

DISSERTATION

GLOBALIZATION OF COMPASSION:
WOMEN IN THE FOREGROUND OF CULTURES OF PEACE

Submitted by

Elissa J. Tivona

School of Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Fall, 2008

UMI Number: 3346499

Copyright 2008 by
Tivona, Elissa J.

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3346499

Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 E. Eisenhower Parkway
PO Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Copyright by Elissa J. Tivona 2008
All Rights Reserved


COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

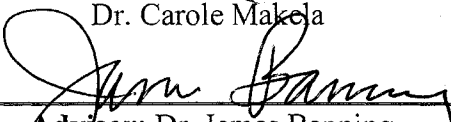
November 5, 2008

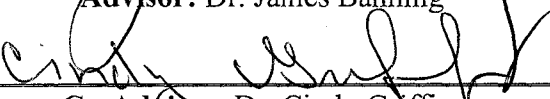
WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY E. J. TIVONA ENTITLED GLOBALIZATION OF COMPASSION: WOMEN IN THE FOREGROUND OF CULTURES OF PEACE BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

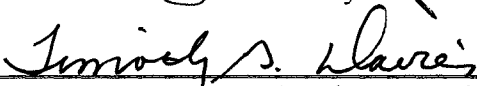
Committee on Graduate work


Dr. SueEllen Charlton


Dr. Carole Makela


Advisor: Dr. James Banning


Co-Advisor: Dr. Cindy Griffin


Director: Dr. Timothy G. Davies

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION
GLOBALIZATION OF COMPASSION:
WOMEN IN THE FOREGROUND OF CULTURES OF PEACE

This qualitative document analysis examines nine core rhetorical acts featured in the foreground of mediated public discourse (print and broadcast media) contrasting them to rhetorical acts of nine global “peacewomen” presented in 1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe. This text is a compilation of the personal narratives of 1000 women nominated collectively for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. I constructed Local Focus Dyads, juxtaposing one woman’s narrative from each global region with a first ranked news story for the same region, as identified through a systematic LexisNexis search. As a result of my analysis I derived a theoretical framework contrasting foreground and background rhetoric around overarching themes of progress, human security, and sustained agency. I found assumptions and news judgments dominating the foreground of public discourse glut communication delivery channels, crowding out clear depictions and focused understanding of alternate, peace-building rhetorical performance being regularly enacted in the background, often by women.

The results of the study are discussed in terms of new possibilities for peace construction that emerge by “racking focus” and bringing women’s background narratives to the foreground of public discourse. In *Weaving Cultures of Peace – Tapestries in the Making* I discuss six themes threading throughout the background rhetorical acts I studied. These new possibilities

include: mending wounds and alleviating suffering; weaving social safety nets; crafting cultures of conflict resolution and “repurposing” cultures of violence; discerning innovative patterns; knitting together local and global; and affixing badges of honor to peace construction.

My findings are consistent with other academic research and provide compelling possibilities for further investigation. From a journalistic perspective, I imagine action research raising questions of whether alternate news stories, featuring rhetorical acts central to cultures of peace (especially those enacted by women), contribute to changing the perceptions of media consumers? In Communications Studies terms, I envision in-depth studies continuing to clarify and articulate rhetoric of peace construction, grounded in a larger dataset of peacewomen narratives. As an educator, I wonder about our responsibilities for re-adjusting a lens on the world to more accurately portray the full bandwidth of human performance, not just the narrow spectrum currently featured in headlines.

Elissa J. Tivona
School of Education
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, CO 80523
Fall, 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot imagine putting this project to rest without acknowledging the many individuals who provided crucial support, kindness and cups of coffee along the journey.

As for my committee, first, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Dr. Jim Banning who threw me a lifeline when I figured all was lost, and I grabbed it and hung on. Also, to Dr. Carole Makela who patiently urged students to be precise about our “unit of study,” in other words, figure out what the heck we’re investigating and stick to it! Many thanks to Dr. Cindy Griffin, who, in addition to the many lessons she taught about rhetorical analysis over the years, helped me understand just what a “rhetor” was and offered continued encouragement to add my own voice to those in the Academy. And to Dr. SueEllen Charlton, a Professor of Women in Development at Colorado State University, who opened my eyes and my heart to global politics and feminism in a way nothing before or since ever has. I cannot thank you each enough for your good work and steadfast support.

So many friends have listened to me grumble through the years that it will be impossible to name them all. Please forgive omissions if I identify a few who have taken the brunt: Richard Schneider, journalism mentor and good friend who pointed out the difference between news and news judgment, co-coordinators of “Perspectives on Peacemaking,” which started me down this road in 2002, Adrienne Harber, Jill Beslau and Leslie Lomas; my many friends cheering me along in the Tent of Abraham, Hagar

and Sarah, NIOTA and in the Faith Club; and my weekly walking buddies Kirsten Hartman Meek and Dale Agger and critical listener Esther Sadeh.

Also, sadly, there are several dear ones, who did not survive to see the completion of this project, including my parents: David Meyer (proud WWII veteran turned pacifist) and Minnette Meyer. They played a critical role, instilling in me a love of education and life-long learning. Then there's my dear friend David Young, who passed away eleven months ago; among so many other traits, he was a trailblazer (achieving his PhD in Biostatistics as a full quadriplegic), my muse and an extraordinary wit, providing sorely needed comic relief. David, I hope you're watching.

Deep gratitude goes out to two people in particular who helped me get through the nuts and bolts of this process; thank you Kathy Lucas and Lynda Kemp.

Of course, none of this would have been conceivable without my loving husband, Glenn Blanc, who was a constant presence whether trouble-shooting all too frequent technical crises or talking me through creative blocks. This success is as much his as mine. And deepest thanks to my amazing kids, Devon and Shannon Tivona, who are the true inspiration underlying this work. I hope you don't feel too cheated by my years of pre-occupation with this process. Instead, I hope you can hold on to the fact that I wanted, more than anything, for you to believe as I do, that PEACE IS POSSIBLE.

And finally, I want to thank all *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe*, dedicating themselves daily to establishing cultures of peace in every corner of the world. May the light of your good work continue to illuminate the way forward for all of us.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Personal Perspective	1
Context	3
Purpose of the Study	6
Theoretical Framework	9
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE	17
Methodology Literature	17
<i>The Case for Qualitative Document Analysis</i>	17
Additional Feminist and Critical Influences	29
<i>In the Evolving Legacy of Women in Development</i>	30
<i>In the Field of Communication Studies</i>	35
Concluding Remarks	40
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	43
Research Design	43
Assumptions: Study Trustworthiness and Reliability	45
Sampling: Constructing Local Focus Dyads	47
<i>Explanation for Data and Rank Adjustments in the Samples</i>	51
Validity	52
<i>Background of Validity Found in Narrative Analysis</i>	52
<i>Strategies for Strengthening Validity</i>	54
<i>Campbell's Elements of Rhetorical Acts as Basis for Qualitative Document Analysis</i>	56
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS	61
Introductory Thoughts	61
Preliminary Descriptive Statistics	63
<i>Defining News: What the Headline Counts Tell Us</i>	63
Findings	70
<i>News Flash! Media Cultivating Weeds. Native Flora Perishes</i>	70
<i>Progress</i>	78
<i>Human Security</i>	85
<i>Sustained Agency</i>	94
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	101
Critical Observations	101
Implications of Racking Focus and Observations in the Background	103
Weaving Cultures of Peace – Tapestries in the Making	107
<i>Ungendering Journalism</i>	107
<i>Mending Wounds and Alleviating Suffering</i>	109
<i>Weaving Social Safety Nets</i>	109

<i>Crafting Cultures of Conflict Resolution and “Repurposing” Cultures of Violence</i>	109
<i>Discerning Innovative Patterns</i>	110
<i>Knitting Together Local and Global</i>	110
Reconciling my Academic and Activist Self	111
<i>Proposal for Follow-on Action Research</i>	111
<i>A Mitzvah with My Daughter</i>	113
CHAPTER 6: EPILOGUE	119
REFERENCES	122
APPENDIXES	128
APPENDIX A Section B, Article 12, the Programme of Action International Decade for the Culture of Peace for the World’s Children	129
APPENDIX B Women’s and Girls’ Human Security During and After Armed Conflicts: Indirect and Direct Violence/Unorganized and Organized Threats	131
APPENDIX C A Call for Nominations	133
APPENDIX D Kamla Bhasin Story of the June 29, 2005 Press Release 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005	138
APPENDIX E Narratives of Nine Featured Peacewomen	144
APPENDIX F LexisNexis® Search Results for Foreground Stories in Local Focus Dyads	164
APPENDIX G Content Analysis, Prevailing Tensions	166
APPENDIX H Open and Axial Codes for all LFDs	169

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 <i>Feminist Tensions in Academic Literature</i>	10
Table 2 <i>Sample Data for Globalization of Compassion</i>	49
Table 3 <i>Leading Subject Indices from LexisNexis® & Selected Gender Empowerment Measures</i>	67
Table 4 <i>Summary: Background and Foreground Core Rhetorical Acts</i>	72
Table 5 4-A: <i>Local Focus Dyad, India as an Example of Author's Open and Axial Codes for Core Rhetorical Acts</i>	73
Table 6 <i>Thematic Framework including Selective Coding Tables for Progress, Human Security, and Sustained Agency</i>	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Research Design	44
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Personal Perspective

Now here's a real eye-opener. At 9:17 a.m., MDT, on April 17, 2008, Wikipedia, that ubiquitous Internet source of dubious "news" and random facts, read as follows under the listing of Columbine:

The Columbine High School massacre occurred on Tuesday, April 20, 1999, at Columbine High School in unincorporated Jefferson County, Colorado, near Denver and Littleton. Two teenage students, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, carried out a shooting rampage, killing twelve students and a teacher, as well as wounding twenty-four others, before committing suicide. It is the third-deadliest school shooting in United States history, after the 2007 Virginia Tech massacre and the 1966 University of Texas massacre. (Columbine High School, n.d.)

That's right, less than 24 hours after yet another madman went on another shooting spree, this time at Virginia Tech University on April 16, 2007, Columbine was officially demoted to third place. And the garish beacon of the popular media, with a ghastly and frightening immediacy, spotlight the horrific for public consumption – objectively, even proudly. And, once again, American culture finds itself enmeshed in the excessive noise and pitifully dim light of pundits, professionals, academics, and average citizens engaging in speculation and public debate on causes and cures for eruptions of deadly violence in the heart of our democratic bosom.

I find myself asking, in the eight intervening years between Columbine and April of 2008, and in light of ongoing debates of this nature, what have we learned? Have we come any closer to creating safe climates and peaceful cultures in our schools and institutions or have we simply improved methods for strategic lockdown? And along with these questions comes a growing conviction that the media and, indeed, the American cultural fetish for scrutinizing acts of violence and warfare to the exclusion of constructive acts of repair and peace-building, not only limit possibilities for solutions and prevention, but contribute to increasing risk. Furthermore, I find this is a peculiarly male obsession, fueled by entertainment images and culturally sanctioned notions of masculinity and manhood, and orchestrated by fewer and fewer mass mediated channels more concerned with the creation of wealth than the perpetuation of peace.

On the other hand, when I heard the news of Virginia Tech, I spent some serious crying time. I mourned not only for the victims and their shattered families, but for my own children, who, at 11 and 15, will struggle to make whatever sense they can of youth murdering other youth ... again. How will they find space in their young psyches for another explosion of tragedy, set against a global backdrop of violence-saturated news media and entertainment, institutionalized militarism and escalating warfare igniting the Middle East, the dissonance of excessive consumption in the global North alongside extreme poverty and shortages in the global South, and the rapidly diminishing opportunity to avert disastrous climate changes worldwide? Truth be told, I'm having some serious trouble doing all this myself!

The construction of this study is my attempt to make sense of this chaotic image of a deeply damaged world. Using systematic content analysis from a critical, feminist

perspective, I intend to assemble a coherent vision of healing antidotes to the virulent disease of destructive violence. In addition, I will suggest analytical strategies for improving our collective ability to re-create, expand, invent, and promote these antidotes, and ultimately for holding out hope for sustainable and lasting global peace.

Context

It is easy to imagine this same hope for sustainable and lasting global peace crystallizing in the mind of Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, a Swiss Parliamentarian and member of the Council of Europe. In her role for the European Union, Vermot-Mangold visited refugee camps and war-torn regions across Europe – in Azerbaijan and Armenia, in Bosnia and Kosovo, in Serbia, Georgia, and Chechnya. During these journeys, she became acutely aware of the wreckage left in the wake of war. Yet everywhere she traveled she met and visited with hundreds of women who labored ceaselessly under dire circumstances – struggling to restore stability and security to the lives of families, friends, and communities, to sustain non-violence, to reconcile with former enemies, and to build viable alternatives to overcome intractable conflict. These creative and courageous efforts to rehabilitate the shattered lives of survivors and to implement strategies for moving forward went virtually unnoticed; the projects and programs left scarcely a trace in the world outside their narrow sphere of influence. In 2003, Vermot-Mangold determined to rectify this gross global ignorance. She assembled an international team of twenty women, who in turn helped organize advisory boards based on geographical regions. Together they set an ambitious agenda to identify, publicize, and network the deeds and stories of 1,000 women laboring in and for peace around the globe, typically in total obscurity. Subsequently, on January 27, 2005, the Association

1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 (“Association”) submitted this body of work to the Nobel Prize Committee, nominating all 1,000 women collectively for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize (Association, 2005, p. A).

1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe (Association, 2005), the compilation documenting the diverse initiatives of these 1,000 Nobel Peace Prize nominees from 153 different countries, is the foundation of my dissertation. The narrative stories in this volume were the original inspiration for my research and provide a rich dataset for content analysis that will serve to clarify and bring forward the rhetorical acts that women engage in on behalf of peace-building in their communities and beyond. These acts, too frequently relegated to the “background” of public discourse, are in stark contrast to the rhetorical acts most frequently occupying the “foreground.” Data for foreground rhetorical acts will come from wire service news stories feeding the popular media and glutting public channels of communication.

The overarching intention of my inquiry of foreground and background rhetoric is to extend possibilities for local and global cultures of peace, based on the lived experience women as global peace-builders. To some extent, the inspiration for this research dates back to the landmark adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace by vote of the United Nations General Assembly on October 6, 1999. Undoubtedly, the passage of Culture of Peace Resolutions is an attempt to use international rhetoric to fortify sustainable global peace. This document sets forth central principles, fundamental strategies, and recommended actions to move the world closer to non-violence and arbitration as alternatives to armed conflict. In Section B, Article 12, the Programme (Appendix A, p. 129) specifies six fundamental platforms on

equality between women and men as necessary precursors to successful and sustainable cultures of peace (UN Resolution A/53/243; 1999)

On one level, “culture of peace” initiatives can be appreciated as critical extensions of the work and research that women scholars and field workers in United Nations development programs have been doing over the last several decades (Antrobus, 2004; Datta & Kornberg, 2002; Narayan, 2005; Razavi, 2000; UNIFEM, 2002). These women and organizations have played a leading role in calling attention to serious gender discrepancies and the ensuing human rights abuses worldwide. The Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace is a logical expansion of this movement, similarly identifying gender issues as serious obstacles to sustainable peace.

Oxfam (an international non-governmental agency committed to ending poverty worldwide through development, advocacy, and relief work) also shares the United Nation’s current thinking in this regard. In *Gender, Peace-building and Reconstruction* (Sweetman, 2005) editor Carol Sweetman has collected case studies from war zones across the world including Nicaragua, Uganda, Kosovo, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, and elsewhere documenting both the particular impact of war on the girls and women of these regions and the growing role women play in the reconstruction of women’s and men’s lives under the most difficult of circumstances.

Not surprisingly, the 1,000 peacewomen stories are consistent with Oxfam’s findings and both books provide a welcome antidote to the escalating perpetuation of war and brutality. According to Doris Wastl-Walter, coordinator of the academic research network associated with the peacewomen project, gathering the 1,000 stories was a momentous initial stage, occupying nearly two years from 2003 until the nomination in

2005. Transferring and translating the stories into a book and comprehensive electronic dataset for a multidisciplinary network of academic researchers was a critical second stage. Now, she notes,

The research network has been called into life to study the issues, strategies, working methods, motivations, visions, and networks of women in the most varied conflict situations, as well as the living conditions and circumstances in which these women became activists. Consequently, these women will be validated as actresses for and experts on peace in academic discourse. (Wastl-Walter, 2005, Section S)

As a wholehearted participant in this academic research network, my first goal is to make use of the dataset to characterize the peace-building initiatives of randomly selected peacewomen – as described in *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe* – in terms of essential rhetorical acts. Secondly, I intend to compare and contrast these with the rhetorical acts represented in mass media news stories (specifically print news as drawn from the LexisNexis® database). These steps contribute to my ultimate goal of identifying emergent themes and patterns from a critical, feminist point-of-view. Taken together as the primary unit of study for this inquiry, the Local Focus Dyads (LFDs) – comprised of the peacewoman narrative along with the news article from the same locale – offer a unique way to address many of the questions consistently raised by Doris Wastl-Walter, Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, and all the others associated with the Association 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005 when they first undertook the identification of global peacewomen candidates in 2003.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of my study is to investigate the ways in which cultures of conflict are perpetuated by rendering the peace-building activity of women as background and the

rhetoric of disharmony and conflict (most frequently enacted in male-dominated social systems) as foreground. This distorted framing of reality crowds out hope for sustainable peace and leads to rampant assumptions about the inescapability of war. This study will show how these assumptions are crafted by sins of omission, deeming the tenacious labor of women globally as not newsworthy and consequently undocumented by mainstream communication channels. However, what new possibilities emerge when background activities are brought forward for public consideration, when lived cultures of peace become the news features of public discourse? In considering a similar question, Lawrence Leshan (2002) said, “War is assumed to be inevitable, a part of human nature, but so was slavery before it was abandoned. “ In like fashion, my study challenges the validity of the assumption that *war is inevitable* by raising several fundamental questions from both critical and feminist perspectives. Research questions raised by this study include: What characterizes rhetorical acts of empowered peacewomen in specific locales? What characterizes rhetorical acts featured by newspaper articles written about an event or events in the same locale? By juxtaposing these two types of rhetoric, what themes emerge concerning our public discourse, particularly around issues of conflict and peace building? What new possibilities might emerge when background and foreground representations are reversed? What are the emergent patterns, the tapestry that constitutes cultures of peace?

To answer these questions, I intend to draw a random sample of stories from the 1,000 peacewomen collection. Using systematic, qualitative document analysis or QDA (Altheide, 2008) I will determine the essential rhetorical act represented by each story. For this purpose I am using K.K. Campbell’s definition of rhetorical act:

A rhetorical act ... is an intentional, created, polished attempt to overcome the obstacles in a given situation with a specific audience on a given issue to achieve a particular end. A rhetorical act creates a message whose shape and form, beginning and end, are stamped on it by a human author with a goal for an audience. (Campbell, 1982, p. 7)

With this definition, I will represent each story, in terms of the central intention, as enacted by each woman to overcome a particular obstacle or achieve a particular result.

Next, I will identify a foreground story drawn from the news service LexisNexis® that offers an account of an event or events taking place in the same locale as each of the sampled peacewomen stories, and occurring on or immediately following the day of the fifty press conferences announcing their nomination. In a similar fashion, I will distill each of these stories to the central rhetorical act being represented. As stated, I will refer to these pairs of stories as LFDs, and they will constitute the main unit of study.

Lastly, in my thematic analysis and conclusion, I will offer reflections with the following considerations in mind. Using a photographic metaphor, what happens when we rack focus away from habitual discourses and rhetorical acts that currently occupy the foreground of news reports about any given locality in the world? What if we intentionally move the background forward and allow portrayals of documented peace construction, under the leadership of women worldwide, to come into sharp relief?

What new realities begin to emerge from a closer examination of these new frames? When we reflect from this distinctive point of reference, how might normative behavior in any given context be re-interpreted? What new possibilities emerge?

Supposing that these peaceful social enterprises become the subject of feature-length expository, what is the potential for these new norms to take root and flourish?

What are the implications for cultures of peace when we intentionally and responsibly feature women's peace-building rhetorical acts?

As a result of this feminist critique of LFDs, I expect to build a case for bringing women's social enterprises into the foreground as a key strategy for ushering in cultures of peace. Just as dispute-saturated media has become a powerful tool for the perpetuation of conflict and war, I suspect that conscious and repeated representations of women's initiatives on behalf of rehabilitation, reconciliation, justice, and non-violence, may be an equally potent force for transformation.

Theoretical Framework

Although I am approaching my research from a critical, feminist perspective, I have intentionally chosen to sidestep some of the central theoretical debates that persist within the academy with respect to Feminist Theory. I leave others to determine where my work falls along these theoretical dimensions. Citing several (but by no means exhausting possibilities) I include the ongoing tensions in the academy and the literature in Table 1.

Table 1

Feminist Tensions in Academic Literature

Theorist	Perspective
Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007	Feminist theorists and post modern theorists, who oppose any notion of subject.
Hekman, 1997	Post-colonial, indigenous feminists and Western feminists, exemplified by heated challenges to a singular feminist standpoint theory as articulated by Nancy Hartstock, and others through the 1980s.
Enslin, 1994	Critical Theorists who record, analyze and critique hegemonic systems and political activists who engage in struggle against those systems.
Roseneil, 1995	Curriculum integrationists and multiculturalists who debate the precise placement and role of Feminist Theory within the academy itself.
McKay, 2004 And many others	Development strategists from the North and global feminists worldwide who raise the complexities of culturally sanctioned structural violence against women and call for comprehensive systems for human security and protection of women's rights.
Herd and Meyer, 2002	Social capitalists, moralists, and historical institutionalists in lively conversations about civic engagement who collectively disregard the care work of women altogether.

As I make my way through this august body of academic literature, I realize the fault lines are many. Rather than jumping into the middle of any one of these debates, I have chosen to move directly to an examination of women's work in the material world as agents of peace construction. The subject of this study are women who, in many cases, have stepped outside the "doxa" (Bourdieu, 1977) of their culture and the context of their lives to perform acts of peace-building and to directly alleviate pain and suffering created by persistent, hegemonic cultures of violence and war affecting their local communities.

I realize that making any claim regarding “women” as a group, at times seeming to align myself with the highly controversial notion of “essentialism,” opens my work up to intense post-colonial criticism (Spivak & Rooney, 1997, pp. 356-379). However, this investigation is not designed to characterize or describe women as a group per se and thereby erase cultural specificity associated with personal and political histories. Rather, I am trying to tease out similarities in rhetorical acts as performed by a particular subset of women already “defined” by the Association for 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 as peacewomen. Secondly, I want to explore how the essence of these rhetorical acts is eclipsed by the essence of other types of acts routinely heralded in mainstream media worldwide.

In this manner I am aligning with Gayatri Spivak’s notion of “strategic essentialism” (pp. 356-379). In other words, for the specific strategic purpose of investigating peace (or background) rhetoric in contrast with other, foreground rhetoric, I make reference to women (or peacewomen) throughout this investigation. However, this is not to say that there might not also be a worthy group of “peacemen” or that women are inherently more peaceful than men. In the words of Doris Wastl-Walter, professor of human geography and director of the Interdisciplinary Center for Women’s and Gender Studies at the University of Bern in Switzerland, who anchored the research dimension meant to evolve from the Nobel Nomination:

The basic assumption of the whole project, as well as of the scientific project, is not that women are biologically more peaceful or less aggressive than men, but rather that they are, through their socialization and special roles in society, especially concerned by issues of violence, insecurity, and poverty and therefore act explicitly on their special needs using their specific social and cultural capital. The relevance and impact of the women’s peace-building efforts will become evident through this project, and it will be shown that these efforts touch an important range of levels and issues. . (Wastl-Walter, 2005, Section S)

With this clarification, the investigation proceeds to rack focus among all too familiar discourses concerning disputes, conflict, and violence that glut our public media and the unseen, quiet discourses of peace going on in virtually every country of the world through the agency of women. My work, guided in part by critical theorists Lather (1986; 2006) and by Feminist theorists Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007; 2008), supports the underlying assumptions of critical theory, which hold that social processes are the function of power relationships inherent in cultural and historical contexts, rather than of fixed, natural laws. Consequently, forces that occupy positions of power shape the dominant discourse and have far greater capacity to disseminate their values and ideas. Certain voices in the social order are privileged over those with subordinate social status and with severely limited opportunities to speak (Lather, 2006).

In addition, my work takes into account the foundational understanding of post-colonial feminists as described earlier. I make no claim that a single voice or standpoint is sufficient to express every possible permutation of oppression, particularly gender oppression (where in many cases gender oppression is compounded by other factors such as race, class, religion, and ethnicity). However, I do rely on several fundamental doctrines drawn from both critical and feminist theoretical frameworks to explore distortions of basic assumptions about peace and conflict (see Review of Literature). From the perspective of critical theory, hopefully this inquiry and subsequent revelations will help guide us toward social transformation, and from a feminist perspective, a transformation with accomplished women at the vanguard.

My earlier reference to doxa was an idea first coined by Pierre Bourdieu in 1977 and then applied to the discussion of women and development by Naila Kabeer in her study “Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women’s Empowerment” (Kabeer, 2000). She uses doxa to refer to aspects of tradition and culture that are so taken-for-granted that they have become naturalized – the traditions and beliefs that exist beyond discourse or argumentation. In theory, a measure of how able an individual woman is to stand outside her own doxa provides some measure of her agency (or her empowerment) and her capacity to move purposefully forward on her own terms, in beneficial ways for herself and others in like circumstance.

Increasingly, over the last three decades, the notion of women’s empowerment (this capacity for agency) has become a regular part of the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) lexicon. As a result, several writers in the human development field have insightfully explored the questions of women’s empowerment and agency from the perspective of its absence (Narayan, 2005; Razavi, 2000). However, the 1,000 women who form the subject of my study, from countries running the full gamut from least- to highly-developed as defined by the UNDP, exhibit scant evidence of the need to be empowered. Instead they offer stunning examples of creative agency making full use of their social capital within the context of their lives. This being so, I decided to pursue a different line of inquiry. Rather than asking what factors contribute to women’s empowerment and agency or, even more simply, to their ability to act, I am asking why are the acts of empowered women rendered invisible on the national and international stage?

To answer this central question, I have crafted an analytic technique in accordance with the qualitative tradition that David Altheide originally described as ethnographic content analysis (Altheide, 1987). More recently, in the *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, Altheide and others describe this same approach as qualitative document analysis or QDA (Altheide, 2008). Readers will note that I use QDA as it has become the more up-to-date way of referencing ethnographic content analysis.

Borrowing from my long career as a video writer/producer and the practices of “racking focus, framing, and featuring,” I will challenge assumptions about cultural landscapes where reality is typically mediated through the lens of male-domination and privileged elites. Once that lens is removed, and the frame and focus of our perception can be adjusted to reflect the actual labor of women activists, will the notion of a hopeless world hurtling toward oblivion be inevitably altered? The very act of expanding the depth of field, where women’s initiatives that typically occupy the background field are deliberately brought into clear focus, perhaps even moved into the foreground for intentional and repeated emphasis, creates opportunities for re-imagining social enterprise altogether.

Thankfully, human capacity to innovate and to problem solve can emerge with surprising rapidity, often out-stripping our ability to analyze and capture it in theory. Precisely because women’s capacity for innovation has been rendered virtually invisible by distortions of history from a strictly male perspective, where scant record of women’s *industry* is recorded, multitudes have been robbed of the social benefits that more than half of humanity contribute on a regular basis. One hopeful intention of this study is to remediate this ignorance.

By making the focus jump back and forth, rendering foreground as background and vice versa, this study intends to reframe the entire discourse on peace and violence, accounting for the interweave of concerns that constitute well-being in community that local women the world over elect to champion. Ultimately, through this process, I will weave together thematic patterns that emerge to create a vibrant and vital tapestry of rhetorical peace strategies, possibilities that contain within them hope for all humanity, despite race, class, ethnicity, or gender.

As a lead-in to my literature review, I want to point out that an important antecedent to the metaphor of background and foreground rhetorical acts was put forward by Chaim Perelman, a leader in formulating contemporary rhetorical theory, in his conception of presence and the role of argumentation in creating presence. Authors Foss, Foss, and Trapp, in *Contemporary Perspectives on Rhetoric* (1991), describe Perelman's notion of presence by

...using the metaphor of figure and ground. A person standing on a mountaintop looking into a valley may see trees, a lake, and a stream, along with other objects. When that person focuses on, for instance, a tree, the tree becomes the figure and the rest of the objects become the ground. Perelman might say that in this case, the tree has achieved 'presence' in that person's perception. One role of argumentation is to create presence and thus importance. (Foss, Foss, & Trapp, p. 131)

This formation of rhetorical theory is at the heart of my theoretical framework. In fact, according to Foss, Foss, and Trapp, Perelman was occupied as I am with how to establish the presence of what is "absent" through the use of argumentation. They cite various examples, for example a legislator who assists "an audience in imagining how much better the world would be if a bill were enacted" (p. 132). In like fashion, my intention is to reveal the nature of currently mediated discourse and the objects of intense

and exclusive foci in the news, and proceed to use argumentation to refocus public attention on the background, featuring the agency of women and their peace-building endeavors.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a confluence of several distinct streams of thought inherent in the subject of my dissertation, and each stream carries its own set of on-going tensions and current trends that occur throughout the academic literature. I have chosen to separate these discussions topically as follows: literature pertaining to my methodology; literature discussing relevant studies in Feminist Theory; literature reflecting feminist and critical influences in the evolving legacy of Women in Development; and finally, literature reflecting feminist and critical influences in communication studies.

Methodology Literature

The Case for Qualitative Document Analysis

Initially, in reviewing content analysis methodology for this inquiry, I considered pursuing a more conventional positivist content analysis approach over a qualitative one. One way to characterize the central difference between these two approaches to content analysis is expressed in Klause Krippendorff's *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2004). Krippendorff contends that, "Proponents of ethnographic content analysis oppose the sequential nature of traditional content analysis, suggesting instead that analysts be flexible in taking into account new concepts that emerge during their involvement with texts" (p. 21).

However, this singular point of departure, highlighting sequential versus non-sequential technique, does not fully call attention to broader arguments questioning

classical content analysis from a feminist perspective. In his 1987 paper “Reflections – Ethnographic Content Analysis” David Altheide notes that, “While it may seem evident that any sustained inquiry is constituted through a complex and reflexive interaction process, it is also apparent that some research methods, e.g., ethnography, embrace this process; while others, e.g., survey research and content analysis, disavow it” (Altheide, 1987, p. 65). Unfortunately, the presumption that classical content analysis is somehow antithetical to reflexivity and interactivity runs counter to key principles of most forms of liberation theory (e.g., feminist theory) where the populations under study have heretofore been omitted from and, in many cases, directly oppressed by academic conversations. Feminist theorists argue that gaining entry into academic discourse requires re-thinking the very methodologies scholars employ to create the discourse (DeVault, 1999). I conclude that ethnographic content analysis (now known as qualitative document analysis) holds greater potential for understanding peace initiatives as originated and experienced by women throughout the world than a strictly classical approach.

In Appendix G (p. 166) I have provided readers with a table of prevailing tensions in the academy between classical content analysis and qualitative document analysis, along with a section examining the strengths and weaknesses typically offered in academic critiques of classical content analysis. Sources for this table include Carney (1972), Altheide (1987), Berg (1989), Weber (1990), DeVault (1999), Mayring (2000), Krippendorff (2004), and Altheide, et. al (2008).

In keeping with the differences outlined above and my earlier feminist critique of classical content analysis, I concluded that the tradition of qualitative document analysis

is best suited to this inquiry. In her groundbreaking text *Liberating Method, Feminism and Social Research*, Marjorie DeVault specifies three hallmarks of feminist methodology, which she describes as: excavation of data to get at women's concerns; minimization of harm and negative consequences to women; and promotion of beneficial social change for women. Finally, DeVault concludes, "Together, these criteria for feminist methodology provide the outline for a possible alternative to the distanced, distorting and dispassionately objective procedures of much social research" (1999, p. 32).

Taking this perspective into account, I hold that the classical view is the one laying claim to "dispassionately objective procedures." And for my purposes, a qualitative approach better allowed for the attributes of feminist primacy and creativity that DeVault advocates. My intention was to excavate inside the body of my sample of nine peacewomen, to have a conversation with the written material to get at the underlying concerns that motivate women to act, and to characterize the rhetorical expression of those concerns and actions. In like fashion I probed each of the nine news articles in each Local Focus Dyad (LFD) ultimately to determine the degree to which current foreground stories discount or ignore altogether women's concerns. Ultimately the emergent patterns of action resonating for and among women peace-builders, when set side by side with the emergent patterns apparent in the news media, created a disturbing dissonance. As a result, I argue that reframing news accounting for women's peace-building acts and by extension women's underlying concerns can have a beneficial outcome not only for women, but also for all of humanity.

Relevant Studies in Feminist Theory

As I pointed to in the introduction, forty-plus years after the resurgence of second wave feminism in the United States, debates continue to churn within academic circles. The very best of these conversations serve to deepen consciousness and expand understanding across ethnic, racial, class, cultural, and national boundaries, others are not nearly as constructive. However, as academics dispute at the theoretical level amid the pandemic of economic globalization, growing multitudes of women and children slip further into or languish in states of extreme poverty and contexts of structural violence and abuse. At this level, global activists may offer much needed clarity and credibility, which is why I chose to ground my work in 1,000 stories of global peace activists. However, in reviewing the literature, I noted several prevailing theoretical threads and relevant research studies that resonate with my work in meaningful ways.

In 1981, Irene Diamond and Nancy Hartsock wrote in *The American Political Scientist Review* a commentary to Virginia Sapiro's "When are Interests Interesting? "The Problem of Political Representation of Women" (Diamond & Hartsock, 1981). In the context of this rebuttal the authors articulate some of the early foundational ideas of feminist standpoint theory. They build on the work of earlier feminist theorists asserting the relational emphasis central to women's lives and women's work, arising from both specific cultural socialization as well as the demands of female physiology (childbirth, lactation, menses, etc.). The central hypothesis is that "different male and female life-activity leads toward profoundly different social understandings" (Diamond & Hartsock, p. 718). In Freudian terms, according to phallogentric social existence, men must undergo a process of

differentiation from the “female” world and achieve this through participation in and exclusive valuation of public life. On the other hand, women’s existence, as defined relationally and constructed through sexual division of labor, “results in a social understanding in which dichotomies are less foreign, everyday life is more valued, and a sense of connectedness and continuity with other persons and the natural world is central” (Diamond & Hartsock, p. 718).

In this and later writings, Hartsock (2004) expounds on how the rapid ascendance of Western capitalism along with its concomitant privileging of male values, viewpoints, and social constructs, has created a fundamentally incomplete, and deeply flawed, understanding of reality. More than two decades ago, Diamond and Hartsock (1981) made note of the colossal failure of Western science, politics, and policies to fully represent and/or substantively provide security for the critical and life-sustaining labor of half of humanity. Among the most devastating indications of this failure is “Western cultural preoccupation with violence and death. In both philosophy and practice one finds the pervasive belief that it is the ability to deliberately risk one’s life...which sets human beings above animals” (Diamond & Hartsock, p. 718-719). The discourse of triumphalism, where a singular, male-centric worldview must achieve supremacy over all others, even at the price of widespread suffering and death, is the most extreme expression of this hegemonic belief system. And women worldwide endure the brutal repercussions of men’s rampant enthusiasm for violence.

In 2004, Hartsock updated the feminist standpoint perspective in Sandra Harding’s *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* where she addressed some of the post-modern challenges to the theory from women

internationally enduring multiple forms of domination. However, Harding, like Hartsock, has continued to assert valuable challenges to dominant androcentric “social science” that persists in privileging hegemonic interpretations of reality as if they were representational of all human existence (Harding, 2004).

Similarly, The Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University (IPSHU) Research Report Series No. 19 provides comprehensive documentation of the disproportionate hardship common to women across every continent in a world dominated by men’s perpetuation of war. McKay, in Chapter 7, exclusively devoted to this issue, cites repeated international studies confirming women’s extreme vulnerability and numerous global efforts to call attention to the gendered impact of violent conflict and war. In this report, McKay writes,

Girls and women experience human insecurity differently from men and are subject to gender hierarchies and power inequities that exacerbate their insecurity. Because of their lower status, girls and women are less able to articulate and act upon their security needs, as compared with boys and men. A 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report noted: ‘In no society are women secure or treated equally to men. Personal insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave...And from childhood through adulthood they are abused because of their gender. (McKay, 2004, p. 153)

These very assertions create the point for which the 1000 PeaceWomen initiative is the counterpoint. Unarguably, the organized and systematic perpetuation of warfare is, and has been throughout history, largely the domain of men, even though it is not unusual to see war characterized as “human nature.” Typically, women, the exclusive childbearers and most frequent life-sustainers for young children across drastically different cultures, conduct the affairs of homemaking and caregiving, to whatever extent possible, out of direct line of fire. However, throughout the late twentieth and now the early twenty-first centuries, technological advances have extended the reach of deadly violence far outside

artificially constructed battle lines, consequently endangering the security of all sentient life. In harkening back to Diamond and Hartsock's essay, I find some eloquent early warnings on the need to pay "close attention to women's activity rather than men's and the consequent thoroughgoing focus on whole human beings," which they claim "necessitates the development of more encompassing categories of analysis of political life" (Diamond & Hartsock, 1981, p. 719). It is toward this very end that I intend to conduct my close examination into women's intentional peace-building activities. By looking at these in contrast to repetitious and dominant narratives of divisiveness, often erupting as violence, I hope to contribute to a more balanced and salient analysis.

Notably, in the last twenty years, early understandings of standpoint theory have been eclipsed as more contemporary post-modern ideas ascend. However, in the article "Truth and Method, Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited," S. Hekman (1997) pointed to a body of writing and research, following in the wake of Hartsock's theory. These later studies attempt to reconcile postmodern notions of diverse "situated knowledges," privileging every individual as knower of her own specific truth, with the principled intention inherent in Hartsock's standpoint theory to redress repression of women despite their differences. One example of an attempt to bridge standpoint and post-modern theory is Bettina Aptheker's *Tapestries of Life: Women's Work, Women's Consciousness and the Meaning of Daily Experience* (1989). In this book, Aptheker introduces the idea of "pivoting the center" of knowledge, validating the specificity of each individual woman's experience. At the same time she helps readers appreciate the larger implications of all such specificity. She challenges feminists to mold theoretical understanding out of the ordinary substance of women's daily lives, rather than mold women's daily lives to fit into the

abstract constructs of grand theories. This approach lends itself beautifully to my examination of peacewomen narratives. Each story speaks about an actual woman working within her highly specific, material circumstances. However, it is precisely an appreciation for the rich texture and character of individual threads in the tapestry of peace-building that provides a more complete and nuanced understanding of its eventual achievement beyond the boundaries of any single location.

In my view the *raison d'être* for any theory lies not only in its elegance for its own sake, but also in its usefulness. In this regard, I am growing more and more comfortable with hybrid theory: accounting for post-modern specificity AND pointing to emergent patterns and themes common to women worldwide from the standpoint of their struggles for peace and security. I might argue that when women act explicitly on the basis of altruism, compassion, and connectivity with unrelated others, isn't this also a version of "human nature," just as valid as the conduct of war or the perpetuation of conflict?

Turning for a moment to pragmatic concerns, I would also ask what do we actually know of women's explicit peace-building acts? In this context, I'm not using the word "know" in the epistemological sense but rather as a measure of what we've "heard about" or "are aware of." On this level, the literature is unequivocal. Studies abound on the silencing or rendering invisible of women in both word and deed. To illustrate this point I highlight three such studies.

In re-examining the body of social research on contemporary decline in civic engagement, Herd and Meyer (2002) make the bold observation that the category of unpaid carework, "defined as the daily physical and emotional labor of feeding and nurturing citizens" (p. 666) as performed by women within immediate and extended families, is

altogether missing from the discussion. It remains completely unrecognized as a valid strategy for meeting citizenship obligations. On the one hand, civic engagement scholars recognize the work of respite or hospice volunteers while sitting with the sick and the dying as civic activity, however, they turn a blind eye to the exact same activities when performed by a dutiful daughter for a stricken relative (Herd & Meyer, 2002). This study, "Care Work: Invisible Civic Engagement," documenting the failure to "count" the routine labor of childrearing, homemaking, and caregiving as civically significant, illuminates one more way in which the activities of women remain obscured or cancelled out from our field of view, providing an incomplete and false picture of fully human performance.

In another highly relevant study, Elaine Hall uses content analysis in the search for women and women's issues in index citations from thirty-six introductory sociology textbooks published between 1982 and 1988 (Hall, 1988). On average, Hall found less than five percent of the total pages in the textbooks in her sample were devoted to these topics. She goes on to describe the extent to which the material she does find is "ghettoized" in single chapters on women or chapters dealing with traditional content areas such as family, sexuality, socialization and stratification, or social class. A mostly empirical study, Hall's work provides important insight into the dangerous patterns of omission plaguing academic traditions. She concludes that the paucity of information on women and women's issues, along with the segregation of the little information that does exist, sends the very misleading message "that gender issues have limited sociological significance" (p. 440). Furthermore, Hall argues that by failing to integrate information on women throughout the textbook or failing to provide contextual explanatory notes for gender omissions "students are left to supply their own interpretations from the meanings common to our culture" (p.

440). Unfortunately this cycle of omission and interpretation based on stereotype or misinformation turns into a perpetual cycle, relegating women to the margins of society, where their contributions remain unrecognized and consequently un- and under-utilized!

Even inside the inner sanctum of sociological theory formation, the font from which these textbooks bubble forth, deep and embedded resistance to feminist scholarship persists. In “The Trouble with Gender: Tales of the Still-missing Feminist Revolution in Sociological Theory” Joan Alway brings Hall’s study of textbooks forward into the mid-90s with an examination of social theory texts as recent as 1995. She finds a number of texts have added sections dedicated to feminism and feminist social theory and several others incorporate feminist critiques of current social theory or considerations of how “dominant theoretical perspectives might analyze the roles of women” (Alway, 1995, p. 214). However, she observes that although feminist scholarship has influenced the discipline of sociology, these inroads go “largely unnoticed and unacknowledged by sociologists in general and by sociological theorists in particular” (p. 214) on the grounds that feminists expose sociology as a predominantly male discourse, one that for the most part is by, about, and for men. Once sociology is obliged to acknowledge that women, as *subject* for male discourse, are now speaking for and about themselves, some of the very foundational ideas of social theory are called into question, in particular ideas espoused by revered “founding fathers” like Marx, Weber, Durheim, and others.

Moving another decade forward, recent feminist debate has shifted away from strictly academic controversies inside the cloistered halls of institutional settings. Today, in consideration of the havoc that neo-liberal economic policies have been wreaking on indigenous populations on every continent, women scholars are challenging all the

assumptions underlying the doctrines of global or international feminism, especially when they issue forth from a privileged Western perspective. Tani Barlow is one of the voices quick to take Western feminists (high among them, Hilary Rodham Clinton) to task for acting as tools of neo-liberal elites with ongoing drives to restructure global capital. Barlow is critical of the “three tropes of feminism – environmental feminism, human rights feminism, and feminist sensitivity to local differences – that [she argues] are likely to be at the core of the doctrine of international feminism in the new millennium” (Barlow, 2000, p. 1100), when chanted by neo-liberals, with little cognition of cultural, political, and economic specificity outside the United States, and no consciousness at all of intellectual heritages beyond their own limited fields of experience.

These are harsh criticisms, leaving many good intentioned feminists shipwrecked on the shores of non-Western and developing countries. In this analysis, even the United Nation’s rhetoric of development implies haughty judgment and economic intrigue. Although sympathetic with this overall perspective, I keep looking for something more – something that speaks to the next steps beyond recounting the evils of global capitalism, especially in terms of women, peace, and security. As I discussed earlier, the extreme vulnerability of women and girls in the context of war has been well established and highlights one of the shortcomings in feminist critique based primarily on sins of neo-liberalism and globalization. Although these sins are many and widespread, the critiques in and of themselves bring little comfort to tens of thousands displaced refugees, rape victims, and impregnated teens. In addressing the systemic victimization of women and girls during the conduct of war, international feminists have taken some very important steps forward, despite theoretical differences and in some cases widely divergent personal politics.

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) continues to be in the forefront of the effort to focus attention on the plight of women globally, and counts as one of its victories the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. In the preface of its report, "Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325," Executive Director Noeleen Heyzer writes:

Women in conflict zones throughout the world have mobilized within their communities and across borders to demand that the international community put an end to violence, urgently address the impact of war on women and their communities and protect the future of their societies, as well as women's role in shaping that future. It was this mobilization, with the support of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), under the leadership of the Government of Namibia as president of the Security Council, that led to the formulation and adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security. With this landmark resolution, women have shown it is possible to redefine international frameworks and policies using their own diverse experiences in conflict areas around the world governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and networks to promote gender equality. It links women's issues and concerns to national, regional and global agendas by fostering collaboration and providing technical expertise on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment strategies. (Heyzer, 2004)

It seems to me that the annual reporting on Resolution 1325, and by extension the specific mobilization efforts Heyzer references as well as efforts documented in the *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe*, speak to immediate and direct relief of suffering that transcends a need for a feminist theoretical framework. My intention is to take up the investigation of these efforts, to understand how they both emerge from and reflect women's priorities, and to pose, again, the question of how these might inform and help determine a world that stands on a secure relational foundation representing complex human needs, in lieu of narrow economic interests representing only those in control of capital.

Additional Feminist and Critical Influences

My research spans other academic disciplines where specific underlying tensions among scholars prevail, particularly between those who represent various post-modern liberation philosophies, such as feminism, versus those with more traditional, positivist views of the world. Clearly in the former category, I have chosen to look at feminist influences on two particular disciplines directly influencing my research. To a great extent, my work recalls and builds on the experience and perspectives of women in development as reflected in political science research, international development, and international education journals and publications. Secondly, my approach relies on the tool of rhetorical analysis, borrowed from the discipline of communication studies. Both of these scholarly traditions contribute to my attempt to understand how it is that half of humanity has been systematically ignored particularly with respect to issues integral to war and peace. Historically, with few exceptions, men have declared and conducted warfare, with women frequently left to fend for themselves and their families, in desperate circumstances, in harm's way as civilian non-combatants and as sole supporters of their households. Yet, preliminary research for my study suggests that time after time many of these same women elect to engage actively on behalf of themselves, their families, and their communities although these efforts rarely garner public attention or support. Several persistent sexist conventions, as indicated by women's experience and documented in the literature, contribute to the invisibility of women's initiatives and accomplishments and are detailed in the sections that follow.

In the Evolving Legacy of Women in Development

One body of literature that creates a foundational basis for my work is the robust literature documenting the legacy of women in development. Since the turn of the millennium, feminist scholars have published a fertile body of knowledge and experience, documenting the role of the United Nations and women's rights advocates in international development. Just to name a few, texts include: *Gendered Poverty and Well-Being* (Razavi, 2000); *Engendering Development Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice, Volume 1* (World Bank, 2001); *Women in Developing Countries: Assessing Strategies for Empowerment* (Datta & Kornberg, 2002); *Progress of the World's Women, 2002* (UNIFEM, 2002); *The Global Women's Movements, Origins, Issues, and Strategies* (Antrobus, 2004); *Measuring Empowerment, Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Narayan, 2005); and *Gender, Peacebuilding and Reconstruction* (Sweetman, 2005). Each author, in her own way and with her particular emphasis, is building on a sequence of international milestones that have led to far greater awareness and understanding of global gender disparities, and how these have been both impacted and/or shaped by UN development programs from the earliest days. It is difficult to reach back into history to identify the first among these milestones, as each emerged from even earlier contexts (e.g., in the United States, the struggle for women's suffrage). But for my purposes, I will begin, as do many of the authors cited above, with the chartering of the United Nations in 1945. This auspicious beginning provided momentum for three concurrent streams of activity on behalf of women's human rights.

The first can be described as the normative stream, which traces the evolution of UN international conventions, binding the world community to minimum norms and

standards for the protection of all human rights and in particular human rights for women. The second can be traced to the strong resurgence of the women's movement during the 1960s, currently referred to as "second wave" feminism. As Antrobus (2004) recounts, during the early decades of the twentieth century, activists from the suffrage movement had already formed international alliances to advance their cause (p. 33). As the century progressed, the issues and concerns of these alliances and of women's organizations in general continued to expand to include consideration of all basic needs particularly among the poorest and most marginalized populations, the vast majority of whom were women and children.

The third stream of activity contributing to the confluence of concern for women's human rights, involves the trajectory of UN efforts in international development in general. Over the years preceding and concurrent with the Women's Conferences (beginning in 1975 and continuing regularly through the present), the United Nations also convened a wide range of international conferences as a means to focus global attention on critical concerns. For a comprehensive examination of all three of these streams of activity, tracing the historical significance of each in more detail, I refer readers to "Feminism and Strategic Nonviolence" (Tivona, 2006). However, for purposes of this discussion, I want to explore two seminal writings, offering a substantive and informative synthesis of future trajectories in women's ongoing struggles for equity and equality, including: Zillah Eisenstein's essay on "Women's Publics and the Search for New Democracies" (Eisenstein, 1997), and McKay's chapter on "Women, Human Security and Peace Building: A Feminist Analysis" (McKay, 2004). Eisenstein documents the meteoric ascendance of global capital and attempts by women to create transnational

discourse and to imagine constructive democracies. Seven years later, Susan McKay documents the nature of a parallel transnational conversation that focuses on practical efforts women are engaging in to build “models” for constructive democratic process.

I can’t really produce a better passage to characterize the global challenges facing women than Eisenstein (1997) herself. As she opens her essay, she says,

Some 800 million people are starving across the globe, while women represent about 60 per cent of the billion or so people earning \$1.00 or less a day. Each day some 34,000 children die for want of food and medical care. On the other side of the ledger, new excesses of wealth exist as never before. The rich become billionaires, while everyone else loses ground. This vulnerability is new for professionals of the middle class(es).

Today, class exploitation is back with a vengeance, and the vengeance is written in racialized form, on women’s bodies. Greed and excessive wealth exist alongside unbelievable poverty within the first world north and west with new veracity, among people who never expected it to be this way for them. Even white men are scared. There is a new arrogance by those who benefit from this exploitative abuse (p. 140).

Thus Eisenstein opens this penetrating attempt to gain some perspective on the “new-old” globalism. While globalism posits a “global village” freely open to economic exploitation, Eisenstein points out that the relationships between politics and economics, the state and the economy, the public and private domains, the family and the nation are “utterly challenged” (p. 141). This new world order revolves around privatization, with no interference, constraints, or meaningful contribution from the public sector. Privatization provides yet another deeply complicated factor on top of existing patriarchal, racist, ethnic, and class divisions plaguing the human family. In the midst of what appears hopeless, Eisenstein draws on her history and her experience with the multiplicity of “feminisms” that were voiced at Beijing as part of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action drafted in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women. The

essence of her argument, which she supports with specific examples from every corner of the globe, is best stated in her own words:

I am not arguing that there is one kind of feminism, or woman, or one kind of equality. But that the debate should focus on recognizing different feminisms rather than questioning their theorizability. Let us use the dialogues between feminisms to build connections between these communities of women.

Feminism recognizes and names women as a collectivity. It is, in part, fantasy and imaginary. It imagines beyond the differences between women to a community that respects diversity and radical pluralism. This pluralism recognizes a sharedness among women that is not a given, but is rather a possibility. Sometimes the conflicts are too great – other allegiances overwhelm the possibility of feminist identities. By naming women at the start, so to speak, I mean to call attention to their absences and silences in the “isms” of the twenty-first century (Eisenstein, 1997, p. 156).

If ever there was a passage from academic literature that I could honestly say, “I wish I had said that,” this is it! In these two short paragraphs she synthesizes all the supporting evidence that runs throughout her piece in a coherent statement of potentiality that is too often missing in the midst of noisy debate.

Seven years after Eisenstein’s article, Susan McKay eloquently articulates the extreme challenges faced by women living in conflict zones – their unaddressed vulnerability to acts of savage violence, mass displacement, and severe economic hardship – described in Chapter 7 of The Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University (IPSHU) Research Report Series No. 19. As I alluded to earlier in this section, McKay’s feminist analysis asserts that human security **MUST** account for the issues of “physical, structural, and ecological violence” visited on women and on civil community, rather than strictly military security that privileges male-dominated security discourses at the national and international level (2004, p. 156). In Appendix B (p. 131) I include the

very disturbing Table 1 from this report, enumerating the highly specific ways in which girls and women experience human insecurity. McKay continues, “Despite more than a decade of important scholarship, gender theorizing, feminist perspectives have remained on the margins of human security discourses” (McKay, 2004, p. 163). In her final analysis she calls attention to the fact that women are conspicuously absent from formal peace-building and security conversations among diplomatic elites. They are simply NOT at the table where they belong despite tireless years of experience in informal (or dare I say invisible?) peace-building initiatives at grassroots levels among the most vulnerable.

The very strange analogy that echoed through my mind as I reflected on these two articles was the experience of worldwide Jewry in Diaspora during the 1930s and 1940s. Although known throughout millennia as the “people of the book” (referring to the Torah, which, as the story relates, was miraculously gifted by G-d to a ragtag group of liberated slaves running for their lives in the Sinai desert), the actual diversity of cultural experience that characterized Jewish life throughout Europe during the twentieth century has been for all practical purposes summarily dismissed. Sadly, the savagery of Hitler and the Nazi “experiment” proved to be one of the single-most unifying factors, erasing substantial social and cultural differences among Jews, fueling the Zionist fire for a nation-state where, in theory, all Jews could live in peace.

My intention here is NOT to divert this discussion into a debate on the wisdom of the establishment of the state of Israel or to in any way trivialize the hardship and suffering visited on the Arabs living in Palestine at the time of the partition and since. I am simply observing how easy it is to divert precious energy and attention into purely academic debate about what defines a women’s standpoint, or by analogy, a Jew.

However, when malicious intent creeps into human consciousness, when it overtakes reason, when the world is raging and confused, the most vulnerable in these societies become easy prey. Unfortunately, the escalation in both the nature and intensity of violence being visited on women of the world is quickly ascending as a tragic and defining “standpoint.” In an attempt to reverse the worst ravages of this trend, I turn to women’s peace-building initiatives, allowing women to occupy the forefront of their own security and by extension the security of all.

In the Field of Communication Studies

Another feminist dynamic is at play within communication studies, inclusive of the wide-ranging disciplines of speech communication, rhetoric, journalism, and others. Within these disciplines, there is a resolute patriarchal tradition defining rhetoric as the conscious intent to persuade others. However, emerging from the work of contemporary feminist scholars, the theory of invitational rhetoric challenges this long-standing tradition. In their article “Beyond Persuasion: a Proposal for an Invitational Rhetoric” (1995), authors Sonja K. Foss and Cindy L. Griffin suggest that most rhetorical scholars assume that discursive strategies exist solely for the purpose of persuading, influencing, or gaining power over others. They go on to say this assumption is rooted in the patriarchal idea that the goal of all human endeavors is to effect deliberate change either in the environment or in the social affairs of others. In contrast, invitational rhetoric is “an invitation to understanding as a means to create a relationship rooted in equality, immanent value and self-determination” (Foss & Griffin, p. 5). Rather than seeking to persuade an audience, invitational rhetoric invites an audience to enter the speaker’s world

and see it the way he or she does, and then freely make choices without loss of the rhetor's positive regard.

Authors Foss and Griffin theorize that the end goals of invitational rhetoric are to achieve understanding of the "other" rather than to effect change in the other and to engender appreciation, value, and a sense of equality in the audience. They describe the optimal framework for invitational rhetoric as non-hierarchical, non-judgmental, and non-adversarial. And they present two central communicative options underlying their theory.

First is the option of "offering perspectives," which is explained as the ability to offer openings or to hold space for multiple viewpoints on a given topic. These perspectives mutually co-exist rather than compete for supremacy. In the light of "offering," interaction is characterized by "re-sourcement," a willingness to yield, to offer options and reframe oppositional viewpoints. Second is the "creation of external conditions" (Foss & Griffin, pp. 9-11). This second option is the ability to communicate three prerequisite conditions between the self and audience, including safety, value, and freedom. For mutual understanding to emerge from rhetorical interaction, the rhetor wants to establish a sense of security and freedom from danger and humiliation for the audience. The rhetor seeks to communicate appreciation and respect for the intrinsic worth of all audience members and to maintain a posture of unconditional positive regard regardless of the perspective eventually adopted. In other words, the audience (whether one, few, or many) has freedom of choice to adopt or reject the rhetor's perspective without risking loss of approval.

When it comes to issues of war and peace, this description of invitational rhetoric is of paramount importance and widely applicable to my study of women peace-builders.

Often women's tactics of engagement with the other follow the principles of invitational rhetoric. Unfortunately the foundational importance of this type of engagement remains literally unseen by the dominant culture and rarely finds its way into reports disseminated over mainstream media.

Consider, for example, the Middle East Citizen's Diplomacy project known as Compassionate Listening (CL). The purpose of the project is to recruit and train delegations of Americans (of diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds) with the goal of traveling to the Holy Land to listen to the diverse and often competing voices of historic enemies engaged in armed conflict. In "Listening to the Other Side" (Kingsbury, 2003), current CL director Leah Green credits Gene Hoffman, Quaker peace activist and founder of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (a US/USSR Reconciliation program), with the origination of compassionate listening strategies. CL delegates apply Hoffman's systematic scheme of probing and listening to break down barriers of fear and hostility and by so doing demonstrate the potential for transformation made possible by this example of applied invitational rhetoric. In the article "Listening for Peace," author Rosemary Zibart quotes Green.

'No one has declined a listening session with us. We've sat in homes, offices, streets, refugee camps, the Israeli prime minister's office, the Palestinian president's office, and on military bases. We've listened to settlers, sheikhs, mayors, rabbis, students, Bedouin, peace activists and terrorists. We've learned to stretch our capacity to be present to another's pain.' (Zibart, 2004)

Notwithstanding, in state-sanctioned diplomatic circles, the obvious reliance on standard rhetorical practices at the expense of invitational possibilities offers important clues into the persistence of intractable conflict within patriarchal political structures. On the other hand, women peace-builders across every continent appear to introduce invitational rhetoric (although perhaps under a different label or definition) into their practices on a consistent basis. In fact, the expansion of such practices may very well point the way for a shift in the social ethos away from what Deborah Tannen describes as

the “argument culture” (Tannen, 1998) to a culture of dialogue and collaborative problem solving. The theory of invitational rhetoric provides fertile ground for my research questions and forms a foundational framework for the rhetorical acts I will be exploring among the peacewomen’s stories.

In contrast to invitational rhetorical strategies that provide a door into women’s peace-building initiatives taking place in what I refer to as the background, I will also be exploring foreground rhetoric employed by mainstream media channels. Any examination of stories available through these channels must also take into account the structural underpinnings currently dominating the operation of such channels.

An excellent exploration of this topic is detailed in “The Media and the Neoliberal Transition in Chile: Democratic Promise Unfulfilled” (Bresnahan, 2003). In this discussion, the author examines how the structure of media delivery constrains the democratization process. Bresnahan notes the apparent irony that during the height of the highly repressive Pinochet dictatorship, Chilean news media gained a reputation for fearless, politically subversive reporting, largely supported with funding from beyond national borders. However, during the period immediately following the demise of the brutal dictatorship, even when legal protection for journalism was brought forward, the political transitions from an authoritarian regime were crippled by “global restructuring of converging media and telecommunications industries” along with “the worldwide corporate assault on public service media” (p. 40). Which is to say, in Chile, the public-sphere model of media as an empowering force for social actors at the grass roots level was all but eliminated by a free-market media largely under the control of economic elites. This turn of events resulted in a major reversal in the course of full social democratization

on the political level. Bresnahan concludes, "... democratization of social expression was incompatible with a highly commercial, market-driven media system, especially one dependent on transnational advertising and media content" (p. 41). In contrast, Bresnahan cites democratic media theorists Sparks and Reading (1995) who argue that, "the empowerment of civil society should be the goal of media policy" (p. 43).

Specifically, with respect to newspapers and magazines, Bresnahan writes of "an impressive information infrastructure" (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 46) consisting of clandestine newsletters as well as nationally circulated publications, originally built by forces opposing the dictatorship:

In these independent newspapers and magazines the incoming Concertacion inherited a major democratic resource. However the Aylwin administration's policies toward them ranged from indifferent to hostile, the magazines in particular being viewed more as potential critics than as allies in rebuilding Chilean democracy. Not only did the government fail to support the media during the transition but in some cases it actively contributed to their demise.

In 1990, although politically vigorous, the independent magazines were financially insecure and faced major challenges in adapting to the new conditions and the changing interests and priorities of readers. They needed to replace the foreign funding that had subsidized their publication with revenue from advertising, but Chile's advertising market remained highly politicized, a publication's political position being more important to many potential advertisers than its circulation and demographics. (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 47)

In the case of at least one independent progressive magazine, *Analisis*, the Aylwin government actively blocked funding from the Dutch intended to help the publication weather the transition to a purely market economy, thereby ensuring its demise due to financial insufficiency. In the case of independent newspapers, the new government maintained its official position of equating media democracy with unfettered market forces and in so doing did not act intentionally to assign them needed state advertising or

favorable credit. The upshot of this equation was “to impoverish public discourse and limit debate over the pace and direction of the transition” (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 47) to a truly representative democracy.

This case study of the media in one Latin American country dramatically underscores what has been proceeding unbridled on a global scale over the last several decades. The enormous price we are paying for what we applaud as free market media, especially as public resources become consolidated into fewer and fewer private hands, is access to a full array of thought and opinion, crucial to sustain democratic process. In light of this alarming trend, it comes as no surprise that women’s voices, ones rarely if ever making headlines in the past, continue to recede even further into the shadows. This study challenges readers to make an intentional shift, shining light into these recesses to bring forward the lessons to be learned.

Concluding Remarks

It occurs to me as I write these chapters that I keep bumping against venerable academic modifiers describing our current age in the broad trajectory of history, such as post-modern or post-structural. However, given the abundant evidence of positive change I’ve uncovered in recent books, articles and publications (including *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe*), I feel inclined to forsake those grand categories. I’m eager to embrace a totally new notion that reflects the unfolding of history into the future, in lieu of something that references the academic traditions, theories, and practice of the past. At the risk of being completely presumptuous, I offer the notion of “pre-transformation” as a better descriptor for this present window in time. The hallmarks of pre-transformative thought patterns mean, among others:

1. We open our minds more widely to possibilities for the future; we investigate all models for qualitative change more seriously.
2. We search more diligently for innovations that promise harmony, inclusiveness, and sustainability.
3. We focus intentionally and intently on the creative and exemplary practices offered by indigenous people and cultures.
4. And, we listen much more carefully to the quiet stories – the legacies of the mothers and sisters, teachers and care-workers, leaders, and pioneering feminists throughout time who are offering us the benefit of their wisdom if we will only take time to give them our full attention.

The 2007 Summer issue of *Yes! Magazine* is a stunning case in point! The issue was devoted to the topic headlined: “Democracy, Latin America Leaps Ahead.” In the opening note, editor Sarah Ruth van Gelder tells readers how the issue grew from her extended travels throughout Latin America, where she experienced the excitement of governments, social movements, and indigenous peoples with “an ambition to take on the big issues confronting human society” (van Gelder, 2007, p.1). She writes:

The people of Latin America are choosing to be creators of their own futures, neither the passive victims nor obsequious beggars of the global economy. No longer will they allow outside interests - such as the US government to undermine their elected leaders.... They will no longer sign on to trade deals that open their natural resources and labor to unregulated exploitation and make protection of their own economies impossible (p. 1).

Of note, one article charts the rise of Michelle Bachelet “a woman president taking the lid off the private lives of Chileans” (van Gelder, 2007, p. 2). Another highlights the cooperative movement in Venezuela, featuring Manos Amigas, a textile

coop launched by Estrella Ramirez and a team of women associates. Still another celebrates Cuba's policy of healthcare for all, succeeding largely on the basis of neighborhood clinics, many run and administered by and for women. Fortunately, as privately controlled, free market media systematically exclude features such as those just cited, other channels emerge with more enlightened agendas. One essential intention of my research is to align with these new channels, intentionally refocusing and highlighting what has up until now been kept hidden from the spotlight.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The methods outlined here provide a systematic, reflective way to examine the content of foreground and background representations of peace and conflict. The design is grounded in critical, feminist theory, using qualitative document analysis methods. The goal of this inquiry is to investigate how rendering peace-building activity of women as background and featured news rhetoric as foreground perpetuates cultures of apprehension and violence. Thus framed, resulting public discourse concerning peace and peace construction is distorted and incomplete. Through the device of *racking focus*, which brings the background into focus and renders it as foreground, I will explore the new social norms suggested and summarize the emergent tapestry of peace cultures. Figure 1 on the following page provides a visual map of the design.

<p style="text-align: center;">GLOBALIZATION OF COMPASSION</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Women in the Foreground of Cultures of Peace</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Research Questions</p> <p>What characterizes rhetorical acts of empowered peacewomen?</p> <p>What characterizes rhetorical acts featured by newspaper articles written about an event or events in the same locale?</p> <p>By juxtaposing these rhetorical acts, what themes emerge concerning our public discourse, particularly around issues of conflict and peace building?</p>	
<p>Unit of Study: LOCAL FOCUS DYADS</p>	
<p>Background Sample</p> <p>From the nine global regions identified in the <i>1000 Peacewomen Across the Globe</i> compilation, randomly select one country, then one Peacewoman's story for investigation.</p> <p>Conduct systematic qualitative content analysis of each narrative.</p> <p>Identify core rhetorical act represented by each story.</p>	<p>Foreground Sample</p> <p>Using locations of the background stories, identify 9 corresponding lead news stories (dated June 29 or June 30, 2005) from LexisNexis® database</p> <p>Conduct systematic qualitative content analysis of each story.</p> <p>Identify core rhetorical act represented by each story.</p>
<p>Emergent Tapestry of Cultures of Peace</p> <p>Induce description of emergent patterns. (Using the device of <i>racking focus</i>, bring the background of the LFD into the foreground for feature length study.)</p>	

Figure 1: Research Design

Assumptions: Study Trustworthiness and Reliability

The starting assumption for my research is that the narrative stories offered in *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe* (Association, 2005) are, by definition, *accomplishment* stories illustrating rhetorical acts of peace-building (as defined by Johnson & Johnson, 2005). I base this assumption on three key facts: each candidate for the collective Nobel Peace Prize nomination had to be nominated by at least two people independently (other than herself); their stories had to meet the seven nomination criteria as formulated by the Association in the Call for Nomination (Appendix C, p. 133) and finally, they had to be selected by their respective regional advisory boards. The main criteria listed as follows in the Call for Nomination are:

- She employs and promotes active, non-violent responses to conflict situations, structural injustices, and inequalities.
- Her work is sustainable and long-term.
- She leads by example, acting with moral courage and responsibility.
- Her work is exemplary and worthy of emulation.
- She works for the cause of peace and not for political or personal gain.
- Her work is transparent and based on tolerance.
- She includes and engages with people of different backgrounds

Given the thoroughness of this nomination process, I determined the stories in the peacewomen compilation to be a highly trustworthy source of data for qualitative content analysis with the objective of determining core rhetorical acts characteristic of women's peace-building activity.

Additionally, for purposes of rhetorical analysis of this background data (peacewomen narratives), I make no distinction between the peacewoman herself and the anonymous journalist who recorded her narrative for the compilation based on an interview with her in her native language. My assumption is that each writer made a well-intentioned and trustworthy attempt to capture the peacewoman's narrative in the most authentic manner possible. Thus, when I make reference to the rhetor in the course of my analysis of background, I am referring to the subject.

Taking study reliability into consideration, I mitigated introduction of researcher bias by using random selection as a sampling strategy (detailed in the Sampling section that follows). Beginning with the nine geographic regions in the peacewomen compilation, I narrowed this down by randomly selecting a country within that region and then randomly selecting an individual peacewoman's story within that country. This approach can be easily replicated and provided a transparent way to ensure reliability.

To determine foreground stories – or top news stories – I relied on the online LexisNexis® service, a comprehensive database of news stories accessible to Internet users (at <http://0-www.lexisnexis.com.catalog.library.colostate.edu/us/lnacademic/>). For decades, LexisNexis® was one of the leading information providers for legal researchers and others in related professions. With the rapid expansion of the Internet and its application as a research tool, LexisNexis® emerged as a pioneer, launching a formidable search engine, thus making their vast library of media sources available online to countless professionals and academics. Because of its long-standing reputation and because of its ubiquitous availability throughout business, professional, and academic communities (including Colorado State University's Morgan Library), I decided this was an especially

well-suited tool for my purposes. The search engine uses specific parameters to yield ranked lists of news stories, without regard to the researcher making the query.

I selected the story appearing at the top of the list for full text download and used these articles as the basis for describing core rhetorical acts in foreground data. Reading through each of the articles, rhetorical acts were gleaned based on the second person accounts reported by professional journalists (although in many cases these individuals were not credited by name). Consequently, when referring to the rhetor in my analysis of the foreground, I am referring to the journalist, rather than the subject of the report.

This procedure guided the construction of each Local Focus Dyad (LFD), juxtaposing one peacewomen narrative with one news article, both from the same geographic location. This dataset created the basis for an analytic process to induce core rhetorical acts illuminated in each dyad, followed by interpretation from a critical, feminist perspective. Both the *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe* data and LexisNexis® are readily available from multiple sources, thus providing a straightforward, dependable means for future researchers to replicate this or a related study.

Sampling: Constructing Local Focus Dyads

To initiate the study, I constructed nine LFDs as follows. First, I determined the nine regional designations for all the countries of origin of the 1,000 peacewomen. These regions include: South Asia, Oceania, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Eastern Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, Central Asia, and the Middle East. After grouping all 153 countries according to these regions, I randomly selected a country within each region. Finally, using the country index in the compilation, I randomly

selected a peacewoman's story within the designated country. The resulting peacewomen and their stories (Table 2) comprise the dataset that I refer to as the background stories or narratives (using these terms interchangeably).

Table 2

Sample Data for Globalization of Compassion

Country/Region	Peacewoman/Story (all peacewomen stories from the compilation 1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe, 2005)	LexisNexis stories by search date
1 INDIA Region: South Asia	Durga Devi (p. 631; word count 438) Sarva Shakti Sangam; Social Uplift Through Rural Action (Sutra)	Total Stories - 1000 for 30-June-05
2 FIJI Region: Oceania	Amelia Rokotuivuna (p.579; word count 461) Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA); Fiji Labor Party; World Council of Churches (WCC)	Total Stories - 60 for 30-June-05
3 UKRAINE Region: Europe	Nina Kolybashkina (p. 101; word count 455) Department of Social Policy and Social Work, Oxford University Center for Ethnic and Social Studies; Network of Intercultural Exchange and Interethnic Tolerance	Total Stories - 261 for 30-June-05
4 PANAMA Region: Latin Am, Caribbean	Alma Montenegro de Fletcher (p. 557; word count 497) Attorney for the Administration	Total Stories - 42 for 29-June-05
5 CANADA Region: North America	Landon Pearson (p. 568; word count 429) Children Learning for Living; Canadian Council on Children and Youth; Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children;	Total Stories - 1000 for. 30-June-05
6 MONGOLIA Region: Eastern Asia	Zanaa Jurmed (p. 951; word count 532) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	29-June-05 Total Stories - 50
7 TIMOR-LESTE Region: Southeast Asia	Genoveva Ximenes Alves (p. 710; word count 556) Saint Paul's High School; Maryknoll Sisters	Total Stories - 27 for 30-June-05
8. BURUNDI Region: Africa	Jeanne M. Gacoreke (p. 197; word count 440) Union des Groupements et Association pour la Promotion de la Femme	Total Stories - 31 for 30-June-05
9 AFGHANISTAN Region: Asia, Middle East	Palwasha Hassan (p. 388; word count 360) Afghan Women's Education Center (AWEC); Afghan Women's Network (AWN); UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan's Gender Network	Total Stories - 420 for 30- June-05

Note. Article count in Column 3 confirmed August 20, 2008.

Next, I turned to the online LexisNexis® service to determine a specific foreground story to pair with each of the nine background stories. I chose two search categories of the nine offered on the Academic - General page, including: Major U.S. and

World Publications and News Wire Services. Then, I began narrowing the search by setting the criteria as the peacewoman's country of origin and the phrase "Nobel nominee" in the year 2005. In all nine cases, I discovered that the news stories that appeared, if they appeared at all, clustered on the dates June 29 and June 30, 2005. This repeated finding led me back to the *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe* website which, documents the original press release of the 1,000 peacewomen nomination. In a story by Kamla Bhasin, South Asia coordinator of the 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005, she writes, "On June 29, about 50 press conferences were held across the globe to publicise the names of the 1,000 women from 153 countries jointly nominated for the Nobel Peace prize. The Nobel Committee in Oslo had received the nominations in January 2005" (2005). See Appendix D, p. 138.

Based on knowledge of the press conference date, I conducted a second search for a top news story by designating the country of origin and then confining the search to either the date June 29 or the date June 30, 2005 (the news day immediately following the press conference). In all cases this search led to a complete listing of stories ranging from a low of 27 stories (on June 30, 2005, for Timor) to a high of 1,000 plus stories (on June 30, 2005, for Canada and India). The LexisNexis® search engine can order the results of any search in one of three ways: in chronological order, by publication date, or by what LexisNexis® defines as relevance. I chose relevance as the sort criteria, because this ordered the list of articles based on the number of times the search word (or words) appears in the article. I then downloaded the full text of the first story in each list and this became the news narrative used as the foreground companion to each peacewoman's narrative. I completed all the LFDs in this manner.

One further note, after constructing all nine LFDs, I also became increasingly interested in making a closer examination of the headline listings themselves for all nine countries. Consequently, I decided to expand the investigation beyond the LFDs to include the headlines of top stories for each of the nine countries on either June 29 or June 30, 2005. For this purpose, I limited my review to the first sixty entries of each list or to the total number of entries if the list numbered less than sixty. (Refer to Table 2 for the date and number of stories for each country that I used for this study).

Finally, out of simple curiosity, I explored the subject sort index available through the LexisNexis® search engine. This serendipitous investigation offered additional insights into the subject of this study. Findings from these two pieces of my research are included in the Section Preliminary Descriptive Statistics.

Explanation for Data and Rank Adjustments in the Samples

In seven of the nine countries, I opted to use the data from my search on June 30, 2005. The most significant reason I decided to use the news day immediately following the June 29, 2005 press conferences was that if the peacewomen Nobel nomination story appeared at all, it most frequently showed up once or twice on June 30, 2005.

Also, reviewers will note that I made three minor adjustments to this sampling strategy for the following reasons. In the case of Mongolia, I substituted search results on June 29, 2005, for the search results on June 30, 2005. This was done simply because the article ranking first on June 30, 2005, was substantially longer than the peacewoman's narrative (1,405 words compared to 532 words), and I was trying to keep word counts between the two stories in each LFD comparable. Similarly in the case of Timor Leste, I

decided to use the second ranked story versus the first ranked story due to length (although I remained with the June 30, 2005, search results). In the case of Panama, I did both, I opted for the June 29 search results, and I selected the second ranked story in favor of the first ranked story because it introduced a subject that factored significantly into one of my findings, but did not appear in the first relevance rank in any of the nine countries.

Validity

For my purpose, the nine stories in the background sample are treated as “found” stories, randomly picked from all those solicited by the Association, transcribed by multiple and mostly anonymous journalists, and gathered into the anthology *1000 Peace-Women Across the Globe* (2005). As previously noted, the availability of this compilation along with a reliable procedure for pairing the background stories with lead foreground news stories, made qualitative content analysis the most logical method to systematically deconstruct the dyads. The specifics for this deconstruction are detailed in the next section (Methods). However to establish the validity of my study, I leaned heavily on practices typical of narrative analysis and rhetorical criticism.

Background of Validity Found in Narrative Analysis

Gaining in popularity as a research method in this decade, narrative analysis was outlined fifteen years ago by Catherine Kohler Riessman. In her text, *Narrative Analysis* (1993), Riessman lists five different levels for representing the immediate experiences of everyday life. These include the initial step of attending to the experience, meaning intentionally making note of specific sensory information (sights, sounds, smells, feelings, etc.). Then, beyond noticing, the next levels include telling about the experience,

transcribing the experience, and analyzing the transcription by assigning meaning to aspects of the experience. Finally, the circle is completed with reading whatever output results at the first four levels. This schema – attending, telling, transcribing, analyzing, and reading – underlies the study of narrative (or story) for research purposes. Riessman argues quite persuasively that, given this convoluted journey through five levels from sensory perception to written page, the veracity of the content of the story is relatively unimportant. In a narrative framework, the research does not rely on proof one way or the other of facts as presented by the storyteller and ultimately recorded by the investigator.

Verification of the ‘facts’ of lives is less salient than understanding the changing meaning of events for the individuals involved – and how these in turn are located in history and culture. Personal narratives are, at core, meaning-making units of discourse. They are of interest precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories, rather than reproduce the past as it was. (Riessman, 2001, p. 19-20)

A foundational premise of my study is that looking into how individual peacewomen construct their own stories (with a journalist as anonymous intermediary) and describing the core rhetorical acts (which for my purposes are directly analogous to Riessman’s meaning-making units) will give readers a privileged glimpse into the brick-by-brick construction of emerging cultures of peace. Riessman strongly suggests that investigators make particular note of “the ‘turning points’ in stories – moments when the narrator signifies a radical shift in the expected course of a life” (2001, p. 21).

I contend that few events have as staggering an impact on the course of one’s life as the direct experience of war and violence. And many of the 1,000 peacewomen reflect their personal stories in relation to one or more such major turning-points, events that signal profound shifts in their personal assumptions regarding peace, war and violence, and sustenance of human security. It is my supposition that, taken together, these stories

stand in stark contrast to other types of stories (such as news articles) predicated on assumptions that contentiousness, leading to conflict and violence, is a given, immutable reality, one that has been and always will be a part of human existence. Once this overall assumption is held up to scrutiny, the stories of what might be possible in the world change profoundly. This is another supposition that I intend to explore in the course of this investigation.

Strategies for Strengthening Validity

Therefore, consistent with narrative research and other qualitative traditions, validation of my study does not rely on the veracity of the events described in peacewomen narratives or on specific “provable” facts, but rather on alternate measures as discussed by Riessman in *Narrative Analysis* (1993), more recently by Creswell and Miller in *Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry* (2000), and by Sonja K. Foss in *Rhetorical Criticism, Exploration and Practice* (2004). The principal strategies I used to validate the investigation include triangulation, attending to previously unnoticed phenomena, and coherence (a.k.a. congruence in rhetorical criticism terms). All three of these strategies are employed to help establish reviewer confidence in any generalized claims put forward as the result of my analysis and interpretation of the data.

The first technique for validity was built directly into the design of the study itself by means of the LFDs. Rather than relying strictly on a single dataset of peacewomen narratives for qualitative content analysis, I chose to pair these stories with stories from the dominant news media. By looking at pairs, providing snapshots of background and foreground narratives side-by-side, I set up a systematic way to sort through a secondary data source for evidence to either “confirm or disconfirm” my foundational premise

(Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127). Use of a secondary dataset (for triangulation), along with ensuing disconfirming evidence, was a compelling strategy to validate the study and helped to substantiate some original ideas.

Secondly, I returned to Riessman's first level of the narrative process as de facto proof of validity. In the context of a "pre-transformative" paradigm shift, I suggest that the first and very necessary step toward comprehension is the simple act of attending to something unique, some unprecedented or previously invisible phenomena! By itself, the mere existence of 1,000 peacewomen nominees, drawn from over 2,000 peacewomen candidates, strongly points to a line of feminist thought that humanity has failed to notice, and has done so at its own peril. I hope that an analysis of these narratives will help re-locate our species in the stream of history, before we succeed in annihilating each other. What I am suggesting is that this investigation is just a beginning – an attempt at provocative analyses based on a systematic examination differentiating peacewomen's rhetorical acts from acts more typically represented in the news media. As another indicator of validity, I offer a challenge to future academics to refine this investigation and to continue building on the feminist and critical implications that unfold. As Riessman points out:

Narratives are a particularly significant genre for representing and analyzing identity in its multiple guises in different contexts. The methods allow for systematic study of experience and (for feminist researchers) the changing meaning of conditions that affect women disproportionately – domestic violence, reproductive illness, and poverty. Personal narratives provide windows into lives that confront the constraints of circumstances. Attention to personal narratives in interviews opens discursive spaces for research subjects. We can represent them as agents acting in life worlds of moral complexity." (Riessman, 2001, p. 24)

As a final note, Riessman (1993) concludes with a discussion of additional strategies to ensure validity in narrative analysis, which I found intriguingly consistent with standards for evaluating rhetorical criticism put forward by Sonja Foss in *Rhetorical Criticism, Exploration and Practice* (2004). In both texts, the authors stress the need for persuasiveness or plausibility of interpretation supported by evidence drawn directly from the artifacts being analyzed (Riessman, 1993, p. 65; Foss, 2004, p. 21). Both scholars stress the importance of coherence. From a narrative perspective, interpretation must always be constrained by actual text, meaning that an investigator's hypothesis must be modified to remain true to (or coherent with) the story being revealed. A strong analysis will establish coherence among the story, the main thematic objective of the story, and the investigator's interpretations. Put in terms of rhetorical criticism, Foss says, "You must order, arrange, and present your findings so they are congruent and consistent. Congruence means that your findings do not contradict one another and are internally consistent. It also means that all of the major dimensions of the artifact are included in the schema or theory you present of your findings..." (Foss, 2004, p. 22). These two passages, drawn from two different disciplines, present uncanny similarities and offer another highly effective means to establish validity in the context of a qualitative study such as the one presented here.

Methods

Campbell's Elements of Rhetorical Acts as Basis for Qualitative Document Analysis

To identify defining rhetorical acts represented in both the peacewomen's stories (background) and the news articles (foreground), I followed the tradition of content analysis originally described by Altheide as ethnographic content analysis (Altheide,

1987) and (as previously stated) subsequently known as qualitative document analysis or QDA (Altheide, 2008).

I applied an iterative process of coding borrowed from the tradition of grounded theory described by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994). Their iterative coding strategy offers an elegant and comprehensive way to analyze a wide variety of qualitative data, including data derived from written documents used in this investigation. I explored data from the nine LFDs, moving inductively up levels of abstraction as put forward in Strauss and Corbin: from starting concepts (open codes), to categories (axial codes) and ultimately to propositions about defining rhetorical acts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994). In this manner, I arrived at the thematic framework presented in my results, and these results go on to provide the basis my conclusions.

I found Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's (1982) "Elements of Descriptive Analysis for Rhetorical Acts" to be especially well suited for this purpose. According to Campbell, truth does not exist independently of people's social interaction. She notes, "Whereas the [empirical] scientist would say, 'the most important thing is the discovery and testing of truth,' the rhetorician (one who studies rhetoric and takes a rhetorical perspective) would say, 'truth cannot walk on its own legs. It must be carried by people to other people. It must be made effective through language, through argument and appeal'" (Campbell, 1982, ¶3) My study is predicated on the assumption that news reporting is a fundamental means for carrying truth to the general public and functions as a significant mechanism to frame public perception. If this vehicle delivered alternate *news* might there be some other perception dominating public discourse?

To determine this, I revisited the content of the LFDs, using Campbell's social interaction perspective, grouping initial open codes with one or more corresponding element(s) for purposes of analysis of core rhetorical acts. The list of prospective axial codes (open codes grouped categorically) includes four of the elements suggested by Campbell (Campbell, 1982, ¶1), as follows: (a) purpose, the rhetor's central or major intention; (b) persona, the role or roles adopted by the central rhetor or rhetors in the story; (c) tone, the implicit or explicit attitude toward the subject under consideration and/or toward the target population; and (d) strategies, the language, appeals, and selection of specific discursive and aesthetic techniques.

Several of Campbell's original elements were deliberately omitted. For example, structure (introduction, body and conclusion of the message) and target audience were omitted. Given a starting supposition that the inherent structure of a news report on a single or fleeting occurrence is fundamentally different from the inherent structure of other types of narrative intended to reflect work and effort over an extended time period, I thought coding for structure will yield minimally useful data. Secondly, I omitted the element of target audience because the very essence of this study is to speculate on "what if" the current target audience for foreground news (e.g., the general public) became the actual audience of background peacewomen stories? This underlying question rendered the original target audience for individual peacewomen's stories immaterial to this discussion.

Essentially, the first process of open coding gave me the opportunity to deconstruct the narratives in each LFD along inductive dimensions. Axial coding then provided the means to reconstruct the data into identifiable and connecting categories that

apply specifically to determining rhetorical acts. The categories were useful for developing new insights and interpretations of the raw data.

In the next stage of the study, during the process known as selective coding, I was able to integrate the data from discrete LFDs (with defining rhetorical acts of peacewomen stories alongside defining rhetorical acts of news articles) to create a broader framework for critical discussion and feminist interpretation. Herein lies the interplay between the actual accounts included in the content of the stories, and the evidence for analytical propositions revealed through iterative coding. As the process unfolded, several dominant themes and patterns emerged that illuminate propositions grounded in the content of LFD data.

As part of my investigation of these themes I conjectured the potential outcome of racking focus where background stories (along with their central rhetorical acts) are moved into the foreground to become “newsworthy” features. Also as part of my analysis I explored how this novel re-framing of news – featuring snapshots that draw attention to women’s peace-building projects and initiatives – helps to rebalance human understanding of the nature of hierarchical struggle, violent behavior, and alternatives to this type of conflict including peace building and conflict resolution. With the use of these photographic concepts – racking focus, reframing and featuring – comes the realization that there are choices with respect to emphasis.

Hopefully, this study provides strong indications of all that is currently missing in the foreground of mediated discourses about violence and peace and the risks we run by relying strictly on this incomplete picture. An alternate depiction, where women’s background experiences are introduced regularly into public discourse, may provide

expanded possibilities when deadly violence threatens to overrun collective wellbeing and human security.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Introductory Thoughts

Something extraordinary occurred on June 29, 2005: on that Wednesday, press conferences were held in fifty worldwide locations announcing that 1,000 women from 153 countries had been nominated as collective recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize. In a world oriented toward the ascendance of peaceful and successful conflict resolution, this news would be dominating the foreground of our public discourse. It would make “2 inch-above-the-fold headlines.” However, across our existing global news networks, this event was blurred into the background, registering as barely a blip on the seismographic scale measuring the impact of daily news. In the three ensuing years since the nomination, I have yet to engage a single person in conversation about the 1,000 peacewomen without a long-winded preamble explaining the entire project. Yet the mere mention of typical foreground events – terrorist attacks, the sub-prime mortgage crisis, the Super Bowl or World Series – evokes universal head nods, litanies of opinions, and the occasional provocative discussion. I have listened incredulously while professional journalists and lay people alike dismiss this entire phenomenon with the single phrase, “If it bleeds, it leads.” However, what I hope to reveal with the results of my research is that this oversimplification obscures a dangerous phenomenon of “gendered journalism” that is being replicated by media outlets all over the world, distracting us from the critical demands of solving paramount planetary problems.

The media's obsession with an ever diminishing pool of rhetorical acts – acts of economic expansion, sporting and other competitive spectacles, outbreaks of violence and atrocity, criminality, triumphant individuals and/or businesses, and tragic disasters of every dimension (ranging from personal to continental) - have become the daily fare we are asked to consume unquestioningly, under the assumption we are being served up “objective” news in a respectable journalistic tradition.

In *Metaphors We Live By*, George Lakoff (1980, 2003) documents the ubiquitous power of metaphors to dominate our thought processes having us mistake them for reality. This is clearly illustrated in my analysis of the nine randomly selected women's narratives and their corresponding “news” stories, which constitute this investigation. As documented by Bresnahan (1990), Jamieson and Campbell (2001), McChesney (2004), and others, news is being determined and disseminated by fewer and fewer sources consolidated into business conglomerates. However, my research clearly indicates that newsworthy items are all too frequently devoid of rhetorical acts important to, concerned about, and/or performed by women. With scant reference in the public media to this data documenting women's rhetorical activity, the general public has very limited access to some of the most coherent and productive strategies for peace-construction on the global stage. Instead mediated reality looks like a patchwork of violent activity and individual (or corporate acting as individual) triumphs. This result repeats itself time and again in the nine Local Focus Dyads (LFDs) of my study. In my conclusion, I will attempt to shift the background and the foreground, racking focus away from these dominant media metaphors in an attempt to encourage a new appreciation for and a re-definition of news.

Preliminary Descriptive Statistics

Defining News: What the Headline Counts Tell Us

Conventional wisdom holds that the hallmark of a truly professional journalist is one who is adept at reporting the five “Ws” and the “H” of any given story: who, what, where, when, why, and how? By clearly and “objectively” sticking to this formula, a competent news reporter becomes more and more capable of discerning and disseminating facts, rather than opinion or personal bias (Stovall, 2004). From a feminist perspective, this formula is problematic: what about the stories that a professionally trained, even a gifted reporter never discerns, never sees because the very subject matter itself is not defined as news? The results of my research point to the fact that the act of story selection itself is fraught with bias, favoring rhetorical acts performed mostly by men and filtered through predominantly male perceptions.

Regularly, sound bites and features that make headlines in newspapers, on radio and television represent a very limited subset of the infinite ways interesting lives manifest in the world. In the online *Columbia Journalism Review*, Mitchell Stephens (2007) admonishes his colleagues, jealously guarding the borders of professional journalism from the influx of “pretenders” flooding the Internet with un-vetted news, that

...more and more cameras are being aimed at news events, and transcripts, reports, and budgets are regularly being placed on the Web, either by organizations themselves or by citizens trying to hold those organizations to account. We are still very early in the evolution of the form, but surely industrious bloggers won't always need reporters to package such materials before they commence picking them apart” (Stephens, 2007, p 2 ¶4).

This capacity to discern and disseminate news for oneself is opening huge credibility gaps in the mainstream media. For example, my study dictated going directly

to the LexisNexis® database. This allowed me to search primary sources directly; I could find the precise stories that eclipsed the news of the 1,000 peacewomen on the day of or following the fifty press conferences worldwide. Each search (specifying a date and a country) yielded a list of news stories, ranked from most to least relevant (based on the parameters I entered). Furthermore, using the electronic tools provided by LexisNexis®, I could sort this list of headlines according to subject indices.

I decided as a prologue to my in-depth analysis of the news stories in the foreground of each LFD. I would take a more analytical look at the headline listings themselves using the subject indices. For each of the nine searches, I went back and conducted a subject sort. I then recorded the three most frequently occurring subjects in news articles for all of the countries of interest. This provided a pool of twenty-seven total subject areas although only eleven were unique (because several were common to multiple countries). Two closely related subject headings – International Relations & National Security and National Security & Foreign Relations – showed up a total of 9 times of 27 (totaling 750 occurrences of these subjects in news articles); also the two closely related subjects of Government & Public Administration and Government Bodies & Offices came up 8 times (totaling 746 occurrences); the related topics of Trade & Development, Company Activities & Management, and Company Structures & Ownership came up 4 times (totaling 832 occurrences). The subject area of Sports and another related area of Trends & Events came up 3 times (totaling 33 occurrences). Finally, there were a total of 249 occurrences under the topic of Listing & Notices and 291 occurrences in Reports, Reviews & Sections, both of which were too ambiguous for a definitive observation. Due to the switch of dates under consideration for Panama –

from June 29 to June 30, for reasons described earlier, one significant subject category has gone unnoted, which accounted for 19 occurrences in the subject areas of Crime and/or the Legal System. The total data pool under consideration included 2,901 occurrences across 11 discreet subject areas that showed up as top three (drawn from a total of 2,884 news articles).

I then considered this data in light of statistics provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) under Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM). The GEM includes key indicators clustered together to provide some measure of progress being made in terms of gender equality on a country-by-country basis. Some of the indicators include percentages seats in Parliaments held by women, female legislators, senior officials and managers.¹

In the nine countries I investigated, the percentage of seats held by women in national parliaments ranged from a low of 6.6% in Mongolia to a high of 31.7% in Burundi. In all cases the total percentage of seats held by women never exceeded one third. When one considers the fact that the majority (51.6%) of topics disseminated as news across the nine countries concentrated in the conduct of important affairs of state (under the subjects of International Relations & National Security, National Security & Foreign Relations, Government & Public Administration, Government Bodies & Offices), the logical conclusion is that these featured stories by and large omit rhetorical acts performed by women because they are systemically un- or under-represented in governance and consequently in the decision-making process.

¹ For those interested in comprehensive information on precisely how the United Nations Development Programme tables are constructed, the individual country indicators and statistics, and the data collection methodologies, I refer readers directly to <http://hdrstats.undp.org/buildtables/###>.

Similarly, 28.7% of subjects disseminated as news (in the categories of Trade & Development, Company Activities & Management, Company Structures & Ownership) concern largely male-dominated commercial interests and their impacts on national, regional, or local economies. Not surprisingly, rarely is reference made to impacts of these commercial interests on women, families, or the social fabric of communities, as indicated by my findings. Taken together (51.6% plus 28.7%), these statistics total 80.3% of the subject matter of news stories, leaving little doubt that women's initiatives stand a good chance of, at best, being inadvertently overlooked and, at worst, being deliberately excluded.

The raw data used for these calculations are displayed in Table 3 where I intentionally inserted Leading Subject Indices from LexisNexis® for each of the headline listings (for countries under consideration) into a chart displaying selected Gender Empowerment Measures for those same countries. The numbers support the supposition that a large percentage of news articles detail activities and events in which women have minimal participation and little substantive influence. However, the data are meant to be suggestive (NOT definitive). The comparison was useful to me in so far as it helped clarify how male bias is "operationalized" in newsrooms, where news reporting is frequently limited to arenas where women are simply not present or not in decision-making roles. This is in NO way intended to suggest that if more women were party to the reins of power, either in politics or in commerce, that the decisions being made would be qualitatively better or worse than decisions being made by men. However, at least as far as this investigation is concerned, we have no way to make this determination, as evidence to this effect is absent.

Table 3

Leading Subject Indices from LexisNexis® & Selected Gender Empowerment Measures

HDI Rank	GEM	Leading Subject Indices on nine LexisNexis® Searches (and # of occurrences of these topics in listed articles)	Seats in parliament_(% held by Women)	Legislators Senior officials & Managers (%female) 1999-2005	Ratio of estimated female to male earned income	
High Human Development						
4	Canada	10	Reports, Reviews & Sections (288) Listings & Notices (228) Company Activities & Management (218)	24.3	36	0.64
62	Panama	49	International Relations & National Security (16) Trends & Events (14) Government & Public Administration (12) OMITTED FROM TOTALS: Law & Legal System (10) Crime, Law Enforcement & Corrections (9) Government & Public Administration (9)	16.7	43	0.57
Medium Human Development						
76	Ukraine	75	Government & Public Administration (118) Government Bodies & Offices (98) International Relations & National Security (77)	8.7	38	0.55
92	Fiji	..	Sports & Recreation (10) Government & Public Administration (9) Sports, Games & Outdoor Recreation (9)	..		0.48
114	Mongolia	77	Trade & Development (22) International Relations & National Security (21) Listings & Notices (19)	6.6	50	0.50
128	India	..	Company Activities & Management (423) Government & Public Administration (207) Company Structures and Ownership (163)	9	..	0.31

HDI Rank	GEM	Leading Subject Indices on nine LexisNexis® Searches (and # of occurrences of these topics in listed articles)	Seats in parliament (% held by Women)	Legislators Senior officials & Managers (%female) 1999-2005	Ratio of estimated female to male earned income
150	Timor-Leste	..	International Relations & National Security (19) National Security & Foreign Relations (18) Government & Public Administration (17)	25.3	..
Low Human Development					
167	Burundi	..	International Relations & National Security (26) National Security & Foreign Relations (24) Government & Public Administration (22)	31.7	z0.77
Without HDI Rank					
	Afghanistan	..	International Relations & National Security (284) National Security & Foreign Relations (259) Government & Public Administration (254)	25.9	0.33

Note: HDI is Human Development Index and GEM is Gender Empowerment Measure Rank

Furthermore, this introductory account should not be interpreted to mean that rhetorical acts performed by those who govern and/or by leaders in business and industry are NOT newsworthy. However, my findings do raise some fundamental questions of professional journalism: does the media only find the rhetorical acts they go looking for? Why do the rhetorical acts of “mankind” equate with the notion of “hard news,” omitting a vast majority of acts performed by humankind, more specifically by women? Is it a sound journalistic practice, conscious choice, or an unconscious and dangerous habit? I’ve often wondered about the basis for journalistic labeling: for example, what constitutes human interest, or “fluff” pieces, a distinction frequently made by reporters to distinguish other story types from hard news? Many of these and related questions suggest excellent topics for ongoing research, but let me return to the issues at hand.

There is much evidence to suggest that journalism is on the cusp of change, whether by choice or market forces imposed by the worldwide web. In the Internet era, Mitchell Stephens (2007) raises the question: what really constitutes value-added by professional news writers when anyone with a computer and a bit of savvy can create news? What might be the role of the professional journalist beyond noting who, what, where, when, why and how? Several new paradigms for news-gathering, reporting, and distributing are emerging that suggest more holistic and contextual approaches, which hold higher promise for peacewomen such as our Nobel nominees, but at this time these are well beyond the scope of this research. It is heartening to note that established professionals writing for the *Columbia Journalism Review* are suggesting alternatives. For example, Stephens encourages major news organizations to begin thinking of themselves as “news-analysis organizations,” and “to develop a stable of knowledgeable analysts whom they can assign each day to the major stories—as they currently assign reporters” (Stephens, 2007, p. 4). The general caution I would add to this and other transformative ideas actually comes from Stephen’s colleague, Liz Cox Barrett, also writing in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. In her article “Men Covering Men (Covered By Men)” (June 2008), she notes how pitifully few intelligent analyses from a gender perspective are showing up in today’s media. She cites numerous recent examples, written by both men and women, of commentary and analyses on Hilary Clinton’s campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Hopefully, my research and my results will help point the way to rectifying this shortage and help alert us to the concerns, issues, and achievements of the other half of humanity that today go missing in today’s headlines.

Findings

News Flash! Media Cultivating Weeds. Native Flora Perishes

Over the past several years, my husband and I have established a winter break ritual with our children. We pack up our gear, travel half way around the globe, and spend a little over two weeks in tropical Kauai. The first week we pamper ourselves in the healing sun and surf along the southern coast of the Poipu peninsula. Then we head *mauka* (toward the mountains), climbing along the lip of Waimea Canyon as it snakes upward to Kokee State Park at the summit. For another week, we encamp at the CCC lodge, circa 1930, and spend days tromping through the forests and swamps of the park and surrounding public land to uproot invasive plant species that are choking out native flora all across the Kokee Plateau and Alakai Swamp. This back-breaking work is the brain child and legacy of Katie Cassel, who alone with just a passion for native Hawaiian plant life, a pickup truck, and a small grant of \$10,000 started the Kokee Resource Conservation Program (KRCP) in 1998. Her mission continues to this day: to recover precious native forests of Kauai and provide ongoing stewardship.

As I delve deeper into the rhetorical analysis at the heart of this dissertation, I find myself thinking a lot about those long hours in nearly impassable jungles choked with endless stands of white ginger, strawberry guava, and thorny, tangled raspberry vines. Three decades ago, when I first trekked the trails in Waimea Canyon, I marveled at the riotous vegetation dominating the foreground of the landscape, and occasionally feasted on a guava that dropped from the trees or the wild raspberries growing along the trail. Like so many unenlightened others, I simply assumed that the flowers and fruits I enjoyed had long occupied a niche in the ecology of the island. Little did I realize that these plants

constituted a deadly encroachment of highly aggressive invasive species, collectively wreaking havoc on the delicate ecological balance of the island. Finding fertile purchase and favorable climate, these species have overtaken hundreds of thousands of acres, and native plant life on the Kokee plateau has receded so far into the back country that the majority of residents and visitors to the island are completely unaware they exist.

Vanishing species survive doggedly in sheltered, inaccessible pockets. Without the foresight and remarkable perseverance of individuals like Katie Cassel, the topography of the island would be irreparably altered. This experience provides an especially useful metaphor for framing some of the most cogent findings of my study.

Repeatedly, the LFDs juxtapose unpublicized stories of women who, like Katie, labor to reduce invasive actions threatening to overwhelm the stability and viability of communities across the world, with lurid or sensational headline news stories detailing countless acts of overt and covert antagonism and competition performed predominantly by men. This ubiquitous pattern perpetuates the faulty assumption that the normal state of our human ecology is hostile, dangerous, oppositional, and threatening. However, I would strenuously argue that the media are complicit in the propagation of these “invasive weeds” of rancor, discontent, and violence that dominate the foreground of public discourse. Unchallenged, the media portrays a frightening and bleak social order where daily acts of sustenance, compassion, and peace-building performed predominantly by women have vanished so far into the background that they are at risk of disappearing from consciousness altogether.

In Table 4 that follows I provide a summary of my findings from all nine LFDs, contrasting the core rhetorical acts derived from the peacewomen narratives with those derived from their corresponding foreground news stories.

Table 4

Summary: Background and Foreground Core Rhetorical Acts

Region	Background Core Rhetorical Act:	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act:
4-A South Asia: India	Peacewoman: Durga Devi RHETOR aspires to social productivity through women's empowerment projects	Headline: Kerala least corrupt state, Bihar the worst RHETOR calls attention to status, corruption, and rank
4-B Oceania: Fiji	Peacewoman: Amelia Rokotuivana RHETOR unites constituents for public benefit: an end to French nuclear testing and colonization	Headline: Vanuatu claims Fiji Snubbed its Co-operative Minister in Suva RHETOR explicates an ongoing trade dispute between Fiji and Vanatu
4-C Europe: Ukraine	Peacewoman: Nina Kolybashkina RHETOR demonstrates peace-building and reconciliation strategies using skills as an interpreter	Headline: Defense Minister: Ukraine will remain non-nuclear when it joins NATO RHETOR clarifies the current government's position concerning deployment of nuclear weapons
4-D Latin Am. & Caribbean: Panama	Peacewoman: Alma Montenegro de Fletcher RHETOR seeks justice for all through available but limited legal channels	Headline: Sports Digest; The Toronto Star RHETOR highlights items from around the world related to conduct of professional sports' players and ongoing business of organizations they play with...
4-E North Am.: Canada	Peacewoman: Landon Pearson RHETOR demonstrates lifelong dedication to advocating for human rights on behalf of children	Headline: New Xerox and Air Canada partnership meeting Canadian flyers' business needs worldwide; Xerox cutting-edge technology now available in Maple Leaf Lounges around the world. RHETOR announces Xerox Corporation recent commercial victory: continued partnership with Air Canada and its Maple Leaf Lounges
4-F Eastern Asia: Mongolia	Peacewoman: Zanaa Jurmed RHETOR employs multiple strategies to achieve democratic civil society in Mongolia	Headline: World Bank provides loan to Mongolia to expand financing for private firms, strengthen banks RHETOR endorses World Bank's loan to Mongolia to further country's economic development strategy
4-G Southeast Asia: Timor l'este	Peacewoman: Genoveva Ximenes Alves RHETOR transforms local school into school for peace and serves in multiple leadership capacities in program she helped create	Headline: NT: Downer says Aust-Timor boundary deal close RHETOR clarifies a maritime boundary dispute between Australia and East Timor in terms of oil and gas revenue at stake.
4-H Africa: Burundi	Peacewoman: Jeanne M. Gacoreke RHETOR gives direct assistance to women and children traumatized by sexual abuse and related war crimes, works to raise awareness to break through taboo of silence concerning atrocities.	HEADLINE: United Nations to reinforce peacekeepers in Burundi for parliamentary election. RHETOR provides rationale for UN operations to be put in place in anticipation of upcoming parliamentary elections in Burundi to prevent disruptions.
4-I Asia & Middle East: Afghanistan	PEACEWOMAN: Palwasha Hassan RHETOR directs resources to empower destitute Afghan women and protect their human rights	HEADLINE: Five killed by flash floods in southeastern Afghanistan. RHETOR details death and destruction in wake of natural disaster

These findings resulted from an iterative coding process: first, key words and phrases were highlighted in the text of the two narratives for each LFD; second, these key words and phrases were grouped together according to four of Campbell's rhetorical elements (as described earlier). Figure 2 below shows an example of the axial coding (coding by category) for the LFD for India. This illustration exemplifies the type of evidence I gathered from all the stories, and how I chose to further refine this evidence by sorting the words and phrases by category (using the Campbell elements of rhetorical acts). I have provided complete tables of all the open and axial codes for the other eight LFDs in Appendix H Tables 4-B through 4-I (p. 169)

Table 5

4-A: Local Focus Dyad, India as an Example of Author's Open and Axial Codes for Core Rhetorical Acts

REGION: South Asia		HEADLINE: Kerala least corrupt state, Bihar worst
	PEACEWOMAN: Durga Devi	
Country: India	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR aspires to social productivity	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR calls attention to status, corruption, and rank
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	EVIDENCE "to do something socially productive"	EVIDENCE To rank, characterize in terms of corruption, and exemplify type of corruption (bribery) "Kerala emerged as the country's least corrupt state while dubious distinction gone to Bihar...; bribes...bribery..."
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Proactive convener and champion "contacted, joined, formed, found, convinced, discussed, looked for, found a solution, got trained, organized, raises voice:	Observer, informer, provider of statistics; arbiter of best and worst, "Study conducted, in that order, ranked, placed...; Indians paid as bribe...; report said, police most corrupt...80% had paid bribe..."
Tone (rhetor's attitude toward subject):	<i>Sympathetic, empathic, courageous</i> "keeping women united & calm, voice against injustice, threats of harassment, but I am not scared, I work with truth in my mind, that gets justice for the innocent"	Judgmental, conclusive, divisive "Dubious distinction, Kerala topped, Bihar was the last, Jammu and Kashmir were placed very low, whopping Rs 210 billion..."
Strategies:	Coalition women's groups, watch-group, health hazard for women, found solution (smokeless chulha), organized protest, formed a union	Citation of India Corruption Study 2005: 14,405 respondents, 151 cities, 306 villages, 20 states, 11 services...

Following this first and second level of analyses, I was able to cluster the findings in terms of the themes and patterns that emerged with further study. In my Thematic Analysis, the *prima facie* assumption that aggressive, invasive behavior constitutes a complete and accurate portrayal of “human nature” is challenged. Instead a very different type of human nature becomes apparent. Sadly, this quieter, currently unrecognized behavior is at risk (disappearing from view as rapidly as native flora on the Kokee Plateau) and certainly has little likelihood for becoming normative unless brought forward through intentional effort.

Thematic Analysis

Taking on the challenge of investigating what occupies the foreground of public discourse as shaped by the media, and what gets lost in the background, is very much like my first encounter with the *Magic Eye: A New Way of Looking at the World* (N.E. Thing Enterprises, 1993) books. These books offer page after page of computer generated random dot *stereograms*. The book’s creator, N.E. Thing Enterprises, as well as trusted friends, assured me that 3D images were hidden within the complex fractal patterns. I simply had to learn how to adjust my focus so I could see them. I spent long periods of time squinting at the pages, slowly moving the book in and out of my field of view. And suddenly, like magic, the liberty bell, or an apple or a running horse would pop out at me, emerging fully visible from what only minutes before had been a flat page of swirling, repetitious designs. Further compounding my frustration was that this perfectly distinct 3D image could just as unexpectedly recede into the background, leaving me with the original two-dimensional perception.

From the outset of this academic inquiry, I've looked forward to accomplishing a similar shift of focus – drawing attention away from the foreground noise of typical news consistently featured in popular media to allow the distinct patterns of women's rhetorical acts to emerge more fully. My objectives include amplifying the whispers of these seldom heard stories and more fully illuminating the shadows where the 1,000 peacewomen narratives are being enacted, and by so doing help others perceive the beneficial patterns of the women's activity with greater regularity.

Today, my frustration grows greater with every moment I learn of another *missing* story, of yet another woman working in obscurity for peace and stability in the context of her community. Although these women abound across every continent, where are the reports, the headlines, the sound bites that declare her perspective, her lessons, and her achievements? I am gripped by what I freely confess as a shamefully un-peaceful impulse to grab a news editor by the lapels, stab my finger at a newspaper and holler, "How will we ever be able to achieve peace if we never feature anyone making it? Huh, answer me that!"

Throughout the subsequent thematic analysis, drawn from selective coding of my findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994), I formulate a case for propelling these uniquely feminist voices onto the already crowded and noisy stage of public discourse. I hope to persuade the media in particular to rack focus, and to scrutinize the background much more carefully, placing much greater and consistent emphasis on the critical work performed by women globally. My ultimate goal is to more fully understand the nature of their efforts and to contribute to changing the inevitable and tragic trajectory of our

culture currently saturated with the rhetoric of conflict, accumulation and fear, to the exclusion of alternative types of social interaction.

As I conducted the analysis, three overarching themes became apparent. Within this thematic framework, the peacewomen's background rhetorical acts are clustered under several topical descriptors and the foreground rhetorical acts are clustered under different topical descriptors. When the clusters are considered side-by-side, two very different impressions (or what might be considered "definitions") emerge. However, these definitions should not be confused with those previously established by international bodies attempting to define these same concepts. For example, one of the themes I discuss is labeled "Human Security." In 1994, the United Nations Human Development Programme comprehensively studied Human Security from many angles and the term, as used in the context of the United Nations, implies a set of very specific meanings (UNDP, 1994). However, in the context of this study, the term is simply a way of encompassing the two divergent inductive descriptions.

Table 5 provides a summary of the Thematic Framework and displays the conceptual conclusions that I drew on each side of the LFDs for all three topics. The left side shows considerations that emerged from an analysis of background narratives, while the right side shows considerations that emerged from an analysis of foreground news stories. As the reader will note, depending on whether one takes a background or foreground perspective, the understanding of each theme differs dramatically. Following Table 5, I provide a synthesis of the evidence that I used to create each theme within the framework.

Table 6

Thematic Framework including Selective Coding Tables for Progress, Human Security, and Sustained Agency

"This little piggy went to market..."

PROGRESS	
<p>In the Background: Progress considered in light of social, relational achievements ACTS OF SOCIAL COMPASSION, CONCERN AND CARE FOR VULNERABLE POPULATIONS Progress defined in terms of measures instituted for the public good / social welfare not simply economic advancement, e.g. education, trauma recovery, women's empowerment programs</p> <p>PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE TRANSACTIONS Social initiatives "count" as progress, worthy of positive regard and public interest</p> <p>BOTTOM-UP STRATEGY ACCOUNTING FOR SUFFICIENCY. Well-being for many/most whenever possible, rather than for designated few.</p>	<p>In the Foreground Progress relies exclusively on expansion of wealth ACTS OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND MATERIAL WEALTH Progress measured exclusively in economic terms. All human development reduced to economic terms versus awareness and cultivation of alternative values.</p> <p>PEOPLE-TO-MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS As evidenced repetition of the Dow Jones</p> <p>TOP-DOWN STRATEGY ACCOUNTING FOR SUPREMACY Emphasis on individuals or corporations acting as individuals who will provide the means for others to advance</p>

"This little piggy stayed home ..."

HUMAN SECURITY	
<p>In the Background Human Security and well-being achieved through acts of unity, collectivity EMPHASIS ON COLLECTIVITY: summoning healing strategies, reconciling with "the other", weaving social safety nets, and building on the synergy of recovery</p>	<p>In the Foreground Human security achieved through power plays between "champions" and "demons"</p> <p>EMPHASIS ON DUALITY: stressing divisive, oppositional, combative acts. Assignment of champions and demons. Reporting victories and defeats (Who is hurt, harmed or defeated? Who escapes harm, triumphs, ranks?) Distinguishing opposing sides, lines in the sand, obstacles and barriers</p>

GENERATIONAL AWARENESS
and sustenance. EMPHASIS ON
STEWARDSHIP and long-term
sustainability where there are
multiple winners.

EMPHASIS ON HIERARCHICAL RANK:
winners and losers, scores and hierarchies.
Heavy reliance on numbering and statistics
Sport and Sporting Spectacles. Naming
individual stars or leaders in "Starring Roles"

"This little piggy had roast beef & this little piggy had none...."

SUSTAINED AGENCY

In the Background:
Sustained Agency implies the capacity for
ongoing pursuit of tangible results to address
complex problems

ACTS OF HEALING AND
RECONCILIATION, including reports on
collective well-being and reports on
participatory and collaborative initiatives.
Additional data: Rhetorical act of collective
nomination

MACRO: longterm approaches to problems and
problem-solving; multi-dimensional social
programs

In the Foreground
Sustained Agency seems to disappear
altogether and emphasis shifts
perception of helplessness and
victims of circumstance
TRANSITORY OR REPETITIVE
OUTBREAKS OF CRIME,
VIOLENCE AND ATROCITY

MICRO: short-term approach to
problems and problem-solving; uni-
dimensional, fragmented
programmatic responses

Progress

Taking the sum of the rhetorical acts from the foreground side, among the most common rhetorical acts reported as news are any that serve or impede the expansion of material wealth. Furthermore, acts associated with these endeavors are synonymous with a positive understanding of global progress. Five of the nine foreground articles focus on the economic ramifications implied by the rhetorical act being reported: a trade dispute in Fiji, a commercial venture in Canada, the business enterprises associated with major sports, economic development in Mongolia, and revenue at stake in determining a maritime border. Implicit in the repeated featuring of this type of rhetoric is the assumption that economic expansion equates with progress, trumping any other form of

growth and development, and by extension that achieving material wealth is paramount to other forms of human endeavor. The acts are inclusive of but not limited to getting, making, losing, supplying, or stealing money and material wealth in all its manifestations, and all of this is in consideration of progress into modernity.

For example, looking specifically at the foreground story in Canada on June 30, 2005, we learn in explicit detail of the corporate partnership between Air Canada and Xerox Canada. The deal, intended to provide “premium customers with a high level of service in a quiet and comfortable environment” (Appendix F, p. 164, Canada NewsWire) loaded with all kinds of technological goodies that corporate and business travelers require, serves to fuel both companies’ economic engines. When this is positioned side by side with the core rhetorical act of parliamentarian, Landon Pearson – her “lifelong dedication to advocating for human rights on behalf of children” (Association, p. 568) – it becomes painfully obvious how far removed the wellbeing of the world’s children are from the economic interest of Xerox and Air Canada. There is very little hope of tying these two together from the media’s perspective. Hence Pearson’s story along with the stories of countless children are rarely, if ever, perceived in editorial offices and broadcast news rooms across the globe as worthy of public attention.

Even more dramatically illustrating this point is the LFD on Mongolia. The foreground story deals exclusively with the infusion of large amounts of cash into the Mongolian private sector. The premise of this viewpoint is that growing the private sector is key to economic capacity-building throughout the country. Unfortunately, events of recent months have demonstrated how fast this logic can unravel, and in the wake of that

unraveling, what social safety nets exist when economies fail? Zanaa Jurmed, the featured peacewoman and a “professor, turned political activist” (Association, p. 951), following years of involvement directly in the political process of building a modern democratic civil society, detected the critical need to re-focus her energy more directly on the social sphere. In this arena, development and protection of human capital take precedence over development and protection of money and the interests of those who control and manipulate that wealth.

The market meltdowns of fall 2008, teetering economies throughout the world, are quite unexpectedly the strongest case in point, to which I feel compelled to make brief reference. Although digressing briefly from my study, these observations do fully support my results. What we now see and hear on a daily basis in news from all over the world coincides with what I observed in the news of June 29 or 30, 2005. Today, the airways and newspapers are overflowing with the financial crises. Terms both unfamiliar and ominously scary are bandied about daily: freezing of the commercial paper market, credit default swaps, free falling money markets, plummeting stocks, sub-prime mortgage crisis, to name a few. In the autumn of 2008, average citizens watch in horror as their 401 Ks, pension funds, and children’s college funds disappear before their eyes. What is absolutely astonishing to me is how these phrases dominate the news, to the exclusion of nearly every other topic (with the exception of the coming election). Almost every item of news is tied back to this single driving engine that very few of us have any direct or even much indirect control over. For a much deeper attempt to understand the particulars of this crisis I refer readers to a recent *This American Life* radio program called “Another Frightening Show about the Economy” (<http://www.thisamericanlife.org/>). Listening to

this program (and to parts of it several times over), I realized to a greater extent than at any other time of my life how my daily life has become completely severed from the moneyed interests dominating the fate of the world.

On further reflection, I am reminded of my son when he was much younger. At the time, we commuted daily to his Denver school and on route regularly tuned in *All Things Considered* and *Public Radio International's Marketplace*. At one point during this hour and a half journey, my son piped up from his car seat, "Daddy, what IS the Dow Industrial Average?" Obviously, he had been paying attention and was frankly bewildered by what he heard at regular intervals during the broadcasts. My husband patiently summed up the basics of market capitalism, using our local general store as an example. He constructed a simplified model describing how the store's owner could choose to sell shares in the business to other people in order to raise money, allowing him to expand the store's inventory. Ultimately, these "shareholders" would be entitled to proceeds based on increased profits. This basic explanation seemed to satisfy Devon, at least, until bedtime. When Glenn went downstairs to say goodnight, he asked him if he had more questions about the Dow. At this, Devon replied simply, "Not really, Daddy, it's just not that interesting."

Now, twelve years later and after immersing myself in the peacewomen stories for the past four of those years, I feel profound sympathy with this viewpoint, especially every time I hear the same repetitious broadcasts. This fall 2008, with global recession imminent, I, like many Americans, am struggling to understand the intricacies of global capitalism and neoliberal trade policies. Yet, even as the Dow crashes ever lower,

depleting reserves of resources my husband and I hoped to count on for our family's security, I find it difficult to sustain my interest.

Nevertheless, whether average citizens find the Dow "interesting" or relevant to their lives, my research results indicate that news services have become obsessed with the values underpinning a competitive free market economy to the exclusion of other values. In this regard, the news media are complicit in erasing public consciousness of ideals that millions upon millions have valued for millennium: compassion, generosity, and service to others. I know for a fact there are limitless stories of women who function with severely limited resources under extreme conditions, yet with these odds manage to help heal and transform lives, through a commitment and dedication to direct service rather than through the generation of greater wealth. According to the media, stories detailing people in relationship to each other and the development of human resources are overshadowed by stories detailing people in relationship to the generation of material wealth and capital.

Let me be perfectly clear that, like women everywhere, we are not exempt from concerns about money. As we are learning so painfully during this point in history, no one is completely insulated financially. It's just that, like my son, it's difficult for me to make any meaningful connection between the ups and downs of multi-billion dollar corporate earnings, let alone financial institutions invested in "credit default swaps," and the conduct of my day-to-day life. More and more often, as news becomes reduced solely to complex, often indecipherable, economic ramifications, I find myself feeling terribly uninformed, utterly powerless, and deeply depressed. Yet, I have little doubt, especially today, that Americans have come to associate the daily and terrifying repetition of the

Dow, along with a growing number of news stories detailing economic conditions globally and the current collapse of our financial institutions, with our collective wellbeing as a nation. In reality, this constant immersion in rhetoric that is fundamentally connected to behaviors reserved for investment gamblers – mostly rich white men controlling vast reserves of wealth and power – invokes a miasma of disharmony and discomfort, particularly among less privileged mortals. Ironically, we call this the most important news of the day!

On the other hand, rhetorical acts referencing social concern for those nearer to the middle and bottom of the socio-economic continuum, along with compassion and care for vulnerable populations, rarely dominate the headlines. Note the initiatives central to the women's stories in this study - women's empowerment projects among the destitute in India or Afghanistan; peace-building and reconciliation strategies in the Ukraine; human rights initiatives for global children; justice for all in Panama; peace education programs in East Timor; and assistance to sexually abused victims of war in Burundi. Each of these programs is important for the social benefit it brings to the community. Nevertheless, time and again, as illustrated in each LFD, economic stories featuring people-to-material transactions overshadow these socially significant narratives where people-to-people transactions prevail.

Practically speaking, from the perspective of the women who initiate, advocate for, and work in these programs, progress is measured by the benefits achieved from the bottom up rather than in terms of economic prospects potentiated from the top down. Rhetorical acts of this nature appear to have intrinsic value regardless if or when money changes hands. In these cases, progress becomes the embodiment of people-to-people

interventions celebrating the worth and dignity of many, not simply people-to-capital interventions with perceived rewards for only the most successful.

I have heard some argue that social programs of this nature have value only to the extent that they rehabilitate people to engage productively in the market. Proponents of this perspective discuss services, offered in the context of peace education, women's empowerment, and trauma recovery programs for example, strictly in terms of their success or failure at restoring recipients' willingness to re-engage in the pursuit of affluence.

What seems to be missing for me in this point-of-view is the notion of sufficiency that is embedded in women's rhetorical acts throughout this study. In a world where a single CEO of a major corporation earns in a single year more than enough to feed an entire population in some countries for months, the peacewomen in my study repeatedly engage in acts that demonstrate real world strategies to re-balance this distorted notion of progress. If the rhetoric of female-based compassion were to be on par with (or at times even supersede) the rhetoric of male-based economic expansion, we could help seed new ways to think about human endeavors and to organize ourselves as a human family acting as if every human and all our resources mattered.

The peacewomen I investigated provide role models for practical implementation of compassionate impulses, not only because the people who benefit from their endeavors are more capable of becoming productive market participants, but because together they demonstrate new possibilities of making our way forward in a pre-transformative period

of history. I think of these locally enacted but globally instructive peacewomen projects as a “webocracy” – a web of achievable, sustainable, and secure livelihoods for countless people across every continent.

Not surprisingly, some counter these ideas with the failure of communism as proof positive that a highly competitive market economy is the only path into the future. In my opinion, this represents a dramatic failure of imagination, discarding all the apples because a single orange went bad. Material wellbeing on a modest scale for many does not translate into “a dictatorship of the proletariat” or “state control of the means of production” or any such ideological presumption. I believe the women in my study offer a challenge to a world order where gluttonous excess is the status quo for a privileged minority and for select celebrities. By obscuring women’s challenge to this status quo inherent in their narratives, by keeping women’s compassionate service in the background and outside the public conversation, our collective rhetoric in the foreground amounts to something dangerously suggestive of supremacy. I believe that featuring peacewomen’s rhetorical acts will allow our global community to tip back more benignly toward sufficiency, and usher in a time when our individual destinies are in sync with the destinies of our neighbors and positive outcomes for the planet are related to positive outcomes for a greater numbers of world citizens. This theme is a cornerstone to institutionalizing cultures of peace!

Human Security

A second theme emerging from this study of foreground and background mediated stories is human security, offering further evidence to support the case that fore

grounded rhetorical acts favor supremacy in lieu of sufficiency. Currently, rhetorical acts featured in the news underscore duality, divisiveness, and combative situations. A related subset of stories emphasizes hierarchical rank, featuring the rhetoric of winners and losers, and drawing distinctions between labels that offer up one side as “champions” and therefore, the other as “demons.” Under the rubric of human security, the media would have us believe that our fundamental security as people relies on guaranteeing that the “right” people and perspectives triumph over different, fundamentally “wrong,” people and perspectives. And, in some cases, if no clearly articulated opposing positions exist, the media are inclined to manufacture controversy. In this regard, my results are clearly in line with this same point made about the media a decade ago in Deborah Tannen’s, *The Argument Culture* (1998).

Tannen’s premise is that oppositional, warlike thinking and language have overtaken nearly all public discourse in the United States, and this atmosphere of unrelenting contention - the argument culture - rests on an assumption that argument is the best way to get everything done. When applied to the media, she observes that in the U.S., “the best way to cover news is to find spokespeople who express the most extreme, polarized views and present them as both sides” (Tannen, pp. 3-4).

[Language] invisibly molds our way of thinking about people, actions and the world around us. Military metaphors train us to think about – and see – everything in terms of fighting, conflict, and war. This perspective then limits our imaginations when we consider what we can do about situations we would like to understand or change. (p. 14)

Like Tannen, my results indicate that as more and more dispute pervades public discourse through our media the tendency to perceive adversarial speech as the best strategy to accomplish goals increases. This theory helps to explain “why” public affairs

in the United States continue to grow more and more polarized and rancorous. Tannen postulates that in order to break-through the rigid dichotomies of “warring” factions currently underlying public discourse, we would do well to consider other approaches for seeking knowledge and truth: “methods of investigation that focus more on integrating ideas and exploring relations among them than on opposing ideas and fighting over - them.” (p. 258) In like manner,

The danger of posing every issue as a fight between two antagonistic forces is that far too often the clarification of alternatives and the search for consensus is omitted entirely to the detriment of media consumers. It is far more common to see the most strident advocates from polarized extremes set up to debate an issue than it is to see individuals with honest differences engaged in genuine conversation with the goal of solving problems. This reality is clearly played out in my research.

Of the nine foreground stories, five discuss directly or allude to conflicts where there are two (sometimes more) opposing views or positions. Consider stories such as: the dispute between Fiji and Vanatu, deployment as opposed to decommissioning of nuclear weapons in the Ukraine, the victory of Xerox in winning the contract with Air Canada, the disputed maritime border between East Timor and Australia, and disruption of Burundi elections by rebel forces. Similarly, in the related category of hierarchies, consider: the ranking of states in India in terms of corruption, and the sports digest highlighting scores, ranks, standings, and/or issues directly impacting those hierarchies.

In each case the mediated act in the foreground includes information pointing to the side that is or appears triumphant and the other side that appears as the loser. Frequently, rhetors in these stories use terminology portraying those who triumph as

champions – the ones with good, beneficial intentions – while the losers may be demonized or denigrated and portrayed with less than honorable intentions. Thus, in the Burundi story, rebel forces are seen in light of “disruption,” while United Nations armed forces, labeled “peacekeepers,” are seen as the presumed “champions” of free elections.

Similarly, in the Ukraine, the rhetor portrays Yushenko and supporters as champions of the West willing to allay NATO’s heightened concern with nuclear capability at all cost while opponents on this issue are automatically portrayed in the light of threats to any successful Western alliance. Throughout the article there is a note of alarm, which presumes that one side (potentially the wrong side) will use any remaining deadly force available against the other (presumably the right side). Therefore a great deal is at stake in getting it *right*.

These stories exemplify how foreground rhetors emphasize duality along with concomitant declarations of difference and separation. In these examples there is little room for multiple *right* answers. News dominated by these types of rhetorical acts leave insufficient space for a coming together of viewpoints. Few words are ever expended on collective, creative problem-solving to overcome barriers. Rather, the barriers and obstacles are relentlessly repeated, highlighting potential for dispute and even escalation to violent conflict.

One of the most ironic stories in this category is the article featuring the ranks of all Indian states based on their level of corruption, from most to least corrupt. Theoretically the credibility of this story is fortified by accompanying statistics. The rhetor quite precisely cites the 14,405 respondents in 151 cities, 306 villages, 20 states and 11 services involved in study. However, the net result of this exposé is to foster

cynicism by applying the superlative *most* to acts of crime and corruption such as bribery rather than to anything of positive distinction. The resultant snapshot features anonymous respondents in the foreground providing a mostly discouraging picture and no one in particular expressing a long-term antidote. Perhaps, one could conclude that the story is pointing to the need for short-term “fixes” designed to eliminate corruption and bribery; however there is little in this story holding out promise for long-term security.

On the other hand, the global peacewomen, whose narratives occupy the background, are often seen summoning healing strategies where the welfare of the collective community takes precedence over victory as an end goal. In fact, multiple stories discuss reconciliation with former enemies as key to such healing and therefore foundational to long-term human security in communities on every continent. Examples include Genoveva Ximenes Alves, who, having spent nine years working for a clandestine resistance movement in East Timor, returns to her community as an educator to transform a local school into a school for peace, featuring curricula designed specifically to train students in skills like dialogue, negotiation, and mediation. She makes a priority of enhancing her own training in these areas and sets an example for her students by serving with her former enemies on the Truth, Reception, and Reconciliation Commission in her community.

Likewise, for Amelia Rokotulvana of Fiji who, during her lifetime, made ending French nuclear testing on the islands a priority issue. To achieve such specific results she found it necessary to help forge coalitions among community special interest groups, helping these groups find common ground and collective purpose. She is quoted as saying, “One of our major achievements in the struggle against French nuclear testing in

the Pacific was forcing Air France (UTA) out of Fiji. It resulted from such a very good combination of efforts: by trade unions, by university students, and by the anti-nuclear Pacific movement..." (Association, p. 579). In addition, not only did she reach out to potentially like-minded interest groups but also to the Prime Minister to elicit his support and assurance not to interfere with the efforts of the united coalition. Later she would learn he became an advocate of ending French nuclear testing and worked through diplomatic channels to achieve the same result.

This bridging of diverse considerations – acts of coming together for the collective good of all – characterize many of the rhetorical acts of the peacewomen, yet collectively these stories have difficulty finding their way into mediated discourse about human security. Instead the media repeatedly associates security with sufficient force, presumably under the assumption that sufficient force correlates with order. In this paradigm, imposing order is portrayed as far and away more critical to citizen security than all other strategies for deep healing, causes to which so many peacewomen are dedicated. I might easily argue that order AND healing must go together, however, the media overwhelmingly opts to feature force and coercion among opposing sides and combatants over the use of other tactics.

One of the background stories I found particularly compelling in this regard was that of Nina Kolybahskina of the Ukraine. A young woman, trained originally as an interpreter, discovered that her role gave her special insight into the rhetoric of multiple sides in conflict situations. Through the act of translation, she became more and more adept at gleaning the common needs underlying points of conflict. Her narrative notes, "That job taught her that translation requires not merely shifting between languages, but

also finding common points between the systems of thinking of diverse groups. Later, in managing social projects, she realized that providing basic social services was essentially a work of translating the needs of community members into the language of project proposals and policy recommendations” (Association, p. 101). The rhetorical act of *interpreting* takes on much broader and subtler significance. Beyond casting the words of one language into another language, Kolybahskina learned to use words as pathways into the heart of issues and as clues to how people frame and express their own needs. As she grew more skilled in this regard, her work evolved: she was no longer strictly engaged in resolving disputes, where some points are won and others lost, but rather in finding ways to meet the needs of whole populations despite which side of a conflict they represent. Her role became bonding people around their collective destinies rather than dividing them according to their competing interests. Were the media to focus in on this type of rhetorical act rather than continual and repetitious emphasis on oppositional and competing interests, peaceful conflict resolution might indeed have a more promising future.

Another thematic thread emerging from considerations of human security is the distinction between preoccupation with short-term results and outcomes of ranked competitors in contrast with long-term, multi-generational rhetorical acts. Nowhere is this more dramatically illustrated than in the media’s emphasis on sports reports and scores. Sport spectacles, sport highlights, and sports-related issues (exemplified by the *Toronto Star Sports Digest* with its reference to the \$4,000 fine to Panama's soccer federation because fans threw objects at American players during a World Cup qualifier) dominate print and electronic media, thus skewing public attention toward short-term diversions at

the expense of solving long-term and persistent problems. Sectors of the public are encouraged to cheer on their favored gladiators in an array of different sports and arenas, while featured peacewomen labor in the background attempting to introduce and nurture long-term strategies for the welfare and well-being of our future generations.

For example, Nina Kolybahskina's narrative relates,

Recently in Kosovo, while establishing a dialogue between Albanian and Serbian civil servants about the common problems in Orahovac/Rahovec municipality, Nina had a look at the social and economic costs of war and the difficulties of reconciliation. It made it very clear for her that prevention is better than cure. Prevention strategies are especially effective with young people and so the youth became Nina's major focus in Crimea, not only as a UN project officer, but also as an active citizen. She began training and public awareness campaigns in conflict prevention and tolerance education among the youth. Nina was a founding member of the Association of Youth Centers. (Association, p. 101)

This talented young *interpreter* had little difficulty making a connection between the cause and effect of incivility and war. Consequently, she was able to initiate and nurture programs focused on conflict reduction. If the media were to treat efforts of this nature on a par with sports fans throwing objects at the opposition teams or with an alleged shooting of a security guard at a pool party hosted by National Football League linebackers, the general public would have far greater odds of being exposed to a more balanced array of problem-solving strategies rather than a singular focus on outbreaks of violent behavior.

Likewise, while Alma Montenegro de Fletcher of Panama served in the National Commission for Reconciliation, she was especially eloquent in expressing the long-term nature of working for justice for "all the people who had died because of the invasion of Panama by the United States" (Association, p. 557). She poetically reflects, "I ran very fast until I had no ground under my feet and then I was flying! Do you know how much I

had wanted to fly? Justice will also arrive, even if we are the last ones to receive it” (Association, p. 557). Her rhetorical act of struggling through legal channels for justice for all had little chance of bearing immediate, short-term results, yet she persisted. This too is not viewed as newsworthy of media attention.

Finally, consider Canada’s Landon Pearson who has devoted her career to the collective and secure future of the world’s children. Taking up the cause of global children, those who will never cast a single vote to help retain Pearson in political power, is the ultimate testament to long-term vision. With the foresight of a planetary steward, Pearson realizes that, “There can be no global security without respect for children. We have to be more than just observers of children's suffering, we have to be partners with them in their struggles” (Association, p. 568). Contrast this generational awareness with the story of Vanuatu and Fiji’s dispute based on one trade minister’s perception of being snubbed by another. Headlining the injured pride of government officials in what sounds more like a kindergarten scuffle than a potential trade catastrophe, imparts national significance to a seemingly minor incident. Unfortunately, rarely does the news reflect the actual consequences of trade disputes that leave children and their mothers on the economic margins of their countries. Frequently, disputes like Vanatu’s ban on Fiji’s biscuits and Fiji’s proposed reciprocal ban on Vanuatu kava imports have unintended consequences on children left to fend for themselves under crushing circumstances.

When peacewomen in the background take up the cause of children, they implicitly declare the sanctity of future generations. They ask in both tacit and explicit terms for government and power brokers to look beyond economic guarantees that protect short-term trade interests, and to create long-range social safety nets for those

unable to protect their own interests. In general, the peacewomen selected as the background rhetors in this study act as advocates for sustainable programs with potential benefits for multiple winners, whereas foreground rhetors favor power plays where individual sides emerge triumphant.

On one level, this distinction can be understood as the difference between rhetors reporting on transitory incidents having short-term impacts versus rhetors engaging in sustained efforts over the long-term to address complex social problems. I address this notion in more depth in the section that follows; however, at this point I think it is valid to raise the question of why one set of activities by in large is considered newsworthy and the other set is not? Nowhere is this drafted as immutable law.

Sustained Agency

The final theme I want to explore in this study is that of sustained agency, which refers to peacewomen's capacity for the ongoing pursuit of tangible and multi-dimensional social benefits in contrast to the media's persistent portrayal of women and indeed most everyone (with the exception of triumphant individual government leaders or corporations acting as individuals) as helpless or oppressed victims of circumstance. As noted early on in this study, many of my worthy predecessors have explored the theme of women's empowerment (Narayan, 2005; Razavi, 2000) and the multiple benefits that accrue to families when women play a more central role in the decision-making process in both their private and public lives.

However, this investigation is predicated on narratives of empowered women, and raises the questions of why they are overlooked and neglected in public discourse. Another explanation that emerged from my study was the proclivity of the media to

portray people in general, and women in particular, in the light of helplessness and victimhood. Featured news stories detailing disasters and tragedies of every scale, ranging from the personal to the global, are framed to hold readers in the thrall of crime, death and destruction. For example, the number one story on June 30, 2005, in Afghanistan described recent flash flooding, detailing explicitly the wake of this frightening natural disaster: the five killed and precisely where their bodies were recovered, the scores of homes washed away, and the thirty-six people trapped on an island overnight in the middle of the river. The story goes on to enumerate the forty-eight people who died in mid-June during flash floods that swept through twelve provinces. Finally, the rhetor culminates with, “Afghanistan this year suffered its worst winter for a decade after seven years of drought and has little infrastructure to cope with flood waters resulting from storms and melting snow. At least 580 people died from disease, avalanches, and road accidents during the winter months this year in remote parts of the country” (Appendix F, p. 164, Agence France Presse).

Local Afghan authorities attributed the floods that wrought such havoc to acres of trees on nearby mountains that had been chopped down for firewood. Such relentless descriptions of tragedy visited on people by disastrous circumstances stand in stark relief to the programmatic responses peacewomen enact – designed to prevent, avert and/or repair tragedy and disaster.

A noteworthy example, also from Afghanistan, is the story of Palwasha Hassan, who identified a role for herself working on behalf of the most destitute Afghan women. Among the organizations she helps support are NGOs promoting the rights of women, gender equality, the empowerment of women, women’s human rights and the

advancement of women's financial conditions, with an emphasis on "encouraging strengthened relationships across many ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries" (Association, p. 388). Such tireless and multi-dimensional efforts are described in terms of their potential for building sustainable livelihoods for women currently living in the most marginal circumstances. In fact, Hassan's programs quite likely provide women with the capacity to address local challenges, such as the flooding described, on multiple levels. This emphasis on multi-dimensional programmatic rebuilding of degraded lives and communities, initiated and sustained by women, far too frequently remains unnoticed by the media, consequently depriving public discourse of important and substantive ideas, which are essential to global sustainability and lasting peace.

Often, when the news media discusses social rehabilitation at all, it offers descriptions of one or another uni-dimensional program, often designed at a governmental level and intended to address a single dimension of the highly complex problems impacting the lives of its citizens. The foreground article about the World Bank's decision to provide a major loan expanding financing to private firms and strengthening banks in Mongolia exemplifies this type of thinking. In a single sentence the rhetor sums up the *fix* for all Mongolia's woes. "A new \$10.57 million no-interest loan for Mongolia, approved today by the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors, will help strengthen commercial banks and the country's private sector, the main driving force behind the country's transition to a market economy and its ability to improve living standards" (M2 Presswire, 2005). As if years of struggle and deprivation could be magically erased by one financial infusion into the private sector. The subtext, not explicitly stated in this article, is the amount of profit that returns to these "generous

lenders” by virtue of interlocking interests between the government and the underwriting banking institutions.

Zanaa Jurmed of Mongolia, founder of the National Watch Network Center under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), has intimate knowledge of the complexities of evolving a country from communist rule to a functioning civil democracy. Working initially through the political process, she eventually shifted her focus and her energy to building human capital through a wide range of non-governmental organizations operating in Mongolia and worldwide. These types of humanitarian efforts operating at a social level are far too frequently eclipsed by stories that presume the private sector is the “fix” to everything, the “answer” to every question.

A parallel example comes from the LFD from India. On the day following the press release announcing the nomination of the 1,000 peacewomen, the media coverage of India chose to focus on the country’s survey documenting widespread criminality and corruption, and featuring large numbers of people victimized by corrupt officials taking bribes.

In contrast to unethical officials, Durga Devi, who was married at the age of 15, lived life in constant pursuit of social productivity. Although highly unusual for a woman to work outside the home in 1979, Devi found a job at the Social Work and Research Center in Solan district. Against the wishes of her recalcitrant husband, she became actively involved in improving conditions for impoverished women, including: the introduction of the smokeless chula (women’s cooking furnace); the organization of protests against local liquor sales; and the creation of the Sarva Shakti Sangam, a union

of women's groups speaking out against injustice against women and helping individual women seek redress. Sadly, Durga Devi's accomplishments remained unnoted by the media, along with all ninety other Indian women who were included in the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize nomination.

But perhaps among the most tragic of the news media's failures is its impotence in mitigating the brutality suffered by African women in the civil wars raging in regions across the African continent, including Darfur, the Congo, and Burundi. Although warfare and catastrophes (such as famine and drought) in African countries are routinely the subject of news briefs (not unlike the Burundi story included as part of this study) foreground rhetors commonly frame these stories from a strategic military perspective, including information on things like: number of troops on opposing sides, types and numbers of weapons deployed, reported casualties, and so forth. Only recently, and mostly as a result of the tireless work of international women and women's organizations, has the intentional use of rape and impregnation as a military tactic come to light. Previously, women suffering these war crimes remained silent victims – invisible, abandoned and condemned to suffering their shame and disgrace in shunned isolation. However, through the sustained agency of individuals like Jeanne M. Gacoreke of Burundi, women victimized by such horrific war crimes have started to break their silence and thus have begun to rehabilitate their lives. Thanks to the psychological and physical healing made possible by treatment at health and counseling programs Gacoreke instituted, more and more women have been able to denounce their rapists and demand social justice. Gacoreke has even succeeded in mustering cooperation from local radio stations, allowing women to publicly relate their stories and denounce criminal

perpetrators. This breakthrough is a credit to the dawning consciousness of local media. However, for the most part, mainstream media remains blind to Gacoreke's sustained efforts and prefers to provide immediate un-gendered accounts of regular violent skirmishes, with scant reference to the horrible burden born by women in these regions.

In fact, the media shows a persistent preference for describing transitory or repetitive outbreaks of violence rather than sustained and collaborative initiatives to diminish violence. The very act of collectively nominating 1,000 diverse global women in honor of their common dedication to promoting peace and security in their respective communities was an unprecedented surprise to the Nobel committee, but represented an overtly feminist approach to the creation of cultures of peace. Collective nomination is a remarkable shift from the typical style of Nobel recognition, singling out a notable individual or organization. Since 1901, The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to ninety-five individuals (87% male) and twenty organizations. Of the twelve women Nobel Peace Laureates, half are still living and received their prize since 1975. Readers may recall that 1975 has particular significance, marking the first UN Conference on Women held in Mexico City, representing a coming-of-age milestone for second wave feminists of the 20th century. Exactly thirty years after that date, the Association 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 declared through the momentous "rhetorical act" of collective nomination, that countless women operate "under the radar" of public media attention on behalf of peace and human security. At the same time it was business as usual among the press corps. For example, the number one article on June 30, 2005, in the Ukraine used weapon-related terminology thirty times in a scant 309-word article.

Approximately one in every ten words reminded the reader that a “man’s world” is an armed and dangerous place to live (Table 6 Thematic Framework including Selective Coding Tables for Progress, Human Security and Sustained Agency, p. 77).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Critical Observations

The raw data coded from the nine LFDs, along with my findings and subsequent thematic analysis, have led to several critical concluding observations. Stepping back from the particulars, I find that there are indeed dangerous assumptions dominating the foreground of our public discourse and glutting our communication delivery channels (most forms of the news media). These assumptions and the news judgments that ensue from these assumptions (described further on) crowd out a clear depiction and focused understanding of alternate types of rhetorical performance being regularly enacted in the background, mostly by women, and specifically exemplified by those in the *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe*. To return to my earlier metaphor, the invasive weeds (in this case, of economic and unfettered competition, of oppositional and combative polarization, of fear due to continual portrayals of victimization and atrocity) have become so pervasive, that much of humanity considers this behavior exemplary of human behavior. I don't. I strenuously argue that this is simply exemplary of male, patriarchal behavior in the extreme.

These observations are substantially consistent with the work of many of my pioneering predecessors – including, but certainly not limited to Carol Gilligan (1982), Ruth Roach Pierson (1987), Sara Ruddick (1995), and Anne Wilson-Schaefer (1992). Throughout feminist discourse, patriarchal systems that dominate the seats of power globally are

described as valuing rational intellectual expression over emotional compassion, competitive power relationships and hierarchical rank over relational and collaborative structures, and labor performed in the public sphere over labor performed in private, in the home involving the nurturing and sustenance of multiple generations. This being the case, perhaps it comes as no surprise that public discourse as mediated and transmitted worldwide mirrors and even intensifies these values. However at this point, I am prepared to speculate that by amplifying hegemonic values, presenting them incessantly and exclusively as public discourse, and erasing alternate, more compassionate, feminist rhetorical performance from public perception, the media is complicit in endangering viable life on the planet.

In the eloquent “Feminism and Pacifism, or, the Art of Tranquility Playing Russian Roulette,” included in the volume *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical, and Practical Perspectives* (1987), Micheline de Seve expresses the linkages between adherence to patriarchal values and the threat of mass annihilation:

... armed violence, for a long time alien to women’s spirit, has now become opposed to the humanity of men themselves. Far from being a figment of our imaginations, the total destruction of the enemy is now possible; a thorny problem, however, is that it risks the total annihilation not only of the conquered but of the conquerors. For the first time in history, men of war are forced to envisage conjointly the disappearance of all combatants as a result of their quest for the ultimate weapon...

We are embarked on a dead end: war is not inevitable, but it is a foreseeable consequence of relationships based on force, which form the web of power in our societies. Every act of domination runs the risk of ultimately unleashing a chain reaction of episodes of escalating violence. (de Seve, 1987, pp. 44-48)

Later in this same article de Seve makes linkages analogous to those being repeated time and again in the nine peacewomen narratives I studied and indeed throughout the narratives of the 1,000 peacewomen, collectively nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. The author, like these peacewomen, elaborate many of the root

causes that must be addressed to mitigate against conflict and escalating violence and to usher in cultures where peace and reconciliation prevail:

Would not the credibility of pacifism as a social movement be enhanced if those who supported it concretely acted on their capacity to undermine the basis of violence wherever it is manifested [e.g. ... inequalities between nations, domestic violence, racism, sexism, contempt for the young and indifference to the vagaries of old age...] Thus concerted mass action could overcome repression by stating with lesser but linked injustices in everyday life. (de Seve, 1987, pp. 44-48)

Her conclusions, like my own, comprise a cautionary tale, a story that I hope can be rewritten, and soon. My conclusions offer a partial set of possibilities aimed at redirecting the media.

Summing up my findings, mediated public discourse in the foreground depends exclusively on economic indicators to measure human progress, ignoring most, if not all, other measures. Mediated public discourse describes human security in terms of highly competitive and hierarchical power plays between polarized forces, which often rely on perpetuation or escalation of violence to affirm victory (whether state sanctioned or not). And finally, public discourse serves up fragmented incidents of victimization (whether inflicted by human or natural causes) along with incoherent, short-term, and/or uni-dimensional propositions intended to fix or rescue the victims. By racking focus to feature the background, a very different reality unfolds.

Implications of Racking Focus and Observations in the Background

Attributable largely to a heightened sensitivity to these concerns, I have developed the habit of screening out most of what masquerades as news on television. However, the other night the TV was tuned to the BBC World Report, with the volume turned low so that I could barely hear what was being said. It was obvious from the picture alone that the story concerned recent developments in Zimbabwe, where 84-year-

old President Robert Mugabe, the dominant force in Zimbabwe government since his rise to power in the 1980s, was engaged in power-sharing negotiations with Morgan Tsvangirai, the head of the Movement for Democratic Change. The first thing that entered my mind as I watched headshots of the men on the podium was how uncomfortable they appeared in their immaculately and tightly tailored suits and neckties. It is hard for me to imagine a climate less conducive to this type of western attire than that of Zimbabwe, but apparently this has become status quo for men brokering power on every continent.

I continued to watch, becoming mesmerized by the flickering screen as the picture cut away to a huge crowd gathered outside the building where this auspicious meeting was taking place. A reporter could be seen mingling through the crowd intent on capturing reactions from the “man in the street.” Then it came to me – that was all there was to be seen: MEN on the street. Not a single woman was present in any of the video images I was watching. I can only speculate on why the streets were completely devoid of women. Choice? Restriction? Fear of physical harm? However, it did occur to me that someone ought to raise the question! Equally disturbing to me was that the interviewers actually appeared to believe they were capturing reactions from the people of Zimbabwe. I doubt it occurred to a single journalist that “the people” they were interviewing were representative of only 48 % of the total population. Invisibility – there is that word again! Did anyone even bother to find a female to talk to, when women, according to a 2006 report by Judith Kaulem, National Coordinator for the Poverty Reduction in Zimbabwe and ICSW Regional President for East and Southern Africa, are in the 52 % majority?

Not long ago, I was discussing this typical example of news gathering with a

longtime friend, putting it into the context of my overall research. I especially value his insights as an assiduous newsman, and investigative journalist down to his bones. I put the question plainly: what would he offer as a definition of *news*? After brief reflection, he answered that the simplest response he could think of was, “Any event or information that is reported on” (Richard Schneider, personal interview, September 2008). He went on to explain to me that by this definition, an interview with a Zimbabwe woman, or for that matter, an interview or story about any one of the 1,000 peacewomen, would be considered news if it became the subject of a journalist’s report.

He further suggested that my challenge is NOT to how news is defined but rather to how chief decision-makers are unremittingly exercising “news judgments.” News judgment consists of the series of regular (daily) editorial decisions, which ultimately determine where news stories appear, as well as when and if the reports are offered at all. From the news judgment perspective (not to mention the mildest of feminist viewpoints), I can only conclude that if political will were different, alternate news judgments would be permissible and possible. However, my research results point to the fact that news judgments are currently being screened through a miasma of male hegemony mixed to a large degree with profit motive. If we broke this headlock on newsrooms across the world, might we see a different social order come into clearer focus?

Having arrived at the conclusion of my investigation, I have little doubt in the truth of this. I believe a change in mediated public discourse to regularly include the millions upon millions of socially responsible rhetorical acts, performed daily and in large measure by global women, would indeed contribute to making cultures of peace more viable .

When I began the study, I strongly reacted to the oft-quoted cliché dominating popular media, “If it bleeds it leads...” Now at the close, I can bring forth antidotes to this narrow and nihilistic perspective. To describe them requires a return to the original question I raised – what happens when we rack focus, bringing background rhetorical acts forward and letting foreground ones recede? With my research results in hand rendering background rhetorical acts more lucid, I have begun formulating alternatives to entrenched media doctrines. In the light of novel doctrines, I can easily imagine lively and engaging news stories that better serve humanity in ushering in cultures of peace.

If nothing else, I hope one abiding lesson is embodied in this research: in alarmingly short order, with the domination of print and airways by corporate interests depicting a narrowing bandwidth of viewpoints and rhetorical acts, American citizenry is becoming exactly what we report ourselves to be! In the foreground, where mostly men are daily enacting news, we are a culture ruled by the dollar in the tight-fisted control of global speculators; we are a culture embroiled in intractable conflict worldwide; and we are a culture where our domestic need for increased acquisition to guarantee personal security eclipses our humanitarian impulses. Such imagery describes a world locked in a self-perpetuating cycle of war and terror. If we are to have any hope of counteracting this cycle we must look toward new approaches for describing human behavior and re-imagine ways of communicating those approaches to ourselves. Hopefully the ideas that follow will help motivate the popular media to explore new directions and to play a meaningful and vigorous role in building cultures of peace and nonviolence for ourselves and for our progeny.

Weaving Cultures of Peace – Tapestries in the Making

Ungendering Journalism

To push back the ubiquitous “gendering” of journalism that is suggested by my results, let’s consider the unexpected tapestry that comes into focus as we adjust our vision to account for women acting in the background just outside the harsh glare of screaming spotlights scanning for the sensational. First, the simple act of racking focus and moving images of women performing peace work from the periphery to center screen (or what I have called from the background to the foreground), begins the conscious rebalancing of the rhetoric of public discourse. Featuring peacewomen’s stories of the nature discussed in this investigation on a regular basis dramatically increases the likelihood that distinct threads of individual peace initiatives will be woven together to create coherent patterns, foundational patterns for the cultures of peace and human security we claim to seek. As this new paradigm, which I have coined as “webocracy,” clarifies to a much greater extent, the media could potentially evolve into an important agent of global repair, offsetting current complicity in global disorder and degradation.

Rather than background acts falling outside the rubric of news governed by the current self-fulfilling axiom “If it bleeds, it leads,” these acts would fall within a reframed, “ungendered” mantra of “If it heals, it reveals.” In this light, different guidelines would govern newsgathering. News agencies (print and broadcast) committed to such a vision would comb communities for stories of peaceful achievement, stories that would be considered both for their newsworthy and instructive potential! Reporters

and editors would report, select, and engage in mediated discourse regularly featuring acts of global compassion (many of which we have seen modeled by the 1,000 peacewomen on a daily basis).

More specifically, what might the content of such stories look like? What shift in news judgments might decision-makers make if they were seeking stories governed by “webocratic” principles? My research results point to some possible thematic threads that would be featured in such stories, stories that contribute to the weave and texture of webocracy. In theory, were news analysts to begin repeatedly weaving together these and similar individual strands, readers and viewers of popular media would become far more capable of discerning cultural tapestries where peace and sustainability are not only desirable but also imminently attainable.

Throughout the paragraphs that follow, I will make reference to the specific narratives of one or more of the nine peacewomen featured in this study. I have included their stories verbatim (Appendix E, p. 144), as documented in the text *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe* and expanded on the Peacewomen Across the Globe website. These narratives are offered in appreciation for the exemplary and newsworthy work these women have performed day after day. And, in the spirit of this investigation, I hope to bring their extraordinary initiatives forward, out of obscurity and into the public eye, playing some small part in evoking new and vibrant foregrounds for the future.

In the context of an ethic of “if it heals, it reveals,” priority would be assigned to rhetorical acts of: mending wounds and alleviating suffering, weaving social safety nets, discerning innovative patterns, knitting together local and global, and affixing badges of honor to peace construction.

discerning innovative patterns, knitting together local and global, and affixing badges of honor to peace construction.

Mending Wounds and Alleviating Suffering

Such news stories feature acts of compassion outside of considerations for economic value or economic consequence. Emphases are on the work of humanitarians and on recovery and rehabilitation that cross hypothetical or actual national and international boundaries. Readers are referred to Appendix E, the stories of Jeanne Gacoreke of Burundi (p. 160) and Alma Montenegro de Fletcher of Panama (p. 150).

Weaving Social Safety Nets

Such news stories feature model and innovative programs and individuals who routinely assist marginalized individuals and vulnerable populations in communities throughout the world. Story emphases are on the creative and strategic approaches used, achievements, and future expansion, among others. Readers are referred to Appendix E, the stories of Durga Devi of India (p. 145) and Palwasha Hassan of Afghanistan (p. 161).

Crafting Cultures of Conflict Resolution and “Repurposing” Cultures of Violence

Such news stories feature strategic undertakings in the midst of what are perceived as arenas of intractable conflict. Emphases are on locating pockets of conflict transformation and descriptions of the means and methods by which these transformations are realized. Readers are referred to to Appendix E, the stories of Genoveva Ximenes Alves of East Timor (p. 158) and Nina Kolybashkina of Ukraine (p. 149).

Discerning Innovative Patterns

Such news stories feature sustainable, “for-benefit” enterprises and positive behaviors that have trajectories reaching forward into multiple generations, stories where people are behaving as if posterity matters. Emphases are on these longterm trajectories, the behavior that contributes to initiating and managing such enterprises and strategic ideas for replicating these enterprises in other locations. Readers are referred to to Appendix E, the stories of Amelia Rokotuivuna of Fiji (p. 148) and Landon Pearson of Canada (p. 151).

Knitting Together Local and Global

Such news stories feature the connectivity between local and global initiatives on multiple levels. The point of these stories is to create coherence, locating similarities of initiatives intended to unite people around collective need rather than divide them according to competing interests. Readers are referred to Appendix E, the stories of Zanaa Jurmed of Mongolia (p. 155) and Nina Kolybashkina of Ukraine (p. 149).

Affixing Badges of Honor to Peace Construction

Soldiering and dispensing death on enemies may be a matter of perceived necessity but the portrayal of these activities as honorable to the exclusion of countless activities of peace construction is skewed out of all proportion. In a world where highly automated, enormously expensive, and massively destructive weapons proliferate, protracted violent behavior only serves up profit to arms manufacturers with no benefit to living, breathing human beings. Stories in this category stress the viability and expansion of diplomacy, alternatives to violent conflict, and features exemplary practices. Readers

are referred to to Appendix E, the stories of Genoveva Ximenes Alves of East Timor (p. 158) and Amelia Rokotuivuna of Fiji (p. 148).

This list is a beginning at redefining a constructive and *ungendered* role for the media and for the journalists who produce it. Moving forward into the future, I am increasingly optimistic that young global citizens will not only apply these mediated strategies, but also expand the list in as yet unimagined ways. These young folks have collaborative cohorts across every border who they can contact with the click of a handheld device. Daily they grow much more facile at inventing peace strategies and redefining prosperity so that there are sufficient resources for as many as possible. These youngsters are the “blooming native flowers” who will hopefully flourish, proliferate, and root out more and more of the invasive weeds of conflict and violence currently holding the media hostage. Like the *1000 PeaceWomen Across the Globe*, the confluence of rhetorical acts by young citizens, people creating webs of achievable, sustainable, and secure livelihoods, and people learning globally and enacting locally, is enormous. How much greater would their potential be if the popular media would take responsibility for showing all of us the infinite array of possibilities!

Reconciling my Academic and Activist Self

Proposal for Follow-on Action Research

One further insight about integrating theory and practice arises from my investigation of LFDs. By simply raising the question of what is depicted in the foreground of the news, I am left to ponder how to persuade responsible journalists to act otherwise, to break with the status quo and bring background stories of empowered women to the attention of the public. In other words I have begun prospecting my own

work for possibilities, seeing if I can inform my activist half with ideas from my academic half. Might it be possible to turn this critical, feminist content analysis into a viable Action Research project? Undoubtedly, I will leave a new investigation to future post-doctoral pursuits, but I do have some thoughts on where to begin

The first step for me is relocating what's newsworthy in the community. Rather than looking to the newspaper to find out what made the news on any given day, I would analyze the "webocracy" of Fort Collins. Where are concentrations of power and privilege, and concentrations of shortage, need, and suffering? In light of this information, who in the community is taking viable action to fill the gaps and what precisely are they doing? I would go looking for women (and others) explicitly involved in the background labor of: mending wounds and alleviating suffering as humanitarians, weaving social safety nets; crafting cultures of conflict resolution, repurposing cultures of violence, discerning innovative patterns in sustainable for-benefit enterprises and positive behavior (based on the notion that posterity matters), knitting together local and global, assigning and reattaching badges of honor to peace construction.

These types of rhetorical actions in the context of community would become the subject matter of news stories I would propose. However, I imagine persuading a local reporter on the merits of reporting these stories could prove difficult. Thus, I have begun to imagine a "news insert" modeled precisely on the look and feel of the local paper. With a modest amount of money for a pilot project, I would propose funding the inclusion of this news supplement in the daily paper, over a specific period of time, and covering a specific segment of the papers' overall circulation.

With this in place, I could easily imagine a study that raises the question of whether the presence of alternate news stories – features highlighting rhetorical acts central to cultures of peace (especially those enacted by women) – contributes to changing the perceptions of newspaper readers? It would be a relatively straightforward study comparing an analysis of reactions to a questionnaire from readers in the segment that received the supplement with those who did not.

A Mitzvah with My Daughter

To close out this conversation, I feel compelled to offer one final story of my own. My personal narratives of peace-building rhetorical acts are on a much smaller scale than those of the 1,000 peacewomen, but I bring them forward as evidence of the promising global compassion I experience interacting with my own children and with other young people. May my work serve them as a guide to ever greater insight.

In the early Fall of 2008, my daughter Shannon and I participated in a run sponsored by Women to Women International on behalf of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in sub-Saharan Africa. Although I'm not a runner by any stretch of the imagination (worst case, I figured I would walk the 5K) my daughter has recently developed an interest in running track (although she prefers the sprints to the distance runs). Originally this was all my idea, and Shannon became a bit worried that she wouldn't do well at the 5K distance. I reassured her that I would probably be walking most of the way, and that she needn't worry. We could run at whatever pace we wanted to; our participation was mostly about expressing support and helping raise money to assist the Congolese women. Shannon agreed to sign up with me and at 6:15 a.m. on one of the most beautiful fall mornings in recent memory, we set off on the drive from Fort

Collins to Morrison, Colorado, so we could begin with the group at the 8:00 a.m. start time. While I sped down I-25, and she slept most of the way, I felt truly uplifted by the fact we were doing this together!

We arrived at Bear Lake Point State park in the nick of time, got signed in, pinned on our numbers, grabbed a sack and a complimentary T-shirt, and sprinted over to join the crowd about to start. We kept toward the back with the folks pushing baby strollers and the self-professed walkers as we didn't want to get in the way of the "real racers." But when the starter began counting down, we were both buoyant with energy and started off at a reasonable clip about in the middle of the pack. I started to fade almost immediately, but I looked ahead and could see her long blonde ponytail sweeping from side to side as she kept pace just behind the front-runners. She was truly beautiful to watch, and I couldn't help swelling with pride at my daughter's willingness to take part in this *mitzvah* – a Jewish phrase that loosely translates to a spiritually obligated "act" or good deed.

From time to time, alternately jogging and walking on the damp mud path through cool, wooded stretches, I lost sight of her, but then, coming around a corner to an open field of waving grasses bent by a pleasant breeze, I'd catch another glimpse. Though I was admittedly out of shape, I wasn't as bothered by that impediment as I thought I might be. I was just feeling glad to be upright and moving along!

Then something wonderful happened. Up ahead I saw Shannon step to the side of the path, smiling back my way with an encouraging expression. As I started to catch up I waved her on, telling her I was fine; she needn't wait for me. But she just stood there,

smiling like she had all the time in the world. "We're almost to the first water stop, Mom. Come on, you can make it!"

"Easy for you to say," I thought to myself. But I traded off between walking (especially up the hills) and slow jogging (on the flat stretches) and together we made our way to the first water stop. We paused only briefly for water, and off we went again, starting off together, and me soon lagging a bit behind. But every so often she paused and let me catch up. I kept saying that wasn't necessary, but she insisted that it was more fun to run together and this is exactly what she wanted to do. She kept urging me on with beaming eyes and bright smiles, and occasional pre-teen anecdotes about the inscrutable mind of her PE teacher, Mr. Westfalk. She hardly seemed winded at all as she rattled on about how, just yesterday, he paired the 7th grade girls against the 9th grade boys in a game of line soccer, and how the girls got creamed. What in the world was he THINKING? I could barely catch my breath but Shannon was entertaining us with comical scenes of girlfriends cheering her on as she stepped up to kick a soccer ball in the general direction of the goal and bored freshmen boys, rebounding easily, lobbed every ball back over the tops of their heads.

Another water stop and then less than a mile to go. One thing I especially appreciate about charity races is the number of young folks sprinkled along the route to give the runners an occasional boost of morale. I love these guys! And I was fully prepared to throw myself in the arms of the last young man, rather than trudge up the final hill of the course. (I did think the course was laid out a bit sadistically, ending with a difficult hill, but then again it was put together by the seasoned running set.) Never mind, Shannon and I both made it past the finish line, and somebody called out our times

(which I had absolutely no interest in having recorded), but Shannon kept telling me, “Mom, that was so amazing!!” I knew she would have done much better without me, but she didn’t seem to mind a bit.

What I remember most vividly is how extraordinarily happy she was with the whole affair. We looped arms and strolled over to picnic tables under a park shelter where organizers had piled mounds of bagels, granola bars, and orange slices. Also, a steady musical drumming called out African rhythms in the background to greet returning runners and encourage the last of us to the shelter. Eventually, organizers took up the microphones and started reading off names of winners in the 10K and the 5K. At one point, a Congolese poet recited a lyrical tribute he wrote in honor of his mother. Finally, they began drawing name after name of raffle winners. (I was really hoping for the Rockies tickets, but no such luck. In fact we didn’t get a single prize.)

We decided to wander over to the table where a Women-to-Women International staff person was recruiting volunteers to sponsor individual Congolese women in year-long partnership arrangements. I asked Shannon if she wanted us to do this together. After thinking about it, she decided she would like to contribute some of her Bat Mitzvah money to the cause and we picked out a woman who had four children, two of them school-aged girls. Her profile was pretty grim: a 43-year old woman, with four children, in a common law marriage, living in a shack with no running water or electricity, and unable to read or write her own name. However, as recorded by a Women-to-Women International staffer in answer to the question “What would you like to achieve by participating in this program?” Venantie Ntakwinja checked all of the following: develop vocational skills, improve economic situation, become more active in community,

become more active in family decision-making, gain more self-confidence, develop friendships/support network, and learn about your rights.

It was not hard at all to figure out that her desires perfectly reflected what my daughter and I wanted in our own lives. Even though here we were enjoying a golden, sunlit morning with scores of amazingly fit women, digging into piles of delicious snacks, and hoping to be lucky winners of dozens of donated gifts. No matter, at the moment I signed that check I knew Shannon and my hearts beat in time with the drums and the needs of our sister in the Congo, Venantie. As difficult as it was to imagine her life, especially amidst such plenty, we were also dazzled by goodwill and our collective desire to reach across borders with this small act intended to make the planet a bit of a better place.

I don't tell this story to romanticize the generosity of the privileged few in relation to destitute multitudes. Rather, the real story that day was seeing my daughter's compassion awaken within her and infuse her being with meaning and a sense of purpose. She discovered her own compassion not through the act of giving charity and then returning to her life of relative privilege, but through the consistent, subtle acts of intuiting the needs of someone else and aligning her own with them. She did this for me with no eye to reward, but simply because it felt right and good to do so.

This essence of empathy – the small, compassionate deeds, at times barely discernable, and always infinitely glorious – rests at the heart of this study. With these “rhetorical acts” we are choosing to collectively align with Venantie Ntakwinja and her children. Conversely, TV and newspaper reporters align over and over again with the likes of Robert Mugabe. Call me naïve, but personally, I give Venantie's and Shannon's

aspirations far better odds for creating a more peaceful world than I give Mugabe. As I reach for completion, I urge global media to call out every exquisite manifestation of these compassionate impulses. Impulses that underlie the countless actions embodied regularly in the work of thousands upon thousands of women – those who founded Women to Women International, those included in the 2005 Nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, and those running together that day with my daughter and me.

THE END

CHAPTER 6: EPILOGUE

It's hard to end this study without at least a head nod to the historic presidential election unfolding while I'm in the midst of this writing. So, with apologies to my readers for a brief and quite opinionated digression (some may want to proceed with caution), I'll add my voice to the millions of women responding loudly and emphatically to one of many questions of the hour: is the vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket a feminist? My answer is a resounding NO, although I would have to add that she is a very clever and manipulative opportunist, who happens to be a woman. My entire study has been carefully crafted to offer a critical, feminist analysis of news, newsgathering, and news reporting. The emergent findings are not simply a matter of the gender of the subject, but a matter of the subject's perspective and the rhetorical acts performed by the subjects. Rhetorical acts reflecting compassion are not exclusive to one gender or another; however, they are unquestionably a matter of choice for each individual.

In 2008, the candidate for vice president on the Republican ticket has made her choices abundantly clear. She feels called upon to act as a voice of God and her religious faith (in clear danger of trampling the U.S. Constitution's separation of church and state). She has expressed herself very clearly on the need for immediate economic gains (particularly with respect to drilling for oil in Alaska) with little concern for any long-term or irreversible environmental impact of such actions. And her vision is solely focused on near-term triumph rather than the consequence of the means she uses to arrive at this

triumph. I have heard her defend guns as if AK-47s were necessary to bag caribou in the Alaskan wilderness. I have heard her incite threats to her Democratic opponents. And I have listened to overt lies under the banner of “win first” and worry about consequences later. If I went back to measure these *rhetorical acts* according to the same criteria I measured the rhetorical acts of foreground and background stories in this study, this candidate’s rhetoric falls squarely on the side of business as usual for foreground politics and mainstream media. And clearly, the media loves the hoopla, the creation of controversy – as if the label we put on her is more important than what she actually stands for. I argue that my feminism obligates me to do otherwise. I put far more emphasis on what she stands for, and therefore I believe her capable of enormous damage to feminism: setting back important incremental gains made on behalf of women and other vulnerable populations over many decades.

Consider this – would the media have so vigorously pursued stories on a candidate espousing these views (essentially providing incalculable dollars worth of free publicity) had the individual been a man? I think a strong case can be made that the “bump” in the polls after her nomination was completely media manufactured. On the other hand, mainstream media has done little to provide the public with factual information, which might help an average citizen discern the intentional, rhetorical acts she performs behind all the noise. Instead we’re supposed to get all worked up about references to “lipsticked pigs,” “hockey moms,” and “thanks but no thanks to bridges to nowhere...”

In this type of repetitive mediated environment, reduced to crafted controversies with trumped up champions and demonized losers, and boatloads of money in advertised

misinformation, it is not hard to figure out how the super-rich have managed to bring our economy to a screeching halt. For far too long, journalists have played right into this sophisticated sleight of hand: rich guys waving wildly to draw attention to reliably inflammatory distractions – godless gay marriages, elite liberals threatening gun collections, terrorists lurking behind every *bush* – meanwhile out-of-sight of public scrutiny, these same guys relocate millions of jobs to regions with inexpensive (often slave) labor, mortgage the hell out of our houses, collect obscene personal salaries, and cry, “The sky is falling!” when the whole house of cards collapses so we’re forced to help insulate them from the mess they’ve made. This time around, I wonder if the public is going to buy it?

Among the many questions Naomi Klein raises in *Shock Doctrine, the Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2008), her best-selling book flying off shelves in record numbers, how many times will this strategy succeed in scaring the American public senseless? How often will we capitulate to whatever absurd requests cronies of the Oval Office make? Many claim that the Republican proposed bailout of the ultra-rich stretches the bounds of credibility. Equally, if not more absurd, is asking the public to swallow the label of feminist for their ill-chosen and highly dangerous vice presidential candidate.

REFERENCES

- Altheide, D. L. (1987). Reflections – Ethnographic content analysis. *Qualitative Sociology*, 10(1), 65-76. Netherlands: Springer.
- Altheide, D. L. (2008). Chapter 6 Emergent qualitative document analysis. In S. Harding and M. B. Hintikka (Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods*. NY: The Guilford Press.
- Alway, J. (1995). The trouble with gender: Tales of the still-missing feminist revolution in sociological theory. *Sociological Theory*, 13(3), 209-228. NY: American Sociological Association.
- Antrobus, P. (2004). *The global women's movement origin, issues and strategies*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Aptheker, B. (1989). *Tapestries of life: Women's work, women's consciousness and the meaning of daily experience*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Association 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 (Association). (2005). *1000 PeaceWomen across the globe*. KONTRAST books. Zurich, Switzerland: Scalo.
- Barrett, L. C. (June 2008) Men covering men (Covered by men). *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 2008 from http://www.cjr.org/the_kicker/men_covering_men_covered_by_me.php
- Barlow, T. (2000). International feminism of the future. *Signs, Feminisms at a Millennium*, 25(4), 1099-1105. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Berg, B. L. (1989). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bresnahan, R. (2003). The media and the neoliberal transition in Chile: Democratic promise unfulfilled. *Latin American Perspectives*, 30(6), 39-68. England: Palgrave Macmillan Journals.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, K.K. & Huxman, S. S. (2008). *The Rhetorical Act: Thinking, Speaking and Writing Critically*. CA: Wadsworth.
- Campbell, K.K. (1982). Campbell – Elements of rhetorical action. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://www.voxxygen.net/cpa/articles/campbellelements.htm>

- Carney, T. F. (1972). *Content analysis: A technique for systematic inference from communications*. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press
- Columbine High School. (n.d.) Retrieved April 17, 2008, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbine_High_School
- Creswell, J. W. and Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130. Kentucky: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- Datta, R. and Kornmberg, J. (Eds.). (2002). *Women in developing countries: Assessing strategies for empowerment*. UK: Lynne Reimer Publishers, Inc.
- de Seve, M. (1987). Feminism and pacifism, or, the art of tranquility playing Russian roulette. In R. R. Pierson (Ed), *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical, and Practical Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- DeVault, M. L. (1999). *Liberating method, feminism and social research*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Diamond, I. and Hartsock, N. (1981) Beyond interests in politics: A comment on Virginia Sapiro's "When are interests interesting? The problem of political representation of women." *The American Political Science Review*, 75(3), 717-721.
- Eisenstein, Z. (1997). Women's publics and the search for new democracies. *Feminist Review, Citizenship: Pushing the Boundaries*, (57), 140-167.
- Enslin, E. (1994). Beyond writing: Feminist practice and the limitations of ethnography. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(4), 537-568.
- Foss, S. K. (2004). *Rhetorical criticism, exploration and practice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press.
- Foss, S. K., Foss, K. A., and Trapp, R. (1991). *Contemporary perspectives on rhetoric*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.
- Foss, S. K. and Griffin, C. L. (1995). Beyond persuasion: A proposal for an invitational rhetoric. *Communications Monographs*, 62(1), 2-18.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press.
- Hall, E. J. (1988). One week for women? The structure of inclusion of gender issues in introductory textbooks. *Teaching Sociology*, 16(4), 431-442.
- Harding, S. (2004). *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

- Hartsock, N. (2004). Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In S. Harding and M. B. Hintikka (Eds.), *The feminist standpoint theory reader: intellectual and political controversies*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and method: Feminist standpoint theory revisited. *Signs*, 22(2), 341-365. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herd, P. and Meyer, M. H. (2002). Care work: Invisible civic engagement. *Gender and Society*, 16(5), 655-688. CA: Sage Publications.
- Hesse-Biber, S., and Leavy, P. L. (2007). *Feminist research practice, a primer*. CA: Sage Publications.
- Hesse-Biber, S. and Leavey, P. (2008). *Handbook of emergent methods*. NY: The Guilford Press.
- Heyzer, N. (2004). Preface. *Women, Peace and Security, UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325*. NY: UNIFEM.
- Jamieson, K. H. and Campbell, K. K. (2001). *News, advertising, politics and the mass media, the interplay of influence*. Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Johnson, David W. and Johnson, R. T. (2005). Essential components of peace education. *Theory into Practice*. 44(4). OH: Ohio State University.
- Kabeer, N. (2000). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. In S. Razavi (Ed.), *Gendered poverty and well-being*. UK: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Kaulem, J. (2006, July). Government and social welfare: the experience of Zimbabwe in achieving the MDGs; *Presentation at the 32nd International Conference on Social Welfare in Brasilia*.
- Kingsbury, Kathryn (Nov/Dec 2003). Listening to the other side. *Hope Magazine*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://www.compassionatelistening.org/newsarchive/article12.html>
- Klein, N. (2008). *The shock doctrine, the rise of disaster capitalism*. NY: Henry Holt and Company, Inc.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). CA: Sage Publications.

- Lakeoff, G. and Johnson, M. (2003) *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(1), 35-57.
- Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(3), 257-277.
- Leshan, L. (2002). *The psychology of war. Comprehending its mystique and its madness*. New York: Allworth Press.
- Lofland, J. Snow, D., Anderson, L. and Lofland, L. H. (2006). *Analyzing social settings*. CA: Wadworth/Thomson Learning.
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative content analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research [On-line Journal]*, 1(2). Retrieved June 2006 from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm>
- Mason, A. D. and King, E. M. (2001) *Engendering development through gender equality in rights, resources, and voice*. (World Bank Policy Research Report #21776). Washington, DC: The World Bank
- McKay, S. (2004). *Women, human security, and peace-building: A feminist analysis*. (A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building. Conflict and Human Security: English Research Report Series No.19). Hiroshima, Japan: Hiroshima University, Institute for Peace Science.
- McChesney, R. W. (2004). *The problem of the media: U.S. communication politics in the 21st century*. NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Narayan, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Measuring empowerment, cross-disciplinary perspectives*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- N. E. Thing Enterprises (1993). *Magic eye a new way of looking at the world*. Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel.
- Peacewomen Across the Globe. (2005–2007). Retrieved June 2006 from <http://www.1000peacewomen.org/>
- Pierson, R. R. P. (1987). *Women and peace: theoretical, historical, and practical perspectives*. New York: Routledge
- Razavi, S. (Ed.). (2000). *Gendered poverty and well-being*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Riessman, C. K. (2001). Analysis of personal narratives. In J.F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: context and method*. CA: Sage Publications.
- Roseneil, S. (1995). The coming of age of feminist sociology: some issues of practice and theory for the next twenty years. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 46(2), 191-205.
- Ruddick, S. (1995). *Maternal thinking, toward a politics of peace*. Boston: Beacon Hill.
- Stephens, M. (January/February 2007) Beyond the news. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 2008 from http://www.cjr.org/feature/beyond_the_news.php
- Stovall, J. G. (2004) *Journalism: who, what, when, where, why, and how*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology - an overview. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sweetman, C. (Ed.). (2005). *Gender, peace-building, and reconstruction*. Oxford UK: Oxfam GB.
- Tannen, D. (1998). *The argument culture*. New York: Random House.
- Tivona, E. (2006). Feminism and strategic nonviolence. Comprehensive examination question. Fort Collins: Colorado State University, School of Education.
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). (2002). *Progress of the world's women 2002* (UNIFEM Biennial Report). NY: UNIFEM
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1994) *Human Development Report 1994 New Dimensions of Human Security*. Retrieved July 2008 from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/chapters/>
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Retrieved July 2008 from <http://hdrstats.undp.org/buildtables/##>
- United Nations General Assembly (1999). *United Nations International Decade for the Culture of Peace (2001-2010)*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://decade-culture-of-peace.org/resolutions/resA-53-243B.html>

United Nations General Assembly. (2000). *UN Resolution A/53/243, Fifty-Third Session, Agenda Item 31: Culture of peace*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/2000.htm>

United Nations General Assembly. (2000). *UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 4213th: Women and peace and security*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://www.un.org/docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm>

van Gelder, S. R. (Summer, 2007). Editor's note. *Yes! Magazine*. (42), 1-2

Vermot-Mangold, R. G. (2005). *Editorial – the idea*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://www.1000peacewomen.org/eng/html/weg/idee.html>

Wastl-Walter, D. (2005). Lessons to be learnt – Purpose and relevance of the scientific project. *1000 Peacewomen Across the Globe (Section S)*. KONTRAST books. Zurich, Switzerland: Scalo.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis, second edition*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Zibart, Rosemary (November, 2004). Listening for peace. *El Dorado Sun*. Retrieved July 2006 from <http://www.compassionatelistening.org/newsarchive/article15.html>

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Section B, Article 12, the Programme of Action

International Decade for the Culture of Peace for the World's Children

(Retrieved July 2006 from
<http://decade-culture-of-peace.org/resolutions/resA-53-243B.html>)

12. Actions to ensure equality between women and men:

- (a) Integration of a gender perspective into the implementation of all relevant international instruments;**
- (b) Further implementation of international instruments that promote equality between women and men;**
- (c) Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women,⁷ with adequate resources and political will, and through, inter alia, the elaboration, implementation and follow-up of the national plans of action;**
- (d) Promotion of equality between women and men in economic, social and political decision-making;**
- (e) Further strengthening of efforts by the relevant entities of the United Nations system for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women;**
- (f) Provision of support and assistance to women who have become victims of any forms of violence, including in the home, workplace and during armed conflicts.**

APPENDIX B

Women's and Girls' Human Security During and After Armed Conflicts:

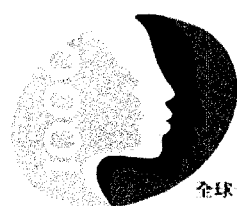
Indirect and Direct Violence/Unorganized and Organized Threats

From Table 1
Chapter 7
Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A Feminist Analysis
By Susan McKay

	Direct Violence	Structural Violence (Indirect)
Unorganized: violence occurs from individual acts at the micro-level	<p>Cell 1</p> <p>Violence from rape, partner, battering, verbal/emotional abuse by partner and family members, "honor" killings Exposure to sexually-transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, during and after armed conflicts from partners or individual acts of rape. Harassment, injury, and murder of women and girls in post-war societies</p>	<p>Cell 2</p> <p>Fewer household resources compared with boys and men, compromised health because of poor-quality water, food, and housing. Environmental damage that affects quality of life and life span. Lack of personal and political freedom of choice. Forced marriage. Difficulty marrying post-war due to stigma, shame, and psychological trauma resulting from forced maternity. Lack of economic opportunities. Prostitution for economic survival and to feed children. Pressure to wear garments to cover the head and body despite personal choices.</p>
Organized: at institutional/societal at macro levels	<p>Cell 3</p> <p>Violence from military or other organized groups including murder, beatings, abductions, systematic rape high risk for sexually-transmitted diseases, forced abortions, gender-specific torture, abductions into a fighting force, sex slavery, physical and psychological assaults. Gendered effects of land mines planted as a military maneuver. Sex trafficking. Female genital excision.</p>	<p>Cell 4</p> <p>Neglect during formal disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes. Exclusion or marginalization within peace negotiations and post-conflict peace accords. Lack of decision-making authority within political and economic systems. Inability to participate in elections and public life. Lack of gender justice. Religious-based oppression. Lack of access to skills training, schooling, primary healthcare, and reproductive health services.</p>

APPENDIX C

A Call for Nominations



1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005

1000 Frauen für den Friedensnobelpreis 2005

1000 Femmes pour le Prix Nobel de la Paix 2005

1000 женщина - Нобелевская премия мира

1000 امرأة خيرية نوبل للسلام 2005

全球千名婦女爭評2005年諾貝爾和平獎

1000 MUJERES Y UN PREMIO NOBEL DE LA PAZ DEL 2005

1

A Call for Nominations

The search is on for 1000 women from all over the world who will be nominated collectively for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. The idea is to call international attention to the vital role played by women from all walks of life in challenging harmful established social/cultural boundaries, institutions and ideologies and in creating and promoting peace in their communities and the world.

With the nomination of 1000 women for the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize, peace workers will be honoured and given international recognition. Their lives and work will be documented through video and film, audio tape, printed biographies and other media, and their strategies for constructive conflict resolution, peace-making and development will be analysed by researchers worldwide and utilised in the study of conflict and peace processes.

We define peace as more than the absence of war. Our concept of peace is comprehensive and covers all aspects of life including politics, the economy, culture, social and natural environments, and social justice. We, therefore, are looking for women who have a holistic approach to peace. Our concept of peace is human security, which is endangered daily by conflict, poverty, inequality and disrespect for human rights.

The situations that women who work for peace have to confront and rectify include, but are not necessarily limited to, the following:

- . The promotion and protection of human rights
- . The protection of children, women, people with disabilities, and other at-risk groups
- . The elimination of poverty in all its forms
- . The maintenance of a healthy, sustainable natural environment
- . The struggle against structural violence and discrimination (including patriarchal, caste, class, racial, and ethnic)
- . The establishment of a just economic and social order
- . Ensuring universal access to resources
- . Promotion of peace negotiations and conflict mediation
- . Health and education
- . Analysis of mechanisms that endanger peace
- . Documentation of war crimes and violations of human rights
- . Action against all arms, especially the proliferation of small arms

The main criteria for the peace women are summarized as follows:

- . She employs and promotes active, non-violent responses to conflict situations, structural injustices and inequalities
- . Her work is sustainable and long-term
- . She leads by example, acting with moral courage and responsibility
- . Her work is exemplary and worthy of emulation
- . She works for the cause of peace and not for political or personal gain
- . Her work is transparent and based on tolerance
- . She includes and engages with people of different backgrounds

It is understood that women who are nominated agree to the following:

1. The project is mainly to recognize and make visible the woman and her work and not for receiving the prize money.
2. To satisfy the rules of the Nobel Peace Prize committee, three women will be selected by drawing of lots to represent the 1000 women. The three representatives will neither have special benefits nor control of the prize money.
3. If the "1000 peace women" win the Nobel Peace Prize, the prize money will be placed into a peace fund benefiting women working for peace. The details of the fund will be delineated by the Regional Coordinators and the Association 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 at a later date.

Instructions for Completing the Form

1. This nomination form is also available on-line. If you wish to nominate on-line, please go to: www.1000peacewomen.org
2. We are concerned about the candidate's safety. If the candidate, her work, or both, will be jeopardized by the disclosure of her name and nature of her work, please contact the coordinator. On-line, you can find the email address of the coordinator by clicking on the country the candidate lives in.
3. Before submitting the form, you must get the consent of the candidate to have her name put forward. In exceptional cases, please indicate why you are not able to get consent.
4. Nominations for individual peace women are welcome. You may nominate as many women as you choose. While we would like to give visibility to the work of grassroots women, we also encourage the nomination of artists, writers, musicians and other cultural workers.
5. SELF-NOMINATIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. The form must be completed by the nominator.
6. The name of the candidate is to remain confidential. Her name will be revealed publicly only after the International Council has affirmed the final list of 1000 women.
7. The period for nominations ends on May 31, 2004
8. The nomination procedure involves several stages.

• Please send the complete nomination form (by post or fax) to the following address:

1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 c/o
 swisspeace
 Sonnenbergstrasse 17
 CH-3000 Bern 7
 Phone: ++41 (0)31 3301085
 Fax: ++41 (0)31 3301213 info@1000peacewomen.org

- The coordinator - with the help of a regional or national advisory board - will make a preliminary selection for her region.
- The international team of coordinators, together with an international council of advisers, will be responsible for the final selection of the 1000 peace women.

The Nomination Form

All questions marked with an asterisk () must be answered. If you do not know the address of the peacewoman you are proposing, then a reliable substitute contact must be given (phone number and/or address of family or friends). Forms not completely filled out will not be considered.*

Part I - The candidate

1. Name of candidate *:
2. Age:
3. Place of birth:
4. Address*:
5. Country*:
6. Is she, or her work, part of an organization or a network?*
- If yes is it:
 - . Non Governmental Organization
 - . Governmental Organization
 - . People's Organization (incl. cooperative, community-based organization, trade union, etc.)
 - . Religion-affiliated Organization
 - . Other
7. Title/Position in organization:
8. Please state where she mainly works: * (international, national, specific geographic region, district, community, village etc. Please explain briefly.)
9. Telephone/Mobile number:
10. Fax number:
11. E-mail:
12. Website
13. Contact person*:
 (How can your candidate be reached if she has neither an address nor a telephone?)

Part IV – References

Please provide the names, addresses, positions, and other contact information (telephone, mobile/cell, email) of two (2) persons who can confirm the accuracy of the information in this nomination form, and attest to the dedication, commitment, integrity, and character of the candidate.* Also please indicate how the referee knows the candidate, e.g., peer, colleague, someone positively impacted, etc,

1.*

2.*

I hereby attest that that the candidate has accepted the nomination and all the conditions related to it.
I also agree not to divulge her name publicly until the entire list of the final 1000 women is announced,

Signature: _____

Date/Locality: _____

If you were not able to get consent, please explain why.*

We thank you for your proposal! Please understand that we cannot keep you up-to-date on the handling of your proposal. The final list of the women to be nominated will be announced at the beginning of 2005 after we submit the formal nomination of the 1000 women to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Oslo, Norway.

1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005

c/o swisspeace
Sonnenbergstrasse 17
CH-3000 Bern 7

Phone: ++41 (0)31 330 10 85

Fax: ++41 (0)31 330 12 13

info@1000peaceworld:n.org

APPENDIX D

Kamla Bhasin Story of the June 29, 2005 Press Release

1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005

On June 29, about 50 press conferences were held across the globe to publicise the names of the 1,000 women from 153 countries jointly nominated for the Nobel Peace prize. The Nobel Committee in Oslo had received the nominations in January 2005. Kamla Bhasin narrates the story.

18 July 2005

For those of us involved in the 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize initiative, the process itself has been a journey of, and for, peace. Connecting locally and globally with like-minded people has strengthened our resolve and energized us. For us, this initiative has also been about fighting cynicism and defeatism. It is about fighting the debilitating TINA (There Is No Alternative) syndrome. It is about saying - in Pablo Neruda's words - "They can destroy all the flowers there are, but they cannot stop the spring from coming."

This innovative and very political project began in 2003 with the objective of making visible and acknowledging the peace works of women in different spheres and at different levels. Five Swiss feminists and peace activists - project initiator Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold (member of the Swiss National Council in Bern and of the European Council in Strasbourg), Monika Stocker (City Councillor in Zurich), Rosmarie Zapsl (Member, Swiss Parliament), Eva Mezger (Moderator and Journalist), and Christine Menz (Communications Specialist) - came up with the idea. They then identified 20 women in different parts of the world to join the team as regional coordinators.

It was as if the time was ripe for this initiative. Everyone could see that without a strong and global peace movement, human survival itself was at stake. A legal entity called the '1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005' was registered in Switzerland.

Swiss Peace, an experienced and reputed organization in Bern, provided the project a home. Impressed by the objectives and commitment of the people involved, the Swiss government, individuals and foundations provided the financial resources.

When invited to be the coordinator for South Asia, I embraced the initiative without a moment's hesitation. I thought advocating for giving the prize collectively to 1,000 women would state loudly and clearly that peace cannot be achieved by one individual. Peace is, and has to be, a collective dream, process and task. In fact, the number 1,000 is also only symbolic. It is symbolic of the millions who want and are working for peace and justice; the millions who are saying 'another world is possible'.

I joined because I felt that, through this initiative, we could show the different faces of war and peace. For example, totally avoidable poverty and disease are the most debilitating and dehumanising wars; patriarchal violence is a war against half of humanity. Then there are caste and racial wars; wars against the 'other', like in Gujarat or Sudan or Bosnia.

For us in this project, peace is not just the absence of war. Peace is comprehensive human security. Peace, for us, is not possible without justice. The joint nomination of the 1,000 women from 153 countries was officially handed over to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Oslo in January 2005. On June 29, about 50 press conferences were held in different parts of the world to publicise the names of the 1,000 women. In South Asia alone, we organised 12 press conferences in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka to release the names of the 157 South Asian women who are amongst the 1,000.

South Asia has the largest number of peace women from any region and India's 91 peace women are the maximum from any one country. There are 29 peace women from

Pakistan, 16 from Bangladesh, 12 from Sri Lanka and nine from Nepal. These figures speak for the amazing work being done for peace, justice, rights and sustainable livelihoods by women in South Asia and the resilience of the people's movements, of which women are an integral and big part.

The nominated women have committed themselves to the cause of peace and justice, often under the most difficult circumstances. About 20 per cent of the nominated women are from the grassroots level. They are fighting against totally unnecessary and avoidable poverty, hunger and disease; struggling to get access to clean water, control over land and other resources; struggling against big dams, and big multinational corporations destroying local diversities, both biological and cultural. These women are trying to build bridges between conflicting communities. They are working to protect the human rights of women, minorities, Dalits, HIV+ people and sex workers. In our list are several illiterate but 'life-educated', wise women. There are also highly literate lawyers, doctors, social scientists, physicists. And there are writers, poets and theatre women.

Many of these women have turned their personal tragedies into social activism. Each woman is inspiring, each committed and focused. Each woman's work is sustainable and long term; it is exemplary and worthy of emulation.

The most important tasks for the team implementing this initiative were to define peace, to decide the criteria for selection; to make detailed nomination forms; to fix quotas for different regions and countries and then to invite nominations. The 20 coordinators and the team of eight women from Switzerland have had four meetings since 2003 to take this project forward. Each time, we talked for three or four days from early morning till late at night.

In their regions, the coordinators had to publicise this idea as widely as possible. We did this through our existing networks, the Internet, our website and through the local media. The greatest challenge was to get those who work silently in remote areas, and have no access to electronic media, nominated. The existence of effective networks, and enthusiastic response from most people to the thinking behind this initiative and committed work by everyone involved, got us over 2,000 nominations.

After the short-listing and final selection of the peace women, began the tedious task of making short and long, interestingly written profiles of each woman. In most cases, the information provided in the nomination forms was not enough. We had to go back to most women for additional information. Fortunately for us in South Asia, the efficient and committed team of the Women's Feature Service, New Delhi took over the task of writing the profiles and they did a very good job.

For taking photos of the selected women, we got in touch with women photographers in different parts of South Asia. Gauri Gill, Sonia Jabbar, Sheba Chhachhi and Neelam Gupta from India; Munira Morshed Munni from Bangladesh and Anoma Rajakaruna from Sri Lanka took photos of many peace women.

This initiative gave us another opportunity to connect and cooperate with a large number of people and organisations. Recently individuals and organisations willingly came forward to help organise the 12 press conferences held in South Asia. Both women and men gave freely of their time and resources because they liked and supported the politics of this initiative.

It will be nice if our 1,000 peace women do get the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005, which is the 100th anniversary year of the first woman (Bertha von Suttner from Austria) getting the prize.

Even if we do not get the prize, women's peace work would have been made visible and celebrated. By October 2005, there will be a book about the 1,000 Peace Women, presenting their visions, their work and their life stories. To this end, a travelling exhibition will open in October. There will be a website with details about the work and strategies used by the 1,000 women. There will be several films too to inspire and energise everyone, but specially the younger generation. And there will be a stronger and shared hope and resolve for peace. (Women's Feature Service.

Kamla Bhasin,

South Asia coordinator of the 1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005 project

18 Jul 2005

APPENDIX E

Narratives of Nine Featured Peacewomen

1. Durga Devi (p.631)

South Asia- India

Word count - 438



"Often I have to face threats and harassment, but I am not scared. I work with truth in my mind, and it is this truth that gets justice for the innocent."

Sarva Shakti Sangam

Social Uplift Through Rural Action (Sutra)

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Durga Devi (born 1956) always wanted to do something socially productive. Despite her husband's protests, in 1979 she contacted and joined the Social Work and Research Centre. Since then, she has not looked back: she has formed women's groups in her district and was instrumental in forming a coalition of women's groups under the banner, Sarva Shakti Sangam, a watch group over atrocities against women.

Even as a young girl, Durga Devi knew that she wanted to do something socially productive, as her mother had done as part of the women's group in her village in Himachal Pradesh. Although married off at the age of 15, Durga kept prospecting for a productive job. In 1979, she found an opening at the Social Work and Research Center in Solan district. It was unusual for a woman to work outside the home – her husband was incensed. In 1983, she convinced the women of Solan district to form a group to discuss their problems. Durga found that smoke from chulhas (a cooking furnace the shape of a bucket) was a major health hazard for the women. She looked for and found a solution – the smokeless chulha – and then got the training in its use. As she got to know the women better, she realized that male alcoholism was a major problem confronting them. So, she organized a protest against local liquor sales, through which she learnt the importance of keeping the women united and calm in the face of threats. The success of this agitation was crucial: women in the neighboring villages now understood the potential of coordinated protests.

Durga and her colleagues have formed a union of women's groups, the Sarva Shakti Sangam. Today, the Sangam raises its voice against any form of injustice against women, with even women in far-flung areas looking to it for any manner of redress. "Often, I have to face threats and harassment, but I am not scared," says Durga. "I work with truth in my mind, and it is this truth that gets justice for the innocent."

It has been a long way for Durga from once struggling step out of her home to being so involved that devoting much time to her home affairs is difficult. But part of the payoff has been that even her once-recalcitrant husband has made an enormous effort to understand her work and adjust to her new life.

(Updated text from website - 2006)

Durga Devi lives in Nahan, Sirmour district, Himachal Pradesh. She was born in 1956 in Shambhuwala village to Nar Bahadura police officer, and Sevati Devi, a prominent representative of the Mahila Mandal (women's group) in their village. She has four brothers and four sisters.

Durga attended a school located in another village: it was a distance that her parents could not afford to continue to send her, and the fact that she never managed to complete her matriculation remains a matter of regret. When her education was abruptly curtailed, Durga joined a one-year tailoring course in her own village. But stitching and sewing were not where her heart was--she wished to do something socially productive, like her mother had.

Married off at the age of 15, Durga became convinced that her dreams would lie fallow. But intrinsic resilience led to keep looking out for a job. Finally, in 1979, eight years into her marriage, she found an opening in the Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC) in Jagjit Nagar, Solan district. Her husband was incensed: a woman's place, he believed, was inside the home. Her children--she had, by then, a son and a daughter, and another daughter after she began work--were also very young. But Durga stuck to her ground and set off to work with young daughter in tow.

Her husband's prejudices seemed mirrored everywhere. People looked at her strangely, and would even try to incite her husband against her. He started pressuring her to stop working. But Durga prevailed, working very hard to create a difficult balance between home and work.

Her first challenge at the SWRC was to set up a childcare centre and to conduct tailoring lessons. Her workplace was about 20 km from the SWRC. After this, she traveled to several backward and far-flung villages such as Dhakariyana, Khadin and Thimber. In 1983, she formed a Mahila Mandal Samoocha (women's group), again pitting herself against a battery of prejudices from both men and women. Working hard to convince the women of the need for empowerment, she was soon made supervisor of the program taking full responsibility for it. The voluntary organization SUTRA (Social Uplift Through Rural Action) also helped her, heralding the beginning of her association with SUTRA.

Durga soon realized that the primary problem the women faced was the time they spent in front of chulhas (stoves), inhaling the smoke in the absence of chimneys. She looked for and hit upon a solution--smokeless chulhas. In 1983, she went to Khorī in Haryana to get trained on how to use smokeless chulhas, to pass the knowledge on to the women she worked with. Thereafter, in every place that she set up women's groups, Durga began emphasizing the imperative to use these chulhas and trained women.

Herself empowered by her status, she began to fully understand the social, economic and political problems that women faced. In 1989, she was appointed branch coordinator of the Nalgadh division of the organization, which gave her the chance to

establish a separate identity and space for herself. The closer she came to the women in the district, the more she realized that male alcoholism in the area was a major problem that the women had to deal with on an ongoing basis. Male drunkenness brings with it physical and emotional attrition; they also spent all their money on liquor and gambling, contributing little to the home.

Durga and the women brainstormed and came to the conclusion that removing the local liquor vends was the only real solution. It would prove to be a complex battle. The Chhiyachhi village headman, for instance, had already obtained signatures on blank papers from the villagers, ready to use them to set up liquor vend in the village. When the women objected, he said that he had written permission from the people. The women then protested the obtainment of signatures on blank papers.

The six-day protest was a first in the area. The women simultaneously battled domestic problems--they were beaten up, they were not permitted access into their homes, they were threatened with death. Both powerful politicians and the police force tried to break the protest, even turning away when the local liquor barons sent hooligans to sexually harass the women and yell out obscenities. Some of it worked, but Durga kept a cool head and calmed down her fellow-protesters. Finally, on the seventh day of the protest, the state government passed an order against opening up liquor vend in the village.

The protest's success spread like wildfire--women in the neighboring villages comprehended the potential of coordinated protests. Since then, there have been several similar efforts to fight various social ills in the area. In March 2004, the women of Chamadar village successfully organized themselves and protested against the sale of liquor in their village.

Durga has also been fighting to get the official machinery to work for women and society's disadvantaged. On April 6, 2000, a senior functionary of the women's group in Nalagadh was murdered in a nearby forest. When the police reacted by arresting innocent villagers, Durga organized more than 500 women to protest the blatant illegality. Then, the concerted official and criminal threatening began, including from criminals, police functionaries and local politicians. Some local politicians influenced a minister to halt the murder investigation.

When Durga and her colleagues demanded that investigators come in from outside the district, women police officers from another district were brought in. The intensive follow-up revealed that the murderer was in Maharashtra. The Maharashtra police handed him over to the Himachal Pradesh police--who claimed that he had committed suicide on the way. The protesters refused to believe this story, clearly one of convenience. Durga organized a chakka jam (literally, "jam the wheel"), or a virtual roadblock. Furious, drivers and vehicle owners filed two cases against Durga and 20 other women, a case that went on for four long years. Durga's only regret is that, through that time of trouble, she could not do any work with the women's group.

Durga and her colleagues have formed a union of women's groups, the Sarva Shakti Sangam. Today, the Sangam raises its voice against any form of injustice against women, with even women in far-flung areas looking to it for any manner of redress. "Often, I have to face threats and harassment, but I am not scared," says Durga. "I work with truth in my mind, and it is this truth that gets justice for the innocent. I cannot express in words the joy that helping an innocent get justice gives me."

In 1995, Durga participated in the Beijing Conference on Women, which gave her an opportunity both to present her grassroots point of view and her experiences, and to learn many new things that would help her in her work. In 1996, she traveled to Holland where, during women's groups' discussions, key focus points concerning the Indian situation were identified.

Durga is currently working on the NGO SUTRA'S Nalagadh Development Program, which includes six village panchayats, 42 self-help groups (SHGs) and 16 women's groups. The economic empowerment of women and forming of women's SHGs continues to be her area of reference. She is also working to raise awareness against female foeticide and infanticide. On October 2, 2001, Durga and her colleagues organized a 500-women strong rally demanding punitive measures against those performing the illegal sonography that directly encourages female foeticide. She is also trying to raise awareness against the consumption of intoxicants, and the sale of liquor and other intoxicants to those below the age of 18. She has, in fact, presented a demand to the state government that it prohibit the sale of liquor.

It has been a long way for Durga from once struggling step out of her home to being so involved that devoting much time to her home affairs is difficult. But part of the payoff has been that even her once-recalcitrant husband has made an enormous effort to understand her work and adjust to her new life.

2. Amelia Rokotuivuna (p579)

Oceania – Fiji

Word count 461



Amelia Rokotuivuna has passed away.

"My darkest moment was the May 1987 military coup. I was angry that a contract was broken. It dawned on me for the first time that a major challenge for Fiji people was to understand human rights."

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

Fiji Labor Party

World Council of Churches (WCC)

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Amelia Rokotuivuna has been a feminist activist for peace and justice all her life. As head of the Fiji YWCA in the 1970s, she was the key spokesperson for NGOs on political, social, and economic justice issues, and a leader of the anti-nuclear movement. She co-organized a demonstration in Fiji against Chilean General Pinochet's visit in the

early 1980s, led a youth protest march after the first Fiji military coup in 1987, and worked with the Citizens' Constitutional Forum in the 1990s to secure popular agreement on a new democratic Fiji constitution. She died in May 2005 at the age of 63.

"One of our major achievements in the struggle against French nuclear testing in the Pacific was forcing Air France (UTA) out of Fiji. It resulted from such a very good combination of efforts: by trade unions, by university students, and by the anti-nuclear Pacific movement. Protests by members of the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific movement were almost daily events. For several years, every Saturday somebody was out of the streets leafleting. And the University of the South Pacific Students' Association was almost always marching or protesting, either on the streets or outside the UTA offices. The trade unions were seeking the withdrawal of Air France from Fiji. The Prime Minister summoned me and a colleague to his office. We had asked to see him because the leader of the Airline workers Union had said they intended to boycott Air France. I had told the leader to go ahead and that we would go and see the Prime Minister, to get a sense of how he would react to this action. The Prime Minister told us he would say nothing – which of course what he did. He did not say anything; he did not interfere. I read that he wanted the French to stop testing their nuclear bombs in our Pacific and that he was quite happy with what we were doing. He would do his diplomatic thing but he evidently felt the French should decolonize. It was soon after this that the Prime Minister established the South Pacific Forum, the inter-governmental organization for independent states in the Pacific to be able to address issues like French nuclear testing and decolonization."

CONTEXT: The regional and national contexts of Amelia's social justice activism were colonization in the Pacific, the abuse of island colonies through nuclear missile testing, and the struggle in Fiji against political extremism and racism.

3. Nina Kolybashkina (p101)

Europe – Ukraine
Word count 455



"If not me – then who?"

Department of Social Policy and Social Work, Oxford University
Center for Ethnic and Social Studies
Network of Intercultural Exchange and Interethnic Tolerance

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Nina Kolybashkina (born 1958) has worked in the fields of civil society and democratic governance, conflict prevention, and capacity building of non-governmental organizations in different parts of the world. She was a local municipal and community development officer of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK) in Kosovo. She is also experienced in working with minority communities and youth. Nina was a founding member of the Association of Youth Centers. Together with the UN Youth Foundation, she prepared a Young Peace builders' Conference held in Crimea, in 2005.

“In the common enterprise of peace building, my humble role is that of an interpreter,” Nina Kolybashkina says. Her career started when she worked as an interpreter for a UN construction project in Simferopol. That job taught her that translation requires not merely shifting between languages, but also finding common points between the systems of thinking of diverse groups. Later, in managing social projects, she realized that providing basic social services was essentially a work of translating the needs of community members into the language of project proposals and policy recommendations. A former project officer of the United Nations (UN) mission in Kosovo, she then worked in the resettlement of people, primarily Crimean Tatars, who were Muslim. The work in the settlements made her aware of the differences in culture and religion, but also of similarities in their social problems. Recently in Kosovo, while establishing a dialogue between Albanian and Serbian civil servants about the common problems in Orahovac/Rahovec municipality, Nina had a look at the social and economic costs of war and the difficulties of reconciliation. It made it very clear for her that prevention is better than cure. Prevention strategies are especially effective with young people and so the youth became Nina’s major focus in Crimea, not only as a UN project officer, but also as an active citizen. She began training and public awareness campaigns in conflict prevention and tolerance education among the youth. Nina was a founding member of the Association of Youth Centers. Together with the UN Youth Foundation, they prepared a Young Peace Builders’ Conference to be held in Crimea in 2005. Nina represents the special generation of people born under the Soviet system but given a fresh opportunity to live in a democratic world.

CONTEXT:

In work with multi-ethnic communities, there is need not only to translate languages but also to look at the common points in ways of thinking. The best way to deal with conflicts is to prevent them early on, and that means working with the youth.

4. Alma Montenegro de Fletcher (p557)

Latin America, Caribbean- Panama
Word count 497



Alma has passed on.

“In the National Commission for Reconciliation, I represented all the people who had died because of the invasion of Panama by the United States.”

Attorney for the Administration

(Text from compilation, 2005)

When Alma Montenegro de Fletcher was 11 years old, she taught her first pupil: her mother. She studied for a Law degree because she wanted justice for everyone. Before she accepted the post as Tutelary Judge of Minors, she learned everything the Faculty of Law did not teach her during her studies. She studied

even more when she was nominated as Attorney for the Administration. After the USA's invasion in 1989, she became involved with the National Commission for Reconciliation.

"The pot was huge: the milk, oats and 'guinea' boiled inside it. That was the food for the day: my father's wages were poor and our family was big. There were 12 children." When Alma Montenegro was 11 years old, she studied to be a teacher. "Then I discovered a secret. My mother was illiterate. 'Come on, I will teach you.' I said, but she resisted. I insisted until I caught her interest saying: 'You will see how nice it is to learn to write your own name.' Today, being 70 years old, I can tell you that my mother was my first pupil."

"I always wanted justice for all people and, therefore, I began to study Law. Later on, I realized that justice does not always take the same path as the Law, but I still graduated in 1961." She worked as Tutelary Judge of Minors. Since 1995, she has worked as Attorney for the Administration.

"Never forget December 20th, w989" is written on a wall in the capital city. That was the date of the American invasion of the country. When the National Commission for Reconciliation was formed, Alma joined it. "The final report recommended clarification of the amount of people who had died and that the Americans should leave." They finally left in June 1990, "There has not yet been any justice for the people who died."

"Are you sure?" asked the instructor for the third time. The young man kept asking the same question because he did not know the life history of Alma Montenegro, the 60-year-old woman who stood in front of him. "Yes!" she answered impatiently, "Then you have to run, run fast and hold on very tight," said the instructor. "I ran very fast until I had no ground under my feet and then I was flying! Do you know how much I had wanted to fly? Justice will also arrive, even if we are the last ones to receive it?"

CONTEXT: In 1943, what is now the institution of the Attorney of the Administration was created. Since the beginning, it was weak, without any organic body to guide it. The building where it was housed was known as "the mousetrap." It had more than enough darkness and was short of ventilation.

5. Landon Pearson (p. 568)

North America – Canada

Word count 429



"There can be no global security without respect for children. We have to be more than just observers of children's suffering, we have to be partners with them in their struggles."

Children Learning for Living
Canadian Council on Children and Youth
Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Landon Pearson (born 1930) has been actively involved with children and issues associated with young people for more than 40 years. A Canadian parliamentarian, Landon works for the protection and promotion of children's rights, primarily in national and international contexts. She was instrumental in driving Canada's foreign policy on child labor, war-affected children, and the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In addition to numerous articles on child development and policy questions, she wrote "Children of Glasnost: Growing up Soviet".

Landon had a happy, middle-class childhood. She recalls the only mention of the dismal plight of other children around the world coming from her grandmother. Sometimes, when Landon refused to eat her dinner her grandmother would admonish, "Remember the starving Armenians!" Landon, in retrospect, realizes that this first glimpse into the lives of less fortunate children did not have much of an impact on her. "My childhood imagination could not grasp that these were children just like me. All I knew was that they were creatures I should feel sorry for. The vocabulary of the time did not include the human rights of children. So I never thought of children in that context." Later in life, that perspective changed

As the wife of diplomat, Geoffrey Pearson, Landon and her family traveled from Canada to France, then to Mexico, then to India, and finally to the Soviet Union. For the first time, observing life's conditions through the eyes of her own children, she gained firsthand insight into the needs of children. "Then the starving children my grandmother told me to pity (but never taught me how to help) became young persons whose rights to survival and protection had been trampled upon, young persons with whom I now identify and with whom I could work in partnership so that together we could find solutions to their problems." In the USSR, she visited almost every republic to conduct research on all aspects of Soviet children's lives and development. It would be the beginning of her lifelong dedication to advocating for human rights on behalf of children.

CONTEXT:

From the extermination camps of Europe to the famines of Biafra and the killing grounds of Rwanda, the 20th century wrote some of the most grim chapters in the history of children's suffering.

(Updated text from website - 2006)

The Honorable Landon Pearson has lived by her conviction that investing in the care and education of children is an investment in our collective well-being, an investment in our future. In her private life, as the wife and partner of a former Canadian diplomat, she met the challenge of raising their five children in five very different countries: Canada, France, Mexico, India and the Soviet Union.

Her public life – entirely in a volunteer capacity until her recent appointment to the Senate – brims with activities that show her commitment to improving the well-being of children. Her roles in these activities are many: parliamentarian, legislator, advisor, advocate, agitator and international persona. She has also previously worked for children

as a researcher, writer, mother, and grandmother and from positions with non-governmental organizations and boards of directors.

In 1974, Landon co-founded a prevention program in children's mental health, Children Learning for Living, which operated for 23 years through the Ottawa Board of Education. She was a school trustee in both Canada and India, and has been involved in community-based programs such as Mobile Crèches for Working Mothers' Children, a childcare service for the children of nomadic construction workers in New Delhi and Bombay.

She has also made a substantial contribution to our understanding of child development through her writing, in particular her book, *Children of Glasnost* (1990), which gives an in-depth understanding of what it is like to grow up in the Soviet Union, and how that is changing as Russian society becomes more open. A second book, *Letters from Moscow*, was published in 2003.

Perhaps most noteworthy amongst her accomplishments is her work in 1979 as editor of the Commission's report, *For Canada's Children: National Agenda for Action* and as Vice-Chairperson of the Canadian Commission for the International Year of the Child. In the latter capacity, she persuaded the Commission of the importance of consulting the opinions of children and young people as well; long before children's right to participate was entrenched in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Since then, many of the report's recommendations have been accomplished, such as: increased financial support for shelters for battered women and their children; programs that allow unmarried mothers to continue their education; legislation to return Indian rights to Native women who married non-Indian men; amendments to the Income Tax act to allow parents to deduct a greater part of their child care costs; and legislation requiring infant car seat restraints.

From 1984 to 1990, she was President, then Chairperson, of the Canadian Council on Children and Youth. She was a founding member and Chairperson of the Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children from 1989 until she was appointed to the Senate in September 1994. She was a director of the Centre for the Study of Children at Risk at McMaster University; a delegate to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, September 1995; a delegate to the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm, August 1996; the alternate head of the Canadian delegation to the International Child Labour Conference in Oslo, October 1997; the co-chair of *Out From the Shadows: International Summit of Sexually Exploited Youth* in Victoria, British Columbia, March 1998; and the co-chair of the Special Joint Committee on Child Custody and Access that drafted the report entitled *For the Sake of the Children*, 1998.

In May 1996, Landon was named Advisor on Children's Rights to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. She provides advice to the Minister, on a regular basis, concerning children's issues in the foreign policy context and on the impact of domestic policies for

children on our international commitments, notably the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In June 1999, she was named Personal Representative of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to the 2002 Special Session on Children of the United Nations General Assembly.

She is passionate about alleviating deteriorating conditions for children in third-world countries, especially those plagued by war. "We must pay attention to the millions of children of this generation who are caught up in armed conflicts. How can we protect them from the worst consequences of war? And when hostilities cease, how can we take the war out of them?" she asks. "By eliminating landmines, controlling the sale of small arms, raising the age of recruitment ... are all essential measures. By reuniting children with their families and providing programs of physical and psychological rehabilitation." These measures, she insists, will help prevent future outbreaks of violence. To anyone tempted to despair at the scale of the atrocities against children and the extent of their vulnerability, Landon counsels resolve and hope. "I've never ceased to be amazed at the survival skills of poor children," she says. "I've learned how much children can actually do for themselves if only we provide the necessary means. That part is up to us."

Landon is the Chair of several tri-partite committees that deal with children's issues – Committee on War-Affected Children, Committee Against the Sexual Exploitation of Children, Committee on the National Plan of Action for Children – that bring together federal officials, provincial officials, non-governmental organizations, and public sector officials dealing directly with children. Several of the committees even have young people themselves – sometimes as representatives, sometimes as presenters and participants, sometimes even as co-chairs. Landon is careful to make the committees accessible to young people and will take the time to meet with young people on their own terms, even on weekends, evenings and in unusual settings. She has earned the respect of everyone who meets her, from working children in Latin America, to the executive directors of international organizations and UN agencies. Children who meet her often comment on her openness and understanding and appreciate the opportunity for genuine dialogue with a parliamentarian.

With the help of child-friendly civil servants at the lower ranks of the federal government, and the Ministers that sit in Cabinet, Landon drives the development of public policy on children with an earnestness, conviction, and strategic focus that belie her gentle nature. The bureaucracy that sits in the middle of these two sets of Pearson allies rarely understand what has happened, only that Landon has once again managed to drive an issue forward (she is the Canadian government's best kept secret). She persuades, cajoles, embarrasses, appeals and drives everyone to take the issues that affect children seriously.

Despite her pivotal and critical role on children's rights in Canada and internationally, Landon has had a very limited public profile outside of the circle of people working on children's issues. Unlike most politicians, she does not seek the limelight, nor trumpet her achievements. While this permits her to maneuver with some flexibility, it also means that the overall impact of her work is often under-appreciated.

She has been honored for her work on behalf of children from the United Way of Ottawa-Carleton, and through receipt of the Canadian Volunteer Award and the Norma V. Bowen Humanitarian Award of the Ontario Psychological Foundation.

Landon graduated from the University of Toronto in 1951 with a B.A. in Philosophy and English and from the University of Ottawa in 1978 with a M.Ed. in Psycho-pedagogy. She received an honorary Doctor of Laws from Wilfrid Laurier University in May 1995, an honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Victoria in November 2001, a Doctor of University (D.U.) from the University of Ottawa in June 2002, and an honorary Doctors of Law from Carleton University in June 2003, all for her work on children's rights.

7. Zanaa Jurmed (p. 951)

Eastern Asia – Mongolia

Word count 532



“How do we cope with poverty? Political insanity leads to all sorts of economical diversions that affect the social environment and people’s attitudes. There is only one way out of this: democracy.”

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Cedaw)

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Zanaa Jurmed, born 1950, an eminent political leader and civil society advocate, was a key activist of the pro-democracy movement and her name is synonymous with its success in the 1990s. She is a spokesperson on women’s and human rights issues in the country and abroad. Her commitment to democratic ideals and her peacemaking skills won her the first headship of the capital city organisation of the Mongolian Democratic Party. Since 1992 Zanaa has played a leadership role in many NGOs.

[An extremely confident woman, Zanaa inspires confidence in others. She looks you straight in the eye when she talks to you and makes you feel that she has already sensed your truth and understood your problems. Such features might be characteristic of charismatic leaders, but in Zanaa’s case people say this may have something to do with her being a member of the national archery team for many years!]

Professor Zanaa Jurmed surprised her colleagues at the Foreign Language University, where she had taught Russian language for 18 years, when she joined the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) without hesitation and began to provide meeting places for people in the pro-democracy movement. The ruling Communist Party particularly feared any involvement of students in those mass demonstrations. Thousands of peaceful demonstrators in the cold March days of 1990 were surprised to see this elegant woman serving hot water with glucose and offering facemasks to the political hunger strikers occupying the Central Square of the capital. There were moments when clashes seemed imminent between the military at the ready in the square and peaceful

rallyists demanding the resignation of the Politburo and constitutional changes for democratization. The Dean of Zanaa's faculty wanted to fire her. Her anxious father once asked her: "What would happen to you if the armed forces are ordered to crack down on the demonstrators and hunger-strikers?" She responded: "Father, it is better to die than to live under such a regime!"

Zanaa has been in the forefront of building a modern civil society in Mongolia for the past 15 years; her distinguished leadership recently won her the Order of the Polar Star by decree of the president. In the first democratic election in 1992, Zanaa won a seat in the Capital City Khural of citizen's Representatives. Standing for democratic forces at that crucial moment in the history of the nation, she used the people's mandate for starting reforms that have had a positive impact on today's Mongolia.

Over time, Zanaa's focus shifted from politics to the social sphere. Since 1992 Zanaa has initiated and founded a number of women and human rights NGOs now operating nationwide. After the Jakarta Regional Conference on Gender Equality in 1996, Zanaa established the National Watch Network Center under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), widely recognized as the intellectual stronghold of women's NGOs in Mongolia.

Zanaa was national coordinator of the International Civil Society Forum – 2003 held in Ulaanbaatar, a major turning point in the globalizing of her individual experience and in Mongolian civil society.

CONTEXT: Mongolia is undergoing a difficult transition to a civil society. The country needs leaders committed to the democratic cause and grassroots structures representing the public. In this respect, non-governmental organizations led by well-known personalities such as Zanaa Jurmed become a driving force.

(Updated text from website - 2006)

From the time she was a child, Zanaa had protested against any form of physical violence--especially as she had been at the receiving end of constant beatings by her adoptive father. Later in life she returned to her natural father; it was he who was so concerned for her safety in pro-democracy demonstrations.

All of this was only the beginning of many collisions Zanaa has experienced in her struggle for justice against corruption and violation of human rights. Just recently Zanaa, Director of CEDAW Watch Network Center, won a long-term lawsuit against those who had fraudulently pocketed a large sum of the project grant aid from abroad to the women's NGOs in Mongolia. She regrets especially the fact that this fraud case delayed operations of some NGOs for two years.

Zanaa's chief concern is to promote education for women in general, and on gender issues in particular. Zanaa says: "It is useless to speak of freedom and emancipation while education lags behind." Not surprisingly, a week after she attended

the Jakarta Regional Conference on Gender Equality in 1996, Zanaa established the CEDAW Club. The organization now concentrates on training men and women about the problems of gender equality, and it issues comprehensive reports and handbooks on the subject.

A major concern for Zanaa, as the incumbent head of the Council of the Mongolian Women's NGOs Association, is to increase the women's share of the seats in the Mongolian Parliament. Her motto, often expressed in the press, is: "Women's Participation in Politics at the decision-making level". Whenever Zanaa addresses the public she explains why she is so persistent about this matter. The effort is slow, but is bearing fruit: Mongolian cabinets now tend to have at least one female minister. In the 1996-2000 Parliament seven seats out of 76 belonged to women, compared with three seats earlier. Promoting women candidates and leading pre-election campaigning for them, Zanaa relies upon the broader-than-ever grassroots sector, which is determined to promote gender equality. Thanks to Zanaa's own contribution to a large extent, such a basis does exist and grow. She is a founder of more than a dozen women's and human rights NGOs, including the influential Liberal Women's Brain Pool (LEOS).

As a creative-minded intellectual and a seasoned expert in open society problems, she also assists other NGOs in elaborating their strategic documents. Her participation in any social initiative is deemed to be essential for assuring publicity among communities; Zanaa's leadership reputation is beyond doubt in the country.

Zanaa is always discerning in dealing with human rights problems, wherever and whenever they emerge, and she is always brave enough to take action. Thousands of Mongolian migrant workers in the Republic of Korea pose a subtle problem to all those involved. Zanaa went out on the streets to draw public attention to the toughening tendency of the Korean government toward the Mongolian contingent of migrant workers. She single-handedly collected signatures on a cold winter day and succeeded in handing over a statement signed by a thousand passers-by to the Mongolian Government and the Korean Embassy. To take a personal risk in controversial situations is part of Zanaa's personality. Although she is radical in principle and sees the importance of defending justice, the ultimate principles of radicalism and politics are completely alien to her philosophy. In her diversified social functions she pursues activism and optimism to encourage people more than anything else.

The International Civil Society Forum held in Mongolia in 2003 owes its success entirely to Zanaa's coordinating efforts and leadership in the National Core Group. As Zanaa points out, the documents and proceedings of the ICSF-2003 published in a volume will be a vital source book for future developments in Mongolia for a long period ahead. The Forum marked a turning point for Zanaa personally and for civil society groups in Mongolia.

Currently, she and her colleagues are engaged in the preparative work for the next Forum in Qatar, which will be a significant event in supporting civil society

developments in the Middle East. Zanaa holds major positions in a number of international organizations.

Zanaa's energetic, highly fruitful public activities have won her nationwide as well as regional and international recognition. On Human Rights Day, 2004, she was awarded the Polar Star order by the President of Mongolia. Women in Mongolia usually receive awards for professional or labor accomplishments, but not for achievements in the social sphere. On this occasion she received felicitations from all over the world. One of countless messages from abroad reads: "What a wonderful and well deserved honor! You have worked so hard and you really deserve the recognition you have now received from your country's President."

She is far from being satisfied with what has already been done in the realm of creating civil society. In an interview she said: "The 1990 UN Recommendations to the government of Mongolia consist of 44 major principles on human rights. Yet, by now only one of them has been accomplished in legal practice, namely that the Law against Family Violence has been adopted by the parliament."

In frequent meetings and discussions with political and state leaders, Zanaa is a demanding representative of society who puts pressure on those in power to keep their promises. Despite her innate straightforwardness, she is known as an excellent and effective negotiator with authorities and formal institutions.

Zanaa is now working toward a doctorate in humanities. As she explained in an interview: "Why have I distanced myself from immediate politics and instead opted for social representation? Of course, nothing is beyond politics; civil society activities are there to ensure politics remains clean and sound, and it is more important a sphere than politics as such."

The pro-democracy movement in Mongolia in 1990 involved thousands of women, and since then women's participation in the democratization process has been represented mainly by the leadership role of Zanaa Jurmed. Aspects of building a civil society in the former socialist country are manifold, and Zanaa's tireless activities are recognized as a crucial contribution to the development of civil society in Mongolia.

8. Genoveva Ximenes Alves (p.710)

Southeastern Asia- Timor-Leste

Word count 556



A history and cultural history professor at St. Paul's High School in Timor-Leste, Genoveva Alves is a peace trainer. She led the transformation of St. Paul's into a school for peace.

Saint Paul's High School
Maryknoll Sisters

(Text from compilation, 2005)

A history and cultural history professor at St. Paul's High School in Timor-Leste, Genoveva Alves is a peace trainer and founding partner in the transformation of St. Paul's into a school for peace. She trains, oversees, and assists the students in a peace program that teaches skills in dialogue, negotiation, and mediation. Prior to that, Genoveva worked in the forest with the East Timor resistance movement to fight the decades-long occupation by the Indonesian government. She played an integral role in the Timor Women's Organization (OMT) in support of the liberation movement.

After nine years in the East Timor forest working for the clandestine resistance movement, Genoveva and her husband became active members of the Aileu district community and worked in the education system. In 1999, after the Indonesian government and military left East Timor, Genoveva was visible in community activities such as organizing the Timor Women's Organization (OMT), volunteering and subsequently being contracted as a government secondary school teacher and conducting civic education and human rights trainings.

She had played a key role in the OMT at the district level and then organized its support for the reconstruction movement. All schools in Aileu had been burned and looted during the Indonesian occupation. When the Ministry of Education under joint United Nations governance and local East Timor self-governance opened schools across the country, there were no desks, chairs, chalkboards or textbooks. The District Education Officer, in cooperation with the Catholic parish, decided to open one secondary school, St. Paul's High School. Genoveva and others taught there first as volunteers in trying conditions.

In the past four years, Genoveva has become School Treasurer and the senior professor on the faculty. As a faculty member and secretary for the OMT, she has participated in trainings in leadership, facilitation, peace, reconciliation, conflict resolution, gender issues, human rights and civic education, using the opportunities well to increase her knowledge and skills as a community organizer and leader.

In 2002, she was chosen to sit on the community reconciliation panel for Aileu District, as the mandate of the Truth, Reception, and Reconciliation Commission was carried out. There she heard the truth about what had happened, the claims of the victims, the responses and admissions of the accused and thus participated in the mediation efforts of the panel.

CONTEXT: On independence (1999), Timor-Leste schools were poorly resourced when the Ministry of Education re-opened them. Nevertheless, teachers like Genoveva Alves rallied to restore the education system and to adapt it to serve peace and conflict resolution purposes as well.

8. Jeanne M. Gacoreke (p. 197)

Africa – Burundi
Word count 458]

Quote:

"My dream is slowly becoming reality. At last rape victims are finding a way out of shame and silence. They are speaking up."

Union des Groupements et Association pour la
Promotion de la Femme

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Jeanne Gacoreke (49) is a teacher in Bujumbura. She helps orphans and widows of war and sexually abused women, fights poverty and reintegrates refugees within the country and those from abroad. In her Maison d'écoute, victims of war and sexual violence receive physical and psychological help and legal advice. Thanks to her initiative, the local radio has been presenting women's personal stories about rape, thereby raising the public awareness on their plight. Jeanne is trained in psycho-pedagogy, peaceful conflict resolution and modern communication technology.

Jeanne Garokeke's children live in exile for fear of victimization. She denounces rapists and restores social justice to the victims of war and rape. To her, silence is not golden, and as a result she is always criticized, and even threatened.

Her village, a poor quarter on the outskirts of Bujumbura, has been destroyed four times in the last ten years. Each time the village has been rebuilt. Twice she had to take a bank loan to rebuild her own house. After the fourth attack, she remained in exile in order to spare her children the sight of dead bodies. But she helped the women of the village to rebuild their homes and eventually returned.

One day, when Jeanne Gacoreke's 70 years old neighbor was raped, she secretly brought her to the hospital, because the rapists, whether from the military or the rebels, do not appreciate witnesses. Soon after that a 12 years old girl was raped. Again Jeanne took her to the hospital.

International organizations and other women recognized Jeanne's individual assistance and helped her develop a health center for women, where physical and psychological wounds can be healed. There is also a counseling center for the victims of sexual violence to reintegrate them socially, regardless of ethnic background. Jeanne sensitizes and persuades women who are raped to speak up, even on the radio. Today the traditionally shunned topic of rape has been exposed. Her work has made people more aware and sensitive. This she does at her own risk, because the rapists bay for revenge.

She is a teacher and also represents a group of organizations, which works for the rights of women and children. She heads the Union des Groupements et Association pur la Promotion de la Femme. Jeanne is trained in psycho-pedagogy, peaceful conflict resolution and modern communication technology. She has attended courses on interviewing victims of sexual violence and now helps them to overcome their trauma.

CONTEXT: The strife between Hutus and Tutsis led to armed conflicts in 1972, 1988 and from 1993 onwards. Women were and still are victims of rape and hardly speak about it – because of tradition, fear and shame.

(Updated text from website - 2006)

With the help of European friends, these victims were treated, but as the number of rape victims increased, there was not enough money. Eventually International organizations and other women recognized Jeanne's individual assistance and helped her develop a health center for women.

Among others there is a counseling center for the victims of sexual violence and steps are undertaken to reintegrate them socially as rape victims are ostracised from society. At the same time Jeanne sensitizes and persuades women who were raped to speak up, even on the radio, as she is trained in interviewing victims of sexual violence. Thus she now tries to help them to overcome their trauma.

Today, 2005, the traditionally shunned topic of rape has been exposed. Jeanne's work has made people more aware and sensitive. This she does at her own risk, because rapists bay for revenge. The center is open to all women and victims of war, regardless of ethnic background, and is now supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).

Because the offenders threaten her and her family Jeanne Gacoreke left her children in exile. She herself was arrested because of her work and her denunciation of rapists, and now lives in hiding. But Jeanne Gacoreke's work is in the limelight, because she took the initiative when others were not even aware of the problem of sexual violence. She established structures to help victims of sexual violence at the risk of her own life. Thanks to her, many women no longer live in poverty and are united beyond their diverse ethnic backgrounds. Young rape victims get health care, social justice and rejoice. Women, who have been helped by her or by others in her network, have increasingly united to help themselves.

9. Palwasha Hassan (p. 388)

Central Asia, Middle East–Afghanistan
Word count 330

Quote:

"I know that securing women's rights in Afghanistan will be a long process. But I am confident that with diligent collaborative efforts of dedicated men and women we can overcome all challenges."

Afghan Women's Education Center (AWEC)
Afghan Women's Network (AWN)
UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan's
Gender Network (UNAMAGN)

(Text from compilation, 2005)

Palwasha Hassan, born in 1969 in Kabul, Afghanistan, obtained a BSc in the

Science Program from a government-run college in Islamabad, Pakistan. She is the founder of the Afghan Women's Education Center, a well-established Afghan women's organization. She is also a cofounder of the Afghan Women's Network. As the representative of Rights & Democracy in Afghanistan, Palwasha Hassan is the first Afghan woman to head an NGO in Afghanistan since the establishment of the new interim government in 2001.

Palwasha Hassan has been part of the nucleus of a growing women's movement in Afghanistan. The challenges and improvements relating to the expansion of the Afghan Women's Network are very hard to articulate in tangible terms. These challenges are often subtle, evolving processes that gradually encourage a strengthened relationship across many ethnic, religious, and cultural boundaries. Long-term improvements as a direct result of her work are reflected in the many grassroots women's organizations and projects that received funds to survive, thanks to her efforts. The beneficiaries of Palwasha Hassan's works are destitute Afghan women and their families are either unemployed, funded by grants from her organization or impoverished students and community members. She supports a large number of local NGOs in Afghanistan. Among these are organizations promoting the rights of women, gender equality and the empowerment of women. They also include human rights organizations that focus on an agenda of women's human rights, newly established organizations with projects directed towards the advancement of women's financial conditions in partnership with, or under the umbrella of, an existing established organization and initiatives aimed at linking and networking activities.

CONTEXT:

Palwasha Hassan's main area and context of work ins the empowerment of potential women leaders, human rights and women's rights in Afghanistan. She is dedicated to helping destitute Afghan women and their families, who are either unemployed or impoverished students and community members.

(Updated text from website - 2006)

Palwasha Hassan, born in 1969 in Kabul, Afghanistan, obtained a BSD in Science from a government-run college in Islamabad, Pakistan. She is the founder of the Afghan Women's Education Center, a well-established Afghan women's organization. She is also a co-founder of the Afghan Women's Network.

As the representative of Rights & Democracy in Afghanistan, Palwasha Hassan is the first Afghan woman to head an international non-governmental organization (NGO) in Afghanistan since the establishment of the new Interim Government in 2001.

Palwasha Hassan is a women's right activist and social worker with long-term experience in the field of human rights and violence against women. She has an in-depth understanding of the challenges facing Afghan women today and the complexities of women's struggles in the Muslim world. She is well connected with Afghan civil society networks at both the grassroots and the international level, and she is frequently invited to share her solid expertise and knowledge at decision-making tables around the world.

She presently works as the project coordinator and consultant for the Canada-based International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Rights & Democracy). She has assisted in creating a Human Rights Network based in Kabul that includes Human Rights Watch, the International Human Rights Law Group, Medica Mondiale and the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission.

Moreover, she is a member of the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA)'s Gender Network and is currently working on a breakthrough human rights research and action project in Afghanistan. It is called Human Rights and Peace Research Action Consortium, housed under CARE International in Afghanistan. In December 2003, she was one of 50 delegates to the Constitutional Loya Jirga appointed by President Hamid Karzai. She was also one of 100 women delegates in the grand assembly, who drafted and voted in Afghanistan's new Constitution in January 2004.

Palwasha Hassan originally worked as a volunteer to aid the formation of an Afghan women's network. Her unique integrity, dedication, courage and impressive charisma have earned her the trust and admiration of her colleagues.

APPENDIX F

LexisNexis® Search Results for Foreground Stories in Local Focus Dyads

All stories retrieved May 2008 from
<http://0-www.lexisnexis.com.catalog.library.colostate.edu/us/lnacademic/>

India

Rank #1: The Press Trust of India (June 30, 2005). *Kerala least corrupt state. Bihar the worst.*

Fiji

Rank #1: PacNews (Pacific Island News) (June 30, 2005). *Vanuatu claims Fiji snubbed its co-operative minister in Suva.*

Ukraine

Rank #1: Associated Press Worldstream (June 30, 2005). *Defense Minister: Ukraine will remain non-nuclear when it joins NATO*

Panama

Rank #2 The Toronto Star (June @, 2005). *Sports Digest Toronto Star*

Canada

Rank #1: Canada NewsWire (June 30, 2005). *New Xerox and Air Canada partnership meeting Canadian flyers' business needs worldwide; Xerox cutting-edge technology now available in Maple Leaf Lounges around world*

Mongolia

Rank #1: World Bank (June 29, 2005). *NT: World Bank provides loan to Mongolia to expand financing for private firms, strengthen banks*

Timor-leste

Rank #2: AAP Newsfeed (June 30, 2005). *NT: Downer says Aust-Timor boundary deal close.*

Burundi

Rank #1: Associated Press Worldstream (June 30, 2005). *United Nations to reinforce peacekeepers in Burundi for parliamentary election.*

Afghanistan

Rank #1: Agence France Press - English (June 30, 2005). *Five killed by flash floods in southeastern Afghanistan.*

APPENDIX G

Content Analysis, Prevailing Tensions

Tier 1 – Collecting Data

Classical Content Analysis

Qualitative Document Analysis

Data sources for either approach include written or visual messages as contained in any form of media (books, newspapers, journals, diaries, reports, catalogs, presentations, interview transcripts, field notes, TV programs, radio broadcasts, films, web-sites, etc.)

Tier 2 – Focusing and Analyzing Data

Classical Content Analysis

Qualitative Document Analysis

Emphasis placed on establishing literal or descriptive categories for inquiry (with a priori definitions) and establishing inter-coder reliability around these categories prior to examination of the research source material	Emphasis placed on iterative coding of selected source material making use of emergent topics or themes that present in the context of the coding process itself. Audit trail of these iterations are well-documented to establish dependability of data
Coding Strategies are typically limited to quantifiably measurable references such as word or phrase counts, or quantifiable ratings of the strength of these references. Coder's task is to record the Manifest Content (Berg, 1989) – those instances that are physically present and countable within the source material, in order to provide statistical evidence that either does or does not lend support for a stated hypothesis	Coding Strategies include attempts to capture themes and metaphors, underlying concepts and sociological structures that manifest as the source material unfolds. Coder's task includes querying the text for Latent Content (Berg, 1989) – interpretation of symbolism and/or thematic threads underlying physically presented data – in order to identify patterns and derive meaning.

Tier 3 – Interpreting and Presenting Data

Classical Content Analysis

Qualitative Document Analysis

Output of a Classical Content Analysis typically includes statistical findings of specific measures (including but not limited to frequencies, co-occurrences and in-context occurrences, timelines, bivariate or multivariate relationships etc.) Ultimately the researcher's theory is supported or refuted based on interpretation of these statistical findings.	Output of QDA or Ethnographic Content Analysis typically concludes with the researcher's "grounded" theory or theories, which are substantiated by specific findings available to the reader or evaluator found in the audit trail of the qualitative research methods employed.
--	--

This three tiered rubric is adapted from Lofland et. al. (2006) in their guide to qualitative observation and analysis, *Analyzing Social Settings*

Content Analysis Strengths and Weakness – Conventional Criticism

Adapted from CSU Research Methods and Theory Website, Mike Palmquist of the Dept. of English

Classical Content Analysis

Qualitative Document Analysis

<p>Strengths include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ranks high in reliability; research can be easily replicated. • Academic claim that research is more objective and free from bias • Data comparisons can be tracked across cultures and over time. • Unobtrusive window into culture 	<p>Strengths include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides deeper insight into a subject, revealing meanings and motives. • Provides the mechanism for isolating symbolism and themes. • Takes context and meaning as well text into consideration • Unobtrusive window into culture
<p>Weaknesses include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often considered inherently reductive or over-simplified – doesn't offer original insight. Word counts don't reveal intrinsic meanings and motives and what gets "counted" (e.g. synonyms) can be subjective. • Context of the text is not considered • Time intensive and difficult to automate 	<p>Weaknesses include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often considered to lack objectivity, as it is centered on one person's interpretation of source material. • Method lacks statistical reliability and therefore studies not easily replicated. • Time intensive and difficult to automate

APPENDIX H
Open and Axial Codes for all LFDs

Table 4-B through 4-I

Table 4-B: Local Focus Dyad, Fiji



REGION: Oceania	 PEACEWOMAN: Amelia Rokotuivana	HEADLINE: Vanuatu claims Fiji Snubbed its Co-operative Minister in Suva
Country: Fiji	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR unites constituents for public benefit: an end to French nuclear testing and colonization	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR explicates an ongoing trade dispute between Fiji and Vanatu
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	"Activist for peace and justice all her life"	To detail a diplomatic breach of etiquette and actions taken by each side exacerbating a trade dispute between 2 countries
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Leader and spokeswoman "key spokesperson, co-organizer, led, worked, asked to see Prime Minister, summoned by Prime Minister"	Roles include identifying players and explaining the points of difference and disagreement: "Fiji retaliatory action, 'snubbing' of V's co- operative minister...; office refuted Vanatu claim...; Vanatu remains adamant not to resolve, urgent attention on the unresolved...; then retaliatory measures; locked in trade battle; imposition of biscuit ban; refused to bow to pressure, ban was imposed, reciprocating with a ban..."
Tone (rhetor's attitude toward subject):	Highly motivated, steadfast, advocate for collaborative action "...angry that contract was broken; major challenge for Fiji people to understand human rights; our achievement in struggle resulting from very good combination of efforts (unions, students, anti-nuclear movement)"	Tone of apparent neutrality between two opposing sides, however choice of language consistently inflammatory rather than conciliatory (see above)
Strategies:	Demonstrations, protests, marches, diplomacy with PM "protests...were almost daily; for years ... somebody was out on the streets leafleting; SPA was almost always marching or protesting"	Citation of long series of quotes from named Fiji and Vanatu authorities

Table 4-C: Local Focus Dyad, Ukraine

Region: Europe	 PEACEWOMAN: Nina Kolybashkina	HEADLINE: Defense Minister: Ukraine will remain non-nuclear when it joins NATO
Country: Ukraine	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR demonstrates peace-building and reconciliation strategies using skills as interpreter	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR clarifies the current government's position concerning deployment of nuclear weapons
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	"If not me – then who?" To represent herself as a peace-maker by "finding common points between the systems of thinking of diverse groups."	To amplify the government's position and articulate alliance to NATO and the West, also to include opposition's argument "U. will not allow deployment ... on its territory if joining NATO...; opposition politicians say..."
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Interpreter, project manager, developer of conflict prevention strategies especially with youth. "She worked as an interpreter for a UN construction project; She was ...community development officer; project officer of the United Nations (UN) mission in Kosovo, establishing a dialogue between Albanian and Serbian civil servants."	Spokesperson for current government "since winning...Yushenko sought to bring...people into Western orbit; 2008 target date for joining NATO; member of NATO's Partnership...stepping stone toward full membership."

Tone (attitude toward subject):	Humble, insightful “in common enterprise of peace building, my humble role is that of interpreter; realized that providing basic social services was a work of translating need of community into project proposals and policy...; Nina had a look at the social and economic costs of war...made it very clear to her that prevention is better than cure....”	Conciliatory toward Western powers’ heightened concern regarding nuclear capability Lead sentence: “If anyone believes we will allow deployment of nuclear weapons when we join NATO, I want to reassure you that would not happen,”.... Use of weapon-related terms “nuclear, weapons, defense, arsenal, warheads, force, military, missile, ammunition, arsenal, decommission, etc ” 30 times in 309 words
Strategies:	Positions as translator, interpreter, project manager. Founder of Association of Youth Centers. Prepared Young peace Builders’ Conference in Crimea	Citation of Defense minister, historical recounting of Yushchenko’s positions.

Table 4-D : Local Focus Dyad, Panama


Region: Latin Am. & Caribbean	 PEACEWOMAN: Alma Montenegro de Fletcher	HEADLINE: Sports Digest; The Toronto Star
Country: Panama	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR seeks justice for all through available but limited legal channels	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHEOTR highlights items from around the world related to conduct of professional sports’ players and ongoing business of organizations they play with...
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor’s purpose):	To represent “all the people who had died” due to US invasion of Panama; to gain justice for everyone.”	To provide Canadian readers with details of events impacting professional sports worldwide. “Police investigating the shooting of a security guard at a pool party hosted by NFL linebackers. The New England Patriots signed free-agent kick returner.... Gatlin and Powell to face off next month. FIFA has fined Panama’s soccer federation \$4,000 because fans threw objects... Barcelona striker Samuel Eto’o is about to sign the improved contract. Canadian Curling Association has fined Colleen Jones and her two-time world championship curling team \$300.... Canada playoff hopes at ISF world jr. men’s softball championship received a big boost...”
Persona (rhetor’s roles):	Teacher: “11 years old, she taught her first pupil: her mother.” Then lawyer and judge: “She studied for law degree...; she accepted post as Tutelary Judge of Minors, she learned everything the Faculty of Law did not teach her during studies...”	Takes the role of world sports newsgathering very seriously. Items from five different sports and seven different locations. 2 Football: crime investigation involving Wash Redskin; .New England Patriots 1Track and Field: in London; 2 Soccer in Panama and in Barcelona; 1 Curling, Canadian Curling Association; 1 Softball: Canadian jr. men’s softball
Tone (rhetor’s attitude toward subject):	Irony, passionate. “...justice does not always take the same path as the law; they (Americans) finally left in June, 1990, ‘There has not yet been any justice for the people who died...”	Sensational or peculiar: shooting of security guard, acts of violence, exorbitant soccer contract; fine for “lingering too long after game” High drama competition: Olympic 100-metre champion Justin Gatlin and world-record holder Asafa Powell; scored six runs in the bottom of the sixth inning to overcome a 2-0 deficit
Strategies:	To work within the system for justice in series of positions: Tutelary Judge of Minors, Attorney for the Admin., member Nat. Commission for Reconciliation	Digest format: short bulleted items of sports headlines from around the world.

Table 4-E: Local Focus Dyad, Canada




Region: North America	 PEACEWOMAN: Landon Pearson	HEADLINE: New Xerox and Air Canada partnership meeting Canadian flyers' business needs worldwide; Xerox cutting-edge technology now available in Maple Leaf Lounges around the world.
Country: Canada	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR demonstrates lifelong dedication to advocating for human rights on behalf of children	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR announces Xerox Corporation recent commercial victory: continued partnership with Air Canada and its Maple Leaf Lounges
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	To be partners with children "in their struggles"	To promote Xerox Corporation's commercial success: "3-year contract extends nearly decade-long collaboration, provides 50 products to 18 Xerox business centres... total value of sponsorship worth more than \$250,000 annually..."
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Parliamentarian and writer. "A Canadian parliamentarian...works for the protection and promotion of children's rights...in national and international contexts. Instrumental in driving Canada's policy on child labor, war-affected children and sexual exploitation. Wrote Children of Glasnost: Growing up Soviet."	Public Relations spokesperson for Xerox Corporation. "...customers' business needs," says George Reeleder, senior director, Marketing, Air Canada.... John Corley, vice president, marketing, Xerox Canada adds... Air Canada's Maple Leaf Lounges provide premium customers with a high level of service in a quiet and comfortable environment."
Tone (attitude toward subject):	Empathic and committed "observing life's conditions through the eyes of her own children, she gained firsthand insight...young persons whose rights to survival and protection had be trampled upon; young persons with whom I now identify and with whom I could work in partnership	Promotional, sales "Xerox's award-winning Phaser 8400 ...; additional multifunction devices such as WorkCentre M20i...; lounges will be fully supported by Xerox technical personnel, ensuring uninterrupted availability of both hardware and consumables..."
Strategies:	Drafts, lobbies for and passes legislation; writes of her international experiences	Use of technical, trade-specific descriptions of hardware and service provided by Xerox. Citations of Senior director Marketing Air Canada and VP marketing Xerox Canada

Table 4-F: Local Focus Dyad, Mongolia

Region: Eastern Asia	 PEACEWOMAN: Zanaa Jurmed	HEADLINE: World Bank provides loan to Mongolia to expand financing for private firms, strengthen banks
Country: Mongolia	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR employs multiple strategies to achieve democratic civil society in Mongolia	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR endorses World Bank's loan to Mongolia to further country's economic development strategy.
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	To build a modern democratic civil society in Mongolia. "There is only one way out of this: democracy.... Zanaa has been in the forefront of building a modern civil society in Mongolia for the past 15 years "	To persuade readers of benefits of \$10.57 loan for Mongolia from World Bank. "...will help strengthen commercial banks & country's private sector, driving force behind country's transition to market economy"

Persona (rhetor's roles):	Professor turned political activist, pro-democracy advocate, elected leader and social reformer "After 18 years Univ. teaching, she joined MDU without hesitation, began to provide meeting places. In first democratic election, Zanaa won a seat...; initiated and founded a number of women and human rights NGO's"	Advocate for economic capacity building by growing private sector. "Growth of p.s. is important to create jobs...; 86% of the funds would be loaned through commercial banks to qualified businesses for viable capital investment...; to build capacity of the management and staff of private banks;"
Tone (rhetor's attitude toward subject):	Resolute proponent of civil engagement "Thousands surprised to see elegant woman serving hot water with glucose and offering face masks.... Father, it is better to die than to live under such a regime...; been in forefront of building a modern civil society...; used people's mandate to start reforms,"	Enthusiastic support of f.m. approach to economic development. "The development of M's private sector is critical to the country's economic growth and poverty reduction efforts...; we are supporting the country's goals to further consolidate market reforms to strengthen ability of p.s. to contribute to growth..."
Strategies:	Evolved over time: mass demonstrations, political election, founder of NGO's, International leader Over time, focus shifted from politics to the social sphere	Use of positive language, growth statistics and citations from political and economic authorities. No apparent opposition

Table 4-G: Local Focus Dyad, Timor leste

Region: Southeast Asia	 PEACEWOMAN: Genoveva Ximenes Alves	HEADLINE: NT: Downer says Aust-Timor boundary deal close
Country: Timor leste	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR transforms local school into school for peace and serves in multiple leadership capacities in program.	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: Rhetor clarifies a maritime boundary dispute between Australia and East Timor in terms of oil and gas revenue at stake.
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	To educate people in skills related to peace-building in her community and her country "...led transformation of St. Paul's into a school for peace...; After 9 years in East Timor forest working for clandestine resistance movement, Genoveva ... became active members of the Aileu district community & worked in the education system. In 1999, after Indonesian military left East Timor, Genoveva was visible in community..."	To reveal status of negotiations between Australia and East Timor regarding maritime boundary and clarify benefits of new negotiated agreement. "Australia and East Timor are close to striking a deal on a maritime boundary...; we await the decision of the East Timorese prime minister and ministers ...; When we hear some positive messages from them we'll take it back to our own cabinet."
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Educator, community organizer and leader (former resistance fighter) "A history ... professor at St. Paul's High School ... a peace trainer...; founding partner of school for peace...; trains, oversees and assists students in peace program...; teaches skills in dialogue, negotiation and mediation...; played a key role in the OMT and organized support for reconstruction ..."	Role is not only to report on status but to clarify issues that underlie the dispute "Simply put, the dispute is over how the boundary between Australia and East Timor should be set. Traditional international methods do so by either following the continental shelf, or placing the boundary half-way between the countries involved. A change to the boundary would give East Timor more revenue from oil and gas reserves in the area."
Tone (attitude toward subject):	Firmly committed to education as peace strategy and mediation between victims and accused "G & others taught first as volunteers in trying conditions...; as faculty she participated in trainings, etc... using opportunities well to increase knowledge and skills as community organizer and leader...; chosen to sit on reconciliation panel for Aileu District..."	Knowledgeable insider. "Just three weeks ago, Timorese officials said more details needed to be ironed out, although good progress had been made. "Mr Downer described those issues as 'drafting details'. 'They've got their own processes in East Timor to go through,' he said. 'I don't think my cabinet colleagues will have too many problems with what my officials have negotiated' ...; He said

		the deal adopted the East Timorese principle of setting aside maritime claims on the sea bed for some 50 years in return for East Timor getting an increased share of Greater Sunrise revenues.”
Strategies:	Rebuilding schools, serving on faculty, continuing her own training, serving with Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission	Citations by Australian foreign minister, party to the boundary negotiation and by federal resources minister who quoted increased revenue from Greater Sunrise.

Table 4-H: Local Focus Dyad, Africa

Region: Africa	PEACEWOMAN: Jeanne M. Gacoreke	HEADLINE: United Nations to reinforce peacekeepers in Burundi for parliamentary election.
Country: Burundi	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR gives direct assistance to women and children traumatized by sexual abuse and related war crimes, works to raise awareness to break through the taboo of silence concerning atrocities	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR provides rationale for UN operations to be put in place in anticipation of upcoming parliamentary elections in Burundi to prevent disruptions.
	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	To provide physical, psychological & legal support to rape victims and other survivors of war crimes. “My dream is slowly becoming reality. At last rape victims are finding a way out of shame and silence. ...	To provide specifics of the operations and cite related incidents and suspicions of violence “UN reinforce peacekeeping contingent in Burundi; peacekeepers will step up patrols, conduct joint patrols with security forces, bring in a helicopter ... ‘We are aware there are some politicians who want to disturb elections;’ more than 16,000 policemen to be deployed, soldiers and UN troops will do patrols.”
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Provider of care, practical assistance & education “In her Maison d’ecoute, victims of war and sexual violence receive physical and psychological help and legal advice...; She is a teacher and also represents group organizations”	Reporter of researched facts of a UN operation
Tone (rhetor's attitude toward subject):	Diligent in pursuit of aspirations “village...destroyed 4 times...each time village has been rebuilt...she helped the women of the village to rebuild their homes ...; military of rebels to not appreciate witness....Again Jeanne took her to hospital ... develop a health center for women, where ... wounds can be healed... This she does at her own risk because rapists bay for revenge...”	Informative relative to need for UN intervention. “1 killed and 10 injured in violence during local elections ... 260 polling stations forced to shut down...; former rebel group won elections, but a rebel group that has still not joined peace process tried to disrupt.... Brig. General said he had information that some politicians may try to cause trouble.... after the country’s first democratically elected president, a Hutu, was assassinated by Tutsi paratroopers
Strategies:	Direct service to victims; breaking taboo of silence; and participation in groups to raise awareness & sensitivity. E.g. “Jeanne sensitizes and persuades women who are raped to speak up, even on the radio”	Multiple fact providers, citations and historical context “first in 12 years, UN official said...said Ahmedou Becaye Seck, head of electoral...; Brig Gen. Germain Niyoyankana said...” “Burundi’s civil war pitted Tutsi-dominated army against Hutu rebels ...”

Table 4-I: Local Focus Dyad, Afghanistan

Region: Asia, ME	PEACEWOMAN: Palwasha Hassan	HEADLINE: Five killed by flash floods in southeastern Afghanistan.
Country: Afghanistan	Background Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR directs resources to empower destitute Afghan women and protect their human rights	Foreground Core Rhetorical Act: RHETOR details death and destruction in wake of natural disaster

	EVIDENCE	EVIDENCE
Purpose (rhetor's purpose):	To expand the Afghan women's movement, strengthen relationships across boundaries and protect women's human rights. "PH part of nucleus of growing women's movement in Afghan...; gradually encourage a strengthened relationship across ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries..."	To give information on the destructive aftermath of severe flooding due to torrential rain "Severe flooding caused by torrential rains in southeastern Afghanistan left five people dead and washed away scores of homes..."
Persona (rhetor's roles):	Ground-breaker, Feminist, fundraiser "founder Afghan Women's Education Center...; first Afghan woman to head NGO...; reflected in many grassroots women's organizations and projects that received funds... thanks to her efforts...; She supports a large number of local NGOs in Afghan."	Enumerator of death and destruction "5 killed...bodies of 4 men and a woman, 36 people caught on island...; floods claimed lives and caused damage...; many trees on nearby mountain had been chopped...; flash floods and storms left 48 dead as they swept 12 provinces...; Afghan. suffered worst winter for decade after 7 years drought...; at least 580 people died from...."
Tone (rhetor's attitude toward subject):	Empowered, illuminated by cultural complexities "challenges and improvements relating to the expansion of Afghan Women's Network very hard to articulate in tangible terms...;	Frightening; overwhelming "the floods claimed lives and caused damage because many trees on nearby mountains had been chopped down for fire wood.... this year suffered its worst winter for decade after 7 years of drought and has little infrastructure to cope...; At least 580 people died from disease, avalanches and road accidents during the winter months ..."
Strategies:	Providing support and funds to local NGO's that further intentions of Afghan Women's Network. "Among these are organizations promoting rights of women, gender equality and the empowerment of women. They also include human rights organizations that focus on"	Citations by Afghan officials and authorities and numbers of casualties presumed to be provided by same