International Foundation

**Jeremy A. Rabkin**  
Professor of Law  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA

**Judy Van Rest**  
Executive Vice President  
International Republican Institute  
Washington, D.C.

**Nancy Zirkin**  
Executive Vice President  
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights  
Washington, D.C.

## MEMBERS EX OFFICIO

**Michael H. Posner**  
Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor  
Department of State

**Kathleen Hicks**  
Principal Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Policy,  
Department of Defense

**Major General Gregg F. Martin**  
U.S. Army  
President,  
National Defense University

**Jim Marshall**  
President,  
United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)