

DISSERTATION

THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN LEADERS ADVANCING INTERNATIONAL  
PEACEBUILDING: A CROSS-CASE STUDY OF NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATES

Submitted by

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN LEADERS ADVANCING INTERNATIONAL PEACEBUILDING: A CROSS-CASE STUDY OF NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATES

Representative testimony is showcased from four living women Nobel Peace Prize laureates from a multitude of public texts, presentations, and interviews that document their voices and experiences to advance international peacebuilding. Critical feminist theory and critical literacy theory provide the theoretical framework to support my cross-case study. Mindful inquiry and appreciative inquiry are also employed as methods.

Thematic findings include both an individual case study and a cross-case study presentation, which showcased two themes for each participant. The cross-case study findings reveal four predominant themes; 1) having access, power, and a platform as Nobel Peace Prize laureates, 2) social justice identity construction, 3) non-violent action, and 4) promoting a strategy of hope. The implications of my research highlight the importance of including women's voices in international peacebuilding and how their political leadership and activism promote human rights and democracy for *all* people.

Recommendations for future research include greater gender equality in language construction and in fostering political peacebuilding leadership roles. Understanding how to replicate the exceptional qualities embodied by these four women is key in advancing future such leaders.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The incredible journey I experienced over the past four years is attributed with heartfelt gratitude to my wise teachers. First, I would like to extend special appreciation to my Advisor and steadfast guide, Dr. Nathalie Kees. Her intelligent and thoughtful insights greatly contributed both to my research and professional growth. I would also like to thank Dr. William Timpson for sharing space in his Peace Education class for deepening exploration and understanding, for his ongoing support, encouragement, and sage advice. He reminded me to always maintain a heart of hope. Thank you, Dr. Louise Jennings, for your thorough review of my research and inviting me to continuously unravel my work for deeper meaning. This practice was invaluable in deconstructing and reconstructing my work. Thank you, Dr. Toni Zimmerman, for your willingness to serve as my outside committee member and offer the perfect gems in our meetings for quality meaning-making. You helped steer my data collection exactly where it proved most fruitful. I'm sharing a special thank you to you, Dr. Carole Makela, for your great sense of humor and for sharing the concrete steps necessary for me to actualize an endpoint on my dissertation journey. Finally, thank you Dr. David Most, who offered me pithy reminders in our class together, "What are we really up to?", "Make time to think" and "We all have life".

My dissertation journey was also largely magical because of my loving husband, Aaron Fodge, who served as a good example of someone who embodies peace, provided me with good nutrition through food and love, was a calming influence, and reminded me to take time for fun. A deeply kindhearted hug to Susan "Knows" Howe who encouraged me to "do it different" and to my sister, Sabine, who sent me love and encouragement every step of the way, even during our most challenging family circumstances. Thank you to my incredible CSU TILT colleagues,

all of who championed my efforts and continue to inspire me. A special thank you to Shannon Archibeque-Engle for always offering a courageous heart and cheering me to the finish line.

Equally important, I thank my four participants and winning Nobel Peace Prize laureates; Aung San Suu Kyi, Rigoberta Menchú, Shirin Ebadi, and Leymah Gbowee for their unending courage, powerful voice, and fortitude to challenge fear, violence, and inhumane atrocities with love, compassion, justice, and human dignity. Thank you for sharing your stories with the world, who so urgently need to hear them and, in turn, are inspired to take positive action. Each one of you has offered a model of hope and transformation through your positive steps for *all* humanity.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my loving parents, Manfred Walter Hentschel and Gretel Sonnenfroh Hentschel, for their great courage to overcome the atrocities of war through Hitler's Germany. Through their generous hearts and kind actions, they are a reminder of the power of every-day peacebuilders. You are the embodied inspiration for my dissertation and I thank you for teaching me how to be a compassionate human.

My mother, who presented in Dr. Timpson's peacebuilding class in 2010, emphasized the importance of peace not war. My mom was born with a crippled hand and was a child during Hitler's Germany. The local doctor in her village sawed off her fingers with no anesthetic to try and make them "look right" (Hitler wanted only pure Arians and any physical deformities were also singled out by his death squads). My mom had to always hide her right hand in a special muff that her mom sewed for her. Her father committed suicide after the war and her mother had to raise five children as refugees during a time of starvation. My mother continues to teach us to speak up and advocate for others in acts of justice, peace, and kindness.

As a small boy, my father was shaken awake in the middle of the night and hoisted onto a covered wagon never to return to his family farm. For the rest of his childhood, he was destined to live as a refugee in southern Germany and serve as a child laborer alongside his four brothers and sisters working in the fields from dawn to dusk. They had to scavenge for food without heat in the winters. His father died prematurely and one sibling died before the age of five. My father continues to teach us to be compassionate, generous, and equitable on behalf of all humans.

The trauma of this generation lives on in our next generation and reveals itself as post-traumatic stress syndrome and will take many more generations to heal. The Native Americans say it takes seven generations and I believe that wholly. I honor my mother and father for beginning the work for our generation to help heal the next.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

After my first year as a teaching assistant in Colorado State University's (CSU) Honor's Freshman Peacemaking class, I heard Dr. Jing Lin, author of *Love, Peace and Wisdom in Education: Vision for Education in the 21st Century*, make a presentation as a guest lecturer at CSU. Lin (2008) questions why most peace education courses are taught with an emphasis on war rather than teaching "balance and harmony between nature and humankind", which she ascribes as "feminine traits" (p. 77). I remember thinking, "this is exactly what I am observing in the classroom." Most of the curricula are drawn from war stories and a patriarchal perspective. Dr. Lin's (2008) work in peace education has focused on teaching peace from a different perspective which includes *positive peace theory*. Positive peace theory emphasizes an optimistic view on post-conflict, stable peace and includes the ideology of an overall improved human condition drawing from feminine principles, whereas *negative peace theory* is limited to the cessation of war (Brantmeier, 2011; Galtung, 1969; Lin, 2006).

Dr. Lin's lecture prompted me to investigate women leaders as peacebuilders and helped make meaning of my own experiences as a woman leader in a patriarchal culture. This dissertation is co-constructed with my co-presence as writer, teacher, and learner paired with the voices of four international women peacebuilders at the center of this study.

### **Background**

Bretherton, Weston, and Zbar (2013) explain "The word for 'peace' in the English language is derived from the Latin 'pax'" (p. 1). Peace in the Roman Empire meant a cessation in fighting as well as rule over subject races. Thus, peace in its simplest form is the absence of war (Galtung, 1969; Smoker & Groff, 1996). Yet it seems even the simplest form of global peace – where war and violence are daily news – is unattainable. Thus, achieving peace may

seem hopeless and *sustaining* peace an even greater challenge, yet we strive in that direction because the present state of violence and unrest is universally recognized as a terrible state of human existence.

The concept of community peacebuilding is not new. Yet, throughout history, we have never known global peace in spite of these efforts. However, Fry, Bonta and Baszarkiewicz (2009) have examined several non-warring communities and identified peace system commonalities during their investigation. In their study which included Brazil's Upper Xingu River basin, India's Nilgiri and Wynaad Plateaus, and the European Union (EU), they compared three communities from their research that held cross-cutting psychosocial peace system features integral in promoting cultures of peace. For instance, stable, peaceful communities were all anti-war and pro-peace and held several other links including "...social norms for peace education and socialization (including the promotion of values that explicitly shun intergroup violence), social cohesion and tolerance, and inclusion of all groups in the system (human rights and equality values)" (Fry et al., 2009, p. 11).

Peace education plays a key role in community peacebuilding. There are over one hundred universities in the United States (U.S.) that offer recognized Peace Studies programs and approximately half as many internationally. These programs are historically designed with a curriculum that is primarily designed from a militaristic, patriarchal structure focused on how to avoid war (Brantmeier, 2011; Lin, 2006; Moolakkattu, 2006). This hierarchy in peace education may be an obstacle to achieving peace because learners do not gain knowledge on peacebuilding skills designed to build sustainable peace (Brantmeier, 2011; Lin, 2006; Reardon 1988).

Community peacebuilders draw from school-based, formal education as a subset of a local community in a larger, global society. Within these schools, Haavelsrud and Stenberg

(2012) argue that peace education is most valued in a certain cultural setting as a subset of the larger culture. They further state that it is the expected responsibility of the school to “...influence the community by introducing new methods of teaching and learning, leading towards cultural development of the community...” and that the “...pedagogic expertise present in schools always had and will have an influence upon learners, parents, homes and communities” (Haavelsrud & Stenberg, 2012, p. 66). Brock-Utne (1985) asserts that in order to foster peaceful communities “...every member of a given community” needs to be educated in “...cooperation, caring and sharing” and not in “...competition, conquest, aggression, and violence” (p. 72). She furthers that schooling is mostly oppressive, in that “the teacher dominates the pupils, and the boys in the class dominate the girls” (Brock-Utne, 1985, p. 72). She asks, “How do we teach the whole society to reeducate itself” (Brock-Utne, 1985, p. 72)?

Finally, *feminist peace* was introduced by peace researchers in the 1970s and 1980s (Brock-Utne, 1985). This new term expanded the *macro level* concept of ending organized war and violence but also demanded the cessation of “...micro level unorganized violence, such as rape in war or in the home” (Smoker & Groff, 1969, p. 4). This *feminist peace model* includes “...all types of violence, broadly defined, against people, from the individual to the global level, arguing that this is a necessary condition for a peaceful planet” (Smoker & Groff, 1969, p.4).

In her book, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Anderlini (2007) presents the importance of furthering women leaders in peacebuilding initiatives. Anderlini (2007) states that, “Overwhelmingly, women...who make it to the negotiations...consider peace talks as the time to...build a more positive and equitable society. ...women articulate a holistic vision of peace. Anderlini (2007) asserts that women “...link personal peace – peace of mind – to their need for a peaceful society predicated on principles of social justice, equality, rights and

responsibilities...” (p. 74-75). Porter (2003) furthers Anderlini’s assertion that including women leaders at the peace table elevates a greater likelihood that feminist peace model elements will be contributed to create a more holistic reconstructed society, “...based on justice, rights, and equality” (p. 250). She points out that women identify contributions to society as a whole both to address immediate needs, “...food, water, shelter, education and health” and to tackle longer-term, sustainable peace through conflict resolution approaches and fairness in new judicial structures (Porter, 2003, p. 250).

Unfortunately, there are still very few women leaders present at the peacebuilding table to expand the feminist peace model. Drawing from the recognition that there is a disconnect between aiming for holistic, sustainable peace and women leaders carrying this message, I elected to study four living Nobel Peace Prize winning women leaders in international peacebuilding to showcase their experiences. I draw from a multitude of their respective public texts, presentations, and interviews that document their voices and lived experiences.

In my proposed research, I aim to link key concepts and theory with the publicly documented lived experiences from women in leadership roles regarding their own perspectives in international peacebuilding. In the next section of this chapter, I offer an overview of terminology which informs the study, explores the problem statement, and presents the purpose and significance of the study.

### **Terminology**

The concept of positive peace as a preferred state to negative peace is positioned in this paper. *Positive peace* is establishing standards for justice, human rights and sustainable development in communities whereas *negative peace* is limited to the end of war (Galtung,

1969). Throughout the development of this study, *positive peace* will be maintained as the desired state and *feminine peace* will be the primary theoretical framework.

*Peacebuilding* is a complex process that develops and implements a stable, conflict-free settlement for individuals, groups, communities, states, and/or nations and, ideally, is long-term and sustainable (Galtung, 1969). Peacebuilding stages or phases are numerous and researchers define these in various ways as presented in Figure 1 below. This broader definition supports the emergent process of narrative inquiry and invites the participants to further shape the definition in sharing their lived experiences as community peacebuilder leaders.

Smoker and Groff's (1996) model illustrates the stages of the evolution of peace since World War II. My study's focus is on the understanding of feminist peace and beyond, which began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s (Brock-Utne, 1989). This definition of peace reached beyond the elimination of macro level organized violence, such as war, to include micro level unorganized violence, such as the violence of rape in war or domestic violence, or discriminate against particular individuals or groups (Smoker & Groff, 1996). In essence, it argued for equal human rights for all people.



Smoker & Groff's (1996) conceptual model in Figure 1 below presents the evolution of peace research framed by the six concepts in the evolution of peace:

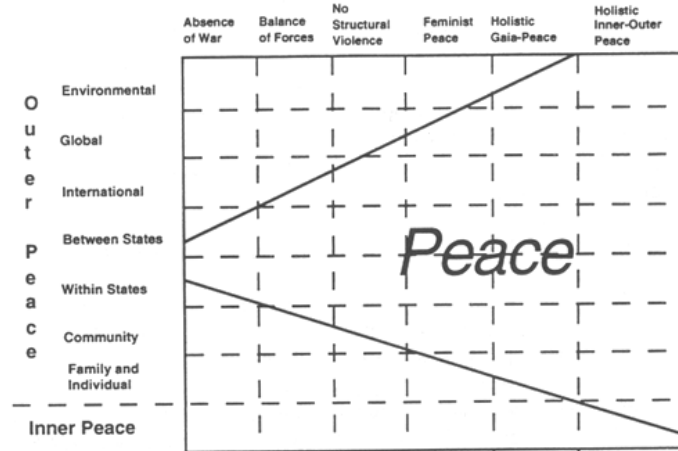


Figure 1 – Six concepts in the evolution of peace

In order to transform a society from war to peace, peace education is viewed as an important tool in transforming the relationships within conflicts in order to prevent relapses between parties (UNICEF, 2011, p. 13). *Peace education* is a process whereby knowledge, attitudes, and skills are taught with the aim of building an equitable and just, stable social harmony and ultimate goal of sustainable community – locally and globally (Brantmeier, 2011; Moolakkattu, 2006; Reardon, 1988). The definition of *peacebuilding* as described by the United Nations (UN) goes beyond negative peace and is designed “...to include efforts to make that peace sustainable (positive)” (UNICEF, 2011, p. 15).

*Transformative learning environments* are settings created to invite social change, “...the building of right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and non-violence as a way of life” (Lederach, 2003, para. 3). In my study, a transformative learning environment – in the context of women peacebuilders – explores the aforementioned characteristics and how to produce a meaningful global change through individual, and

collective, peacebuilding efforts (Reardon, 1988, p. x). A transformative learning environment is one where participants have full access to information and participation, are free from oppression in an equitable setting and able to serve in all capacities (Mezirow, 1997). These circumstances offer an open environment for individuals - and groups - to become critically reflective of assumptions, build empathy and good listening skills, and realize skills for collaboration through a synthesis of differing viewpoints

*Critical literacy* is the ability to read, write, and verbalize from reflexivity to better understand and act on power inequities and social injustice in human relationships (Coffey, 2010; Freire, 2000). McCafferey (2005) argues that critical literacy in peace education is a cornerstone for adult women to be effective in peacebuilding and helps contribute to deconstructing patriarchal stereotypes.

Finally, the concepts and language of *co-presence* and *co-constructed* reality is prominent in this study. This means that the researcher serves a role in contributing to the meaning of the body of work by inextricably joining with the participant's voices (*co-presence*) and in the resultant interpretation of those voices (*co-constructed*).

### **Research Problem Statement**

The research problem for this study is the absence of women leader's voices in peacebuilding. Although women comprise half of the world's population, they make up 60 percent of the world's poorest, and two thirds of the world's illiterate (UNFPA, 2009, p. 15). "Relative to the proportion of the population they comprise, women are consistently underrepresented, if not absent from positions of political power, all over the world" (McKay & Mazurana, 2001, p.15). In 2011, only 28 countries had women leaders in at least 30 percent of

their country's political leadership and only 19 were elected heads of state or government (UN-Women, 2011, p. 10). The same UN-Women Annual Report (2011) shared that "...less than 10 percent of peace negotiators have been women and less than 6 percent of reconstruction budgets specifically provide for the needs of women and girls" (p.16). The Annual Report also recognizes the unimaginable harm conflict brings to women through, "...mass rapes to mass displacements" and credits women for bringing "...families, homes, and communities back together" post-conflict (UN-Women, 2011, p. 16).

The international development community also recognizes the critical role education plays in building a civil society paired with a culture of peace with women as key participants in this process. "Globally, 122 girls are out of school for every 100 boys. The gender gap among out-of-school youth is much wider in some countries such as Yemen (230 girls for every 100 boys), and India (181 girls for each 100 boys)" (UNFPA, 2009, p. 15).

In order for women to fill a peacebuilding leadership role, they need to gain the peacebuilding tools to do so. Learning these skills through formal peace education can equip women to be fully participatory in building sustainable peace. One of the greatest barriers to this education, however, is the violence against women and girls which remains the most predominant worldwide violations of human rights. In a study of ten countries and over 24,000 women, up to 7 out of 10 women experienced physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime (WHO, 2005). Female victims from this violence are less likely to complete their education which may result in lower future earnings and skilled contributions within their communities (UN-Women, 2011).

Thus, this study draws from a perception that women's voices are missing in national peacebuilding efforts. Feminist researchers suggest male and female characteristics differ in

peacebuilding such as women's orientation towards more maternal energy, gentleness, nurturing, caring, and expressive spirituality (Reardon, 1988). Positioning the women's voice is an important context in this study because the intention of peace is to manifest an all-inclusive, safe environment for all people to participate and feminine voice is viewed as supporting those tenets of sustainable peace.

Moolakkatthu (2006) presents a compelling case for inviting women's voice in peacebuilding, yet offers caution on how difficult it is to overcome the sophisticated oppressive systems in place rooted in patriarchy and militaristic structures. He notes "Nowhere is sexism of patriarchy as transparent as in strategic theory and language" (Moolakkatthu, 2006, p.150). He finds imagery in the military to be representative of gender and to underscore the entrenched oppression with military structure, "Missiles are like phalluses...silos are called holes...phrases like deep penetration..." (Moolakkatthu, 2006, p. 150). As Moolakkatthu (2006) analyzes the key features of peacebuilding from a feminine perspective, he lists one feature that speaks to the way I have experienced it, "...feminists have come up with a way of teaching an alternative set of ethical ideas based on nurturing and relational world-view, which they claim can serve as an organizing principle for social/peace action and policy" (p. 140). He believes that a feminist lens will offer a different way of expressing peace and have greater influence on sustainable peace by rebalancing gender in, "...a process whereby knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for the building up of a just and peaceful social order are imparted to the young and wider public...socialization for peace should ideally lead to a change in the patterns of gender roles impressed upon boys and girls" (Moolakkatthu, 2006, p. 142).

This study seeks to propose a different perspective in national peacebuilding from women's experiences through their voices. It aims to share women's stories engaged in national peacebuilding and contributing to global peace.

### **Study Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to achieve meaningful input from women leaders on how they contribute to international peacebuilding. The research questions for this study include: 1) How is international peacebuilding informed by including women's voices? 2) How did leaders advance international peacebuilding in their respective countries? 3) What political and social strategies did women leaders employ in advancing international peacebuilding? The study goals include, but are not limited to, the following: 1) To investigate women's experiences as international peacebuilders, 2) To contribute to the body of research literature on the importance of including women leaders in international peacebuilding, and 3) To offer insights gained from the collection of stories on how to further advance women leaders in international peacebuilding.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study investigates feminist peace concepts through women's voices as international peacebuilders. "In terms of women's peacebuilding, feminist analysis identifies women's specific concerns about peacebuilding, approaches peacebuilding from women's perspectives, welcomes pluralistic voices and diverse methods" (McKay & Mazurana, 2001, p.3). Since women have been largely underrepresented as leaders in the field of peacebuilding and peace education, exploring their perspectives may contribute to a larger body of literature identifying obstacles and constraints for furthering their position.

### **Study Limitations**

With a total of four participants, the limitation of this study may be viewed as a small sample size and may affect the perceived generalizability of the study. Thus, generalizability is not my goal in this study, but rather to expressly hear the depth of story from four women individuals who have rich experiences and perspectives regarding peacebuilding.

### **Study Delimitations**

Only participants who met the selection criteria listed in the data collection methods section were included in this study. The positions of both international peacebuilder and leader were considered of primary interest when selecting study participants. The study was limited to four living women Nobel Peace Prize laureate research participants. Data was limited to participant autobiographies and biographies, on-line testimony including presentations, interviews, and town-hall style meetings. Personal interviews were not conducted based on the study rationale that as internationally renowned leaders their autobiographies and on-line presentations would offer testimony consistent with what an interview might reveal. Personal interviews were considered unnecessary to contribute further understanding of my study.

### **Study Assumptions**

This study assumes that all of the selected participants are trustworthy and reported information from the best of their past and current experiences. Participants are assumed to be leading national women peacebuilders in their respective settings.

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Peacebuilding is an umbrella category that captures large topics including democracy, social justice, civility, conflict resolution, spirituality, and inner peace (Haavelsrud & Stenberg, 2012). The literature review presents the interrelatedness of these topics. First, a short history of peace and peacebuilding introduces this section followed by supporting literature on women leaders and international peacebuilding. Second, the concepts of peace pedagogy, the importance of international peacebuilding language, and merits of the Nobel Peace prize are presented. Finally, an overview concludes this chapter by describing how the literature helps develop a conceptual framework for examining the phenomenon in my study.

### **History of Peace and Peacebuilding**

Historically, peace was taught to emphasize avoiding war. Brock-Utne (1985) explains a more expansive definition of peace, which includes justice and human rights protections. She cites Resolution 11.1 from the 1979 General Conference in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as the predominant global view among peacekeeping organizations for defining peace which states, “Peace cannot consist solely in the absence of armed conflict but implies principally a process of progress, justice and mutual respect among the peoples designed to secure the building of an international society in which everyone can find his true place and enjoy his share of the world’s intellectual and material resources” (as cited in Brock-Utne, 1985, p. 3).

Brantmeier (2011) further delineates negative and positive peace by including both macro and micro levels. Negative peace includes peace as no war, which is considered a macro level. Positive peace includes no war and no structural violence on a macro level and on a micro level includes community, family, and feminist peace. Positive peace integrates intercultural, holistic,

and inner and outer peace, holding inner peace as the essential state, an example of a micro level (Groff, 2001). Inner peace is considered a state of singular peace that an individual manifests through an inner, spiritual self and outer peace is the connection an individual holds in relationship with another individual or group (Smoker & Groff, 1996).

While both negative and positive approaches are important in peace building, positive peace is considered a preferred state over negative peace, reaching beyond conditions of war reduction or cessation (Rummel, 1981). Positive peace emphasizes establishing standards for justice, human rights, and sustainable development in communities, whereas negative peace is limited in scope to the cessation of violence (Pinheiro, 2006). Positive peace includes personal states of happiness, satisfaction, justice, and peace of mind that one manifests through inner peace (Galtung, 1969; Pinheiro, 2006; Rummel, 1981). The United Nations (UN) is positioned in this paper as a key international organization “...founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights” (UN At a Glance, 2013, para. 1). The UN secured over fifty global partners to develop, administer, and implement *The Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) as a data-driven framework for understanding the connectivity of the global issues of sustainable peace, violence against women, women and peacebuilding, and gender equity. Of the eight MDGs, number three speaks to “Promote gender equality and empower women” and the UN emphasizes, “Gender equality and the empowerment of women are at the heart of the MDGs and are preconditions for overcoming poverty, hunger and disease” (United Nations, 2010, p. 4).

With respect to community peacebuilding, the MDGs also, “Support peace-building efforts on the ground and enhance the coordination of all the actors involved in disarmament,



demobilization and reintegration, while providing the electoral assistance and promoting the reconciliation that a sustainable peace requires” (United Nations, 2010, p. 4). A key phrase within this mission is “all the actors.” The MDGs detail the importance of women in leadership roles, and the report states concern that women are still absent from lack of access and from key meetings, “...progress has been sluggish on all fronts—from education to access to political decision-making” (MDGs, 2010, p. 4).

### **Framing International Peacebuilding and Women**

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women - held in Beijing and sponsored by the UN - was a pivotal moment in activating women globally to address peace and security (Anderlini, 2007). Over 5,000 delegates representing 189 governments participated in the event. “The focus on women’s experiences in war, articulated in Chapter E (Women and Armed Conflict) of the Platform for Action (PFA), was a new addition to the broader agenda of women and development” (Anderlini, 2007, p. 5). During this conference, women recognized that their agency in promoting peace reached far beyond responding to victimization, recently highlighted by the “...genocide in Rwanda and the rape camps of Bosnia, the ugly reality of war and its impact on women’s lives” (Anderlini, 2007, p. 6-7). In 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. In her book, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Anderlini (2007) marks this legislation as a “watershed” moment, “It provides a critical legal and political framework through which, for the first time in history, women worldwide can claim their space and voice their views on peace and security matters” (p. 7). The women delegates united and catalyzed action at the local, national and international

levels in peacebuilding. Their activism in "...peacemaking and security-related issues grew exponentially, with regional and international networks taking shape" (Anderlini, 2007, p. 6).

However, there is no shortage of literature speaking to the absence of women's voices in peacebuilding leadership (Anderlini, 2007; Aroussi, 2011; McKay & Mazurana, 2001; Moolakkattu, 2006; United Nations, 2010). Thus, Anderlini (2007) recognizes that policies in writing may not be applied in "real world" situations. She attests to the fact that there is still a small number of women leaders as compared with men in global peacebuilding efforts and how certain cultures explicitly exclude women and how shortsighted this is. She asserts, "...as 50 percent or more of the population, women are an important resource. Overlooking their capacities and commitment to peacebuilding is an indication of bad planning" (Anderlini, 2007, p. 4). Anderlini (2007) also points to the difficulty of accurately capturing women's contributions to peacebuilding through an apparent data gap in international reports due to underreported women's activities in country reports (p. 209).

Some of the research shows a difference in men and women's perspective on peacebuilding. A pioneer of peace education focused on women in peacebuilding, Reardon (1988) found that women stress human relationships and supporting community need as compared with men's focus on institutions and organizations. Boulding (2000) asserts, "Women's cultures everywhere are an important source of the work of nurturance of a society; a reservoir of experience and knowledge" (p. 91). Mazurana and McKay (1999) found that:

Grassroots women's groups may involve themselves in peacemaking and peacebuilding because of concerns for their families' survival and knowledge that women and children are the primary casualties of indirect and direct violence during armed conflict. They emphasize the centrality of psychosocial (psychological responses situated within the context of community) and basic human needs, such as food, shelter and safety, far more than governmental organizations, NGOs, and the United Nations usually do. (As cited in Mazurana & McKay, 2009, p. 5).

In their groundbreaking book, *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) found that women are more empathetic than men, are “maternal thinkers” and use the self as “an instrument of understanding”. In their study, many women reported feeling “unheard and unheeded”, in a system of male dominant authority (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 146). In their qualitative study focused on culture and gender specifics of peace and peacebuilding, de la Ray & McKay (2006) investigated how 16 South African women leaders understand peacebuilding. Principles of feminist research methodology were used in their study design. They found that meeting basic human needs is a main concern of these women’s peacebuilding work. The participants also suggested that women may “...contribute to their own lack of visibility because they fail to identify the significance of their peacebuilding work or because they are more concerned with *doing* peacebuilding than with promoting their own work (de la Ray & McKay, 2006, p. 150).

Porter (2003) cautions that it is important to differentiate between recognizing *women's concerns* and *essentializing* them, “Women’s concerns do not indicate feminine essentialism, but that, as prime caretakers, women tend to prioritize education, health, nutrition, childcare, and human welfare needs” (p. 249). bell hooks (2000), a renowned researcher on critical feminist studies, extends this view to “...insist that women who do choose ...to denounce violence and domination and their ultimate expression, war, are political thinkers making political decisions and choices” (p. 129). It is not the biology of being a woman that inherently moves women to promote disarmament and this misinformation may perpetuate the “...sexist notion that womanhood equals motherhood” (hooks, 2000, p. 128). She argues, “We need to see women as political beings” (hooks, 2000, p. 128).

In sum, Brock-Utne (1985) offers, “When the concept of peace implies that every human being regardless of sex has the right to a life in peace (the UN declaration of 1978) and peace is defined as justice, the right to fulfillment of basic needs, to self-determination, most feminist research can be called research on women and peace” (p.3). It is important to promote women leaders in peacebuilding not only because they make up half the world’s population, but because women’s ways of peacebuilding tend toward positive peace.

### **Peace Pedagogy**

Brock-Utne (1985) argues that in order to have successful women peacebuilding initiatives, peace education is necessary to break down stereotypes, teach collaboration instead of competition, and empower mothers to educate children on social justice issues. Brantmeier (2011) adds that critical peace education to “promote attitudes and behaviors of a culture of peace” can “multiply the effects of peace” and help communities move away from a culture of violence and cultivate a sustainable, renewable culture of peace” (p. 351).

Finley (2004) introduces two general frameworks in higher education for teaching peace; 1) the dominator model, and the 2) partnership model. She argues that, historically, the *dominator model* has been employed to teach peace characterized by authoritarian, hierarchical, and obedience structure similar to military organizations and positioned within a patriarchal framework. In contrast, she proposes that the partnership model is more aligned with the attributes of peace and is characterized by democracy, gender equity, and promotion of positive peace. She asserts that if we want students to be part of a civil and democratic society, then the preparation for this goal must be amplified in higher education. In their analysis of eleven

studies on peace pedagogies, Haavelesrud and Stenberg (2012) found a common theme of the effectiveness of modeling peaceful behavior desired in society in the classroom.

In their article explaining how peace education is differentiated from other schooling, Harber and Sakade (2009) offer, “Peace education is understood generally to aim to offer opportunities to develop skills, knowledge and values required for the practice of conflict resolution, communication and co-operation in relation to issues of peace, war, violence, conflict and injustice” (p. 174). They argue that to build peace, more emphasis in education needs to be placed on the affective learning, collaborative style of teaching to supplement cognitive learning and authoritarian styles of teaching. In their comprehensive literature review of 2,550 documents on education, conflict and peacebuilding to identify themes across the literature, Smith, McCandless, Paulsen, and Wheaton (2011) argue that continuing to replicate the old ways of teaching may contribute to further conflict and perpetuate divisive ideologies. If militaristic and patriarchal language is continually reproduced through education, it is difficult for societies to cultivate peace.

Reardon (1988) argues that the very purpose of peace education is to “...transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it” (p. x). Transformative learning is designed to help individuals avoid reproducing old, negative patterns and learn new behavior to create structural changes. Mezirow’s (1994) theory on transformative learning assumes that learners interpret and reinterpret through sense awareness, which he submits is central to meaning making and learning. His theory links the transformed individuals to the larger reward of social transformation. Subsequently, these individuals work together to alter society through positive change. Though Mezirow’s theory is

not necessarily directed at peace education, it can be readily applied to peace education through the idea of reconstituting education with peace language to transform the larger society.

Thus, peace education is designed to transform a state of being – first, individually, and then collectively as a community, to a state of peace from one of conflict. Ideally, this is viewed as a progression of transformation from one individual to many, preferably resulting in a transformed society with transformed structures. Brantmeier (2011) explains the importance of teaching peace by connecting inner peace transformation to community “transformative action.”

Brantmeier (2011) furthers;

Critical peace education can be understood here as education for the elimination of direct, indirect, structural violence – the social, political, economic and environmental arrangements that privilege some at the exclusion of others, as well as cultural violence in group norms - that legitimize, reinforce, or perpetuate violence against individuals or groups of people within a broader society (p. 356).

Brantmeier (2011) credits Freire’s work as the primary influence for critical peace education. Freire (2000) inspired an entire generation of educators to shift from the “banking” system of educating to a system of more balanced teacher/student reciprocity. He argued strongly that the power structures between leaders and citizens, and educators and students, needed to be broken down and equalized to give voice to all people.

Finley (2004) argues that even when peace education is taught, the structure of the learning environment falls short in creating a nurturing, collaborative classroom necessary to realize inner peace and crossover into society. Lin (2006) echoes this call in her book, *Love, Peace and Wisdom in Education: A Vision for Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, where she encourages the development of curriculum designed to instill a compassionate and loving global community through teaching a younger generation harmony and respect. She envisions a school

that teaches interconnectedness based on love and views the role of education in society as a transformative power.

Finally, McKay (2004) views the lack of "...girls' schooling in eliminating gender disparity" as contributing to the lack of future women peacebuilding leaders (p. 164). If girls do not have access to education to gain the tools to become leaders and change the oppressive structures from those roles, there is very little chance of positive change. Women leaders are instrumental in deconstructing and reconstructing the language within education and throughout community to create positive contributions to international peacebuilding.

### **Importance of Language in International Peacebuilding**

Language is an integral component of peacebuilding. The literature showcases the importance of carefully crafted community peacebuilding language that does not further perpetuate conflict. Smith et al. (2011) point out that UNESCO is highly sensitive to language factions in conflict and highlights the importance of when and how to use official and national languages. "The choice of language in the educational system confers a power and prestige through its use in formal instruction. Not only is there a symbolic aspect, referring to status and visibility, but also a conceptual aspect referring to shared values and worldview expressed through and in that language" (UNESCO, as cited in Smith, et al., 2003, p. 13-14).

Peacebuilding requires careful evaluation of language pre- and post-conflict. Revisiting the way history is taught and employing new teaching strategies, for instance, could greatly contribute to peace and reconciliation post-conflict. Smith et al. (2011) argue the importance of including language transformation in peacebuilding with respect to the "...quality and type of education that may be relevant for peacebuilding, particularly aspects related to identity

formation (such as language of instruction, religious education, civic and citizenship education) and the values that the education system communicates” (p. 38). Smith et al. (2011) also found differences in effective language at various levels of peacebuilding agency from outside organizations, local community, and nationally. “The literature highlights conceptual differences between education in emergencies (humanitarian response), conflict-sensitive education (do no harm) and education to actively support peacebuilding” (Smith et al., 2011, p. 45).

The UN clearly recognizes the importance of carefully crafted language throughout its missions. They aim to institutionalize cultural aspects between factions where there are enough commonalities to become effective change agents. There is a clear mandate that “gender sensitizing curricula” needed to be developed at all grade levels and taught early and often (UNFPA, 2010, p. 46). This aim helps bridge previously divisive language from a cultural lens.

The UNFPO record in systematically integrating cultural considerations across all its mandate areas, including its continued commitment to vesting its programmes proactively with a cultural lens, places it in a unique position to institutionalize the necessary and complementary dimensions for advancing gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment by working with like-minded cultural agents of change, including faith-based organizations (FBOs) (UNFPA, 2010, p. 20).

In order to change structural underpinnings of violence, language is a very important tool to deconstruct conflicts and reconstruct civil society between individuals and groups in order to refrain from repetitive cycles of violence. Luke (2012) argues, “...critical literacy approaches set the reshaping of political consciousness, material conditions, and social relations...” (p. 7). Women’s voices need to be included in reconstruction peacebuilding language through a lens that makes visible the violent threads in patriarchy embedded in most dominant cultures. “Critical literacy has an explicit aim of the critique and transformation of dominant ideologies, cultures and economies, and institutions and political systems” (Luke, 2012, p.5).



The literature revealed that women may contribute different ways of knowing and that feminist peacebuilding may generate different language to promote positive peace (Belenky et al., 1986; Brantmeier, 2010; hooks, 2000; McKay & Mazurana, 2001). Since women comprise over half the world's population and women may offer a different worldview on promoting positive peace, it is important to include their voices in reshaping the language for future education and, subsequently, to further women in leadership.

### **Merits of the Nobel Peace Prize**

The final Nobel Prize in the series of five in Alfred Nobel's last will was the Nobel *Peace* Prize. For this particular prize, Nobel stated that it was to be awarded to "...the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses" (Feldman, 2000, p. 290). Only fourteen of the 101 total individuals awarded the Nobel Peace Prize are women and only nine are living (1905-2013). The first woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize was Bertha von Suttner in 1905. Below is a list of all the women recipients and the year in which each individual was awarded the Nobel Prize since von Suttner:

1931 - Jane Addams

1946 - Emily Greene Balch

1976 - Betty Williams (living)

1976 - Mairead Corrigan (living)

1979 - Mother Teresa

1982 - Alva Myrdal

1991 - Aung San Suu Kyi (living)

1992 - Rigoberta Menchú Tum (living)

1997 - Jody Williams (living)

2003 - Shirin Ebadi (living)

2004 - Wangari Maathai

2011 - Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkol Karman (all 3 living)

Feldman's (2000) research on the Nobel Peace Prize addresses the role of women and peace, and questions why so few women have received the award. He believes that the peace movement is comprised of more women than men. He observed "Pacifism and feminism were early comrades-in-arms, and deserved more recognition from the Nobel committee" (Feldman, 2000, p. 327). Feldman (2000) argues that the Nobel committee historically favored political leaders as award recipients and women are still largely absent in these roles internationally.

In the last twenty years, globalization has made the world smaller and easier for the previously less powerful regions to influence world politics. The level of prestige gained by the Nobel Peace Prize winner offers her access and a platform to further both national and international peacebuilding initiatives. Becoming a spokeswoman for a particular country through a Nobel Peace Prize offers a woman the opportunity to impact both peacebuilding *within* the nation she represents and also *between* nations. Francis Sejersted, Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, 1991-1999, said that "...in the good fight for peace and reconciliation, we are dependent on persons who set examples, persons who can symbolize what we are seeking and mobilize the best in us. That all the women Laureates had faith in the power of good" (Abrams, 2013, para. 2, *conclusion*). The Nobel Peace Prize is viewed by the world as a global message and its ripple effect across nations offers a powerful force.

From its inception, the Nobel Peace Prize was held by The Nobel Foundation as emblematic for building democracy as a human right and as a goal of international peacebuilding. The Nobel's internationalism honored achievements from anywhere in the world, "...to reap the harvest of all nations" (Feldman, 2000, p. 12).

In her research on Nobel Prize laureates, Shavinina (2009) reviewed the biographies and autobiographies of over 80 Nobel Laureates and she highlights the value of studying their "...rare, superior degree of intellectually creative achievements" (p. 649). Shavinina (2004) found patterns across the data and presented four interrelated extracognitive abilities of Nobel laureates; 1) specific intellectually – creative feelings, 2) specific intellectually – creative beliefs, 3) specific preferences and intellectual values, and 4) intuitive processes" (p. 244). From the first component, she equates the *creative feelings* to a "feeling of direction" or "going straight toward something concrete" (Shavinina, 2004, p. 245). In other words, the laureate is drawn to a unique cause, which one might describe as a calling. In the second component, Shavinina (2004) observes that *creative beliefs* include higher standards of performance such as the "existence of some principles and specific standards" which she found contribute to the laureate's self-confidence and extraordinary stability (p.249). One might view this as a conviction about one's cause. Shavinina (2004) explains the third component, *creative preferences*, by sharing how laureates are drawn to difficult problems which have "...remained unsolved for many decades" (p. 250). Finally, Shavinina (2004) observes that laureates have *highly developed intuitive processes* which stem from an artistically vivid imagination for new ideas. She notes that twenty of the 72 subjects in her study, emphasized that "intuition feels different from logical reasoning and cannot be explained in logical terms" (Shavinina, 2004, p. 251).

Shavinina (2004) further asserts that the use of "...autobiographical and biographical findings...are extremely important..." to present the "...rarity of character..." of Nobel laureates and offer insights and abilities that society may replicate to further the great work that they have accomplished. "The discovery of the principles involved in the educational development of Nobel laureates will allow educators to accordingly improve, develop, modify, and transcend areas in the current curriculum in an attempt to cultivate scientific talent, of Nobel caliber, in future generations" (Shavinina, 2009, p. 650). It is important to understand the women's leadership characteristics in Nobel Peace Prize winning women so that they may be documented and replicated to further effective peacebuilding.

### **Chapter Summary**

As the literature illustrates, the unique perspectives and ways of knowing of the women leaders in peacebuilding, without essentializing them, is an important step in understanding their perspectives. Their ways of knowing and acting from that knowing are parallel to many aspects of positive peace language and peacebuilding actions. The literature also highlights the added importance to learn from women Nobel Peace Prize laureates as exemplary models of women in leadership. In order to understand the phenomenon as presented in my literature review, the resultant method to study this phenomenon requires an in-depth examination of the life experiences and voices of Nobel Peace Prize winning women. In the next chapter, I present the theoretical framework, case study methods designed to highlight women's voices, and the data analysis employed in my study.

## CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the primary theoretical frameworks for my methodological approach are critical feminist theory and critical literacy theory. My study positions critical feminist theory centrally while showing the interconnectivity of critical literacy theory. I present a path to learning through case study research methods focused on critical literacy for women in international peacebuilding. Through investigating the voices of women in their individual peacebuilding leadership roles, my study uncovers language that they contribute to deconstructing and reconstructing positive peace.

Learning a language is learning ways to construct meanings. By learning languages critically...we learn to exist in a dynamic process that enables the production of multiple understandings about what makes it possible to elaborate certain points of view and about their implications to our lives” (Jordão, 2008, p.2-3).

### **Researcher Perspective**

My perspective as the researcher includes my professional leadership role as a woman peacebuilder. While some researchers may call this a limitation, my study adopts Glesne’s (2011) assertion that “Feminist researchers have been at the forefront of advocating research relationships that include reciprocity, empathy, equality, and friendship” (p. 147). This study challenges the rigid view of research objectivity, which is largely rooted in colonial western science and limits the power of feminine voice. “As people work together toward a common goal or purpose, particularly when addressing issues of injustice or inequities which marginalize, co-researchers...become partners in a research struggle” (Glesne, 2011, p. 149). The lived experience of the researcher is not separate and distinct from the final written narrative, rather it is expressly stated as a co-constructed study as a co-researcher.

I have advocated for human rights in various professional positions that I have held in my 25-year career and believe that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be upheld

throughout the world. I am equally outspoken on political issues and politically active on behalf of diversity, climate change impacts, and women's rights. I am a practitioner of Buddhist philosophy and believe in holistic values of healing, compassion, and in the inherent goodness of all human beings. It took many years to find my voice; my interest in presenting women's voices in my study is to make visible the valuable information that I feel is imperative for the world to hear at this time in our global civilization.

### **Theoretical Framework**

**Critical Feminist Theory.** In her book, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, bell hooks (2001) confirms the challenges in defining feminism and feminist theory. She argues that the idea of women fighting to become "social equals of men" is misinformed and, "The shift in definition away from social equality towards an emphasis on ending sexist oppression leads to a shift in attitudes in regard to the development of theory" (hooks, 2001, p. 32). In other words, feminism is not as much focused on women seeking to participate equally in a patriarchal world, but to upend patriarchy and oppression, particularly gender oppression. hooks (2001) surmises that viewing feminist theory in this way "...strengthens other liberation struggles" related to class and other group oppression, which are inextricably linked (p. 40). Feminism is about transforming the world order to move away from patriarchal systems of competition, hierarchy, and control toward systems grounded in collaboration, decentralization, and mutual cooperation.

Harding (1987) asserts that an integral component of feminist methodology is that it allows women to answer questions through their lived experiences. As Moolakkatthu (2006) analyzes the key features of teaching peace from a feminine perspective "...feminists have come up with a way of teaching an alternative set of ethical ideas based on nurturing and relational

world-view, which they claim can serve as an organizing principle for social/peace action and policy” (p. 140).

McKay and Mazurana (2001) highlight important differences, from a feminine lens, in peacebuilding “...feminist analysis identifies women’s specific concerns about peacebuilding, approaches peacebuilding from women’s perspectives, welcomes pluralistic voices and diverse methods” (p.3). Using feminist analysis, different questions may be asked that focus more on “...human processes such as reconciliation and restoration of relationships, as compared with institutional and structural rebuilding” (McKay & Mazurana, 2001, p.4). However, they also “...contend that there is nothing inherently (biologically) more peaceful about women than men although women may be socially conditioned to exhibit more peaceful qualities” (McKay & Mazurana, 2001, p.6). Thus, applying this methodology in my study seeks to build on these important feminist principles gathered from women’s voices and lived experiences.

**Critical Literacy Theory.** Applying a critical literacy lens is an important step in lifting individuals and groups from oppressive language. “The development of critical literacy skills enables people to interpret messages in the modern world through a critical lens and challenge the power relations within those messages” (Coffey, 2010, p.1). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970) emphasizes the importance of co-constructing knowledge from this critical outlook by continuing to challenge unequal, hierarchical relationships through language.

Applying Freire’s principles, Brantmeier (2011) presents various peacebuilding stages important for critical literacy;

- 1) raising consciousness through dialogue about various forms of violence (examples: direct, indirect, structural, cultural);

- 2) imagining non-violent alternatives (from social, economic, and political structures to psychological and social harmony, inner peace);
- 3) providing specific modes of empowerment (examples: conflict resolution skills, critical thinking, community education and development, political participation and mobilization, global perspectives and opportunities, meditative techniques for actualizing inner peace);
- 4) transformative action: engaged action to further social justice, competent multicultural education, explicit education for peace, reflective practice in schools, classroom environment and school culture change, engagement with political arena that shapes educational policy and practice; and
- 5) reflection and re-engagement: (introspection, regrouping, reframing, continued reflective engagement). (Brantmeier, 2011, p. 356).

My study focuses on understanding how women leaders contribute their voices and language to international peacebuilding in relation with these stages. This view stems from a critical perspective that centers on women's roles in peacebuilding as a marginalized group and to understand existing power structures. The findings in my study will be used to contribute to the body of knowledge on what elements of language are important from a women's perspective to deconstruct these power structures and reconstruct new, improved structures.

For my study, I employ a theory of critical literacy to inform how the components of language are operationalized in women peacebuilders. This theory underlies the assumption that women may serve as a change agent from the language they contribute as peacebuilders.



## Methodology

A case study methodology is the best fit for my study to offer voice to the underrepresented women leaders in community peacebuilding. A case study approach is employed and meets the theoretical goals of this study, especially critical feminist theory, since these women peacebuilder voices are showcased individually in a deep and meaningful way. “Hence, there are political, moral and epistemological reasons for feminist scholars to collect and interpret women’s narratives” (Bloom, 2002, p. 311). The women’s personal narrative from their respective autobiographical, biographical, and on-line testimony will be used as the primary source of data. The case study design contributes to women’s scholarship by taking more time to portray each woman’s experience and from “...this interpretation can contribute to women’s lives and to the transformation of our society” (Bloom, 1998, p. 11).

Additionally, the case study is ideally suited for a study on Nobel Prize laureates for the “...investigation of individuals characterized by their rarity that is the case of great innovators. It can intensively describe their particular features (e.g., wisdom or intuition) and provide a holistic view of the subject than is possible with any other research methodology” (Shavinina, 2011, p. 4). Finally, the meaning-making shared from their lived experiences is subjective and is what creates the uniquely rich experience of my study.

**The Case for My Case Study.** Yin (2014) presents the scope of case study as a two-fold empirical inquiry that; 1) investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context; especially when, 2) the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). The other condition Yin (2014) proposes as a “relevant situation” for applying case study methods is if your research questions meet the

conditions of asking “how” and “what” (p. 9). My research approach meets these conditions and I selected it as my research method to build individual case studies and a cross-case analysis summary across all four cases to; 1) answer the how and what questions posed in this study through an in-depth investigation of contemporary phenomena, and 2) to uncover and explain hidden contexts within the phenomena. Merriam (2001) affirms Yin’s case study conditions as “...intensive holistic description and analysis of a single unit or bounded system...and focuses on contemporary events” (p. 12)

The case study approach is expressly appropriate for my chosen research topic since it captures both the events (occurrences that advanced international peacebuilding) and participant behaviors (lived experiences) to explain those events. Glesne (2011) explains the value of the case study as a research strategy, “You focus on the complexity within the case, on its uniqueness, and its linkages to the social context of which it is a part” (p. 22). “As such, the research seeks to explain, describe and explore the phenomenon under investigation” (Yin, 1994, p. 138). In this series of case studies, the “outcomes” are how these women’s lived experiences advanced national peacebuilding in their respective countries and internationally.

Based on the lack of voice from women leaders in international peacebuilding, stated as the research problem, and the importance of offering a forum for giving voice to women, the case study is a compelling fit for this study. This design enables the researcher to “understand behavior, beliefs, opinions and emotions from the perspective of study participants themselves” through their own voices (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011, p. 10).

Yin (2014) builds his case study methods from grounded theory, as an emergent process, from the “ground up”. My analytic strategy aligns most closely with Yin’s (2014) proposed strategies of working with data through an inductive and theoretical framework and from the

discovery of theory from the data using a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This unfolding of the participant's experiences allows for theory not to be imposed *on them*, rather for *their voices* to inform the study.

In my study, boundaries were established by restricting the case study to the analysis of purposefully selected participants who were Nobel Peace Prize laureates and women, and by further bounding the selection with *living* participants of which there were only nine remaining from the fourteen total individuals. Merriam (2001) refers to the "single unit or bounded system" of a case (1998, p. 12). In my study, the unit - or system - of study is the four Nobel Peace Prize laureates and their respective autobiographies or biographies. Furthermore, Merriam (1998) points out that the case study does not require control over events and implies that such control may not even be desirable.

The case study inquiry is suitable for the situations in which there will be many more variables of interest than set data points. For instance, "In a multiple case study, one goal is to build a general explanation that fits each individual case, even though the cases will vary in their details" (Yin, 2014, p. 148). The cross-case synthesis fits the criteria of my study in that "the individual case studies have previously been conducted as independent research studies (authored by different persons)..." (Yin, 2014, p. 164). The technique is first applied to each case individually and then aggregates findings across the cases collectively on-line presentations and acceptance speeches of the participants. The data from these compiled testimonial sources converge in a triangulated process and are informed by the study's proposed theoretical constructs.

Case study research is employed in my study to present the women's use of language as peacebuilders serving in leadership roles. The purpose of this method is to offer the stories of

the study participants in order to understand their experiences as women peacebuilders. Further, case study methods closely align with one of the most distinguishing characteristics of critical feminist theory regarding honoring the women's voices in telling their story through their own lived experience (Bloom, 1998; McCall, 2005). Bloom (2002) states that, "...narratives can illuminate how, in an individual life, different dominant ideologies and power relations in society are maintained, reproduced, or subverted" (p. 311).

Co-constructed research uses "...the 'self' as a location from which the research can generate social critique and advocacy" (Bloom, 2002, p. 310). With regard to feminist research, "Women's narratives are understood to serve as a corrective to centuries of androcentric narratives that demean or negate women's experiences in society" (Bloom, 2002, p. 310-11).

**Mindful Inquiry and Appreciative Inquiry.** An essential component of my methods approach also included complementary processes called *Mindful Inquiry (MI)* and *Appreciative Inquiry (AI)*. I intentionally selected the AI approach in tandem with MI as a complementary pairing. AI is strengthened by MI through applying a mind of clarity and without getting stuck in the resistance to overcome the "what is going wrong" as detailed in the women's stories.

First, mindful inquiry (MI) combines the Buddhist concept of mindfulness with phenomenology, critical theory, and hermeneutics in a process that puts the inquirer in the center" (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 171). In my study, it is a technique to apply a more focused awareness of not only self-reflexivity, but also the political and social acculturation of how we formed our knowing.

In my research, MI is best explained by citing Bentz and Shapiro's (1998) leading article on this approach and follows their thirteen philosophical assumptions:

1. Awareness of self and reality and their interaction is a positive value in itself and should be present in research processes.
2. Tolerating and integrating multiple perspectives is a value.
3. It is important to bracket our assumptions and look at the often unaware, deep layers of consciousness and unconsciousness that underlie them.
4. Human existence, as well as research, is an ongoing process of interpreting both one's self and others, including other cultures and subcultures.
5. All research involves both accepting bias—the bias of one's own situation and context—and trying to transcend it.
6. We are always immersed in and shaped by historical, social, economic, political, and cultural structures and constraints, and those structures and constraints usually have domination and oppression, and therefore suffering, built into them.
7. Knowing involves caring for the world and the human life that one studies.
8. The elimination or diminution of suffering is an important goal of or value accompanying inquiry and often involves critical judgment about how much suffering is required by existing arrangements.
9. Inquiry often involves the critique of existing values, social and personal illusions, and harmful practices and institutions.
10. Inquiry should contribute to the development of awareness and self-reflection in the inquirer and may contribute to the development of spirituality.
11. Inquiry usually requires giving up ego or transcending self, even though it is grounded in self and requires intensified self-awareness.
12. Inquiry may contribute to social action and be part of social action.
13. The development of awareness is not a purely intellectual or cognitive process but part of a person's total way of living her life (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, pp. 6-7).

Second, MI is based on four concepts described by Bentz and Shapiro (1998) which I have adapted to fit my study:

- Phenomenology: a description and analysis of consciousness and experience;

- Hermeneutics: analysis and interpretation of testimony in context;
- Critical Social Theory: analysis of domination and oppressive constructs with a view to changing the perpetuation therefrom; and
- Buddhism: which allows one to be free from delusions and offers mental clarity through meditation practice (p.6).

In Figure 2, Nagata (2003) offers a graphic representation of Bentz and Shapiro’s (1998) four concepts which helps illustrate the mindful inquiry process which directed my research analysis (p. 26).

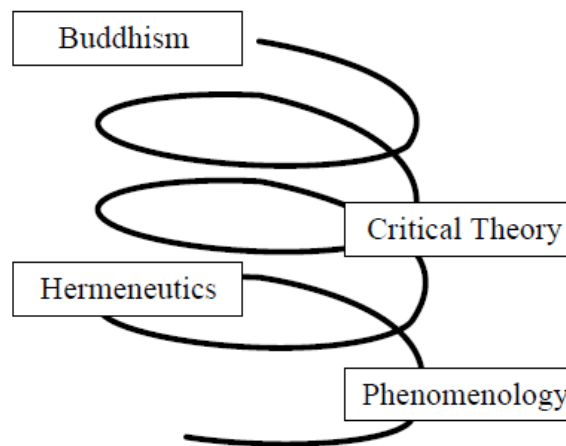


Figure 2 – The spiral of mindful inquiry

Nagata (2003) drew the spiral by hand representing, “...to emphasize the free flowing nature of this process” (p. 26). From the free flow, I realized the importance of this spiral movement, of returning over and over to similar situations, thoughts and feelings with the intention of finding new discoveries and insights in order to progress to a new understanding. Through mindful inquiry practices, I could bring present awareness to my study tasks as I moved through the spiral. Beginning at the bottom of the spiral in the process of *phenomenology*, I brought in awareness of my own assumptions – my experiences and lived reality - and described

them through mindful journaling. I drew on the next level, *hermeneutics*, for my interpretation of the texts and video footage to examine them within the context of my study. Spiraling upwards to the third level, *critical theory* point, offered me insight into my own power and privilege acculturated as a European-American woman with the freedom and access to gain a role in peacebuilding leadership. This point prompted me to empathize with the shared struggles, and have compassion for, these women's lived experiences. Following the labels to the very top of the spiral, I realized more intuitive, spiritual meanings in the *Buddhism* philosophy through meditation practices. This offered me reflective insights into my own positionality in my study and I could connect with my own mental clarity through meditative equipoise. I felt a greater sense of connection with my inner wisdom from this greater clarity. Through the process of MI, my researcher perspective moved to greater clarity through this spiral and contributed to meaning making at all of its levels. The spiral was dynamic in my research and deepened my own experiences with the women's stories and also offered me clarity and wisdom insights from my own positionality within and throughout the study.

This aspect of my research also contributes to promoting the integrity of women's voices as represented by my participants. This deeper analysis is designed to unveil previously hidden layers of language and social acculturation that may further perpetuate oppressive powers. As Nagata (2003) experienced in applying MI in his research, "The methodology of MI helped me first to become aware of bias, and then work to transcend it" (p. 32).

Finally, in the context of my research, Buddhism is intended to serve as a philosophy and not convey religion, rather a spiritual, secular mental set of practices. The practices in my study design are intended to closely and critically examine my mind's bias, attachments, and socialization and acculturation in a larger societal and global context in relationship with my four

participants and their orientation and my potential bias as their research analyst. My adaption of MI in my research approach included, but not limited to, three primary applied mindful techniques; 1) mindful eating, 2) mindful meditation, 3) mindful reading, listening, interpretation and analysis, and writing, and 3) mindful reflection. During mindful eating, I would eat quietly and reflectively at least one meal per day. During mindful meditation, I would sit in either a chair or meditation cushion for at least thirty minutes a day. I included a short mindful meditation before I began my daily reading, listening, interpretation and analysis, and writing. I created and recited this meditation:

*I breathe in clarity, focus, and inner peace.*

*I breathe out distractions, attachments, and mental confusion.*

*I honor myself and my participants.*

*I ask for clarity to receive information from reading, listening, interpretation and analysis, and writing intelligence, truth, love, and wisdom to express written information with intelligence, truth, love, and wisdom.*

This practice helped me maintain an intentional focus and concentration on my reading, listening, interpretation and analysis, and writing. Mindful reflection guided my research journaling and I maintained a hand-written journal practice throughout my dissertation process taking me through the spiral concepts in Figure 2 (above) at each stage of my research. I especially heightened my mindful reflection practices during my data collection and analysis sessions. Finally, during my dissertation process, I participated in three 3-day long personal retreats at Shambhala Mountain Center during my testimony reading and listening and for my in-depth data analysis. This quiet setting supported my deeper concentration and understanding of my study.

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) in organizational leadership research offers a positive approach to complement positive psychology (Aspinwall & Staudinger, 2003; Seligman, 2002; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2002). In my study, in order to focus on the



positive approaches and resultant outcomes from the study participant's experiences, I employed AI as a tool to analyze my data. AI focuses on "...what is going right and moves toward it, understanding that in the forward movement toward the ideal the greatest value comes from embracing what works" (Watkins & Mohr, 2001, p. 11).

The AI approach, which was developed in the 1980s, is a cycle of inquiry geared toward overcoming negative states resultant from expending a disproportionate amount of energy on the nature of a problem versus a solutions-oriented focus (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987).

Understanding AI is a hopeful approach to research aimed at uncovering the positive aspects of change. It includes a systems approach to problem-solving by identifying long-term, sustainable solutions for overcoming obstacles (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

Although most commonly described as a methodology, AI has been understood as a dynamic process and applied research theory, and grounded in social constructionism theory (Watkins & Mohr, 2001). "Appreciative inquiry aims to create a realm of possibility and vision among participants for a collectively desired future, and translate those possibilities into action and practice through positively changing people's attitudes about their situation" (Eddins, 2013, p. 88). The objective of AI is to unveil and magnify strengths, hopes, and dreams that already exist in order to influence positive change.

The process of AI is graphically represented in a 4-D cycle in Figure 3 below, which is a continual loop process, and the four D's stand for dynamic phases; 1) Discovery, 2) Dream, 3) Design, and 4) Destiny or Delivery (Finegold, Holland, & Lingham, 2002).

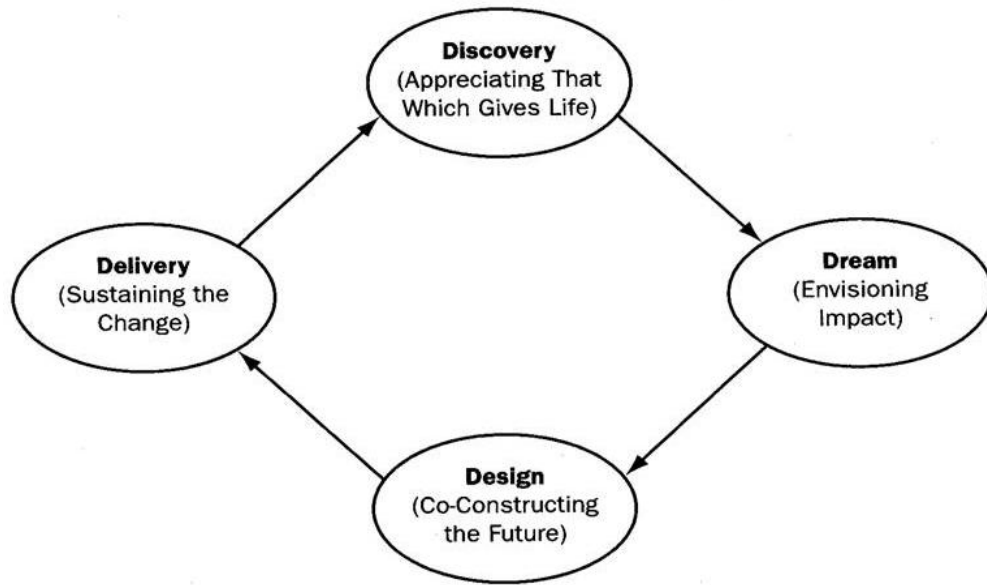


Figure 3 – Appreciative inquiry 4-D cycle

In my research context of international peacebuilding, the Discovery stage is where an organization uncovers strengths, assets, and best practices to offer insights into what indicators contributed to successful outcomes (Finegold et al., 2002). Dream is the second phase where an analysis of desired outcomes helps an organization gain a peacebuilding vision. In this phase, the four women leaders explore hopes and dreams as a practical and generative process of vision and possibility (Whitney & Trosten-Bloom, 2003). The third phase, Design, focuses on action to help realize the first phase vision of possibility. In the final phase, Destiny or Delivery, organizational change is implemented (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

While all four of the participants' stories are conveyed with numerous examples of human atrocity, social injustice and civil unrest, they all respond with a hopeful and positive

response for change. The relevance of AI in the development of these women's stories is pivotal in my research. My approach to data analysis follows the 4-D process continuum and moves the four women leader's life experiences and commitment to change from one of weakness to one of strength. "Appreciative inquiry is an opportunity centric methodology that focuses first on shifting the fundamental conceptions about community norms toward a consideration of the extraordinary" (Boyd & Bright, 2007, p. 1025). The AI and MI is an important pairing to highlight which elements in the case studies are worthy of being forwarded for successful outcomes to advance women in peacebuilding leadership roles.

### **Participants**

**Sampling.** Participants were selected using *purposeful sampling*. "The logic and power of purposeful sampling...leads to selecting *information-rich cases* for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of research..." (Patton, 2002, p. 46). I selected these four women based on their status first as Nobel Peace Prize laureates and second as "living" prize winners. They were not participants in the traditional sense as I have not met them nor was I required to seek their permission for study. Rather, I received a formal written determination from CSU's Institutional Review Board (IRB) that this study is not under the IRB purview for research with human subjects (see Appendix A for CSU's IRB written determination). My dissertation committee agreed that due to the public prominence of the selected participants as Nobel Peace Prize winners, there was plentiful testimony both from their autobiographies and biographies, and from their on-line testimony through publicly televised speaking engagements and video interviews. My dissertation committee also concurred that while it might be interesting to

interview the four women – were I fortunate enough to actually do so – it would be unlikely that interviews would reveal any substantive content beyond the accessible, existing testimony. I also selected these four women specifically because they represented diverse geographical parts of the world with unique cultures and political systems. Selected participants also met the following criteria:

- 1) Nobel Peace Prize Winners
  - a. Women
  - b. Living
  - c. Award in different years
  - d. Represent developing countries
  
- 2) Women Leaders who:
  - a. Promote peace and democracy
  - b. Are politically active
  - c. Hold publically prominent positions
  - d. Engage in furthering social justice and human rights
  - e. Represent their country of origin

Information about the four participants included in my study, and the respective countries they represent, is provided below:

1. The Nobel Peace Prize 1991  
Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma (Myanmar) (46 years old when awarded)  
"for her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights"
  
2. The Nobel Peace Prize 1992  
Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Guatemala (33 years old when awarded)  
"in recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation based on respect for the rights of indigenous peoples"
  
3. The Nobel Peace Prize 2003  
Shirin Ebadi, Liberia (46 years old when awarded)  
"for her efforts for democracy and human rights. She has focused especially on the struggle for the rights of women and children"
  
4. The Nobel Peace Prize 2011  
Leymah Gbowee, Liberia (39 years old when awarded)

"for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work" (Nobel Peace Prize Foundation, [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/lists/women.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/lists/women.html)).

### **Data Collection Methods**

Autobiographical and biographical documents and on-line testimony are the primary sources of my data collection. The five texts (*Rigoberta Menchú* published two volumes) included in the data collection were: 1) *The Voice of Hope*, by Aung San Suu Kyi; 2) *I, Rigoberta Menchú, An Indian Woman in Guatemala* by Rigoberta Menchú; 3) *Crossing Borders*, by Rigoberta Menchú; 4) *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope*, by Shirin Ebadi; and, 5) *Mighty be Our Powers*, by Leymah Gbowee.

Whether documents are public or private, official or personal, written testimony is presented for specific purposes. In my research cases, the additional fact that they are expressed by Nobel laureates offers unique and rare insights into their stories. "Autobiographical and biographical literature is essential for research on persons or events distinguished by their relative rarity as is the case with Nobel laureates" (Shavinina, 2004, p. 244).

Hodder (2000) states that a document is "a form of artifact produced under certain material conditions ... embedded within social and ideological systems" (p. 704). Hodder (2000) furthers, "... meaning does not reside in a text but in the writing and reading of it. As the text is re-read in different contexts it is given new meanings, often contradictory and always socially embedded" (p. 704). These aspects of the nature of documents allow me to analyze and interpret many layers of meaning from them.

On-line testimony from videotaped presentations, public meetings, Nobel Peace Prize speech transcripts, and select interviews were reviewed (see Appendix B for on-line resources

table). Three independent sources from the larger body of on-line testimony were selected as research data for each participant and assessed to complement the autobiographies and biographies.

From the books, I used loose-leaf paper and hand-wrote notes from each page as I read them using the mindful inquiry. I transcribed or printed web accessible transcripts all of video footage and saved them in electronic Word files. I watched each video two times to write the words exactly as spoken.

These additional data served a three-fold purpose by; 1) offering clarification for book reading content, where needed, 2) extending understanding beyond the timeline and context of the autobiographies and biographies, and 3) contributing to data triangulation or crystallization. This additional step in my socially constructed data collection and analysis contributes to research credibility (Creswell, 2009; Glesne, 2011; Merriam, 1998).

### **Researcher Reflexivity**

I used daily *reflexivity* when engaged in my dissertation research which Glesne (2011) explains as the process of critical self-reflection in the construction of the research when the self is the researcher. “The human-as-instrument can sense and respond to all personal and environmental cues that exist” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 193). Using personal journaling, I made daily written journal entries when I worked on my research to explore my emotions, positionality, and how I might be interacting and/or contributing to my study. My goal was to bring full awareness and transparency to my work by understanding my “...actions, reactions, and interactions with research participants and to what you are learning and what you may be keeping yourself from learning or perceiving” (Glesne, 2011, p. 154).

Additionally, I employed ongoing peer researcher debriefs with my dissertation committee members. Acknowledging the subjective nature of qualitative research, *reflexivity* is inherent in my process and I am as explicit as possible about personal and interpersonal dynamics as the co-constructor of my research (Glesne, 2011; Hennink et al.; Hunter & Bailey, 2011; Merriam, 2002).

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis included the specific process and qualitative methodological protocol of reading, listening, organizing, reviewing, coding, evaluating emergent themes and patterns, and naming them (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2002; Yin, 2014). Principles included in my study which informed my data analysis included mindfulness practices, appreciative inquiry, critical literacy theory and critical feminist theory. These lenses were interwoven at all stages of my data analysis.

Coding was guided by my research questions and looked for indicators of; 1) how international peacebuilding is informed by women's voices, 2) how women's reported experiences advanced international peacebuilding, and 3) what political and social strategies women leaders employed while advancing international peacebuilding. For ease of analysis from a personal preference, I hand coded my data and used post-it notes to attach themes across my notes. I maintained an electronic Word file of themes and inserted representative text from each set of data by author/participant to more carefully analyze my data. I combined themes where there was a good fit and if they were related closely enough to maintain the integrity of the meaning of the testimony. I bounded my study by limiting each individual case study to two themes and limited the cross-case analysis by four themes. The selected themes to showcase

emerged as the most prominent from the data sets. The testimony from the books and the collection of on-line testimony were “on message”, which is a political strategy to maintain consistent speaking points across all settings to heighten impact. After reading their autobiographies and biographies and reviewing approximately ten hours of video testimony on each laureate, I found their messages consistent across time, audiences, and venues regardless of which country they are speaking in. I easily reached saturation of data after reviewing just a few hours of video footage, for instance, as the speaking points and themes did not change from one presentation to the next. This was true across the decades and changing political circumstances over time as well. Thus, my analysis revealed overarching themes congruent with the consistency of the bulk of the data.

Integral to qualitative research and case study research is an important step in data interpretation. This contributes to *meaning making* in the context of this study as a co-constructed enterprise (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Data interpretation followed the emergent nature of qualitative methods, “...involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study” (Creswell, 2009, p. 184).

I analyzed each individual case study first, followed by a cross-analysis of all four. I applied the MI process in my analysis detailed on pages 34-37 by drawing in the four concepts at each stage. Additionally, the Appreciative Inquiry 4-D cycle was overlaid onto the data with a lens of focusing on solutions-oriented, strengths, hopes, and dreams, thereby presenting a deeper level of analysis congruent with the AI approach. I looked for testimony that was an appropriate fit underneath each heading as another layer of coding after the research questions indicators had been labeled. This layered approach of data analysis reinforces the attention on the positive aspects and outcomes of their stories to espouse advancing peacebuilding leadership.



## **Findings Presentation Format**

Findings were analyzed for patterns and themes both within and between participants and presented in narrative form from their own words and from the overlay of the AI model. As a multiple-case study, the single case findings are first presented individually as four separate chapters. The individual chapters are each uniquely organized, following the presentation style and specific data results coded for each case. Preceding the data presentation for each individual case is a table chronologically listing significant events specific to each participant.

From the voluminous amount of data compiled, I selected the two most prominent themes for each individual case study to set study boundaries. For the individual case studies, the two themes were unique to each participant. In the cross-case study, which looked across all four women participants, I selected four of the most prominent themes which I constructed from my analysis. Select testimony is presented in long, uninterrupted excerpts. These are intentionally presented to maintain the integrity of participant voice.

The first four chapters are followed by a final cross-case analysis chapter and findings. This final chapter presents major themes and patterns from the data that are found across all of the case studies or rationale for why one or more of the cases may differ from the rest. It serves as a final synthesis from all the data and is intended to serve as a summary chapter for the study.

## **Study Limitations**

The use of autobiographical and biographical accounts may be viewed by traditional researchers as subjective and limited in offering other views in the understanding of events. However, despite such limitations, scholars in the field of creativity view the use of self-report as an important tool for understanding a high level of thinking from their individual perspective

(John-Steiner, 1985; Shavinina, 2004). The importance of inviting individual women's voice in peacebuilding leadership is important for two reasons; 1) to challenge roles of dominant power in research constructs which have historically not included women's voices, and 2) there are still so few women in these peacebuilding leadership roles - only fourteen women total and nine living - Nobel Peace Prize laureates. Thus, understanding each one individually is of utmost importance to identify which shared commonalities from each successfully contribute to building a field of comprehensive research on positive peacebuilding from women leaders.

### **Trustworthiness**

**Internal Validity.** In Merriam's (1998) *Qualitative Research and Case Studies Applications in Education*, she lists six strategies to *enhance internal validity* (p. 204-205). Merriam attributes her own research experience and credits the body of qualitative research of literature in presenting these six basic strategies. I employed four of the six in my research design. First, I used *triangulation* by including multiple sources of participant testimony in my study including autobiographies, biographies, on-line interviews and presentations. Second, I studied data over multiple decades for each participant – *gathering data representing a long period of time*. Third, I invited *peer examination* by having two experts in the field of peace studies and women's studies review and comment on my findings. I also attempted to secure expertise from the Nobel Foundation to be on my peer examination team, and they responded that they do not serve in that capacity (see Appendix C for correspondence with the Nobel Foundation). Finally, I offered a section in my dissertation *clarifying researcher assumptions, worldview, and theoretical orientation at the outset of the study*. I did not employ Merriam's

other two strategies - *member checks* and *participatory or collaborative modes of research* - since I did not access the participants in my study.

**Reliability.** Merriam (2001) asserts that reliability is problematic in the social sciences since humans and their experiences are not static. In the traditional sciences “Reliability in a research design is based on the assumption that there is a single reality and that studying it repeatedly will yield the same results” (Merriam, 2001, p. 205). However, in qualitative research “...researchers seek to describe and explain the world as those in the world experience it. Since there are many interpretations of what is happening, there is no benchmark by which to take repeated measures and establish reliability in the traditional sense” (Merriam, 2001, p. 205). Lincoln and Guba (1985) affirm this by inviting a redefinition of reliability in qualitative methods and even supplanting the word “reliable” with “dependability” or “consistency” (p. 288).

Thus, I followed the three techniques suggested by Merriam (1998) to ensure that my “...results are *consistent* with the data collected” (p. 206). First, I explained my assumptions and theory behind my study as *the investigator’s position, the basis for selecting informants and a description...and social context from which the data were collected*. Second, *triangulation*, I utilized multiple sources for my data collection. Finally, third, I described how my data were collected and categorized my sources and named the prominent, emergent themes.

My study does not claim generalizability. Rather, there were enough data sources to satisfy data saturation and see repeating themes within the data over the many hours of on-line testimony viewed and pages of documents read. Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain how to meet this important criteria of saturation in qualitative data collection in reaching “...*saturation of*

*categories* (continuing data collection produces tiny increments of new information in comparison to the effort expended to get them)” (p. 350). Meeting these saturation criteria enables another researcher to answer the research questions introduced at the outset of my study using the same approach to realize *consistent and dependable* outcomes (Merriam, 1998, p. 206).

Finally, in furthering the deconstructionism and re-constructionism in my study’s investigation through the application of critical feminist theory, I must be willing to take a risk by applying new research construction. I have designed my study to transcend the embedded rules of accepted traditional social construction and included methods that will be more inclusive of women’s voices (Anderlini, 2007; hooks, 2000; Lather, 1986). I am creating what Lather (1986) names “re-conceptualizing” to unseat established dominant constructs for research. Thus, my MI approach throughout my research is of utmost importance in this study to showcase a new way to convey wisdom in academic research from a more feminist lens. Both validity and reliability are strengthened by understanding that my participants are renowned world leaders who are speaking from their truths and dependable from their decades-long, highly visible actions on advancing international peacebuilding.

## CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

### **Case Study Findings**

The case study findings are presented below, providing an individual case study for each Nobel Peace Prize laureate followed by a cross-case analysis. The individual case studies begin with a short background on the laureate's country of origin to offer an historical perspective in table format. Two primary themes were selected from patterns across the data and are uniquely presented for each individual case study. The narrowing of the thematic analysis to two themes bounded the study to showcase the most prominent themes and applicability in addressing the study's research questions and goals. Each case study differs slightly offering the unique qualities of the woman's voice and lived experiences.

The cross-case analysis focused on four primary themes from the collective data, which all of the women had in common. These four themes were also selected respective to their prominence and application to the study's scope; 1) having access, power, and a platform as Nobel Peace Prize laureates, 2) social justice identity construction, 3) non-violent action, and 4) promoting a strategy of hope. Short and long excerpts are presented as representative testimony from each woman to showcase the cross-cutting commonalities characterizing the themes.

The research questions are not presented individually under each sub-heading, rather the testimony aligns with the thematic construct which stemmed from the questions. Consistent with the rest of this report, all of the testimonial data is presented in the same chronological order of the years the women received their Nobel Peace Prizes (NPP) from earliest to most current. The testimony is rich and thick in order to preserve the women's voices and maintain the integrity of their intended messages.

My expert member checker for this section was Dr. Maricela DeMirjyn, Assistant Professor, Colorado State University (CSU) and an Affiliated Faculty with the Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research. In her scholarly work, Dr. Demirjyn is interested in intersectionality and identity construction, particularly as experienced by Chicana and Latina populations. As an Executive Board Member of CSU's Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research and the President's Commission on Women and Gender Equity, her dedication to fields of inquiry supporting women and gender studies, as well as administrative leadership, is continual. Here is her feedback from November 22, 2013 on a previous draft that I asked her to review:

The only useful advice that I might provide is for you to monitor your assumptions regarding how someone sounds or how you perceive them unless you are including yourself somewhere in the overall study as a participant somehow, such as a practitioner of Buddhism & are using an autoethnographic lens. I also think that in general, you are relying on your readers to be on the same page with you in their understandings of the excerpts you use, so my advice would be to unpack them more. For example, break apart the story by Gbowee into sections and directly point out separate strategies and why *you* think they promote peace building. Hope this helps. Your work is interesting and I loved reading about the 4 women you selected (Demirjyn, 2013).

I made revisions in accordance with her comments from our complete correspondence (see Appendix D for written correspondence with Dr. Maricela Demirjyn). The revisions were made from a previous draft and presented in final form throughout all four of the following independent case studies.

The next section presents the individual case studies of Aung San Suu Kyi, Rigoberta Menchú, Shirin Ebadi, and Leymah Gbowee.

## Individual Case Study Findings: Aung San Suu Kyi



1991 Nobel Peace laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, gives a speech to supporters at Hlaing Thar Yar Township in Yangon, Myanmar

Creative Commons Permission

Author: Htoo Yayzar

Photo taken: November 17, 2001

## **Aung San Suu Kyi Individual Findings**

Aung San Suu Kyi (Suu Kyi) was born on June 19, 1945 in Rangoon (Yangon), Burma (Myanmar). Her father was Aung San, commander of the Burma Independence Army who helped negotiate Burma's independence from Britain. He was assassinated on July 19, 1947. Her mother, Ma Khin Kyi, was a diplomat and later an ambassador to India. Suu Kyi was married to Michael Aris from 1972 until his death in 1999 and they had two sons together, Kim (Burmese name: Htein Lin) in 1977 and Alexander (Burmese name: Myint San Aung) in 1973. Aung San Suu Kyi was raised in Myanmar and India, but moved to England in the 1960s where she was educated at St. Hughes College, Oxford University, earning a Bachelor of Arts in philosophy, politics and economics, in 1967. She has a strong Buddhist spiritual background and practice (Suu Kyi, 2008).

In 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi returned to Burma, and discovered widespread political unrest resulting from the brutal dictator, U Ne Win. Suu Kyi initiated a politically organized, non-violent movement toward achieving democracy and human rights. In 1989, the government placed Suu Kyi under house arrest and she spent 15 of the next 21 years in custody. From house arrest, she continued to work tirelessly on behalf of her country on furthering democracy and human rights. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991 and was not officially released from house arrest until November 2010. Finally, in 2012 she makes her acceptance speech for her Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway.

**Table 1 - Significant Events for Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma (also called Myanmar)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>June 19, 1945</b>	Birth
<b>1964</b>	Moves to England to study at Oxford University.
<b>1969-1971</b>	Works in the United Nations in New York as assistant secretary for the



<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.
<b>1985-1986</b>	Is a visiting scholar at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan.
<b>1987</b>	Is a fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies in Simla, India.
<b>April 1988</b>	Returns to Myanmar when her mother suffers a severe stroke.
<b>August 15, 1988</b>	Sends public letter to the military-controlled government, asking for multiparty elections.
<b>August 26, 1988</b>	In her first public address, outside the Shwedagon Pagoda, calls for a multiparty democratic government.
<b>September 24, 1988</b>	Co-founds the National League for Democracy (NLD), a party dedicated to nonviolence and civil disobedience, and appointed general secretary.
<b>July 20, 1989</b>	Is placed under house arrest for charges of trying to divide the military; charges she denies.
<b>May 27, 1990</b>	Her party, the NLD, wins more than 80% of the legislative seats, but the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) does not recognize the election results.
<b>July 10, 1991</b>	Wins the Sakharov human rights prize from the European Parliament.
<b>October 14, 1991</b>	Wins the Nobel Peace Prize "for her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights" and is unable to officially receive the award.
<b>July 10, 1995</b>	Is released from house arrest, but her political activity is restricted.
<b>September 23, 2000</b>	Is again placed under house arrest.
<b>December 6, 2000</b>	Is awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in absentia by President Clinton.
<b>May 6, 2002</b>	Is released from house arrest.
<b>May 30, 2003</b>	Her motorcade is attacked by a pro-government mob in Myanmar and she is held by the military and later placed under house arrest.
<b>2004 - 2007</b>	House arrest is extended for another year each year.
<b>May 6, 2008</b>	U.S. President George W. Bush signs legislation awarding a Congressional Gold Medal in absentia to Suu Kyi.
<b>May 27, 2008</b>	The government extends her house arrest for another year.
<b>May 14, 2009</b>	Suu Kyi is arrested and charged with violating the terms of her house arrest. This is in response to an incident earlier in the month, when American John Yettaw swam uninvited to Suu Kyi's lakeside house. If convicted she faces up to five years in prison.
<b>May 18, 2009</b>	Suu Kyi's trial on charges of government subversion begins.
<b>August 11, 2009</b>	Suu Kyi is found guilty of violating the terms of her house arrest and sentenced to 18 more months of home confinement.
<b>May 7, 2010</b>	The NLD refuses to register for the election, thereby disqualifying itself as a political party and officially dissolves.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>May 10, 2010</b>	Meets with US Assistant Secretary of State Kurt Campbell for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at her home.
<b>November 13, 2010</b>	Suu Kyi is released from house arrest. She has spent 15 of the last 21 years under house arrest.
<b>November 15, 2010</b>	Speaking from NLD headquarters Suu Kyi pledges to keep working toward restoring democracy and improving human rights in Myanmar.
<b>January 28, 2011</b>	Suu Kyi's recorded message is played at the World Economic Forum in Switzerland, in which she stresses the need for Myanmar to re-establish ties with the rest of the world.
<b>November 18, 2011</b>	Suu Kyi announces NLD participation in the next elections and that it planned to re-register as a political party and participate in all future parliamentary elections.
<b>December 13, 2011</b>	The NLD is granted permission to register for future elections in Myanmar.
<b>January 18, 2012</b>	Registers to run for a parliamentary seat.
<b>April 1, 2012</b>	Wins a seat in parliament in Myanmar's first multiparty elections since 1990.
<b>May 2, 2012</b>	Along with 33 other newly elected members of her party, the NLD, Suu Kyi takes the oath of office for Myanmar's parliament, resolving an impasse over the oath's wording that had been preventing her from taking her seat in the legislature.
<b>May 29, 2012</b>	Makes history by stepping on foreign soil for the first time in more than two decades when she arrives in Bangkok, Thailand.
<b>June 1, 2012</b>	Suu Kyi speaks at the World Economic Forum on East Asia.
<b>June 16, 2012</b>	Finally, delivers her acceptance speech for her 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, in Oslo, Norway.
<b>June 21, 2012</b>	Addresses both houses of the British parliament.
<b>September 19, 2012</b>	Suu Kyi accepts the Congressional Gold Medal in Washington, D.C. She later meets with President Barack Obama.
<b>November 19, 2012</b>	As the first visit by a U.S. sitting President, Obama meets Suu Kyi in Myanmar at the residence where she spent years under house arrest.

Source (adapted from): <http://www.cnn.com/2013/01/18/world/asia/aung-san-suu-kyi-fast-facts/>

Suu Kyi's 2012 speaking tour in the United States elevated her position to one of international fame. Her many public talks and interviews made her headline news throughout the world. Her message was always surprisingly simple and always consistent, "Human rights

should be for all human beings. The fact that you start by recognizing the basic dignity of every single human being is the right way to approach human rights” (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 42). Her voice is confident and powerful and she appears unflappable in all public settings. The two primary themes, which emerged as the most prominent from the data, to present Suu Kyi’s case study as an international peacebuilder are 1) her Buddhist identity, and 2) her promotion of human rights and democracy.

**Buddhist Identity.** Suu Kyi (2012) speaks openly about her Buddhist identity and draws from the teachings in her presentations and writing in furthering her human rights and democracy-building actions.

A positive aspect of living in isolation was that I had ample time in which to ruminate over the meaning of words and precepts that I had known and accepted all my life. As a Buddhist, I had heard about dukha, generally translated as suffering, since I was a small child. Almost on a daily basis elderly, and sometimes not so elderly, people around me would murmur “dukha, dukha” when they suffered from aches and pains or when they met with some small, annoying mishaps. However, it was only during my years of house arrest that I got around to investigating the nature of the six great dukha. These are: to be conceived, to age, to sicken, to die, to be parted from those one loves, to be forced to live in propinquity with those one does not love. I examined each of the six great sufferings, not in a religious context but in the context of our ordinary, everyday lives. If suffering were an unavoidable part of our existence, we should try to alleviate it as far as possible in practical, earthly ways... I was particularly intrigued by the last two kinds of suffering: to be parted from those one loves and to be forced to live in propinquity with those one does not love. What experiences might our Lord Buddha have undergone in his own life that he had included these two states among the great sufferings? I thought of prisoners and refugees, of migrant workers and victims of human trafficking, of that great mass of the uprooted of the earth who have been torn away from their homes, parted from families and friends, forced to live out their lives among strangers who are not always welcoming. We are fortunate to be living in an age when social welfare and humanitarian assistance are recognized not only as desirable but necessary. I am fortunate to be living in an age when the fate of prisoners of conscience anywhere has become the concern of peoples everywhere, an age when democracy and human rights are widely, even if not universally, accepted as the birthright of all (Nobel Lecture, para. 10).

During her house arrest, Suu Kyi deepened her contemplation on the suffering of others. Her insight in recognizing that democracy and human rights is a universal right shows her deep understanding of international attention to inhumane human practices. She attributes her reflection on “*dukha*”, suffering, from her childhood upbringing as a Buddhist. In Brantmeier’s (2011) stages of peacebuilding, this testimony showcases the fifth stage of *reflection* and *re-engagement*. Suu Kyi pauses to reframe her own orientation to help remind other people in Burma about the personal role in overcoming suffering to promote human rights for all people.

Also, from her Buddhist perspective, she offers a definition for peace that she believes is held in the Burmese culture;

The Burmese concept of peace can be explained as the happiness arising from the cessation of factors that militate against the harmonious and the wholesome. The word *nyein-chan* translates literally as the beneficial coolness that comes when a fire is extinguished. Fires of suffering and strife are raging around the world. In my own country, hostilities have not ceased in the far north; to the west, communal violence resulting in arson and murder were taking place just several days before I started out on the journey that has brought me here today. News of atrocities in other reaches of the earth abound. Reports of hunger, disease, displacement, joblessness, poverty, injustice, discrimination, prejudice, bigotry; these are our daily fare. Everywhere there are negative forces eating away at the foundations of peace. Everywhere can be found thoughtless dissipation of material and human resources that are necessary for the conservation of harmony and happiness in our world (Suu Kyi, 2012, Nobel Lecture, para. 7).

Suu Kyi explains the Burmese concept of peace by applying a Buddhist metaphor – “the beneficial coolness that comes when a fire is extinguished.” She asserts that there needs to be a “cessation of factors that militate against the harmonious and the wholesome.” Again, she recognizes the wide-reaching atrocities in our world and the need for these to end in order to realize peace. In Buddhist practice, cultivating more virtuous states of mind are antidotes to negative states of minds.

Suu Kyi often uses the Buddhist teachings to engage audiences in feeling compassion for others and taking action from that position. Here is an example where Suu Kyi (2012) addresses a young adult audience at Amnesty International during her speaking tour:

So, the younger generation must go a step further. With every generation there should be improvement, so you must find out why there are political prisoners, why do people put away those who disagree with them, why are people afraid of disagreement, why are people afraid of things that are different from what they are and what they have known. If you can do that, then you can achieve amnesty for the whole world. An amnesty of the spirit. Where people are free because they are not shackled by fear (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 31).

She expresses the contradiction of Buddhist compassion and cruelty under military rule and asks why there was so much hatred and brutality. She answers her own pondering by challenging the audience to understand the root of the problem and act from that understanding:

I believe that the seed of hatred is fear...it's fear of something...if we look at the word phobia, it means irrational fear. It is also defined as intense dislike. These two are linked. It is fear that leads to dislike and hatred. So, what the young people must do is to try and eradicate fear. Unless you work at the root of hatred, you will not be able to get rid of hatred and unless you get rid of hatred, you will not be able to rid this world of political prisoners because prisoners become prisoners out of the fear of others. The others who fear that they will be trouble, that these prisoners will be people who challenge them , who will challenge their authority, who will be a threat to their position, who – by their very difference – will show them up in some way or another. So, this is the kind of torch I would like to pass onto you, not just to free political prisoners, but to free the minds of people who make political prisoners. So, this is a big task, but a simple one in some ways. If you know what your goal is, if your goal is very clear, then you will find a way of getting to it...Freeing up the minds that put people in prison. Please let that be your task for the next generation (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 31-33).

Suu Kyi explains that the root of dislike and hatred for one another is based in fear. She tasks the predominately young students to address their minds by freeing them of hatred and intense dislike. Suu Kyi calls on them to understand the connection between those who are political prisoners and those who make political prisoners and to help free all of their minds from hatred as a clear goal. She underscores the difficulty of her challenge to them by calling it a “big task.” This is a Buddhist practice on equanimity, or viewing all humans as equals.

Suu Kyi (2012) is determined to create a democratic society through non-violent means, which is also in alignment with Buddhist principles:

I think human rights and violence really do not go together. If you believe in human rights, you do not believe in violence. I do not understand people who think that violence is a legitimate way of defending human rights because by using violence, you are undermining the very foundation of human rights. So, I think that if you want to protect human rights, you should do it through your ability to resist violence at every stage of the way. Unless you can do that, you will not be upholding human rights in the long run. I do not believe that means and ends can be divorced. They are linked. The means that you use will affect the ends that you're working towards. And if the means are not right then the ends will be distorted. For those who wish to defend human rights. First of all, you have to be prepared to endure. Not so much to be able to move against others, but to stand against others and from this position of endurance, you can go on to do many, many things that you would not have thought was possible but once you start you will know it's possible (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 39.01).

Non-violence is central to Buddhism philosophy. Suu Kyi explains this with the logic of showing the contradiction of furthering human rights by means of violence. She appreciates that it may take more time to choose a non-violent path in upholding human rights and emphasizes the power of endurance with that understanding. A summary of the Buddhist theme characterized by Suu Kyi's case study shows a strong link to positive peace through non-violent language and her recognition of the universality of seeking holistic peace. The language she uses and points to for furthering human rights clearly demonstrates Brantmeier's stages of peacebuilding in applying a scaffold approach - from inner reflection to understanding universal human rights, to enacting legislation and the transparency and power of global news stories.

**Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy.** Throughout Suu Kyi's testimony, it is clear that she views promoting human rights and democracy as the key to peacebuilding. In her acceptance speech for her Nobel Peace Prize she says, "When the Nobel Committee awarded the Peace Prize to me they were recognizing that the oppressed and the isolated in Burma were also

a part of the world, they were recognizing the oneness of humanity. So for me receiving the Nobel Peace Prize means personally extending my concerns for democracy and human rights beyond national borders” (Nobel Lecture, 2012, para. 6).

Suu Kyi is a firm believer in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the primary international tool for promoting human rights:

How often during my years under house arrest have I drawn strength from my favourite passages in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: ...it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law...” (Nobel Lecture, 2012, para. 11-13)

If I am asked why I am fighting for human rights in Burma the above passages will provide the answer. If I am asked why I am fighting for democracy in Burma, it is because I believe that democratic institutions and practices are necessary for the guarantee of human rights (Nobel Lecture, 2012, para. 14).

I find it very dangerous when we are told that natural and cultural mores should be taken into consideration when determining what human rights are. We were told for many years that human rights and democracy were artificial, western imports and therefore had very little to do with the people of Burma. This is a way of denying us our basic human rights. For me, human rights is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...Human rights should be for all human beings. I do not think there’s anything in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is unacceptable to a decent human being. The fact that you start by recognizing the basic dignity of every single human being is the right way to approach human rights (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 41.47).

Suu Kyi emphasizes the importance of the exact language from the Declaration of Human Rights as flagship legislation for protecting all human rights. She links the need for democratic processes and rule of law to ensure these protections. Finally, she warns against governments trying to use natural or cultural mores to justify not applying the Declaration of Human Rights.

Suu Kyi and the Burmese National League for Democracy have fought for a legitimate legislative body to justly rule the country and links this argument with their human rights initiatives:

Rule of law in the sense of handling crimes as they should be handled. That is to say when a crime is committed, action must be taken in accordance with the fact that justice must not only be done but seen to be done...Rule of law must always be linked to human rights. Everybody's human rights must be sacrosanct...Then there's rule of law with regard to citizenship... Everybody in Burma must have the rights of a citizen in line with the citizenship laws, but we should go a step further and examine whether our citizenship laws are in line with international standards...If we can take simple, rule of law steps, then we can go on to the next stage of diffusing the tension and bringing harmony between the two communities...It's not going to be something that you can do overnight. Communal tensions have existed for decades (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 44.10).

Suu Kyi restates the importance of rule of law for all human rights and citizenship. Once again, she promotes the need to meet international standards that effectively protect human rights. This relates to Brantmeier's third stage of peacebuilding, *empowerment*, where specific legislation is written and enacted to ensure human rights. Finally, Suu Kyi's insights into the realities of Burma's communal tensions reflect her understanding of the complexity of enacting these steps.

Suu Kyi (2012) is also forward-looking and points to several positive steps in Burma which reveal democracy-building in action:

But I am convinced, I'm confident, that this can be resolved because over the last 20 years when my party, the National League for Democracy, was persecuted and oppressed by the military regime, our strongest and closest allies were ethnic nationality parties. They stood by us at a time when other Burmese parties did not dare to stand by us. So, we have known from experience that that unity can be achieved by understanding and through a determination (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 49.20).

The media has been liberalized over the last 15 months or so and that's made a great difference because there are now a lot of independent magazines and journals and their language is quite different from the language of the state newspapers. Now, I believe that they're going to allow private newspapers to be, non-government, non-state newspapers, to be brought out, daily newspapers, so I think because of the language of the "other" what I would call normal publications, the state newspapers will also be obliged to use a different set of words (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 58.30).

Transparency is very important and we want to make sure that the investment is what I call democracy friendly, human rights friendly. That is to say, that investment is aimed at meeting the needs of our people in a way which promotes democratic values and human



rights... Then we can make sure that we're going along the right path (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 1.01.49).

Suu Kyi emphasizes the importance of a free media and transparency as Burma furthers democracy building. She points to the changes in language having made a great difference in furthering transparency and creating a “democracy friendly, human rights friendly” country. This perspective speaks to Brantmeier’s fourth stage of peacebuilding, *transformative, engaged action*, and the importance of furthering positive peace language from critical literacy theory.

Finally, I could find no better closing paragraph summarizing Suu Kyi’s (2012) work than from her own words as she addresses the Norwegian Nobel Committee and special guests with her summary comments:

The Nobel Committee concluded its statement of 14 October 1991 with the words: “In awarding the Nobel Peace Prize ... to Aung San Suu Kyi, the Norwegian Nobel Committee wishes to honour this woman for her unflagging efforts and to show its support for the many people throughout the world who are striving to attain democracy, human rights and ethnic conciliation by peaceful means.” When I joined the democracy movement in Burma it never occurred to me that I might ever be the recipient of any prize or honour. The prize we were working for was a free, secure and just society where our people might be able to realize their full potential. The honour lay in our endeavour. History had given us the opportunity to give of our best for a cause in which we believed. When the Nobel Committee chose to honour me, the road I had chosen of my own free will became a less lonely path to follow. For this I thank the Committee, the people of Norway and peoples all over the world whose support has strengthened my faith in the common quest for peace. Thank you (Nobel Lecture, closing para.).

**Individual Case Study Findings: Rigoberta Menchú**



1992 Nobel Peace laureate, Rigoberta Menchú, at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City  
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Author: Edgar Zuniga Jr.  
Photo taken: January 15, 2009

### Individual Case Study Findings: Rigoberta Menchú

Rigoberta Menchú (Menchú) was born on January 9, 1959 of K'iche' descent in Chimel, Quiché Guatemala. She identifies herself as a Mayan woman and married mother with one son. She published two books; *I, Rigoberta Menchú* and *Crossing Borders*. The books positioned her as the Mayan leader working on behalf of the plight of Indigenous people in Guatemala and engaged the rest of the world in the fight against human rights injustice. Her father, mother, and brother were killed for their activist roles, on behalf of Guatemala's native villages, against greedy landowners and the Guatemalan military.

Menchú has spent her entire life fighting for human rights and served as a global spokeswoman for Indigenous rights. In 1992, at age 33, Menchú was the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and first from Mayan culture. Upon bestowing the Nobel Peace Prize honor on Menchú, the Nobel Committee declared, "Today, Rigoberta Menchú stands out as a vivid symbol of peace and reconciliation across ethnic, cultural and social dividing lines, in her own country on the American continent and in the world" (Norwegian Nobel Committee, 1992, para. 1).

**Table 2 - Significant Events for Rigoberta Menchú in Guatemalan History**

Date	Event
1821	Guatemala declares independence from Spain.
1847	Guatemala declares itself an independent republic after 25 years of being a part of the United Provinces of Central America.
1873	Justo Rufino Barrios becomes president and dictator of Guatemala until 1885. He and his successors institute forced labor, export agriculture, and the breakup of Maya communal lands.
1954	A CIA covert operation overthrew the government due to Cold War interests. Autocratic military rule ushered in 36 years of Civil War.
1959	January 9th Rigoberta Menchú Tum born in Chimel, Quiché, Guatemala.
1970	Military rulers systematically kill left-wingers, resulting in 50,000 deaths.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1979</b>	Her father was accused of murdering a local plantation owner and was kidnapped, tortured and jailed for 14 months.
<b>1979</b>	Menchú's younger brother was kidnapped, tortured and killed by the military death squad.
<b>1980</b>	Menchú helped organize the farm worker strike for better conditions.
<b>1981</b>	Menchú helped educate Maya peasants on techniques for resisting military oppression and participated in demonstrations in the capitol.
<b>1981</b>	Menchú fled Guatemala to Mexico.
<b>1982</b>	From Mexico Menchú joined international efforts and helped found The United Representation of the Guatemalan Opposition.
<b>1982</b>	Coup d'Etat – led to the eventual rise of Efraín Ríos Montt, who eventually annulled Guatemala's constitution and dismissed his junta colleagues who helped him gain power.
<b>1983</b>	Menchú published, <i>I Rigoberta Menchú, An Indian Woman in Guatemala</i> , which increased awareness throughout the world of the plight of the indigenous Mayan people in Guatemala.
<b>1985</b>	A new constitution was drafted and Vinicio Cerezo was elected President.
<b>1987</b>	Menchú narrated a powerful film called <i>When the Mountains Tremble</i> , about the struggles and sufferings of the Maya people.
<b>1991</b>	Menchú worked with the UN on the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.
<b>1992</b>	Menchú won the Nobel Peace Prize.
<b>1996</b>	End of civil war.
<b>1996</b>	The Guatemalan government signed the peace accords between the guerilla umbrella organization and the military, thanks part to the pressure from <i>I Rigoberta</i> .
<b>1999</b>	In the end, it is estimated that more than 200,000 people were murdered during the 36-year civil war, and 80% of those murders were committed by the military government; senior officials had overseen 626 massacres in Mayan villages.
<b>1999</b>	Menchú wanted the Guatemalan political and military establishment tried in a court of law and had it to take the case to the Spanish court to get heard.
<b>2005</b>	Investigators discovered more than 75 million pages of documents going back 100 years recording the human rights atrocities committed by the police against the peasants and guerilla insurgents.
<b>2006</b>	Menchú accepted President Óscar Berger's offer to help implement the country's peace accords and took on the role of goodwill ambassador.
<b>2006</b>	Menchú was one of the founders of the Nobel Women's Initiative alongside Nobel Peace Laureates Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, Wangari Maathai, Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan Maguire to further promote peace and justice.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>2007</b>	Menchú ran for president and placed 6th in election.
<b>2009</b>	Menchú creates the Indigenous-led political movement, WINAQ in Guatemala.
<b>2010</b>	Menchú invited by Minister of Education for Guatemala to assist with creation of peace curriculum for students.
<b>2011</b>	Menchú runs for president again, this time as the candidate for the WINAQ party. Several WINAQ candidates win their local seats.
<b>2011</b>	Retired General Otto Pérez Molina of the Patriotic Party won Guatemala presidential election; accused of committing atrocities against the Maya people during his time in the army; represented the military in the negotiations with guerrilla forces that led to the 1996 Peace Accords.
<b>2012</b>	Guatemala government exhumed mass grave in Coban, which served as Military Zone 21 during the years of the internal armed conflict from 1960-1996.
<b>2012</b>	20th Anniversary of Menchú winning the Nobel Peace Prize.
<b>2013</b>	Menchú's lawsuits helped culminate in Ríos Montt's landmark guilty verdict and 80-year sentence for his role in the killings of more than 1,700 Ixil Mayan people.

Source (adapted from):

[http://www.democracynow.org/2013/5/15/nobel\\_laureate\\_rigoberta\\_mench\\_hails\\_genocide](http://www.democracynow.org/2013/5/15/nobel_laureate_rigoberta_mench_hails_genocide)

Menchú's presentation reflects her strong conviction for the protection of human rights and identifies four tenets of justice including economic, social, cultural and political justice. In her language, she links peace and social justice with peace and democracy. These are all interrelated themes throughout her two autobiographies and her on-line testimony that are investigated throughout her case. The two primary themes I constructed from the emergent data that best support Menchú's case study as an international peacebuilder are; 1) her Mayan Identity, and 2) her work on behalf of Indigenous human rights.

**Mayan Identity.** When she was very young, Menchú viewed her role as a woman leader as an emergent phenomena although it countered the Mayan cultural traditions of her village. She viewed herself as equal to her male counterparts, though she very clearly understood the

gender roles and traditional delineations and differences in cultural roles. “We did everything together because there were no longer specific tasks for men and others for women...now,...anything, was all done communally” (Menchú, 2009, p. 152). “My life does not belong to me. I’ve decided to offer it to a cause” (Menchú, 2009, p. 228).

‘My child, we must organize. It’s not something I demand of you because I’m your mother. It’s your duty to put into practice what you know. The days of paternalism, of saying “poor girl, she doesn’t know anything” are over.’ My mother made no distinction between the men’s struggle and the women’s struggle. She said: ‘I don’t want to make you stop feeling a woman, but your participation in the struggle must be equal to that of your brothers’ (Menchú, 2009, p. 257).

When her mother told her this, it was a turning point for Menchú and she had insights into her shifting traditional female gender role to one of more equal status to her male counterparts in the family in furthering the needs of the Mayan culture as a whole. After that, throughout her experiences, Menchú did not give too much thought to her gender, but rather placed much greater emphasis on her identity as Mayan, and her testimony reflects that emphasis.

She also recalled how her father played a role in promoting her as an activist leader. She expresses how she held a very close relationship with her father who called upon her to fulfill the roles of a political activist to further the human rights causes for the Mayan people. “Children had to behave like grown-ups. We women had to play our part as women in the community, together with our parents, our brothers, our neighbors. We all had to unite, all of us together” (Menchú, 2009, p. 141). She taught herself Spanish as she recognized the importance of being able to communicate with the authorities who were imposing the oppression on her village. “My job was to organize people. I had to learn Spanish and to read and to write” (Menchú, 2009, p. 183). She reflected on being a woman and, in particular, as a Mayan and her cultural relationship with the earth as a role:

There is something important about women in Guatemala, especially Indian women, and that something is her relationship with the earth – between the earth and the mother. The earth gives food and the woman gives life. Because of this closeness the woman must keep this respect for the earth as a secret of her own. The relationship between the mother and the earth is like the relationship between husband and wife. There is a constant dialogue between the earth and the woman. This feeling is born in women because of the responsibilities they have, which men do not have (Menchú, 2009, p. 259).

In Smoker and Groff's (1996) six concepts of the evolution of peace, they place peace with the environment at the highest level of achievement. The connection Menchú describes that the Mayan women have with the earth is a form of this peace and is a value of the Mayan people.

Menchú also conveyed a deep understanding about her changing role as a young woman in response to the organized resistance her father led in opposition to the Guatemalan's military government and oppression of the Mayan village peasants.

I have a responsibility, I am in charge, and they must accept me for what I am. She recognized the challenges and faced them with conviction, "It doesn't mean you dominate a man, and you mustn't get any sense of satisfaction out of it. It's simply a question of principle. I have my job to do just like any other *campaño* (Menchú, 2009, p. 259-260).

Menchú's testimony reflects the progression of advancing gender equality from a basic rationale of community need and embedded in a very complex system of human interactions within the family and between the Mayans and Guatemala's militia. This rapidly emerging concept within the Mayan communities greatly contributes to their organizational strategies to resist the oppressive regime. The reason this theme is important to Menchú's case is that it shows the inter-community systems of holistic thinking and taking care of each other in community. Though, she doesn't expressly call it peace, she identifies with the earth through her Mayan culture and the respect for it and rather calls it a "struggle" with the regime to maintain the harmonious ways of the Mayan communities.

**Work on Behalf of Indigenous Human Rights.** Menchú repeatedly and consistently includes all indigenous people in her work to further human rights. Her introductory comments from her Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech exemplify this:

I consider this Prize, not as a reward to me personally, but rather as one of the greatest conquests in the struggle for peace, for Human Rights and for the rights of the indigenous people, who, for 500 years, have been split, fragmented, as well as the victims of genocides, repression and discrimination.

Please allow me to convey to you all, what this Prize means to me.

In my opinion, the Nobel Peace Prize calls upon us to act in accordance with what it represents, and the great significance it has worldwide. In addition to being a priceless treasure, it is an instrument with which to fight for peace, for justice, for the rights of those who suffer the abysmal economical, social, cultural and political inequalities, typical of the order of the world in which we live, and where the transformation into a new world based on the values of the human being, is the expectation of the majority of those who live on this planet.

This Nobel Prize represents a standard bearer that encourages us to continue denouncing the violation of Human Rights, committed against the people in Guatemala, in America and in the world, and to perform a positive role in respect of the pressing task in my country, which is to achieve peace with social justice.

The Nobel Prize is a symbol of peace, and of the efforts to build up a real democracy. It will stimulate the civil sectors so that through a solid national unity, these may contribute to the process of negotiations that seek peace, reflecting the general feeling - although at times not possible to express because of fear - of Guatemalan society: to establish political and legal grounds that will give irreversible impulses to a solution to what initiated the internal armed conflict (Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 1992, para. 4-6).

Since Menchú's community had no previous experience, and very little interaction with outsiders, the organizational development of their grassroots action was remarkable. "We began to understand that the root of all our problems was exploitation. That there were rich and poor and that the rich exploited the poor – our sweat our labour" (Menchú, 2009, p. 139). "I just tried to turn my own experience into something which was common to a whole people" (Menchú, 2010, p. 139).



Menchú worked tirelessly at the United Nations (UN), becoming a permanent fixture and active voice in promoting formal recognition of Indigenous People:

Today, in the 47th period of sessions of the General Assembly, the United Nations (UN) will proclaim 1993 as the *International Year of the World's Indigenous People*, in the presence of well-known chiefs of the organizations of the Indian people and of the coordination of the Continental Movement of Indigenous, Blacks and Popular Resistance. They will all formally participate in the opening of the working sessions in order to make 1993 a year of specific actions to truly place the indigenous peoples within their national contexts and to make them part of mutual international agreements. The achievement of the *International Year of the World's Indigenous People* and the progress represented by the preparation of the project for the *Universal Declaration*, are the result of the participation of numerous Indian brothers, nongovernmental organizations and the successful efforts of the experts in the Working group, in addition to the comprehensiveness shown by many countries in the United Nations (Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 1992, para. 34).

Without any formal education or theoretical grounding, she astutely outlines the rationale for maintaining this equality in her work. For instance, even in her early years as a leader, she clearly articulated the reasons why she did not want to organize a separate women's movement in Guatemala;

We women *compañeras* came to the conclusion (because for a time we thought of creating an organization for women) that it was paternalistic to say there should be an organization for women when in practice women work and are exploited as well. Perhaps in the future...for the time being, though, we think it would be feeding the machismo to set up an organization for women only, since it would mean separating women's work from men's work. Also we've found that when discussing women's problems, we need the men to be present, so that they can contribute by giving their opinions about what to do about the problem. What is the point of educating women if men aren't there to contribute to the apprenticeship (Menchú, 2009, p. 261).

Menchú has a deep understanding of the need for education oriented from a new perspective and proposes a Mayan University so Indigenous people can further their contributions in valuing the community, building a collective, to share knowledge equally and respectfully with others (Menchú, 2009, p. 220). She further explains this in a speaking engagement at the University of San Diego:

So, we find that there is an urgent need to create legal instruments and political instruments and economic instruments but above all institutional instruments so that the age old cultures that date back for thousands of years can once again get back to making science... We want to see the Mayan University in operation by the year 2005. We've had quite a bit of experience with Intercultural higher education. All worked at all levels of education elementary, we've developed methods, ways of conceptualizing education, there are certain educational reforms that will be needed but we have a strong basis, we have Mayan professors working at the institutions at higher education (Kroc Institute Lecture Series, 2009, min. 41.03).

Menchú's words exemplify her Mayan belief of interconnectivity and deep conviction of the need for national unity through inclusiveness:

Mayan population is growing and numbers in population are leading over non-Mayans. The Mayan people need to be very conscious that we shall not be racist or exclusive of others. We have to give an example of harmony and inclusiveness, inclusiveness in our thoughts and what we do, so that we can truly create a multi-cultural, multi-national nation (Kroc Institute Lecture Series, 2009, min. 18.32).

Here, Menchú's remarks are very representative of both critical literacy and critical feminist theory in advancing peacebuilding. The language and conscious effort Menchú speaks to characterize the language Reardon (1988) promotes as *transformative*. She asserts that global change stems from individual peacebuilding efforts.

In this final excerpt from Menchú's testimony, she offers closing comments during her USD presentation. She reminds the audience of the Mayan vision for a global oneness and that the year of 2012 is a time calling for prophecies to come true:

There is a feeling among many peoples in many communities that we have to recover the depth of our cultural values, our ancestral cultural values, not only in Guatemala, but also in Mexico, we're seeing that this culture that people said was going to disappear can be a vision for the future. We see everything is happening in the same space. We are believers in the circle. We see a circle that has economics, politics, culture, identity, spirituality, medicine. They're all part of that same circle (Kroc Institute Lecture Series, 2009, min. 43.15).

In the year 2012, will be what we call The Baktun, it's the change from one era to another era according to the Mayan calendar and it's an era of 5200 years and so we're going from this closing a cycle of 5200 years and reopening another and we see a lot of the prophecies coming true at this point (Kroc Institute Lecture Series, 2009, min. 56.08).

It is widely known in academic circles of Menchú studies that some facts in her autobiography were not true, and she has confirmed this publicly, I explain it here for transparency, not to detract from Menchú's case study. I follow Eakin's (2004) argument from his "Ethics in Life Writing" - who specifically uses Menchú as an example in his book - that one's "life writing" may be motivated by a powerful "moral" imperative to make a point. In Menchú's case the fact that she was not physically present while her brother was burned alive when she writes that she witnessed the event firsthand, does not change the fact that he was burned alive. In her graphic description of that memory in her mind, she exercises literary license to evoke the emotion that she felt upon hearing of it and calls upon her readers to feel the same. This contributes to what Eakin (2004) describes as evoking a "moral understanding" from a "responsibility to implicate others" as Menchú explained (p. 24). In concluding my data analysis of the Menchú stories, my findings are in agreement with Eakin's assessment. Menchú was not only speaking for herself from her stories, rather representing her entire country, and sharing her people's experiences on behalf of all Indigenous people who have suffered such atrocities and persecution. Her writing was designed to motivate readers to act differently once they "feel" the injustices and horrors done to her family and the Mayan people of Guatemala.

Rigoberta Menchú "...has become widely known as a leading advocate of Indian rights and ethno-cultural reconciliation, not only in Guatemala but in the Western Hemisphere generally, and her work has earned her several international awards" (The Nobel Foundation, 1992, para. 5). She continues educating others by following her conviction that the long-term objective of her work is peace and continues to stand out "...as a uniquely potent symbol of a just struggle" Sejersted, 1992, para. 2)

## Individual Case Study Findings: Shirin Ebadi



2003 Nobel Peace laureate, Shirin Ebadi, during a reception in her honor at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

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Author: Ana Elisa Fuentes

Photo taken: May 17, 2004

### Individual Case Study Findings: Shirin Ebadi

Shirin Ebadi (Ebadi) describes herself in her Nobel Peace Prize biography as being born in the city of Hamadan [northwestern Iran] in 1947.

My family were academics and practicing Muslims. At the time of my birth my father was the head of Hamedan's Registry Office. My father, Mohammad Ali Ebadi, one of the first lecturers in commercial law, had written several books. He passed away in 1993. I spent my childhood in a family filled with kindness and affection. I have two sisters and a brother all of whom are highly educated. My mother dedicated all her time and devotion to our upbringing. I am married and my husband is an electrical engineer. We have two daughters. One is 23 years old. She is studying for a doctorate in telecommunications at McGill University in Canada. The other is 20 years old and is in her third year at Tehran University where she reads law (Ebadi, 2003, para. 1).

In 1969, when she was only twenty-four years old, Ebadi became the first woman in Iranian justice history to be appointed as a judge and served until the Islamic Revolution in February 1979 won power in Iran. The Islamic Revolution held the belief that Islam forbids women to serve as judges. At the time, Ebadi was actually Chief Judge of Iran and was then dismissed from her judgeship and reduced to a clerical post. In 1992, she finally resigned and later established a private practice to work on behalf of human rights in Iran. Unfortunately, due to increasing severity of death threats, she recently had to leave Iran and currently lives in exile in England.

**Table 3 - Significant Events for Shirin Ebadi in Iranian History**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>June 21, 1947</b>	Birth
<b>March 1969</b>	The first and only female judge in Iran.
<b>1975 - 1979</b>	Serves as president of the city court of Tehran.
<b>1979</b>	Is forced to step down as a judge after the Islamic Revolution.
<b>May 1997</b>	Plays a key role in the landslide presidential election of the reformist Mohamad Khatami.
<b>1999</b>	Works to expose conspirators behind an attack by pro-clergy assailants on students at Tehran University.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>1999 - 2000</b>	Represents families of writers and intellectuals killed.
<b>2000</b>	Spends about three weeks in jail after a closed trial. Ebadi is given a suspended sentence and is banned from working as a lawyer for five years.
<b>2001</b>	Wins the Rafto Prize in recognition of her sustained fight, over many years, for human rights and democracy in Iran.
<b>2003</b>	Wins the Nobel Peace Prize for her work fighting for democracy and the rights of women and children.
<b>2004</b>	Comes together with other female Nobel Peace Prize winners at the time, Wangari Maathai and Jody Williams, to work on a plan for empowering women worldwide in the fight against injustice, violence and inequality. The plan becomes the Nobel Women's Initiative.
<b>2006</b>	Publishes a memoir called <i>Iran Awakening: One Woman's Journey to Reclaim Her Life and Country</i> .
<b>2007</b>	Represents imprisoned American scholar Haleh Esfandiari, who was arrested on charges of threatening national security.
<b>April 2008</b>	Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad orders police protection for Ebadi after she receives death threats.
<b>June 6, 2008</b>	Talks about her new book, <i>Refugee Rights In Iran</i> , in London.
<b>December 21, 2008</b>	Ebadi says that Iranian security forces raided and shut down her offices in Tehran.
<b>January 1, 2009</b>	Protesters attack Ebadi's home and office, spraying graffiti and shouting that she supports Israel.
<b>June 2009</b>	Ebadi leaves Iran the day before presidential elections and does not return.
<b>November 2009</b>	Iranian government confiscates the Nobel medal Ebadi was awarded in 2003 and freezes her bank accounts.
<b>2011</b>	Publishes a new book titled <i>The Golden Cage: Three Brothers, Three Choices, One Destiny</i> .
<b>April 2012</b>	Is a panelist at the 12th World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates.
<b>2013</b>	Currently lives in London, England exiled from Iran due to increasing death threats.

Source (adapted from):

<http://www.cnn.com/2013/01/01/world/meast/shirin-ebadi---fast-facts/>

The two primary themes I selected from my data to present Ebadi's case study as an international peacebuilder are; 1) as a lawyer fighting for justice, and 2) her work on behalf of

women and human rights. Her testimony showcases the interconnectedness of the two primary themes.

**A Lawyer Fighting for Justice.** As Ebadi continued her fight in the courts, she gained international recognition in the news and individual cases became headline news worldwide. From one prominent case she represented, she expresses both her gratitude for this and her elevated level of responsibility on behalf of those she represents in Iran:

I felt heartened for a moment: though Arian's death had been senseless, at least her legacy served enormous purpose. Perhaps the Islamic Republic resisted accountability to its citizens, but it wished with each passing year to shed its pariah status in the global community. Slowly, it grew more aware that a nation on uneven footing with the West could not afford to trample its citizens' rights. When I watched that broadcast, aware that it was being beamed around the world, I also realized for the first time that I had become what you might call famous. Prominence is something that accrues gradually. You work and speak, write articles and lecture, meet with clients and defend them, day after day, night after night, and then you wake up one day and notice that there is a long trail behind you that constitutes a reputation. That's how it happened for me, anyway. How unimportant it was to me as a person, but how useful it became to my work. It meant journalists would listen if I approached them with a case and would help publicize it both inside the country and abroad. It meant that human rights observers around the world knew and trusted me, and launched swift appeals for urgent cases I brought to their attention. It meant there was now a face and a name attached to the abstract term "human rights" in Iran, and that finally millions of human who could not articulate their frustrations and desires had someone to speak on their behalf...Between my ever-growing reputation and the world's curiosity about how women fared in a society like Iran's, it seemed more possible each year to make the system pay an international price for its refusal to reform its laws at home (Ebadi & Moeveni, 2006, p. 126-27).

Ebadi recognized the importance of her role as a prominent lawyer and how her position offered her a platform to help define human rights in Iran internationally. She relied on the trust she built with global human rights observers to amplify the impact of her legal cases. This echoes Reardon's (1988) theory that peacebuilding impacts from the individual's contribution to a wider societal change. Ebadi also embodies the *partnership model* explained by Finley (2003) as necessary in furthering democracy. By drawing in key human rights observers, Ebadi built a

coalition of support which applied political pressure for Iran to improve legal human rights protection.

**Women and Human Rights.** Ebadi (2003) begins her Nobel Peace Prize speech introducing herself as an Iranian and a Muslim, offering context from her country's historical roots and justification of why human rights in Islamic religion must be honored:

Allow me to say a little about my country, region, culture and faith. I am an Iranian. A descendent of Cyrus The Great. The very emperor who proclaimed at the pinnacle of power 2500 years ago that "... he would not reign over the people if they did not wish it." And [he] promised not to force any person to change his religion and faith and guaranteed freedom for all. The Charter of Cyrus The Great is one of the most important documents that should be studied in the history of human rights. I am a Muslim. In the Koran the Prophet of Islam has been cited as saying: "Thou shalt believe in thine faith and I in my religion". That same divine book sees the mission of all prophets as that of inviting all human beings to uphold justice. Since the advent of Islam, too, Iran's civilization and culture has become imbued and infused with humanitarianism, respect for the life, belief and faith of others, propagation of tolerance and compromise and avoidance of violence, bloodshed and war. The luminaries of Iranian literature, in particular our Gnostic literature, from Hafiz, Mowlavi [better known in the West as Rumi] and Attar to Saadi, Sanaei, Naser Khosrow and Nezami, are emissaries of this humanitarian culture. Their message manifests itself in this poem by Saadi:

"The sons of Adam are limbs of one another  
Having been created of one essence".

"When the calamity of time afflicts one limb  
The other limbs cannot remain at rest" (Ebadi, Nobel Lecture, para. 12-14).

In her testimony, she shares her frustration with the contradictions she has studied in juxtaposing Iran's laws with the incompatibility of human rights and justice:

I should tell you that 63 percent of university students in Iran are women. Iran has an ancient civilization. But the laws of Iran do not fit the situation of the Iranian women, particularly educated women. In Iran polygamy is still legal. Two women testifying in a courtroom are equivalent of a man. The value of one woman's life is half of that of a man. If a driver hits a man and a woman in a car accident, the compensation for the man is twice as much as it is for women. Iranian women are very dissatisfied with these laws. As a result, Iranian feminist movement is deep and spreading rapidly. And I'm certain Iranian women will win this struggle. And the situation of children is also very



unpleasant in Iran. In our culture, in our system, physical punishment of children seems to be accepted as a way of raising or training children. The age limit for, for getting married is very low, 13 for women, 15 for men. And the age of legal culpability is also very low, nine for women, 15 for men. Which means if a ten year-old girl breaks the law, she will be treated in the same fashion as I would be (Amy Goodman Interview, 2004, p.5).

Ebadi clearly identifies with the feminist movement and has faith in that the rights of women will be furthered in the future. She articulates the recognition that other Iranian women have as well. This is emblematic of critical literacy, when the larger population begins to develop language around the injustices and the underpinnings for those injustices. This aligns' with McKay's (2004) assertion of the importance of *gender justice* in peacebuilding strategies. Gender justice refers to "...legal processes that are equitable, not privileged by and for men, and which distinguish gender-specific injustices that women experience" (McKay, 2004, p. 157). Ebadi has carefully organized the data she presents to further this understanding in Iran and worldwide.

At the same time, Ebadi redresses the language used to justify human rights violations and implores her audiences to not perpetuate this misrepresentation of Islam as a religion of terrorism and aggression.

I will continue my previous activities with greater speed and efficiency. And wherever I am present at the international level, I wish to express the view Islam is not a religion of terrorism and aggression. If an innocent person kills and justified in the name of Islam we should know that they are abusing the name of Islam. If they commit terrorism in the name of Islam it is another exploitation and abuse of Islam. When a particular group commits a crime or makes a mistake we should not attribute it to Islam. And we should not repeatedly refer to Islamic terrorism (Amy Goodman Interview, 2004, p. 6).

The language Ebadi presents is a pivotal point in the world's understanding of the Islam culture and where there is misrepresentation. Smith et al. (2011) reaffirm that precision is

imperative when moving official and national languages into the global arena to avoid perpetuating embedded power and privilege systems of structural oppression.

In the next excerpt, Ebadi furthers the importance of the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of all women of Iran and as representative of half the women in all countries of the world. She clearly states that she recognizes the amplified power of her voice in winning the prize and how she views it as empowerment for all women:

I feel extremely honoured that today my voice is reaching the people of the world from this distinguished venue. This great honour has been bestowed upon me by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. I salute the spirit of Alfred Nobel and hail all true followers of his path. This year, the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to a woman from Iran, a Muslim country in the Middle East.

Undoubtedly, my selection will be an inspiration to the masses of women who are striving to realize their rights, not only in Iran but throughout the region - rights taken away from them through the passage of history. This selection will make women in Iran, and much further afield, believe in themselves. Women constitute half of the population of every country. To disregard women and bar them from active participation in political, social, economic and cultural life would in fact be tantamount to depriving the entire population of every society of half its capability. The patriarchal culture and the discrimination against women, particularly in the Islamic countries, cannot continue forever...As you are aware, the honour and blessing of this prize will have a positive and far-reaching impact on the humanitarian and genuine endeavours of the people of Iran and the region. The magnitude of this blessing will embrace every freedom-loving and peace-seeking individual, whether they are women or men (Ebadi, Nobel Lecture, para. 3).

Ebadi's closing remarks in her Nobel Peace prize speech summarize her appeal that human rights need to be codified by law and that human rights need to be all inclusive. These words reflect her consistent convictions from both her on-line testimony and her memoir, *Iran*

*Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope:*

In the introduction to my speech, I spoke of human rights as a guarantor of freedom, justice and peace. If human rights fail to be manifested in codified laws or put into effect by states, then, as rendered in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, human beings will be left with no choice other than staging a "rebellion against tyranny and oppression." A human being divested of all dignity, a human being deprived of human rights, a human being gripped by starvation, a human being beaten by famine,

war and illness, a humiliated human being and a plundered human being is not in any position or state to recover the rights he or she has lost.

If the 21st century wishes to free itself from the cycle of violence, acts of terror and war, and avoid repetition of the experience of the 20th century - that most disaster-ridden century of humankind, there is no other way except by understanding and putting into practice every human right for all mankind, irrespective of race, gender, faith, nationality or social status (Ebadi, Nobel Lecture, closing para.).

This excerpt emphasizes the approach Ebadi uses to elevate human rights protection for all human beings. She recognizes that the conflict and the cycle of violence does not discriminate across race, gender, faith, nationality or social status. She understands that in order to have peace, it is necessary that all human beings be treated as outlined under the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a broader statement, it exemplifies how women participating in peacebuilding craft new language and new definitions of what it means to build peace. Ebadi clearly emphasizes the link between the end of violence and the necessary conditions to secure a peaceful country. This is a component of the critical literacy, to expand peacebuilding language to include the protection, through rule of law, for all human rights. In appealing to her larger international community, this testimony showcases the power of her voice from her position as a Nobel Peace Prize laureate and her deep understanding of that power and subsequent responsibility.

## Individual Case Study Findings: Leymah Gbowee



2011 Nobel Peace laureate, Leymah Gbowee, speaks during a press conference at Eastern Mennonite University in Harrisonburg, VA (US)

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Author: Jon Styer/Eastern Mennonite University

Photo taken: October 14, 2011

### **Individual Case Study Findings: Leymah Gbowee**

Leymah Gbowee (Gbowee) was born on February 2, 1972 in Monrovia, Liberia where she lived with her mother and father and her three sisters. In 2002, Gbowee received an Associate of Arts Degree in Social Work from Mother Patern College of Health Sciences in Liberia and in 2007 she completed a Master's degree in Conflict Transformation at Eastern Mennonite University. She is married and the mother of six children (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011).

In 2006, she co-founded the Women Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-A) in Accra, Ghana and went on to serve as its Executive Director for six years. WIPSEN-A is a women-focused, women-led, pan-African non-profit organization dedicated to promoting women's strategic participation and leadership in peace and security governance on the continent. WIPSEN-A's leadership development programs in both Ghana and Liberia have transformed the lives of countless young women (Gbowee, Nobel Lecture, 2011).

**Table 4 - Significant Events for Leymah Gbowee in Liberia**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Significant Events</b>
<b>February 1, 1972</b>	Birth
<b>1989 – 1996</b>	The First Liberian Civil War was an internal conflict in Liberia from 1989 until 1996. Gbowee lived part of her childhood through this brutal war. Surviving violence is what inspired her to take action for transformative change.
<b>1990</b>	Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sends peacekeeping force.
<b>1991</b>	ECOWAS and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) agree to disarm and set up an Interim Government of National Unity.
<b>1992</b>	The NPFL launches an all-out assault on West African peacekeepers in Monrovia.
<b>1993</b>	Several warring factions splintered from the NPFL devise a plan for a National Transitional Government and a ceasefire, but this fails to materialize and fighting resumes.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Significant Events</b>
<b>1994</b>	The warring factions including the Armed Forces of Liberia and NPFL agree on a timetable for disarmament and the setting up of a joint Council of State.
<b>1995</b>	Peace agreement signed.
<b>April 1996</b>	Factional fighting resumes and spreads to Monrovia.
<b>August 1996</b>	West African peacekeepers begin disarmament programme, clear land mines and reopen roads, allowing refugees to return.
<b>1997 – 2003</b>	Charles Taylor was the president of Liberia whose leadership led to the First Liberian War.
<b>1999 - 2003</b>	Second Liberian War. This is the war in which Gbowee took action and rallied the women to remove Taylor as president.
<b>1999</b>	Gbowee became involved with WANEP. This would later lead to the start of WIPSEN, a branch of WANEP.
<b>2001</b>	Gbowee Earns Her Associate of Arts Degree in social work from Mother Patern College of Health Sciences (Liberia).
<b>February 2001</b>	Rebel leader Sam Bockarie leaves the country.
<b>May 2001</b>	UN Security Council reimposes arms and diamond embargo to punish Taylor for trading weapons for diamonds from Sierra Leone rebels.
<b>2002</b>	Gbowee serves as leader of WIPNET.
<b>January 2002</b>	More than 50,000 Liberians and Sierra Leonean refugees flee fighting. In February Taylor declares a state of emergency.
<b>March 2003</b>	Rebels advance to within 10km of Monrovia, rebels, government clash.
<b>June 2003</b>	President Taylor indicted for war crimes.
<b>July 2003</b>	Fighting intensifies in Monrovia. ECOWAS provides peacekeepers.
<b>August 2003</b>	Nigerian peacekeepers arrive. Charles Taylor leaves Liberia, handing power to Moses Blah, his deputy. US troops arrive. Peace accord is signed. Gyude Bryant chosen to head interim administration.
<b>September - October 2003</b>	US forces pull out. UN launches major peacekeeping mission, deploying thousands of troops.
<b>February 2004</b>	International donors pledge more than \$500M in reconstruction aid.
<b>October 2004</b>	UN reports riots in Monrovia spurred by former combatants.
<b>September 2005</b>	Liberia agrees that the international community should supervise its finances in an effort to counter corruption.
<b>November 23, 2005</b>	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf becomes the first woman to be elected as an African head of state. She takes office the following January.
<b>February 2006</b>	Truth and Reconciliation Commission is set up to investigate human rights abuses between 1979 and 2003.
<b>April 2006</b>	Former president Charles Taylor appears before the UN-backed court in Sierra Leone on charges of crimes against humanity.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Significant Events</b>
<b>July 2006</b>	President Johnson- Sirleaf switches on generator-powered street lights in the capital, which has been without electricity for 15 years.
<b>April 2007</b>	UN Security Council lifts its ban on Liberian diamond exports.
<b>June 2007</b>	Start of Charles Taylor's war crimes trial in The Hague, where he stands accused of instigating atrocities in Sierra Leone.
<b>December 2007</b>	UN Security Council extends arms and travel embargoes for another year in response to increased gun violence.
<b>January 2008</b>	Supreme Court rules that the president can appoint local mayors because the government cannot afford to hold municipal elections.
<b>February 2008</b>	US President George W Bush visits Liberia.
<b>March 2008</b>	Liberia conducts its first census since 1984.
<b>2009</b>	Gbowee is awarded the 2009 John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award.
<b>February 2009</b>	President Johnson-Sirleaf admits to Truth and Reconciliation Commission that she mistakenly backed ex-President Charles Taylor.
<b>2011</b>	Gbowee Wins Nobel Peace Prize along with two other African women.

Source (adapted from):

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1043567.stm> and

<http://timerime.com/en/timeline/1161294/Gbowees+Life+Story/>

Gbowee received international recognition from her published memoir, *Mighty Be Our Powers*, and her acclaimed film documentary, *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, which is the account of the visionary women who fought for sustainable peace in their home country, a war-torn Liberia. Gbowee has been in the limelight since she won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 and her speaking tours around the world are heartfelt and deeply engaging. Her voice is powerful, honest, and motivational. She is unrelenting in all of her public appearances in her call for peace and true democracy in Africa. As a wise storyteller, her message is emotionally powerful with a profound understanding of the steps needed in her organized movement to heal the country's trauma both individually and collectively. The two primary themes I selected from my data in Gbowee's case study as an international peacebuilder are; 1) trauma healing of war victims through education work, and 2) women as organized peace activists. Concomitant with her

story-telling style presentations, her testimonial excerpts are long. I made the choice of presenting them intact in homage to her as an African storyteller.

**Trauma Healing of War Victims through Education.** Gbowee's earliest work during the war was in her role as a social worker in the community Trauma Healing program, working with ex-combatants. This led her to a deep understanding of the need for compassion between humans in order to heal the wounds and speaks about a book she has written:

When you live in a world where you see a lot of injustice happening and people who profess to be true believers of whichever religion...one thing that I picked from the life of Jesus is compassion. And there is no way that you can live and interact with people and don't feel a sense of compassion when something has gone wrong or something is going wrong. I had been writing a little book for so long but I paused on that book. My desire is to publish that book and just give it out for free. It's a tiny book that I've titled *Giving* (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 9.57).

Her work at the Trauma Healing program helped her develop an even greater conviction of how much peacebuilding was needed with trauma healing as its foundation and how long it would take to heal the deep, psychological and emotional wounding. She recognized the slow, methodical approach it took with each individual child to help them overcome the violence they had been acculturated in;

The challenges, conflict resolution, transformation, working to build peace – it meant learning something different every day, encountering new people, and talking to them about the issues that mattered to them...I sometimes felt that I was a doctor; I was doing my best to heal these children, heal their minds. In the countryside, I did what I could to help the injured and heal the wounds to their souls (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 131-32).

Both Suu Kyi and Ebadi express their commitment *to endure* the forecasted long process that political change will require to secure human rights protection for all people. Gbowee has an innate sense of how long the healing will take and the embedded complexities of this work.



Yin (2006) views the role of education in children as imperative to realize the long-range vision of transformative, sustainable peace.

Gbowee describes the deep understanding of the healing work that is being done - and still needs to be done - to serve future generations for positive outcomes:

Again, I'm not representing myself. I'm representing a lot of those women in community who you cannot mess with... We have a whole new generation of young women who have found their voices also. So, they are nothing like weak. Previously, when things used to happen, they would be so shy about talking about it... African women are now saying if you raped me, I have nothing to be ashamed of, you should be ashamed of yourself... We need to constantly portray that... (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 37.42).

Gbowee recognizes the need to heal not only the individual but whole communities.

Brantmeier (2011) explains this as a *transformed society* with *transformed structures*. Critical feminist theory plays a role as well in her recognition of healing men and women, the perpetrator and the victim in order to heal society. She encourages both men and women to speak up for peace:

What I can say to you is that in some parts of the community, those spirits are still there. It's the spirit that will cause women to rally around each other. It's that same spirit that will get some men to come around and most times when I speak to a community of African men, I say to them, the reason you now are all demonized is because a lot of you good men have stepped in the back. And the evil ones have taken over your space. And the evil men, the men who perpetrate evil, are not many. The ones who are the good ones are very many, but somehow they've lost their spines and they're not doing enough to protect those women... So, how do we get them to be like the women again? Bring back that spirit of community? But I also think that a lot of the violence that they, too, have seen has affected them in ways that we are not talking about... the handful of the evil ones have affected them in ways that ...there's something about their pride that has been wounded. If you could not protect your wife from rape, who are you in this time of peace to stand up and say you want to be an advocate for rape... I think it's up to us now... to say, 'What happened, happened.' It's time for us to take back our communities (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 41.22).

Gbowee's understanding of the transformative work necessary to bring about positive change affirms Lederach's (1995) research on conflict transformation by working with individuals to eventually bring mutual understanding from self to groups. Gbowee recognizes the deep and individual personal healing needed for true community transformation from trauma healing work before it can extend into community. Gbowee emphasizes the need to resurrect the true spirit in their community by transforming what has really happened from the violence they have endured together to re-establish community peace.

**Women as Organized Peace Activists.** Gbowee was very astute at figuring out the underpinnings for how to overcome any barriers between people in her women's peace movement. In her 2012 presentation at the University of San Diego, Gbowee uses her storytelling approach to explain the strategies she employed to unify her two primary groups of women of Christian and Muslim faiths in the women's movement for peace. She first explains the need to find common ground between groups and help them see each other through the eyes of a different perspective, which helps them to unify and build the movement:

I think the first thing to do is to identify, not one, but several thematic concerns in different communities. Where people miss the mark is to think that once you say women, you mobilize. That's not it. Or once you say people, you mobilize. People have to feel connected to something, so you look into, say this community, and maybe rape, domestic violence, like wife beating, wayward children are the key issues and you have to really go around and kind of test the waters with...if you're trying to mobilize parents to see which is the top of the list and then you use that as your rallying call. So, when you're going into conflict areas, you want to really start by finding something...even though...for example, in the como ladro, when we went there...2 ½ years ago, I knew we still had a lot of work to do. There was no way that what happened in Laidrom what happened in Como was closing anytime soon. Why? Because everyone sees the conflict from the lens of the ethnic group or the political ideology or some leader. They haven't seen it from the standpoint of 'yes, I'm from this party, and from this ethnic group, but rape is an issue and is affecting us as women.' Had a very beautiful meeting...women had all of the answers and then we said, 'okay, if we have to form a coalition, we need to get one person who become the face of this movement.' The person who be the voice and when they're not around no one can speak because then the message is simple, concise, and

clear. No one is giving mixed messages. The meeting broke down there... The reason being, people still see that leadership within that leader's group from the perspective of the political group, the ethnic group, or the rebel faction that they support (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 20.11).

I think was a very important part of the work we did in Liberia when we started something called the Peace Outreach Project (POP). We trained twenty women from the Christian and Muslim groups and those twenty women sat down and said we want to do something collectively... One of the first things they said they wanted to tackle was HIV and AIDS. In two weeks, the problem with the war started... so we decided, okaye, let's work on the war issue... we want to be able to go out and tell local women that they're are to have a stake in the peace process, so the Peace Outreach Project was predominately a time of awareness and mobilization, a rallying call, we did that for nine months. After nine months, we called the group back, to evaluate the work that we had done and we realized that there were issues that were coming up that was very unhealthy for the group that we were trying to build, Muslim and Christian women's relationship... So, we did something in consultation... with the Catholic Relief Services... First we brought the Christian women in the room and we were looking at peace and non-violence from the perspective of the Bible, something that they were quite familiar with, very comfortable with...

Because most times when you talk to the Christian women... oh, my religion tells me to pray, so I'm not supposed to be out there, I'm not supposed to be in the forefront of protest... So, then we went back to the Bible and studied women in the Bible and we give them Deborah, we give them Esther, we give them all of those powerful women. Did they just pray? No. Did they take action? Yes. So, can you be a Deborah for your country. Of course! So, those are the first things we did. (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 23.03).

Then, we went in the Koran, into all of the different readings about Islam that we could find. The next thing, we brought the Muslim women. Two things we did to demystify all of the myths and negative perceptions and positive stereotypes they have was to do something with the Christian women on that day; What is it that you like about the Muslim women? And they made their long list. What is it that you do not like about them? (...and went through the same exercise with the Muslim women). On the third day, they brought both groups together and the room was divided by religion. Everyone was across the table. We started by asking them to do the gallery walk... Afterwards, we don't want to talk about it. We brought two old ladies who have been friends for over 60-something years. One a Christian, one a Muslim. That was the turning point for us... It was a total contrast from what those women the perception that they held. Someone asked, 'How has your religion influenced your friendship?' And those two old ladies had a blank look on their faces. They turned to each other and asked, 'Do you see a Christian, a Muslim?' 'No, I see a sister'... same problems that I have... faith has never ever played a role... they suffered the worst together, but nothing ever took their friendship away. So, that became the rallying call. So, when you hear in the movie, does a bullet know a Christian from a Muslim? Can the bullet pick and choose?... The two old ladies said, 'Go in the bathroom, and take off your clothes, one Muslim woman and one Christian

woman, and look at each other...and see what do you see, a Muslim religion on your body...or a Christian religion on your bodies?’ (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 25.05).

By looking across *thematic concerns*, Gbowee reflects on the beginning of organizational peacebuilding within a *feminist human security framework* as described by Brock-Utne (1985) and expanded by McKay (2004). The slow progression of steps in bringing disparate viewpoints together and naming threats to women and girls, while simultaneously healing the post-conflict wounds, is emblematic of feminist peacebuilding. The strategy is a bottom-up approach as opposed to a top-down approach, which negates the more conventional authoritarian construct stemming from the more militaristic structures of governments.

Gbowee looks for common ground in developing peace by holding women’s meetings to activate community organizing. Anderlini (2007) echoes the importance of this, “The trust building, empathy and humanizing that come from finding common experiences as women are powerful fuel for enabling women to tackle the core causes of conflict” (p. 85). She then carefully scaffolds the process by having them build trust with one another through a series of facilitated exercises. Gbowee emphasizes the realistic amount of time it takes to build a successful movement:

So, when you are trying to mobilize, it is so important that you spend time. Today, because of the horrific kind of violence that we see in communities, people expect that movements will just wake up. It needs to be nurtured like you’re building a garden, take trash and all of the weeds, and all of the different things and that’s what we did with those women for...almost two years before we launched the mass action (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 28.30).

In her closing remarks at the University of San Diego presentation, Gbowee addresses her primarily American audience, and implores them to find their voices and take action:

Women, you have so much, the platform, the resources...These women are strong, they’re smart, they’re intelligent, but what happened to their legs? Why can’t they stand

up!? Because you see, there's so much that you have to offer us in Africa. People mirror what happens in this part of the world. If women's rights is not respected here and our leaders are wining and dining with your leaders, they go back and say even the US is not working, then why should we give it to you here? (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 39.29).

Gbowee recognizes the importance of enlisting women from around the world to further women's rights. She feels that female world leaders need to model effective peacebuilding in order to advance sustainable world peace. She leaves the audience with a probing question reminding them to speak up.

Gbowee's final words from her book, *Mighty Be Our Powers*, echo the spirit she still carries in her peacebuilding work throughout Africa and serves as her own mirror to the rest of the world;

Because of women like us, I believe that in the end, tyranny will never succeed, and goodness will always vanquish evil. Although I may not see it in my lifetime, peace will overcome. I believe, *I know*, that if you have an unshakable faith in yourself, in your sisters and in the possibility of change, you can do almost anything. The work is hard. The immensity of what needs to be done is discouraging. But you look at communities that are struggling on a daily basis. *They* keep on – and in the eyes of the people there, you are a symbol of hope. And so you, too, must keep on. You are not at liberty to give up (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 329).

These words mirror her beliefs in the power of women's roles in peacebuilding. They also showcase her unwavering faith in the strength of women in the face of adversity. She leaves the audience with a strong call to action and that is very much her spirit and how she furthers her power as a woman leader, by engaging more women to work together collaboratively on behalf of all people for international peacebuilding.

## **Cross-Case Study Findings**

The cross-case findings are presented below with a focus on four primary themes across all four women's case studies, which emerged from the data. The women's testimony revealed the following common themes in advancing their leadership roles in international peacebuilding; 1) having access, power, and a platform as Nobel Peace Prize laureates, 2) social justice identity construction, 3) non-violent action, and 4) promoting a strategy of hope. All four of the themes were cross-cutting findings and they are presented here to avoid repetition in the individual case studies.

In this section, the research questions will not be presented individually rather the findings will support the thematic construct under each sub-heading. Consistent with the rest of this report, the testimonial data are presented in the same chronological order by the year in which each woman received their respective Nobel Peace Prizes (NPP) from earliest to most current.

**Having Access, Power, and a Platform as Nobel Peace Prize Laureates.** One of the most powerful tools all of these women have in common in advancing peacebuilding in their respective countries is as Nobel Peace Prize (NPP) recipients, which gained them access and power both nationally and internationally. This honor offered a prestigious platform to these women so they could amplify their causes and helped them to engage the international community in furthering human rights and democracy building initiatives. However, many years of hard work and struggle preceded the award in each woman's case and is evident from their testimony:

What did all these women peace Laureates have in common? They were all women of high ideals, prepared to work and sacrifice to bring something better into being, and they

labored in the certainty that their objectives would eventually be realized. They all carried within that sacred flame...which inspired them to struggle against odds, to withstand disappointments and defeats, to resolve never to give up. They shared a faith in humanity, whether born of religious conviction or humanism. Most displayed remarkable courage. Not all faced the aimed rifle, as did Aung San Suu Kyi, or had to hide from the soldiers, as did Rigoberta Menchú Tum. But it took courage to withstand the slings and arrows of the militaristic press...as it took courage to take the first step to break the circle of violence... (Abrams, 2013, conclusion, para. 1).

All of the women emphasized the importance of the having the international communities' support their ongoing efforts as a mainstay of their national peacebuilding efforts:

Suu Kyi: ...and most of all, we would like to invite the kind of investment that will share the skills of the rest of the world with our young people in Burma. So, when you go back to your own countries, please encourage your governments, your businesses, your workers to help us to build the kind of society that will ensure the future of our country. This is my request to all of you and having seen the warmth with which you regarded me as a representative of the people who want democracy and human rights in Burma. I'm certain that I can count on you to do your best (International Labor Law Speech, 2012, min. 13.20).

Menchú: The achievement of the *International Year of the World's Indigenous People* and the progress represented by the preparation of the project for the *Universal Declaration*, are the result of the participation of numerous Indian brothers, nongovernmental organizations and the successful efforts of the experts in the Working group, in addition to the comprehensiveness shown by many countries in the United Nations (Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 1992, para. 35).

Ebadi: Most important, the West can keep Iran's human rights record in the spotlight, for the Islamic system has shown itself to be sensitive to such criticism. The Islamic Republic may hold firm to its right to nuclear power, even if it means suffering sanctions at the hands of the international community. But its more rational policy makers see a tainted human rights record as a self-inflicted wound that weakens Iran's bargaining power (Ebadi & Moeveni, 2006, p. 215).

Gbowee: By this act you affirm that women's rights are truly human rights and that any leader, nation or political group that excludes women from all forms of national and local engagement is setting themselves up for failure. Let this recognition serve as a renewed compact between women and World leaders, that commitments made to women through various UN and other global institutions' resolutions will be pursued with greater commitment and vigilance; Let this be a renewed compact that the integrity of a woman's body and the sanctity of women's lives will not be subsumed under male-invented traditions (Nobel Lecture, 2011, para. 16).

These examples from their testimony showcase how the women encourage the world to stay engaged and to reflect back the positive values and benefits they are promoting. They use language that illustrates the magnitude of the work they are doing on behalf of their countries. The testimony reflects each woman's astute understanding of the importance of the world's attention to her respective country's situation both politically and socially. This testimony also highlights the critical role language plays in their messages from the world stage and each Nobel Peace Prize laureate reflects her skillful understanding of how to engage and activate her audience through critical literacy.

**Social Justice Identity Construction.** These four women's collective social justice identity offers an overarching perspective on how they advanced international peacebuilding from their lived experiences. Their testimony follows El-Bushra's (2007) research findings on women's peace activism where she explains, "What needs to be understood is that, to the extent that women have organized to resist violence and claim their right to a political voice, they have been spurred on to do this by their context-specific experiences rather than through an innately peace-loving nature" (p. 144). These four women emerged as women leaders primarily through political circumstances and fought for human rights across gender and overcoming violence and unjust military structures on behalf of both men and women. This dedication to human rights and non-violence is an underpinning of critical feminist theory. Their identities were further constructed in responding to violence and human rights violations and their results in this study "...puts the accent on structural change towards justice" (El-Bushra, 2007, p. 144).

Early in their lives, the four women's identities were primarily formed due to their life circumstances and their choices on how to respond to the myriad of pressing challenges in



responding to social injustice in their respective countries. By way of introduction to their identity construction, each woman reported that she had a father who was a strong role model:

Suu Kyi: I've always had deep affection for the army...they treated me well...most of them treated me as my father's daughter. I don't feel like I have anything to forgive them for...They did take steps to eradicate my father from the consciousness of the nation...My father's considered the architect of Burmese independence...Things started changing after I entered the movement of democracy (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 52.17).

When I honor my father, I honor all of those who stand for political integrity in Burma (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 25).

Menchú: Then my father told us girls who weren't married that we had absolute freedom to do as we wish, that we should be independent, and give everything we could to the struggle without anyone behind us ordering us about or forcing us to do anything. He said he gave us total freedom, but that he would like us to use that freedom for the good of the people, to teach the people what he had taught us (Menchú, 2009, p. 183).

Ebadi: My father's championing of my independence, from the play yard to my later decision to become a judge, instilled a confidence in me that I never felt consciously, but later came to regard as my most valued inheritance (Ebadi & Moaveni, 2006, p. 12).

Gbowee: 'I don't want you to be like the other girls, who don't pay attention to their lessons,' he said, 'I know one day you'll be great' (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p.18).

Each woman had a strong influence from her father in developing self-confidence as women leaders and built on those strengths. Suu Kyi and Menchú had especially influential fathers in furthering democracy and human rights in their respective countries.

All four women's identities as international organizational leaders were, in large part, formed from their cultural and social backgrounds and also from their spiritual and political orientation emerging from social justice issues. Each woman frequently spoke about her identity from one or more of these orientations numerous times. The following quotes provide a representative example from each woman's testimony:

Suu Kyi: In Mahayana Buddhism, there's much more emphasis on compassion...I'm very sensitive to this because we need a lot of compassion in this world...I would like to see more of our people putting compassion into action...The main reason why I meditate is the satisfaction I derive from the knowledge that I am doing what I think I should do,

that is, to try to develop awareness as a step towards understanding *annica* as an experience. I have very ordinary attitude towards life. If I think there is something I should do in the name of justice or in the name of love, then I'll do it. The motivation is its own reward (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 92).

Menchú: Identity passes through the community, it passes along pavements, it passes down veins, and it exists in thoughts. Identity is the pride I have in my roots and in creating something new. Each day it provides the chance to be reborn, to flower again, to be rejuvenated. Identity is not studied in a dark room. It is like *nawaal*, the shadow that accompanies you. It is the other, the one beside you (Menchú, 1998, p. 226).

Ebadi: I grew up in a middle class family but my parents were interested in education. My father was professor of commercial laws. Because of my commitment and interest in the question of justice, I decided to go to law school. And after graduating from law school, I became a judge. I was number one in the entrance examination of the Ministry of Justice and because of my record and accomplishments I made very rapid progress in the Ministry of Justice. At the time of the Revolution, I was actually the Chief Judge. And after the Revolution they claimed that women cannot be judge according to Islamic laws... I supported the Revolution because the goals of the Revolution were freedom and independence for our country. And we believed that the establishment of the Islamic Republic would advance the cause of independence and freedom in Iran. And when realized that the goals of the Revolution were ignored by the regime, I, along with many other Iranians, continued our struggle for freedom and independence (Amy Goodman Interview, 2004, p. 2).

Gbowee: So when we called them, they were, like, "You are the leader." And I'm like, "No! God just told me to tell you all because you are the ones living the right life." And the older women were, like, "Haven't you read about a prostitute in the Bible that God used? Haven't you read about a sinner, a woman that Jesus encountered?" And then they went on and on. And I was, like, "You don't understand. It can't be me." I was a single parent. And in my church, I could not excel to any position of authority because I wasn't married. And you constantly hear things being badgered into your head that women who are not married and have children are the worst sinners. And you're fornicating and you're committing adultery and all of the different things. So I was, like, I don't want to be a part of this thing. But after they convinced me, we started this journey together. Then I realized that every problem we encounter on this journey, I'm going to rise above it and lead these women because they trusted me with their lives and their future (Moyers Interview, 2009, para. 31).

All of the women worked tirelessly on behalf of all human beings and share their understanding of the importance of including men in the national and international peacebuilding conversations and strategies:

Suu Kyi: People have often asked me about women's rights in Burma and I have always said very frankly, "Men do not have rights in Burma either." I do know that men are the privileged gender in Burma, as well as in many parts of the world, but at the moment men are just as vulnerable to injustice and oppression. So first, let's give everybody their fundamental rights" (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 161).

Menchú: Also we've found that when discussing women's problems, we need the men to be present, so that they can contribute by giving their opinions about what to do about the problem" (Menchú, 2009, p. 261).

Ebadi: Interestingly, these discriminatory laws are implemented in a society where over 65% of university students are female. So, in other words, if we look at the situation there are more educated women in Iran than there are educated men. It's exactly because of this level of education, that the feminist movement in Iran is very powerful. This movement does not have a leader, it does not have an office or a branch, rather it resides in the hearts of every Iranian family that values equal rights for men and women and is against discriminatory laws (Kroc Institute Lecture, 2006, min. 26.50).

Gbowee: It's that same spirit that will get some men to come around and most times when I speak to a community of African men, I say to them, the reason you now are all demonized is because a lot of you good men have stepped in the back. And the evil ones have taken over your space. And the evil men, the men who perpetrate evil, are not many. The ones who are the good ones are very many, but somehow they've lost their spines and they're not doing enough to protect those women...So, how do we get them to be like the women again? Bring back that spirit of community? But I also think that a lot of the violence that they, too, have seen has affected them in ways that we are not talking about...the handful of the evil ones have affected them in ways that ...there's something about their pride that has been wounded. If you could not protect your wife from rape, who are you in this time of peace to stand up and say you want to be an advocate for rape...I think it's up to us now...to say, What happened, happened. It's time for us to take back our communities (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 41.22).

Suu Kyi and Menchú viewed social justice action as including both genders in furthering progress on behalf of all humans. These two women had stronger mentorship from their father's as active role models in peacebuilding – Suu Kyi with her father in a leading political role in Burma and Menchú's father as a leading grassroots social justice activist. While Ebadi and Gbowee had supportive, encouraging fathers, they were not active politically or involved in their country's peacebuilding movements. Ebadi and Gbowee held more critical language of patriarchal constructs and spent more time addressing those in their peacebuilding efforts.

Each woman shares her reflection on how she consciously came to know that her identity was linked to social justice. First, Suu Kyi was often asked in her interviews about her sacrifices and suffering with respect to her house arrest and she answered repeatedly and consistently that she never felt either of those, rather that she made a *choice* about her work, “I’ve never thought that I was making any sort of sacrifice or undergoing any kind of suffering. I’ve always thought of myself as following a path that I had chosen for myself...”

Menchú spoke about many such pivotal moments where she made a choice to continue to work on behalf of her people in Guatemala including not getting married until she was much older (which broke her Mayan family tradition). She was clear, though, with each choice she made a commitment to continue to work for her people’s struggle, “That is my cause... Therefore, my commitment to my people knows no boundaries nor limits” (Menchú, 1998, p. 289).

Ebadi asserts that furthering Iran’s peaceful transformation in safeguarding human rights is a choice, even when challenged by friends and relatives, and declares, “I harbor no illusion of being able to retire, for that would mean that Iran has changed and that people like me are no longer needed to protect Iranians from their government. If that day comes in my lifetime, I will sit back and applaud the efforts of the next generation from the seclusion of my garden” (Ebadi & Moaveni, 2006, p. 216).

Finally, Gbowee repeatedly tells the story of a dream she had where she was given a choice to organize the women for peace in her community and said she answered the call from God, “Then I realized that every problem we encounter on this journey, I’m going to rise above it and lead these women because they trusted me with their lives and their future” (Interview, PBS).

The language used by the women to advance peacebuilding encompasses the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a foundation for peace to be realized by advancing social justice:

Suu Kyi: For me, human right is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...Human rights should be for all human beings. I do not think there's anything in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is unacceptable to a decent human being. The fact that you start by recognizing the basic dignity of every single human being is the right way to approach human rights (YouTube, 42.00). ..I think power comes from within. If you have confidence in what you are doing and you are shored up by the belief that what you are doing is right, that in itself constitutes power, and this power is very important when you are trying to achieve something. If you don't believe in what you are doing your actions will lack credibility (Suu Kyi & Clements, 2006, p.161).

Menchú: I believe in people, and in people's power. If we all joined human-rights organizations, big and small, in fighting corruption, injustice and greed, then the huge gulf between North and South, between rich and poor within nations, would be bridged and the world would change. If society recognized that the suffering in El Quiché hurt the whole world, then humanity would recover its true meaning (Menchú, 1998, p. 134)

Ebadi: In the last twenty-three years, from the day I was stripped of my judgeship to the years doing battle in the revolutionary courts of Tehran, I had repeated one refrain: the interpretation of Islam that is in harmony with equality and democracy is an authentic expression of faith. It is not religion that binds women, but the selective dictates of those who wish them cloistered. That belief, along with the conviction that change in Iran must come peacefully and from within, has underpinned my work (Ebadi & Moaveni, 2006, p. 204).

Gbowee: And I read a vision for peace written by Grace {Christian Women's Peace Initiative for the December 200 woman march down Tubman Boulevard to city hall}: "We envision peace. A peaceful co-existence that fosters equality, collective ownership and full participation of particularly women in all decision-making processes for conflict prevention, promotion of human security and socioeconomic development (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 179-180).

From their own voice, all of the women speak of upholding basic principles of human rights through democracy and justice for all people. This language promotes both positive and feminist peace theory. The women's collective pronouncement reinforces the importance of critical literacy in peacebuilding, as the language in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights details the need for democracy and justice for all human beings. The first line of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights states, “Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world” (The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, para. 1).

The spirit of this language is captured in the women’s testimony. Suu Kyi specifically emphasizes that the language in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents the most basic human rights for every human being. She points to the importance of its language and how it supports her own commitment to human rights for all human beings while also empowering her work and upholding its credibility.

The other three women have linked their language to the same principles, each with a nuance that fits her country’s circumstances. Menchú relates it to her Mayan culture and community more than individuals and speaks to the inherent connection with all humanity when human rights are respected. Ebadi applies the words harmony, equality, and democracy to speak about the true meaning of the need for Iran’s protection of human rights. From her perspective as a lawyer, she emphasizes how human rights language can transcend the oppressive religious doctrine currently serving as law in Iran. From her recognition of the integral role women need to play as full participants to advance equality and human rights, Gbowee calls for women leadership in decision-making in Liberia’s peacebuilding process.

**Non-Violent Action.** All four women started their organized work under what is commonly referred to by the United Nations in peacebuilding as a *grassroots movement*. “Grassroots women’s peace groups tend to center peacebuilding actions upon nonviolence; recognition of, and respect for, human rights; promotion of intercultural tolerance and

understanding; and women's empowerment in economic, social, cultural and political spheres" (McKay & Mazurana, 2001, p. 4). The approach that the women used from non-violent approaches to organize peacebuilding internationally also closely follows what de la Rey and McKay (2004) found in their women and peacebuilding research, where they point to the women's leading peacebuilding methods, "Foremost among these identified methods was the need for a greater emphasis on peace as opposed to violence (p. 149-150). The idea of including women's voices in furthering non-violent language to build community bridges is inherent in the women's testimony.

With the exception of Menchú's early testimony, the collective testimony reveals non-violent action as the appropriate approach to enact peacebuilding. However, even in the very beginning of the conflict in Menchú's village, the villagers would capture the soldiers in a net and lecture them with positive peace talks before sending them back to the military to educate them about Mayan ways. Only after their Villages were increasingly subject to escalating violence did they arm themselves to fight back. In her later work with the UN on protecting Indigenous Rights, Menchú's approach promoted non-violence.

Their testimony showcases the laureate's understanding of the power of non-violence in international peacebuilding:

Suu Kyi: I think human rights and violence really do not go together. If you believe in human rights, you do not believe in violence. I do not understand people who think that violence is a legitimate way of defending human rights because by using violence, you are undermining the very foundation of human rights. So, I think that if you want to protect human rights, you should do it through your ability to resist violence at every stage of the way (Amnesty Interview, 2012, min. 39.01).

Menchú: By combining all the shades and nuances of the "ladinos", the "garífunas" and Indians in the Guatemalan ethnic mosaic, we must interlace a number of colors without introducing contradictions, without becoming grotesque nor antagonistic, but we must give them brightness and a superior quality, just the way our weavers weave a typical

huipil blouse, brilliantly composed, a gift to Humanity (Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 1992, closing para.).

Ebadi: We are against the military attack on Iran because we believe that human rights can be promoted only under peaceful conditions away from tensions. A military attack on Iran will lead and convince the government to repress freedom seekers under the guise of national security (Kroc Institute Lecture, 2006, min. 52.16).

Gbowee: I think it's important for people to be able to express themselves... I am all for protest, peaceful protest, non-violent protest and non-violent engagement on issues that are dissatisfactory for a group of people. So, I think there are many things in this country that women, men, boys and girls can decide we're going to stand up to... (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 50.03).

Non-violence is a cornerstone of positive peacebuilding and integral to structural transformation of conflict. Clearly the testimony is representative of the laureates' deep understanding of the importance to take action through non-violent means. Suu Kyi is intimating that violence-begets-violence and does not serve as a legitimate way of promoting human rights. This also speaks to her previous stated Buddhist beliefs, which is a tradition that espouses non-violence. Menchú's testimony highlights a newly constructed language presented to promote non-violence through metaphor. It is tied to a woman's piece of clothing as a gift. Ebadi believes the use of violence will prompt any progress in human rights development to be repressed and advocates for more freedoms, not less. From Gbowee's testimony, she argues the importance of prominent voices in speaking up for human rights. She speaks to the ubiquitous silencing of certain people for such a long period of history in her country while she has experienced the power of non-violent protests, many of which she led.

**Promoting a Strategy of Hope.** It was evident in all four women's stories that a strategy of hope was employed to inspire and activate their national and the international communities to support their causes of human rights and democracy under the umbrella of



peacebuilding. In order to represent their testimony through the Appreciative Inquiry Cycle, below is the 4-D cycle, repeated from my Research Methods section as a guide for the findings; 1) Discovery, 2) Dream, 3) Design, and 4) Destiny (Finegold et al., 2002).

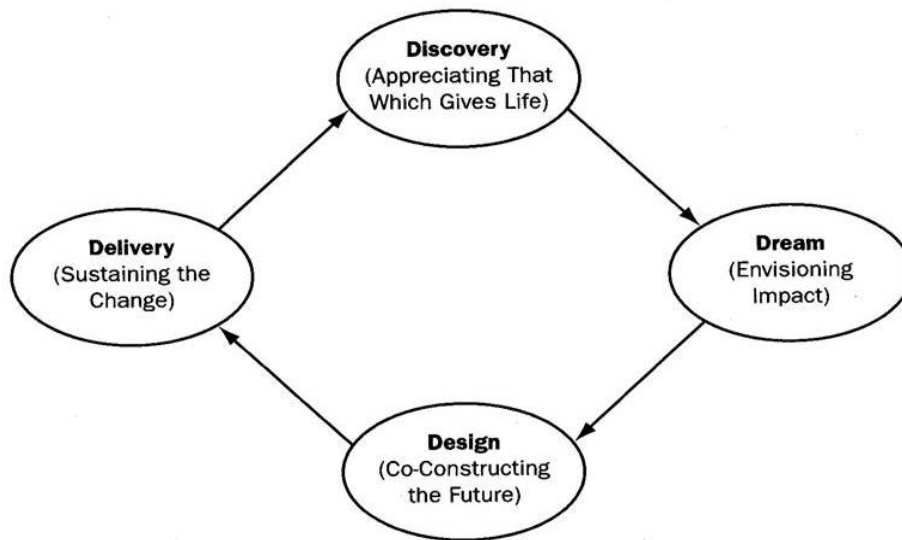


Figure 4 – Appreciative inquiry 4-D cycle

While the women’s stories are conveyed with numerous examples of human atrocity, social injustice and civil unrest, they all respond with a hopeful and positive response for change with uncompromising dedication to realize sustainable change. They served as national and international voices to promote democracy and universal human rights. Each woman’s organizational leadership example below captures the 4Ds of the Appreciative Inquiry Cycle:

Suu Kyi: When we visualize a democratic Burma, we do not visualize it in terms of great power and privileges for the NLD. We see it in terms of less suffering for the people. We’re not starry-eyed about democracy. We don’t think of it in terms of abstract institutions but in terms of what it can do to contribute towards the happiness and well-being of people. We want a country where there is rule of law; where people are secure to the extent that one can be secure in this world; where they are encouraged and helped to acquire education, to broaden their horizons; where conditions conducive to ease of mind and body are fostered. That is why I would say that *metta* is the core of our movement – a desire to bring relief to human beings (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 179).

Menchú: The achievement of the *International Year of the World's Indigenous People* and the progress represented by the preparation of the project for the *Universal Declaration*, are the result of the participation of numerous Indian brothers, non-governmental organizations and the successful efforts of the experts in the Working group, in addition to the comprehensiveness shown by many countries in the United Nations (Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 1992, para. 36).

And so when we see that Guatemala is once again flourishing, when we see the young people with happiness, when we see all of this together, then we are filled with great pride, because Guatemala is indeed a country that has suffered very much and yet we see that now it is coming and rebuilding itself as a country with life and harmony and peace (Kroc Institute Lecture, 2009, min. 32.46).

Ebadi: It is a duty of us as university teachers to serve as a guide for our students to help them find light and to avoid what is bad and go on the path that leads to that internal peace. To teach them that while living happily they can also be useful for others. So, the pillars of internal peace are the ability to lead an internally peaceful life and to assist society as well... We love our country, Iran! (Kroc Institute Interview, 2006, p. 33).

Gbowee: The work that we've done has been a work of sacrifice and those are the people if you're building a movement around...building a community of women, we were building sisterhood. The point that we all knew each other's problem... We did everything together. And that is what we did from one community to the other... It wasn't just about peace. It was reaffirming ourselves as women. Telling people that we got your back. The personal is political. There is no way any of us could say I'm a peace activist and I'm doing such a great job, but the people you work with you don't interact or engage with them in that way... whatever you own has to be shared. So, the kind of people you'll find me hanging out with will be those women when one person cry, everyone will appear and when they come together even when you're crying, they will do something to wipe that tears away (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 44.45).

This session was a "training of the trainers"; the WIPNET goal was to prepare us to teach others back home, so that as issues of war and peace arose, they could speak out. The hope was that in each West African country, a core of volunteers would bring twenty new women a year into the network; in five years, there would be a hundred and every region would have an activist prepared to come forward. We used Thelma's training manual, with its exercises that didn't teach women but transformed them (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 162).

The ongoing power of witnessing these four women speak in public venues and advocate peace through their published works offer all humans encouragement and leadership to continue positive action in advancing international peacebuilding:

Suu Kyi: ...I think hope has to be accompanied by endeavor. If you are working for something, you have the right to hope that you'll be successful (p. 186). Everyone can do something in order to help out, whether small or large, if they set their minds to it. Everyone has a role to play (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 186-187).

Menchú: So, when we see that our rights are not just being discussed by others, but that it is we ourselves that are starting to discuss our rights and when we see that we are becoming protagonists of our own plans and our own projections and our own future, it gives us great hope and we know that the science of the future will be carried on by the people that are being born now ...and we are seeing them grow...and so we find that there is an urgent need to create legal instruments and political instruments and economic instruments but above all institutional instruments so that the age old cultures that date back for thousands of years can once again get back to making science... We want to see the Mayan University in operation by the year 2005. We've had quite a bit of experience with Intercultural higher education. All worked at all levels of education elementary, we've developed methods, ways of conceptualizing education, there are certain educational reforms that will be needed but we have a strong basis, we have Mayan professors working at the institutions at higher education (Voices Campus Lecture, 2003, min. 35.02).

Ebadi: As a result of the feminist movement in Iran, there's been a recent initiative, a petition requesting a review of discriminatory laws against women in Iran. We're seeking to collect a million signatures from men and women, Iranian men and women, and there is a website that has gone out to collect the signatures as well @ [www.we-change.org](http://www.we-change.org). Collecting a million signatures will help show that these discriminatory laws are incompatible with the culture of Iranian women. And since we know that there's a chance that the site could be filtered, we've also collected signatures on paper from Iranian men and women (Kroc Institute Lecture, 2006, p. 35).

Gbowee: What distinguishes us from the other is how we put, where we put, our anger...So, pardon me {she takes Dee's water and pours it into her cup, blending the water}. Anger is fluid, has no shape or size. So, this is the peace container {showing the empty glass} and this is the war container {showing the glass filled with water}. And you can decide, okay, I'm really angry right now and I'm going to pour my anger into the peace container and what you see is someone who is building peace and doing something positive with their anger. Anger is what keeps me going. Anger is something that is like the fuel {she puts her body into it} that I need to do something. But I never ever think that I'm going to pour my anger into a violent container and so when you say does it ever go away, no momma, it never goes away. All you have to do is where do I pour my anger, where do I pour all of those emotions so that it will make sense to the world. And that will leave a legacy and most times when you've gone through war and you've gone through a situation, the question you need to ask yourself is do I want to put this in the violent container and end up in The Hague or end up a villain or do I want to put it in this peace container and end up leaving a perfect legacy like someone like King, or Mandela, or Tutu, or Mother Theresa? Because all of these people, like all of the people we consider villains, have one common thing and that thing was anger. Tonight as you go home, think about it, teach your children. Anger is not a good nor bad. But how you pour

your anger is what your life story end will be (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min. 53.29)...Peace isn't a moment, it's a very long process. We'd shown women's awesome power, but to me, our actions were the foundation of a movement, not its end product (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 168).

The positive peace language above and below symbolizes critical feminist peace theory and these women's powerful voices in activating mass movements of change and offering hope. They follow McKay and Mazurana's (2001) assertion that the feminist definition of "Peace-building includes gender-aware and women-empowering political, social, economic and human rights" (p. 167). Suu Kyi applies inclusive language to encourage everyone to act on behalf of positive change:

Suu Kyi: You can turn anything into strength, if you know how to go about it. Most people know that when somebody loses his sight his sense of hearing can become acute...But if he takes an interest in sounds and develops sensitivity of touch, then his weakness...will help him to develop other strengths to compensate for weakness...You've got to work at it. I am a great believer in action, endeavor and effort ...I always knew when I was doing what I should not be doing. This is where I have found that meditation helps – it gives you a sense of awareness that helps you to observe and control your feelings (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 62-65).

Menchú: We drank in the fundamental values of our leaders, their belief in people, in life and in the strength of the people...our sense of mysticism and our experience of the struggle showed us that having a 'Clear Head' not only showed respect for knowledge in general, it also meant we had to study the underlying cause of problems (Menchú, 1998, p. 107).

Ebadi: If we seek peace, we must pave the way for what leads to it. That is social justice. And peace has two manifestations; an internal peace and an outside peace. We live in a world, on a planet, but yet are unaware at the depth of existence. Without internal peace, we cannot achieve peace on the outside. That internal peace comes from being able to live a meaningful path. People who live without certain goals in their lives are wanderers who will never attain that peace and cannot find tranquility in any corner of the world (Kroc Institute Lecture, 2006, p. 33).

Gbowee: And I woke up shivering from that dream. Real dream! Gather the women to pray for peace. The next morning (my boss was a pastor) and I went to him and said...'I had this dream...Reverend, since you are a pastor, call the women of the church and give them this dream' and he looked at me and said, 'Leymah, the dream bearer is always the carrier of the dream'...So, we started the whole Christian Women Peace Initiative (Kroc Institute Interview, 2013, min.17.35).

Through a critical feminist lens, peacebuilding "... fosters the ability of women, men, girls and boys in their own cultures to promote conditions of non-violence, equality, justice, and human rights of all people, to build democratic institutions, and to sustain the environment (McKay and Mazurana, 2001, p. 167). One of the key words from this assertion is the word "promote." The courage and conviction of these four women to remain hopeful, encouraging, and continue to "promote" peacebuilding from their respective politically and socially turbulent countries, certainly inspires hope. Their collective testimony also clearly demonstrates the key AI tenets in choosing to move forward with the positive aspects of their efforts in peacebuilding.

**Peer Debrief.** My expert peer debriefer for this section was Dr. Susan M. St. Ville, Director, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies Master's Program, University of Notre Dame. She teaches Gender and Peace Studies and Trauma and Peacebuilding. Her research and clinical interests focus on trauma, healing, gender issues in war and peace, and the psychological effects of violence. She serves as the coordinator of the University's Gender Studies Program. Her feedback below was incorporated into the final version of my dissertation:

I have read through this draft and only added a small comment (that probably does not need to be incorporated — I mostly thought that if you had time and space you could add a reflection on the mismatch between critical feminist theory and these women's experiences) {e-mail}. This is really interesting. As a commentary on critical feminist theory — because certainly gender does figure in some way as your analysis below indicates. But on the whole, I found your analysis interesting and useful {In text comment} (See Appendix E for written correspondence with Dr. Susan M. St. Ville).

### **Cross-Case Analysis Summary**

In completing my cross-case analysis presentation, I had a few additional insights that are worth mentioning here. Of the four women, Ebadi appeared to have the least support from other

leaders in her country to advance human rights as a movement within her country. She is the only one of four who is currently exiled from her home country of Iran. She was also the most passionate about never leaving her country and openly criticized those who did. With the exception of Suu Kyi, the women were also under constant threat of being murdered and offer examples of close calls and needing to be vigilant about self-protection and were constantly on the move to avoid being captured. As one might imagine, this had a great impact to them and their families. Their courage to continue with their efforts in spite of this constant threat makes these women all the more remarkable and it is truly astonishing that they are still alive today.

In summarizing this chapter of findings, the testimony and overarching themes showcase the links to critical literacy theory and critical feminist theory. The main objective from both theories is to eliminate patriarchal systems of domination and indignities on behalf of all people and replace them with principles of collaboration, democracy, and justice. The stories from their lived experiences embody those principles from their own language and perspectives as women. Molloy (1995) says that a "...feminist reconceptualisation of peace requires a cultural critique of militarism and a deconstruction of the type of strategic thinking that informs the discourse and any hope for peace therefore entails creating new discourses, thus moving into the realm of desire and imaginary. It is within this realm that peace, politics and pedagogy meet" (p. 235-236). She adds that the feminist constructs for peacebuilding must first deconstruct, "...sifting through discourses, imagery and metaphors, which rendered war a naturalised aspect of human existence and experiences, and opening up ways to reconstruct subjectivity as a demilitarised zone" (Molloy, 1995, p. 238).

The women's testimony was rich from experience and highlighted their personal and professional development as international leaders and spokeswomen for securing human rights

and democracy in their respective countries. They presented their convictions about their cultural, social and political beliefs and orientations and throughout their presentations emphasized new ways of constructing language to advance peacebuilding from a feminist and cultural viewpoint. Further, they shared their stories with the international community to gain support for their causes and to educate people around the world about what was happening in their countries. It is from their amazing voices, supported by the powerful platform of the Nobel Prize, that they engaged international support by effectively inspiring a global audience to take action.

## CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

In my study, I drew upon the voices of four women Nobel Peace Prize laureates to investigate how their experiences advanced international peacebuilding in their respective countries. The purpose of this study was to investigate how women leaders contribute to international peacebuilding. The research questions for this study included: 1) How is international peacebuilding informed by including women's voices? 2) How did leaders advance international peacebuilding in their respective countries? And, 3) What political and social strategies did women leaders employ in advancing international peacebuilding? The three primary study goals were: 1) To investigate women's experiences as international peacebuilders; 2) To contribute to the body of research literature on the importance of including women leaders in international peacebuilding; and 3) To offer insights gained from the collection of stories on how to further advance women leaders in international peacebuilding.

First, I presented each woman's case study independently showcasing the predominant emergent themes from each woman's stories and presented representative data concordant with those themes. Following the individual case studies, I reported a cross-case study highlighting the commonalities across the women's stories. In the development of concepts in the literature review, I presupposed that critical feminist theory and critical literacy theory contributed to the theoretical constructs of women and peacebuilding. In this chapter, I revisit the concepts of my study findings and expand on them to strengthen understanding. I also revisit Shavinina's model of extracognitive abilities of Nobel Peace Prize laureates and expand critical feminist theory to include universal feminism. Additionally, I offer implications of my research for advancing peacebuilding by women in leadership roles. Finally, this chapter concludes with my recommendations for future research related to women's roles in advancing international peacebuilding.



## **Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Extracognitive Abilities**

In this discussion, it is important to answer; 1) how these four women's abilities informed international peacebuilding, and 2) how these key parts of their identity oriented them to do this work on behalf of their countries. A model that helps convey an understanding of what characteristics these women shared to influence their international peacebuilding strategies is drawn from Shavinina's (2004) "model of extracognitive abilities of Nobel laureates" (p. 246). She argues that investigating the *domain-specific abilities* which emerge as specific to Nobel laureates in their respective fields may enable us to learn from these outstanding leaders. She recognizes that this may help teach children exceptional leadership abilities and extend the possibility of successfully replicating these role models in our future world. Their ability to think at a higher level, find creative solutions for challenging and complex problems and maintain a positive, hopeful disposition is common across the four women peacebuilders in my study. "Winning a Nobel Prize represents the pinnacle of accomplishment possible in one's field of expertise" (Shavinina, 2002, p.649).

Shavinina (2004) captures four interrelated components that she argues are specific to Nobel laureates; 1) specific feelings, 2) specific beliefs, 3) specific preferences and intellectual values, and 4) intuitive processes. These traits were pronounced and common across all four women through their autobiographical and biographical accounts and showcase how the women leaders advanced peacebuilding from these traits. Figure 5 presents Shavinina's (2004) model below.

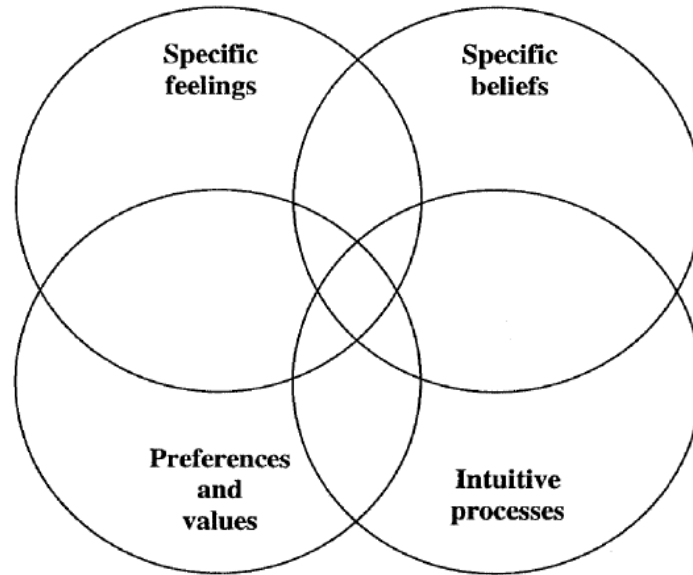


Figure 5 – The model of extracognitive abilities of Nobel laureates (Shavinina, p. 246)

Overlaying Shavinina’s model onto my study findings offers a framework for understanding how these women informed peacebuilding through their extracognitive abilities. Testimony represented under the headings of the four abilities to answer the research questions of how these four women Nobel laureates advanced peacebuilding.

**Specific Feelings.** First, under her description of specific feelings, Shavinina (2004) includes “feeling of direction” and “feeling of being right”, which is exemplified by all four laureates in their work in promoting non-violence as a peacebuilding strategy (p. 248). In their testimony they all expressed a *feeling of direction* at a very young age to work on behalf of human rights: Suu Kyi and Menchú in furthering their father’s work on behalf of their people; Ebadi from her interest in becoming a judge on behalf of true justice; and Gbowee held conviction that she was headed in the *right direction* through her dream where God guided her.

**Specific Beliefs.** Second, Shavinina (2004) says Nobel Prize laureates hold beliefs in “the existence of some principles and specific standards” and “a priori confidence in the truth of a certain vision of things” (p. 249). This holds true for all four women and is evidenced in the “extraordinary stability” of their work, which also stands out in their testimony as interrelated principles, standards, and vision. Those *principles and standards* were housed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which all of the laureates subscribed to.

**Preferences and Values.** Third, Shavinina (2004) explains their orientation with “creative preferences”, which she simplifies by naming “choices” and an innate preference in pursuing unsolved, difficult problems (p. 250). Each woman’s findings reported how her life path as an international leader in peacebuilding was a conscious choice. They all had a comprehensive understanding of the complexity and longevity of the problem they chose to undertake.

**Intuitive Processes.** Finally, fourth from her model, Shavinina (2004) amplifies the highly developed “intuitive processes” held by a Nobel laureate, though is quick to point out that it is difficult to articulate in logical terms (p. 250). All four women had a highly attuned sense of intuition about their life’s work and a deep understanding of how that applied to their circumstances, analogous to an inner knowing from either a spiritual practice and/or faith-based calling.

It is important to investigate the traits and characteristics comprising these women as exemplary role models of women leaders in peacebuilding. From this understanding, perhaps there are replicable, teachable skills to educate a generation of future leaders, men and women.

## Universal Feminism

The women's stories reflected much more of a cultural connection with all human beings and expanded from the critical feminist theory framework to something called *universal feminism*. As this phenomenon emerged from my data analysis, I revisited hooks (2000), which prompted me to search the literature more deeply to understand what was being reported by the women. I expanded my review of critical feminist theory and to better understand the global dialogue and context regarding a culture lens from the findings presented in my study.

My finding expands critical feminist theory and warrants a broader conversation about what feminism means within each country – and universally - furthering peacebuilding, human rights, and democracy. Dean (1996) argues the complexity of this invitation; “We, the big ‘we’-feminists across the globe - need an identity chosen from women’s present activism that opens feminisms to their most democratic promise...It means commitment to the gender rights of women while condemning global imperialism” (p. 142). Dean coins her assertion that in the context of expanding feminism to include these larger constructs as *universal feminism*.

Universal feminism attempts to broaden what was prominent throughout all four women’s stories by embracing universal human rights and widening their own identities from this extended construct. Dean (1996) explains:

...feminists today have run up against the limits of the particular: Experience cannot ground the category "women" because someone will always be excluded. Emphases on particularity blind us to the multiplicity of our interconnections. But just investigating our connections and particularities is not enough. We have to be willing to claim, and justify our claim, that many of the ways in which we have been connected and particularized are wrong because they are coercive and exclusionary. The issue is which conception of universalism best accords with feminist calls for inclusion and accountability (p. 142).

Eisenstein (1994) is another prolific writer on this topic of universal feminism following the same thread of reason and argues that “Women activists need to radically pluralize, rather than liberally pluralize, the concept of feminism” (p. 175). She furthers, “This means that differences will not be silenced in some hierarchically privileged order against a singular standard, or set up oppositionally against each other. This means that differences of power must be recognized and challenged. The structures of power have to be dismantled so that differences simply express variety and can be earnestly embraced as such” (p. 175). The uniqueness of each woman’s experience in context within the complexities of their country’s political, social and cultural context was showcased in their respective testimony. Eisenstein (1996) offers an explanation for the problem of limiting feminism through a western cultural lens:

Deep inside the very notion of feminism resides this conundrum: the translation of plural meanings and multiple locations into one term that cannot be home grown in each location. The term feminism—its racist and colonialist past—inhibits an embrace of all women’s lives across the globe. And yet it calls attention to women like no other term, in no other language. If feminisms means the willingness to both recognize and subordinate differences while recognizing the inequalities of power that divide women, the language of feminisms should not inevitably reproduce imperial meaning itself (p. 109).

The research on women leaders in international peacebuilding also warn about reducing women to a western defined feminist theory and to language that has been constructed by western researchers (Harding, 1987; hooks, 1984; McKay, 2004). This is especially important in countries with religious and cultural dogma that has been challenging to overcome in obtaining equal rights for women. Universal feminism expands the definition to challenge these culturally accepted norms, which oppressive societies may use to obviate the use of human rights and equality. For instance, there are examples from some of the countries where political leaders have claimed laws call into question cultural incompatibility. Oftentimes, oppressors point to religious and cultural interpretations of norms to justify their violent actions. Porter (2003)

stresses that “Cultural stereotypes remain...the major obstacle to gender equality and thus to women’s inclusion in decision-making (p.251). “The perspective of a situated, hypothetical third thus enables us to take accountability for others whom we risk excluding. It transforms taking the attitude of the other into seeing from *their* perspective, questioning norms in light of the risk of harm to those whom we have not yet fully included” (Dean, 1996, p. 175).

It is a delicate balance for women to address demands during conflict and post-conflict while responding to immediate community needs such as food, water, and shelter, and healing trauma. In addition, the enormous task of taking on political and decision-making leadership roles. These competing and complex roles complicate the understanding of the very term *feminist*. Universal feminism helps to widen the conversation and invites a broader understanding of women’s roles and responsibilities in their respective cultural, social and political circumstances.

### **Organized Movements**

The fact that the women formally organized their efforts for advancing human rights and democracy in their respective countries provided them with the momentum of collective agency for their international peacebuilding efforts. The women had highly developed political and social strategies and organized movements to advance their peacebuilding initiatives. In the beginning, their organizational development closely resembles grassroots organizations you might find in the United States.

Each woman was situated in a social and political circumstance that called for national and international action and provoked an organized response. In their organizing efforts, they each looked for a common denominator in their causes to further engage their local citizenry,

which then developed into a wider, international reach under the same cause when it was clear to a majority that the injustices were no longer tolerable. In Suu Kyi's case, she gained great support from her country's citizens in building a democratic Myanmar and organized the National Democratic Party. Menchú enlisted the international Indigenous community and secured formal recognition by the UN for an International Year for Indigenous Peoples in 1996. Ebadi's leadership was most visible through high-profile, individual legal cases, which she communicated through global news channels, gaining international support. Gbowee's efforts spurred an unprecedented movement in Africa called the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace.

The women engaged national and international audiences through their books, public presentations, news media, and more currently a wide-reaching on-line presence. The power of their stories was compelling, elicited deep empathy, and moved global leaders like U.S. President Barack Obama and powerful international organizations - the United Nations and Amnesty International - to act on their country's behalf. The UN would send staff on peacekeeping missions in Liberia and passed legislation on behalf of Guatemala's Mayan rights specific to Indigenous people. Amnesty International highlighted atrocities in Iran and Burma through creative, global protests. The women's organizational structures within their countries - and beyond - helped activate countless others and served as role models to advance national peacebuilding in far-reaching corners of the world.

### **Language and Education**

One of the goals of this study included offering insights gained from the women's collection of stories to further advance women in international peacebuilding. Critical literacy

was one of the key insights highlighted in all of the women's stories. They showcased the importance of reshaping national and international language from patriarchal oppression and violence to elevated non-violent and universal human rights communication. New, peacebuilding-oriented language was shared by each woman in her testimony.

It was clear from the women's findings that the terminology introduced from my literature review needed to be expanded to include how these women presented peacebuilding. First, the term *peacebuilding* was less frequently used than the more evident words such as democracy, human rights, and justice in all of the cases except for Gbowee. In Gbowee's case, she frequently used the term *peacebuilding* though the language driving Liberia's movement which stemmed from *democracy building* and *justice*. I might argue that peacebuilding is inherent in the collective nature of the other words. However, the women assert how important language that resonates most effectively with their respective audiences is in advancing their causes of human rights protection, democracy building, and justice.

Another word that did not show up in the findings was *inner peace* except in one small reference by Ebadi, "...Without internal peace, we cannot achieve peace on the outside. That internal peace comes from being able to live a meaningful path" (USD present). The word compassion was most pronounced from Suu Kyi's country's Buddhist language where she explains, "...there's much more emphasis on compassion" and in Gbowee's testimony she references God as her inner peace. There was no mention of inner peace, specifically, in Menchú's testimony. The significance of the term inner peace is presented in Groff and Smoker's (1996) as the ultimate goal for long-lasting peace and without it there can be no true, outer peace. This belief is in attunement from three out of the four women's testimony.



All of the women emphasized the importance of language constructs that promoted peace, and in furthering that language through formal education. *Human rights* was the most commonly used phrase in all of the women's activism to advance the protection of human rights and served as the foundation for international peacebuilding. It has been argued that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should not be imposed on the world because it is a mostly western idea. However, all of the women tethered their causes to this formal, universal doctrine and argued the importance of educating their country's citizenry from its tenets. Employing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enables women to overcome cultural language which may provide obstacles to human rights as we witnessed from all of the women's testimony. It offers them concrete, critical language to draw from when crafting – and enacting – judicial rules to secure human rights policies. By example, Menchú spent many years at the United Nations meetings and immersed herself in the process to secure formal, inclusive language for a Universal Declaration of Rights for Indigenous Peoples. She believes that through formal, higher education, specifically a Mayan University, is the way to manifest peace as "...an example of harmony and inclusiveness, inclusiveness in our thoughts and what we do, so that we can truly create a multi-cultural, multi-national nation" (Menchú , USD 18.32).

### **Implications for Women Advancing International Peacebuilding**

The importance of my study is to showcase the importance of women's voices leading international peacebuilding movements. Women comprise half of the world's population, yet they continue to be conspicuously absent in peacebuilding and political leadership, and mostly amiss in key national and international decision-making roles. My study revealed that there are a variety of ways that women leaders can further peace through equality, freedom, justice and

ensuring human rights for all people. Their stories expressly showed a path to peace and shared commonalities in steps along this path for the world to see how the job gets done and how to replicate them. The language of human rights and dignity and justice is similar, the denouncement of violence the same, and the deep understanding of organizing all men and women around the spirit of peace a universal thread.

In 1995, during the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, it was unequivocally affirmed that women's rights are human rights. Giving voice to women is not to detract from the value men hold in society, rather it is to share in the conversation, and magnify agency and equity for *all* people furthering peace in the world. Ending violence and rebuilding communities of peace continue to be messaged clearly and consistently from these women's voices to worldwide audiences. Their stories are compelling and their national and global audiences have responded with great support and action. Access, action, and promoting their causes continue to serve as a powerful combination from these women's voices to further advance international peacebuilding in hopes of one day realizing universal human rights and lasting peace worldwide.

### **Directions for Future Research**

Inarguably, women are still largely amiss in leadership positions strategic to national and international peacebuilding initiatives. Future research might include asking women who are involved in community peacebuilding why women are excluded? Are they interested in such positions? If so, what are the obstacles and constraints and their suggestions for overcoming them? What are the commonalities globally and what is unique to each country? What

educational elements need to be in the curriculum to cultivate these leaders? What social and political constructs need to be investigated and reconstructed for success?

Also, the United Nations is still largely comprised by scientists who view quantitative, evidence-based research as more reliable than qualitative methods. If this is the case, should researchers in peacebuilding be encouraged to use more quantitative approaches in their studies or make a stronger case for the importance of qualitative methods? If quantitative methods are used and the patriarchy designed it, will the women's voices be lost regardless? What first might need to be deconstructed and reconstructed?

Shavinina (2009) invites future research in assessing the qualities unique to Nobel laureates and this especially applies to my study participants as women. What are the traits and characteristics valued that are replicable and teachable to our future women leaders? In the context of my study, are there differences between how men and women operationalize these traits and characteristics in these prestigious leadership roles?

Finally, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is still written in its historical language with a gender bias using predominately male pronouns such as "brotherhood, "him," "he," "himself," and/or "his". If the United Nations is to be in alignment with its other accords to further women's rights, should not this be further investigated? How would it help advance women in peacebuilding leadership roles to wholly align this language with full gender inclusivity?

Of course, there are endless opportunities for future research on advancing women leaders in peacebuilding. Thus, my final recommendation is to take the existing research and truly expand upon it to provide meaningful guidance to women and proceed with great awareness to avoid reproducing underlying patriarchal constructs.

## Summary

To bring my dissertation to a close, parting words are presented from the last pages of each woman's book;

At this point in time it's idealistic, but I wonder whether a time will ever come when it's no longer a simple idea but something that could be put into effect practically. I wonder if we could remove all instincts of violence from the human race (Suu Kyi & Clements, 1997, p. 207-208).

Not just a hierarchy, or a building, but a real change inside people...I am convinced that the people, the masses, are the only ones capable of transforming society...Therefore, my commitment to our struggle knows no boundaries nor limits. This is why I've traveled to many places where I've had the opportunity to talk about my people (Menchú, 2009, p. 289).

...the crowds parted to let us ahead, and through the window I watched faces slide by, hopeful, serious, proud, and most of all, so *alive*. Near the arched monument by the shah in south Tehran now renamed Freedom Square, I caught sight of a women with child in one hand, a makeshift poster in the other, and the sight made my breath catch, for her sign read, "This is Iran." (Ebadi & Moeveni, 2006, p. 208).

Because of women like her, because of women like us, I believe that in the end, tyranny will never succeed, and goodness will always vanquish evil. Although I may not see it in my lifetime, peace will overcome. I believe, I *know*, that if you have an unshakable faith in yourself, in your sister and in the possibility of change, you can do almost anything. The work is hard. The immensity of what needs to be done is discouraging. But you can look at communities that are struggling on a daily basis. *They* keep on – and in the eyes of the people there, you are a symbol of hope. And so you, too, must keep on. You are not at liberty to give up (Gbowee & Mithers, 2011, p. 329-330).

## Epilogue

I would be remiss if I did not take the time to investigate what is happening now in the lives of each woman and her respective country. A synopsis of the current conditions are presented for each country and adapted from the Human Rights Watch World Report Country Chapters; Burma, Guatemala, Iran, and Liberia. The countries are listed in chronological order

from the earliest winner of the Nobel Peace Prize of the four to the most recent. Finally, a closing summary showcases Malala Yousafzai, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2014.

**Suu Kyi.** Burma's World Report (2013) rated poor progress for human rights in 2012 in spite of noble actions by the government toward political reform. In April, opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy party won 43 of 44 seats in a parliamentary by-election, however the majority is still comprised of military representatives or retired military officers.

A peaceful assembly law was signed in December 2011 and applauded by Western governments, though it falls short of international standards in that protest slogans must be pre-approved and any permit violations punished by imprisonment. Ongoing violence and human rights violations continue to shame Burma in the Arakan State against the Rohingya Muslims, a targeted minority population by the Arakenese Buddhists.

Overall, however, the Western leaders are optimistic that about some political reforms that further human rights while still protesting any violence and human rights abuses. Suu Kyi has traveled extensively since her travel restrictions were lifted and continues to speak widely on the international stage on promoting human rights and democracy. Burma's current constitution prevents Suu Kyi from becoming President of Burma in the 2015 elections. The rule disqualifies anyone whose spouse or children are foreign nationals from holding the office of president or vice president. Suu Kyi's late husband was a British citizen, and so are her two sons. Her supporters say that the law, which was written in 2008, was strategically designed to prevent her from running.

**Menchú.** The Guatemala World Report (2013) showed a 33% reduction in underage child laborers under the age of 14 reported by the International Labour Organization. However, the ongoing exploitation in sexually-related use of children is a growing problem. Ongoing violence against women and girls is presented as a chronic problem and is reported to have increased by more than 33% and perpetrators are rarely punished. All abortions are illegal.

In 2013, in an internationally hailed landmark ruling, former head of state Efraín Ríos Montt was prosecuted and found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity punished by an 80-year prison term. In 1982, the retired general led a military regime that carried out hundreds of massacres of unarmed civilians, including massive deaths in Mayan villages. The ruling was recently contested on process, however. A new trial is scheduled to commence in January 2015.

Menchú continues to speak publically on the international stage and united with five other Nobel Peace Prize laureates to create a Nobel Women's Initiative to further peace, justice, and equality as a united front. She serves as a PeaceJam member speaking at large conferences to inspire young leaders embody and carry the torch of peace and peacebuilding. Over the years, Menchú and her family have been routinely targeted with death threats and she has spent periods of time living in Mexico.

**Ebadi.** The Iran World Report (2013) confirmed that millions of Iranians participated in the June presidential and local elections. About 30 women had registered as candidates to run in the campaign and Iran's Guardian Council disqualified all of them. Many civil society activists remain in prison on political charges, though some political prisoners have been released. Executions persist at high rates. Iranian women continue to face cross-cutting discrimination in areas of perceived personal matters such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and child custody.

Child marriage continues for girls as young as 13. In 2013, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon reported that there were ongoing concerns with Iran's human rights issues.

Ebadi currently resides in England, in response to numerous death threats and harassment of her family members. In spite of this, she continues to speak up for Iran's human rights and is one of the six women leaders who founded the Nobel Women's Initiative.

**Gbowee.** Liberia's Human Rights Watch (2013) reported key international organizations pressured President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (shared Nobel Peace Prize with Gbowee) to implement human rights reforms detailed in the peace accord that was signed ten years ago. As President Sirleaf relieved corrupt government officials, no legal action was taken against them and this was perceived as discrediting the efforts. Thus, the establishment of rule of law, viewed as necessary to advance sustainable peace in Liberia, is discredited.

It is reported in numerous international reports that sexual violence against women and girls is uncontrolled. Hundreds of cases are reported each year and go unpunished, and the numbers that are unreported are expected to be much higher. Retaliation against those who do report contributes to this problem. Pervasive inadequacies within the judicial system and security sector and rampant official corruption greatly contributes to human rights advancement in Liberia.

Gbowee resides in New York as a Distinguished Fellow in Social Justice at the Barnard College of Columbia University until 2015. In 2013, she became an Oxfam Global Ambassador and concurrently serves as a Board Member on the Nobel Women's Initiative and PeaceJam Foundation. She continues to speak globally to advance women's rights, and peace and security.

**Malala Yousafzai.** Finally, it was with great joy to report that on October 2014 – Malala Yousafzai (Malala), an equally courageous and deserving woman, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize as the youngest recipient – age 17 – in its history. The Nobel Foundation (2014) awarded Malala the prize for her work in furthering the right of girls to an education. Her prize is shared with Kailash Satyarthi for his similar contributions in India.

Malala contributed \$50,000 from a separate prize, The Worlds Children’s Prize, to rebuild 65 ravaged schools in Gaza and paired her donation with this message “Because without education, there will never be peace.” The final words of my dissertation are delivered to the world by Malala vigorously encouraging us to actively promote human rights, peace, dignity, and equality for *all* human beings:

I speak not for myself but for those without voice...those who have fought for their rights, their right to live in peace, their right to be treated with dignity, their right to equality of opportunity, their right to be educated. We realize the importance of our voice when we are silenced (UN Speech, 2014, para. 4).

Dear sisters and brothers, dear fellow children, we must work... not wait. Not just the politicians and the world leaders, we all need to contribute. Me. You. We. It is our duty. Let us become the first generation to decide to be the last, let us become the first generation that decides to be the last that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods, and wasted potentials.

Let this be the **last time** that a girl or a boy spends their childhood in a factory.  
Let this be the last time that a girl is forced into early child marriage.  
Let this be the last time that a child loses life in war.  
Let this be the last time that we see a child out of school.  
Let this end with us.

Let's begin this ending ... together ... today ... right here, right now. Let's begin this ending now (Nobel Lecture, 2014, closing para.).



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## APPENDICES


APPENDIX A: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD DETERMINATION



Research Integrity & Compliance Review Office  
Office of Vice President for Research  
Fort Collins, CO 80523-2011  
(970) 491-1553  
FAX (970) 491-2293

Date: August 20, 2013

To: Nathalie Kees, Ph.D., Associate Professor, School of Education  
Louise Jennings, Ph.D., Associate Professor, School of Education  
Margit C. Hentschel, Doctoral Student, School of Education

From: Evelyn Swiss, IRB Coordinator 

Re: Women Leaders Advancing Peacebuilding: A Cross Case Study  
Analysis of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates

After review of a summary of your doctoral project, it was determined that the project does not meet the federal definition of "research with human subjects," and is thus not under the IRB's purview (45CFR46.102(d and f)).

**§45CRF46.102(d)**

(d) *Research* means a systematic investigation, including research development, testing and evaluation, designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge. Activities which meet this definition constitute research for purposes of this policy, whether or not they are conducted or supported under a program which is considered research for other purposes. For example, some demonstration and service programs may include research activities.

**§45CFR46.102(f)**

Human subject means a living individual about whom an investigator conducting research obtains data through intervention or interaction with the individual, or identifiable private information"

Thank you for submitting this information. If you have more projects that are similar, please contact us prior to submission. The IRB must determine whether a project needs to have IRB approval.

APPENDIX B: ON-LINE RESOURCES VIEWED

On-line resources viewed for each participant in order of award year received, earliest to present:

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Forum</b>	<b>On-line Resource</b>	<b>Media Source</b>	<b>Length</b>
Aung San Suu Kyi	Upload 9.22.07	Aung San Suu Kyi on Non-Violence	Interview from 1999	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1ZILd1fmxU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1ZILd1fmxU</a>	YouTube	2.15 minutes
Aung San Suu Kyi	4.26.11	Special Message from Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (award recipient)	Foundation's Eleanor Roosevelt Awards for Global Women's Rights Feminist Majority Foundation, Los Angeles, CA	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PqI4zDcOJk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PqI4zDcOJk</a>	YouTube & Transcript	4.07 minutes, 1-page
Aung San Suu Kyi	9.20.12	Amnesty Rights Generation	Amnesty International USA	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CbD6_YMGk4E">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CbD6_YMGk4E</a>	YouTube	68 minutes
Aung San Suu Kyi	6.14.12	Speech	International Labor Conference 2012	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHPh4JE-1oo">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHPh4JE-1oo</a>	YouTube	17.06 minutes
Aung San Suu Kyi	8.6.12	Aung San Suu Kyi address	Commission Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches	<a href="http://www.oikoumene.org/en/press-centre/news/aung-san-suu-kyi-addresses-ccia-consultation-urging-new-model-of-reconciliation">http://www.oikoumene.org/en/press-centre/news/aung-san-suu-kyi-addresses-ccia-consultation-urging-new-model-of-reconciliation</a>	Article	1-page

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Forum</b>	<b>On-line Resource</b>	<b>Media Source</b>	<b>Length</b>
Aung San Suu Kyi	11.15.10	John Simpson, World Affairs Editor, BBC	Television Interview	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zjqTWO_IJw">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zjqTWO_IJw</a>	YouTube	8.53 minutes
Aung San Suu Kyi	9.18.12	Scott Sterns, State Department Correspondent, Voice of America	Interview	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5x-_wDk3cc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5x-_wDk3cc</a>	YouTube	12.00 minutes
Aung San Suu Kyi	6.6.12	Nobel Lecture	Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech	<a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1991/kyi-lecture_en.html">http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1991/kyi-lecture_en.html</a>	Transcript	2-pages
Rigoberta Menchú	12.10.92	Nobel Lecture	Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech	<a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1992/tum-lecture.html">http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1992/tum-lecture.html</a>	Transcript	11-pages
Rigoberta Menchú	11.16.09	Challenges to Lasting Peace in Guatemala {translated}	Series: Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice Lecture Series, University of California, San Diego	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXgaWlnwMBM">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXgaWlnwMBM</a>	YouTube	58.34 minutes
Rigoberta Menchú	11.07.03	Indigenous Rights and Universal Peace - Menchú	Voices Campus Lecture, University of California, Santa Barbara	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=daM0NiBBnwc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=daM0NiBBnwc</a>	University of California Television (UCTV), YouTube	83 minutes

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Forum</b>	<b>On-line Resource</b>	<b>Media Source</b>	<b>Length</b>
Rigoberta Menchú	12.6.01	Untitled {translated}	Nobel Centennial Symposia, Oslo, Norway	<a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1258">http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1258</a>	Frekvens Produktion AB (webcasting)	18 minutes
Rigoberta Menchú	6.25.12	Nobel Peace Prize Recipient: Rigoberta Menchú Interview	The Film Archives	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ymUzXUHZVU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ymUzXUHZVU</a>	YouTube & Transcript	26.59 minutes
Shirin Ebadi	12.10.03	Nobel Lecture	Nobel Lecture, Oslo, Norway	<a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2003/ebadi-lecture-e.html">http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2003/ebadi-lecture-e.html</a>	Transcript	4-pages
Shirin Ebadi	6.14.04	Democracy is Not Going to Be Given Through Cluster Bombs	Interview with Amy Goodman, Downtown Community Television, New York City, NY	<a href="http://www.democracynow.org/2004/6/14/democracy_is_not_going_to_be">http://www.democracynow.org/2004/6/14/democracy_is_not_going_to_be</a>	Video Democracy Now! Productions Inc.	60 minutes
Shirin Ebadi	9.7.06	Shirin Ebadi: Iran Awakening: Human Rights, Women Islam	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice Distinguished Lecture Series, UC-San Diego	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmW_lyDvaIE">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmW_lyDvaIE</a> & digital <a href="http://digital.sandiego.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&amp;context=lecture_series">http://digital.sandiego.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&amp;context=lecture_series</a>	YouTube Video, Transcripts	57.03 minutes
Leymah Gbowee	3.1.12	TED Talk	TED	<a href="http://www.ted.com/talks/leymah_gbowee_unlock_the_intelligence_passion_greatness_of_girls.html">http://www.ted.com/talks/leymah_gbowee_unlock_the_intelligence_passion_greatness_of_girls.html</a>	TED Conferences, LLC	14.40 minutes

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Forum</b>	<b>On-line Resource</b>	<b>Media Source</b>	<b>Length</b>
Leymah Gbowee	12.10.11	Nobel Lecture	Nobel Lecture Oslo, Norway	<a href="http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/gbowee-lecture_en.html">http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/gbowee-lecture_en.html</a>	The Nobel Foundation	2-pages
Leymah Gbowee	4.11.13	Transforming Conflict through Non-Violent Coalitions	Joan B. Kroc Institute School of Peace Studies	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3vLftN5ZXM">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3vLftN5ZXM</a>	University of California Television (UCTV), YouTube	59.35 minutes
Leymah Gbowee	6.19.09	Bill Moyers Journal	Interview with Bill Moyers	<a href="http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/06192009/transcript1.html">http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/06192009/transcript1.html</a>	e-Transcript	

## APPENDIX C: CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE NOBEL FOUNDATION

September 4, 2013 Time: 7:13 am

Dear Margit,

The Nobel Foundation is a small organisation with limited staff resources. The foundation's task is to administer the Prize funds for the awarding of the Nobel Prize. We also administer informational activities and arrangements surrounding the presentation of the prize. The nomination and selection process of Nobel Laureates is not administered by the Nobel Foundation but by the different Nobel Prize awarding institutions depending on prize category. It is unfortunately not in the purpose of the Nobel Prize Committees to generally assess or evaluate scientific work beyond the assessment of nominations for the Nobel Prizes.

Kind regards,

Siavash Pournouri  
Vik. Informatör/ Public Relations Officer (acting)  
Nobelstiftelsen / The Nobel Foundation  
Street Address: Sturegatan 14  
P.O. Box 5232  
SE-102 45 Stockholm, Sweden

Web: [Nobelprize.org](http://Nobelprize.org)

This e-mail message including attachments, if any, is intended for the person to whom or the entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If you are not the intended recipient, please be notified that any use, disclosure, dissemination, distribution or copying of the information contained in this e-mail and its attachments, if any, is not allowed. If you have received this e-mail in error, please notify the above sender immediately and delete this e-mail and any copies of it. Thank you for your cooperation.

-----Ursprungligt meddelande-----

Från: Hentschel, Margit [<mailto:Margit.Hentschel@colostate.edu>]

Skickat: den 4 september 2013 15:05

Till: Nobel Foundation - Enquiries

Ämne: RE: Request for Permission to Use Photos in Academic PhD Dissertation

Dear Siavash Pournouri,

I appreciate your prompt response and picture of Leymah Gbowee. Thank you also for your kind guidance on other resources to access. I wonder if you might also suggest who I could contact at the Nobel Foundation or other Nobel branch to serve as a "fact checker" for my dissertation. My committee suggested this approach to help improve the trustworthiness factor of my dissertation. This would involve having someone read the four individual chapters on the laureates and a fifth cross-analysis chapter. Do you have any ideas who might be willing to help me with this? I am writing in English. Thank you again and wishing you a peaceful day ;)

With gratitude,  
Margit Hentschel

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From: Nobel Foundation - Enquiries [Enquiries@nobel.se]  
Sent: Wednesday, September 04, 2013 1:50 AM  
To: Hentschel,Margit  
Subject: SV: Request for Permission to Use Photos in Academic PhD Dissertation

Dear Margit Hentschel,

Thank you for your e-mail. The Nobel Foundation can unfortunately not grant permissions to use portrait photos of the Nobel Laureates of 1901-2006 due to copyright restrictions. We refer you to a photo agency such as Sciencephoto.com, Scanpix, Reuters, Associated Press, EPA, Getty Images or Agence France Presse to make your enquiry for other photos.

Starting in 2007, most of the official Nobel portraits on Nobelprize.org are the copyright of the Nobel Foundation. We can therefore relay the attached image of Leymah Gbowee for editorial use, provided that a copyright notice is applied "© Nobel Foundation" along with the name of the photographer Ken Opprann.

Yours sincerely,  
Siavash Pournouri  
Vik. Informatör/ Public Relations Officer (acting) Nobelstiftelsen / The Nobel Foundation Street  
Address: Sturegatan 14 P.O. Box 5232  
SE-102 45 Stockholm, Sweden

Web: [Nobelprize.org](http://Nobelprize.org)

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mail in error, please notify the above sender immediately and delete this e-mail and any copies of it. Thank you for your cooperation.

-----Ursprungligt meddelande-----

Från: margit.hentschel@colostate.edu [<mailto:margit.hentschel@colostate.edu>]

Skickat: den 3 september 2013 23:07

Till: Nobel Foundation - Enquiries

Ämne: Request for Permission to Use Photos in Academic PhD Dissertation

Dear Nobel Foundation:

I seek your permission to insert select photos from four of your Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Leymah Gbowee, Aung San Suu Kyi, Shirin Ebadi, and Roberta Menchú from your website showcasing their achievements. My PhD dissertation focuses on these four women as international leaders advancing peace in their respective countries. I would appreciate your consideration and formal, written permission to use the photos.

Respectfully Yours,

Margit Hentschel, PhD Candidate, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO

APPENDIX D: CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. MARICELA DEMIJRYN, ETHNIC  
STUDIES, COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

November 22, 2013 Time: 4:04 pm

Hi Margit,

Your work is different from other studies that I have read, so I'm not sure how to provide you with any useful feedback. I'm not familiar with the methodology of using various sources (book excerpts, speeches & presentations) and analyzing the data for themes in ways that are consistent. The only useful advice that I might provide is for you to monitor your assumptions regarding how someone sounds or how you perceive them unless you are including yourself somewhere in the overall study as a participant somehow, such as a practitioner of Buddhism & are using an autoethnographic lens. I also think that in general, you are relying on your readers to be on the same page with you in their understandings of the excerpts you use, so my advice would be to unpack them more. For example, break apart the story by Gbowee into sections and directly point out separate strategies and why *you* think they promote peace building.

Hope this helps. Your work is interesting and I loved reading about the 4 women you selected. Abrazos! Based on your e-mail - the 16th is close!  
Best wishes and good luck!!!  
Maricela

Maricela DeMirjyn, PhD  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Ethnic Studies  
Colorado State University

APPENDIX E: CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. SUSAN ST. VILLE, KROC INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

**From:** Susan StVille [mailto:Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 20, 2013 8:47 AM  
**To:** Hentschel,Margit  
**Subject:** Re: For your Review: Dissertation Cross-Case Analysis Section

Dear Margit,

My apologies for missing the earlier email. I have read through this draft and only added a small comment (that probably does not need to be incorporated — I mostly thought that if you had time and space you could add a reflection on the mismatch between critical feminist theory and these women's experiences). But on the whole, I found your analysis interesting and useful.

Best,

Susan

Susan St. Ville  
Director of the master's program  
Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
University of Notre Dame  
Phone: 01 (574) 631-2628  
<http://www.kroc.nd.edu>  
<http://kroc.nd.edu/facultystaff/faculty/susan-m-st-ville>

**From:** <Hentschel>, Margit <[Margit.Hentschel@colostate.edu](mailto:Margit.Hentschel@colostate.edu)>  
**Date:** Wednesday, November 20, 2013 8:42 AM  
**To:** Susan StVille <[Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu](mailto:Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu)>  
**Subject:** FW: For your Review: Dissertation Cross-Case Analysis Section

Good Morning Dr. Ville,

I am just checking to see if you received my attached draft last week & when you may have your remarks back to me this week. I have a meeting with my Dissertation Advisor on Thursday morning (tomorrow) @ 10 a.m. MST. Thank you, in advance, for your time on this for me. I certainly appreciate it!

My very best,  
Margit

November 11, 2013 Time: 10:14 am

Dear Dr. St. Ville,

Please find my attached Cross-Case Analysis Section for your review. I've added some background information in the first couple of pages to help orient you. Also, each woman has a full individual case study, which precedes this section and I have a separate content expert for those. All five sections comprise Chapter 4, Results.

I also wanted to mention that I have hired an editor, so I invite you to focus on the content and offer any comments you may have after you have finished reading this section and no need to edit at all ;) I welcome your feedback and hope to see your thoughts by Tuesday, November 19, 2013.

With utmost gratitude!  
Happy reading, Margit

---

**From:** Susan StVille [Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu]  
**Sent:** Monday, September 30, 2013 7:29 AM  
**To:** Hentschel,Margit  
**Subject:** Re: Reviewing my Dissertation Synthesis Chapter

Good. I will look forward to getting your chapter.  
Susan

**From:** <Hentschel>, Margit <[Margit.Hentschel@colostate.edu](mailto:Margit.Hentschel@colostate.edu)>  
**Date:** Saturday, September 28, 2013 6:47 PM  
**To:** Susan StVille <[Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu](mailto:Susan.M.StVille.2@nd.edu)>  
**Subject:** Reviewing my Dissertation Synthesis Chapter

Dear Dr. St. Ville,

Thank you for speaking with me on the phone last week and agreeing to review my Cross-Case Analysis chapter on the four Nobel Peace Prize winning women I am studying; Leymah Gbowee, Aung San Suu Kyi, Rigoberta Menchú , and Shirin Ebadi. As I mentioned, I anticipate sending you a 20-25 page (double-spaced) stand-alone chapter using qualitative research methods during the first week of November. My data consists of presenting their narratives from their autobiographies and biographies, and on-line testimony, using Appreciative and Mindful Inquiry as data analysis tools. Finally, I am employing critical feminist theory and identity construction while investigating how these four women organized peacebuilding in their respective countries. If you're still interested in serving this role on my dissertation, you will be

listed in my methodology as a third party critical reviewer, your responses added as an Appendix, and select comments will be woven into my final submittal citing you accordingly.

Thank you again for your kind support. I really appreciate it!

In peace,  
Margit

Margit Hentschel, Director  
Office of Service-Learning  
Institute for Learning and Teaching  
PhD Candidate, Education, Peace & Reconciliation Studies  
Colorado State University  
801 Oval Drive #235  
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523-1052  
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[\(970\) 232-4273](tel:9702324273) (cell)  
[margit@colostate.edu](mailto:margit@colostate.edu)<http://tilt.colostate.edu>