WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES OF PEACE: UNHEARD VOICES FROM PAKISTAN

by

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A Dissertation
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Dedication

To my sisters, Anis Fatima and Tahira whose immense encouragement and unwavering support at every step made this possible

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Abstract

WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES OF PEACE: UNHEARD VOICES FROM PAKISTAN

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Pakistan is currently impacted by rampant terrorism and is simultaneously grappling with intrastate ethnic and sectarian violence. The focus of this dissertation was on examining grassroots Pakistani women's perspectives on peace and women's contributions to peace in Pakistan. The study was centered on grassroots women because their voices remain unheard in the patriarchal Pakistani milieu. Additionally, for implementing wide-ranging peace policies, it is crucial to incorporate input from all segments of society. It was also posited in this study that peace education for Pakistani girls and women is relevant in a society where a majority of women are sidelined in peacebuilding processes and in decision making at all levels. The foundational framework for this research was based on the paradigm of critical feminism and directed by theoretical approaches to peace, peacebuilding, and peace education. Data were obtained via in-depth individual interviews conducted with grassroots Pakistani school teachers and stay at home mothers and were analyzed using the constant comparative procedures of qualitative inquiry.

The findings are pertinent to positive peace, peacebuilding, and for imparting peace education to girls and women in Pakistan. Participants' perspectives, linking negative facets of peace to its positive aspects, particularly stand out. This research adds to the literature on peace and peacebuilding in Pakistan because it examined viewpoints of selected grassroots women, a community that continues to be neglected and marginalized in Pakistan. The views of the participants also facilitated in identifying factors that widen comprehension of peace in Pakistan.

Chapter One: Statement of the Problem

Currently, Pakistan has been going through one of the roughest patches in its history, and among the plethora of problems it faces, a major concern that requires immediate attention is the rampant violence and terrorism impacting the entire country. Besides issues of terrorism, Pakistan has also been grappling with intrastate ethnic and sectarian violence, and its current predicament invokes research and action. Considering the gravity of the situation, the focus of my dissertation was on peace, peacebuilding, and peace education in Pakistan, mainly from the standpoint of disadvantaged girls and women. The current research centered on grassroots women not only due to the severe impact that intrastate and international conflicts have had on them in Pakistan, but more importantly because despite immense suffering, their voices and perspectives remain unheard in the patriarchal Pakistani society.

In accentuating that women's voices from all segments of society need to be heard, and in emphasizing that their inclusion in peacebuilding and other decision making processes is crucial, I was informed by critical feminist frameworks which hold that until women are viewed as other than subservient, compliant victims, little will change (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). According to Willis (2007), critical theory, of which critical feminism is an offshoot, is "a response to inequities in society" (p. 44). Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) considered the work of critical researchers as "a first step towards forms

of political action that can redress injustices" (p. 305). Moreover, feminism within the critical theory lens shares three key principles: on a political level, critical feminist theories have pursued promotion of equality between men and women; on a substantive level, critical feminist frameworks have made gender the pivotal point of analysis, and on a methodological level, "these frameworks aspire to describe the world in ways that correspond to women's experiences" (Rhode, 1990, p. 619).

Additionally, in this study, I postulated that homes and schools are places where values of peace can best be developed in children, and that grassroots women play a vital role in peacebuilding in their homes as mothers, and in classrooms as educators. Biggs (1999) noted the need for initiating peace at home, in schools, and in communities, before people aspire to be successful in peacebuilding on the international front. Consequently, this dissertation specifically focused on bringing forward underprivileged women's perspectives of peace and peacebuilding at home, and in schools in the conflict affected South Asian region of Pakistan. One of the motivating reasons for this research has been the exclusion of grassroots women's voices in the existing volatile scenario of the country.

Peace, Peacebuilding, and Peace Education

The terms peace, peacebuilding, and peace education tend to have different meanings for people in diverse contexts. Peace is seen as "negative" when it relates to the absence of conflict; however, this study embraced a wider standpoint, that of positive peace, which includes absence of conflict as well as absence of social injustice (Galtung, 1985; Grewal, 2003; Roberts, 2008; Webel, 2009). Similarly, peacebuilding in the

context of the current research related not only to violence reduction strategies within communities and countries, but also included the ability to foster and promote equality, justice, and human rights of all people (Mazurana & McKay, 1999). The term "peace education" as used in this study represented education, which leads to building the following:

- Positive peace

- Human rights education

- Conflict resolution education and related disciplines (Jones, 2006).

Peacebuilding and peace education are closely related because peace education provides the tools for peacebuilding; in fact, Plonski (2005) considered the two terms "interchangeable" (p. 398). According to Salomon (2002), the entwining of peacebuilding and peace education has contributed to education for social change. Moreover, Reardon (2001) asserted that a culture of peace can be advanced in schools by incorporating peace education and peace-building in classrooms. On similar lines, Bar-Tal (2010) also expressed the standpoint that peace education can lead to a culture of peace.

Pakistan's Background

The Indian subcontinent in South Asia gained independence in 1947 from two hundred years of British rule, giving birth to the states of Pakistan and India. The capital of Pakistan is Islamabad, and it has four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North West Frontier Province); the territory of the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) also falls under its jurisdiction. The

population of the country in 2012 was estimated at 190,291,129 (CIA World FactBook, 2012).

According to the United Nations classification of countries, Pakistan falls under the label of developing countries (United Nations, Statistics Division, 2011). A developing country is one that has a low performing economy based primarily on agriculture where the majority live on a low income. Furthermore, developing countries have considerably fewer basic public services than the highly industrialized countries. Additionally, healthcare systems, education systems, and infrastructure are also poor in such countries. In some cases, armed conflict in a developing country has resulted in a fragile state with weak institutions and policies (The World Bank, 2012).

Pakistan is bordered on the east and northeast by India and China and on the west and northwest by Iran and Afghanistan. Currently, Pakistan occupies a position of immense geopolitical importance, and has been an ally of the United States in the fight against Soviet expansionism in the 1980's and in the war against terrorism after September 11, 2001. It has thus become a critical country for maintaining security in South Asia and the world (Mohiuddin, 2007).

Gender in the Pakistani Cultural Milieu

The social and cultural context of Pakistani society has been predominantly patriarchal (Latif, 2009; Moheyuddin, 2005; Mohiuddin, 2007; Niaz, 2003). According to Fikree, Razzak, and Durocher (2005), patriarchal philosophy advances the viewpoint that men have more power and privilege than women, and is perhaps "the most persistent system of power dynamics throughout the ages" (p. 50). It was therefore not surprising

that in the Global Gender Gap Index (2011), a framework which benchmarks gender disparities on economic, political, education, and health based criteria, Pakistan's overall ranking was 133 among a total of 135 countries, and its positions in economic participation and education were 134 and 127 respectively. Out of 200 countries considered for inclusion in the index, only 135 were included due to lack of data related to index indicators (World Economic Forum, 2011). However, the report of the World Economic Forum further stated that the 135 countries included in the index represented "over 90% of the world's population" (p. 7). Considering these standings, Pakistan presented a grim picture in the rankings of the Global Gender Gap Index in 2011.

Elaborating on the Pakistani patriarchal society, Latif (2009) stated that it is totally male dominated in nature; she added that women are considered lower in status than men, and their responsibilities are believed to be only those of rearing children and running households. Moheyuddin (2005) accentuated that in the Pakistani culture, "home is defined as the woman's legitimate ideological and physical space, while a man dominates the world outside the home" (p. 8). Additionally, a Pakistani woman, especially one from the under-privileged class or a rural background, is considered "not to have a mind and voice of her own" (Latif, 2009, p. 426). Concurring with the view that women from underprivileged classes have to bear the major brunt of the patriarchal system, Mohiuddin (2007) stated that though women from the higher strata of society have access to resources such as education and health care, it is those at the lower end of the spectrum who "have limited power even in their homes" (p. 255). In agreement with this analysis on gender disadvantage in Pakistan, Qadir, Khan, Medhin and Prince (2011)

asserted that women, particularly those of low socio-economic status are more likely to face greater gender discrimination, less education, early marriage, lower degrees of autonomy, and less emotional support. In fact, Ali and Gavino (2008) emphasized that these women also are exposed to domestic violence, and that some of the most common forms of domestic violence include physical, mental, and emotional abuse.

Moreover, Moheyuddin (2005) was of the view that disadvantaged women are generally excluded from decision making at local, provincial and national levels, and are not given any opportunity to "voice their concerns or promote their perspective on governance" (p. 9). Male members who head the families not only have complete authority, but also leave women out of decision making processes because they are considered socially and economically dependent on men (Jejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001). In the Pakistani social milieu, the role of gender disadvantage arises from the "culturally determined predisposition to think about or behave differently towards women on the basis of their sex" (Qadir et al., 2011, p. 1).

It is also a well-established fact that the patriarchal Pakistani society has a preference for sons (Miller, 2001). Boys carry the family name, continue the family trade, and are expected to provide for their parents in old age, whereas girls are considered economic liabilities (Qadir et al., 2011). In families of low socioeconomic status, there is partiality even in food distribution because girls are given less to eat, which leads to nutritional deficiencies among female children (Moheyuddin, 2005). Not only does women's lower social, economic, and cultural standing result in their poor health and low educational status, but also many women from the underprivileged strata of society are

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prevented from getting National Identity Cards (mandatory to cast a vote and own property in Pakistan) by their male relatives who do not want them either to vote, own property, or enter the public arena in any way. Therefore, in Pakistan, there has been a continuing violation of women's fundamental human rights, self-respect, and dignity (Khan, 2009).

Furthermore, the Pakistani society still runs on a tribal and feudal system, and unfortunately, the majority of the population lives under rural and feudal control. In such societies, if a woman is non-acquiescent and rebellious, she is punished through beatings, isolation, and imprisonment (Niaz, 2003). Niaz and Hassan (2006) described underprivileged women as being "incarcerated" (p. 118) in the feudal system. They asserted that cultural norms prevailing in Pakistan and in other parts of South-East Asia, have perpetuated the subordinate position of women both socially and economically.

Current Conflicts in Pakistan

Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has repeatedly faced challenges on the basis of nationalism, religious creed, and political ideology (Insight on Conflict, 2012). The most pressing challenges it currently faces are of diverse, yet inter-related conflicts, both domestic and international (Chapman, 2009; Taveres, 2008). Conflicts continue unabated in the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the tribal areas of Fata, which are all hotbeds of violence on ethnic, political, and sectarian grounds (Insight on Conflict, 2012).

Sectarian violence became widespread after the military dictator Zia-ul-Haq exploited religion for political purposes in the late 1970's and 1980's. It was during Zia's

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era that madrassas mushroomed and extremist sectarian groups sprung up all over Pakistan. Moreover, sectarian violence in Pakistan is the legacy of the Afghan war (Abou Zahab, 2002). According to Haider (2010), Punjab is most affected by sectarian hostility; besides, Haider also expressed the view that radical Sunnis (a major sect in Islam) have been trying to incite Pakistan's various Islamic sects to hit back in an attempt to exacerbate civil strife.

In Sindh, the capital of the province, Karachi, which is also Pakistan's largest city, has been a zone of ethnic and sectarian strife, interspersed with gang mafias, over the last several years. According to the Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO, 2011), Karachi has been virtually paralyzed since the mid 1980's. Ethnic strife between the Mohajirs (migrant community from India) and Pathans is continuously on the rise; moreover, targeted killings also have spiraled, "giving Karachi the dubious distinction of being among the most violence prone cities in the world" (SPO, 2011, p. 2).

Yet another conflict zone has been the province of Baluchistan where Baloch nationalists are demanding greater autonomy and increased rights, and in some cases even independence from Pakistan. Since 2005, there has been persistent conflict between the army and the Baloch militants, leading to thousands of internally displaced persons, including women in Baluchistan. Added to this is the dilemma of "disappearing" men and women purportedly taken by law enforcement agencies (Khan, 2009).

Regarding the international front, Cohen (2002) stated that other than Afghanistan and the United States, the aftermath of the terrorist bombings in New York and Washington D.C. affected no country more than Pakistan. Due to Pakistan's current

involvement alongside the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Afghanistan in the War on Terror, the pro-Taliban militant groups have turned their violence against the government and the population in Pakistan. Also, the war in Afghanistan has been spilling over into Pakistan since 2004 and with disastrous consequences. Khan (2012) elaborated that the Taliban and other militants' attacks on security forces and civilians have killed thousands in Pakistan, particularly in the FATA areas. According to Crawford (2011), an estimated 36,000 Pakistanis have been killed between 2004 and 2011 by the Taliban, Al Qaeda, and other militant organizations via suicide bombings, assassinations, and ambushes.

Moreover, the recent army action against militants in the Khyber Agency in northwestern Pakistan has led to the displacement of more than 200,000 people since January 2012. Nearly 60,000 people have been living at Jalozai Camp in Nowshera, adding to the influx of thousands of people who were evacuated due to earlier action by security forces. Since 2008, some 689,000 people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have been displaced, and are living as internally displaced persons (United Nations Children's Fund, 2012).

Impact of Conflicts on Women in Pakistan

Though conflict imposes suffering on everyone, its short and long term effects particularly affect women. Sexual assault and exploitation are usually employed as tools of war, leading to isolation, alienation, and emotional trauma (United States Agency for International Development, 2007). Conflict and displacement are among the main challenges to women's human rights in Pakistan at the present time. Many have lost their

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homes leading to increased vulnerability and loss of privacy; living in camps has forced them to live in close proximity to unrelated men. They are also at risk for sexual violence, and most significantly, they are excluded from decision-making processes even in matters pertaining to their own welfare (Khan, 2009).

Zakaria (2009), writing for the Asian Conflicts Report, presented a harrowing tale of thousands of displaced women who fled from their homes in the northern regions of Pakistan in the wake of Pakistani security forces action against the Taliban. For many women, the men in their families either had been killed, or had stayed back to look after their homes. According to Zakaria, though exact statistics are difficult to provide, many women have been abused in the camps for displaced persons in Karachi and Lahore. Reports filed by international aid agencies like UNIFEM and the United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs stated that of the 2.5 million people affected by conflict in Pakistan, nearly 60% are displaced women. "Internally displaced women represent the most visible toll that ongoing conflict has taken on Pakistan" (Zakaria, 2009, para. 3).

According to Yusufzai (2012), women have suffered miscarriages, physical, and mental health problems because of the conflict ensuing due to Pakistan's involvement in the War on Terror. From January to May 2012, almost 22,000 children under age 5, and more than 10,000 pregnant women have been screened for malnutrition at the Jalozai Camp and other sites in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA. The families arriving here have been seeking sanctuary from unrest caused by security operations against militant rebels

in the Khyber Agency, in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. This camp has also housed thousands of people displaced from neighboring Afghanistan (UNICEF, 2012).

In terms of schools blown up by the Taliban, Yusufzai (2012) said that though factions of Taliban have blown up schools for both boys and girls, the number of girls' schools far exceeds the count of (blown up) schools for boys. In 2006 alone, 33 girls' schools were blow up in one northern region; however, Yusufzai asserted that the positive aspect is that girls still show a keen interest in education, and are not willing to give up; they study in tent schools that have been provided by the government in some areas.

Additionally, Chaudhry and Bertram (2009) described the impact of ethnic violence on women in Karachi in the following words: "the incursions into homes to rob and kill, the falling apart of the self after death of a loved one (killed in conflict) ……physical and mental health issues…." (p. 303). These words offer just a minute glimpse of the trauma that women in Karachi experience due to conflicts between rival ethnic groups. Considering the volatile and grim situation in Pakistan and the suffering of women impacted by the conflicts, it was timely and pertinent to focus on peacebuilding and peace education for girls and women in Pakistan, and to examine grassroots women's perspectives of peace in Pakistan.

Gender Lens and Peacebuilding

Underscoring the relevance of examining conflict and peacebuilding through the gender lens, Naraghi Anderlini (2006) affirmed that most studies of violent zones either ignore gender perspectives or just fleetingly touch the issues. In her view, most conflict

studies emphasize on the causes of conflict, even though gendered perspectives provide "a more people centered approach and stand a better chance of allowing analysts to explore the drivers of peace" (p. 2). She further highlighted that while analyzing conflict, it is crucial to include voices of marginalized factions of society such as women, and, one way she recommended for hearing marginalized voices is by interviewing them. Further, the gender perspective focuses on issues of power, economics, culture, and politics, and examines the different survival strategies for women and men and the ways in which they reorganize their lives. It highlights how women, particularly in the Third World, are sidelined and need space for their concerns to be heard and addressed (El- Bushra & Piza-Lopez, 1993).

Thompson (2006), asserting that voices of women are relevant for facilitating "visibility" of their experiences, emphasized the need for in-depth investigation of the conditions of power, positions, and susceptibilities of both men and women in conflict. For Enloe (2007), examining roles of women in all situations is of vital significance. To neglect this would be equal to seeing a one-sided image of the world or seeing the world only from a shallow and superficial stance. A United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2007) study underscored that women are among the most susceptible groups during conflicts for reasons that go beyond violence. As such, interventions in conflict zones are more effective when they integrate an understanding of women's perspectives and simultaneously promote awareness that conflict can rapidly alter gender roles. Women must be involved in conflict prevention, resolution, and management at all levels. When women have not been active participants, and when their

views and needs have not been taken into consideration, then "interests of half the population are not represented, and therefore interventions will not be appropriate or enduring" (USAID, 2007, p. 3).

The United Nations, comprehending the role women can play in peacebuilding, approved the Security Council Resolution 1325 on "women, peace and security" in 2000 which further demonstrated the growth of women's peace activism (El-Bushra, 2007). However, the Outcome Document of the Geneva High-Level Consultations (2010) stated that despite the unanimous adoption of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, which calls for women's experiences in conflict and peacebuilding to be incorporated into the United Nations security agenda, progress in implementing the polices was slow. Since 2000, the Security Council also adopted three more resolutions, Security Council Resolution (SRC) 1820, SCR 1888, and SCR 1889 to reiterate the need for women's participation, and to collectively form the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. However, the Outcome Document of Geneva Consultations (2010) affirmed that despite adoption of these resolutions, progress on the women's front was negligible. Thus, by employing the critical feminist lens, this dissertation study examined underprivileged women's perspectives of peace and peacebuilding at home and in schools in the Pakistani milieu.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine perceptions of stay at home mothers and of working women who are teachers, regarding peace and the contribution women have made (if any) toward peace and community building at home, in classrooms, and in the community. All participants in this research came from disadvantaged segments of

society and have a considerably lower socioeconomic status (SES) than is the norm in

Pakistan. Besides having focused on disadvantaged women in this study because their

voices remain unheard, the other major reason for doing so was because youth from this

section of society have been largely involved in violence in Pakistan. According to Hasan

and Mohib (2003), poverty, inflation, and unemployment have led to the social alienation

of youth in Pakistan, particularly those who come from low-income backgrounds making

them susceptible to violence and extremism.

Interlinked with the purpose of my research were the goals for my study; Willis

(2007) described one aspect of research ensuing from critical theory as "emancipatory"

(p. 232). He further elaborated that emancipatory research is an endeavor to help

oppressed groups become aware of their oppression. Emancipatory values are particularly

important when alluding to social systems where inequality of power exists in relation to

"opportunity, authority, and control" (Watson & Watson, 2011, p. 63). Furthermore,

emancipatory values strive to recognize and change root sources of oppression and

challenge unequal power relations (Ledwith, 2007). Therefore, as a related goal of my

study, I endeavored to make underprivileged women aware of their oppression; more

significantly, a main goal for me was to provide a platform to women whose voices

remain unheard and neglected in Pakistan. Another related intention of my study was to

offer access to policy makers and readers to 'hear' the views of these women who are

otherwise ignored and considered unimportant. As such, my research was not only a first

step for analyzing roles that underprivileged women play in maintaining peace, but it was

also an attempt to make the women visible to a society in which they are restricted and marginalized.

Research Questions

To achieve my research purpose and goals, three questions were explored:

1. What is peace in (underprivileged) Pakistani women's perspective?

2. What is peace in Pakistan in their experience?

3. In what ways do Pakistani women identify their contributions to peace?

Significance of the Topic

It was extremely relevant to examine grassroots women's perspectives of peace because comprehending their viewpoints, and mainstreaming them in peacebuilding, could assist in concrete improvements in peace processes as well as in their lives. Also, considering women's priorities for peace could contribute to successful planning of peace policies. However, overlooking grassroots women in peacebuilding procedures, and discriminating against them increases the possibility for further conflicts (Hudson, 2009).

Furthermore, this study proposed that peace education for girls and women in Pakistan is highly relevant; first, due to their immense suffering in conflict, they needed peace education which contributes among other things, to emotional wellbeing, and builds capacity for coping with conflicts (Danesh, 2008). Also, peace education is an enormous resource for empowering people (Harris & Morrison, 2003); most importantly, in the Pakistani patriarchal milieu, it is women who raise and socialize children, therefore, having access to peace education could help them better incorporate the values of peace in their children's upbringing.

Additionally, reflecting on women's nature, Noddings (2010) posited that the inner, rational voice of females councils against anger and audacity. She further asserted that "maternal thinking ……despises war and violence" (p. 217). Though Noddings reflected generally on the western women's nature, her standpoint was explored from the perspective of Pakistani women as well. Besides, Ruddick (1980) underscored that a mother has three basic aims for her children: preservation, growth, and acceptability. From early childhood, Ruddick claimed, a mother wants to "shape natural growth in such a way that her child becomes the sort of adult that she can appreciate and others can accept" (p. 349). Also, girls will become future mothers and can play a crucial role in community and peacebuilding within the family and community; as such, if girls are better informed to educate for peace, they can pass on the values to their children. Wright (2000) indicated that better educated mothers gain greater influence over their children, and can foster "social change through mothering" (p. 190).

More significantly, as mentioned earlier, this study was important because it provided a platform for disadvantaged women's voices to be heard; it contributed to broadening our understanding of their perspectives, and it helped participants comprehend their own strength in contributing to peace in the family, in the community, and in the country. Thus, this research was based on the cultural reality faced by underprivileged women in Pakistan, and was a first step in giving them voice.

In addition, the current study afforded a platform for education policy makers to analyze the views of these women and to introduce educational interventions which could provide girls and women with tools for empowerment, community building, and peace.

This study was also a step in aiding policy makers to plan for the incorporation of peace education in the Pakistani school curricula.

Finally, there is limited literature available in the field of women and peace education, though the field has been steadily growing. By examining women's perspectives on peacebuilding and peace education, this study has contributed to the growing literature on women in peacebuilding and in peace education. More significantly, there is hardly any literature available on peacebuilding in Pakistan that focuses on disadvantaged Pakistani women's perspectives of peace. If any literature is available, it pertains to women heading NGOs or working for NGOs. Thus, in bringing perceptions of disadvantaged Pakistani women forward, the current research contributed to filling this gap in the literature, and asserted that it was of paramount importance to include grassroots women's voices in peacebuilding, and in all other decision making aspects.

Definition of Terms

Definitions of terms are provided below for facilitating readers in comprehending explanations of terms relevant to the context of the study.

Disadvantaged, underprivileged: Disadvantaged and underprivileged groups in a society have been those denied access to autonomy, incentive, self-respect, health, education, and employment (Mayer, 2003).

Grassroots women: These are women from poor and low-income communities; women who are economically, socially, and politically marginalized (UNDP & GROOTS International, 2011). They have been excluded from planning and decision making

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processes (UN-HABITAT & Huairou Commission, 2004). The United Nations has supported visibility of grassroots women as being important in development (Huairou Commission, 2011).

   Peace: The absence of conflict, and the attainment of justice and social stability (United States Institute of Peace, 2011).

   Peacebuilding: The term is used in its broadest sense which includes establishing nonviolent modes of resolving conflict, protecting human rights, providing trauma healing services and humanitarian relief, and supporting broad based education (United States Institute of Peace, 2011).

   Peace education/Peace studies: An interdisciplinary field of study that focuses on conflict analysis, conflict management, peacebuilding, and social and economic justice. "Although peace studies generally refer to college-level work, the term peace education encompasses all levels of students" (United States Institute of Peace, 2011, p. 42).

   Socioeconomic status (SES): Socioeconomic status is measured as a combination of education, income, and occupation, and has been commonly considered as the social standing or class of an individual or group. When viewed through the lens of social class, privilege and power are important factors in determining the status of a group or community (American Psychological Association, 2012).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Perceptions of grassroots Pakistani stay at home mothers and school teachers regarding peace were examined in this dissertation. Since conflict impacts women in diverse ways, it was both relevant and critical to hear their voices in order to propose pragmatic strategies in peacebuilding and peace education for the initiation of a culture of peace. The foundational framework for this study was based on the paradigm of critical feminism and was directed by theoretical approaches to peace, peacebuilding, and peace education. For a comprehensive understanding, mainstream literature on peace, peacebuilding, and peace education was analyzed in this chapter, followed by an examination of specific feminist perspectives of the three fields. Taken together, the domains of peace, peacebuilding, and peace education formed an inclusive approach toward building a culture of peace.

Critical Feminist Frameworks

Critical feminist frameworks partially overlap, and have often drawn on other critical approaches including critical legal studies and critical race scholarship (Kushner, 2003; Rhode, 1990). Critical theory has focused on ways in which injustice and subjugation shape people's experiences and understandings of the world (Patton, 2002). According to Martin (2003), both critical theory and feminist theory not only focus on social and economic inequalities, but also move toward an agenda for initiating change.

However, even though at a broad level the frameworks share the common objective of challenging existing allocation of power and resources, what distinguishes critical feminist theories from other critical agendas is their deliberation on gender equality (Rhode, 1990). A critical feminist perspective focuses on gender as well as other sources of social inequity, and places emphasis on the potential for change (Kushner, 2003), and its unique strength is the proclamation to speak from women's experiences (Rhode, 1990). In fact, the point of departure in critical feminist theory is "a normative concern with the status of women, an empirical focus on conditions that have produced domination in gender relations, and on strategies of inquiry that can facilitate the transformation of those relations" (Kushner, 2003, p. 36). Furthermore, Kushner's standpoint is that feminist frameworks have been "most successful" (p. 38) as pragmatic research directions concerned with the viewpoint of women. By presenting emic perspectives of respondents, readers can vividly imagine individual lives and thoughts. Also, researching the contextual environment in which the women respondents live has contributed to understanding the doctrine and structures that "either facilitate or hinder the agency of individuals in that context" (Stacki & Monkman, 2003, p. 174).

Not only is it of prime importance for critical feminist analyses to make girls' and women's perspectives visible, but also to interpret information from the standpoint of their diverse experiences, "in order to affect policymaking in regard to women's rights" (McKay, 2004, p. 155). Moreover, researchers engage with participants not only to understand about women's lives and experiences, but also for consciousness-raising, and for making the public aware of the oppressive nature of women's circumstances (Wuest,

1995). Thus, feminist research, along with active dissemination of results, has acted as a catalyst for emancipation of women and other marginalized groups (King, 1994, p. 18).

One aspect of prime importance that critical feminists are conscious of, and sensitive to, is the fact that women's experiences can be different across time, culture, class, race, ethnicity, and age. As such, no experience can claim "universal authentic status" (Rhode, 1990, p. 625). McKay (2004) concurred with the view that critical feminist analysts have been aware that experiences and perspectives differ across geographies, culture, race, and class. Elaborating further, McKay stated that while critical feminist analysts accept that patriarchy privileges men, they also assert that patriarchal societies may vary in Euro-American, non-western and other indigenous cultures; likewise, circumstances of women living in these cultures will also vary.

Moreover, Hudson (2009) emphasized that though it is important to pay attention to women's needs, it is equally crucial to avoid representing all women as a group, either in the case of security needs, or in any other field. Hudson further affirmed that women's diverse experiences cannot be understood without a reference to the context in which they live; therefore, it has been with this in mind that women from outside the West have criticized Western feminists' perceptions that they can speak on behalf of all women (McEwan, 2001; Mohanty, 1988; Narayan 1998; Udayagiri, 1995).

One of the major concerns of all forms of feminist frameworks has pertained to women's security and peace in regions of conflict and their role in peacebuilding (Hudson, 2009; McKay, 2004; 1999; Naraghi Anderlini, 2011; Tickner, 1999). Before examining what feminist literature has said about peace, peacebuilding and peace

education, it is appropriate to examine how mainstream literature has identified the three fields. Only when we fully comprehend what peace is, can we examine how women are able to play a major role in the peacebuilding process.

What is Peace?

This section provides a comprehensive examination of negative and positive peace and a general overview of the approaches of mainstream theories and religions towards peace. "How we make peace can be reasonably assumed from what we think peace is" (Rinehart, 1995, p. 379). The concept of peace is highly subjective and tends to mean different things to different people (Barash & Webel, 2002; Cortright, 2008; Price, 2010; Richmond, 2007). Peace, like many abstract terms such as happiness and justice, is difficult to define, and just as we might recognize happiness and justice by their lack or absence, so also we may identify peace by its absence (Webel, 2009). Furthermore, peace, freedom, equality, and justice are qualities most valued and desired by human beings, and many international organizations have produced volumes of documents relating to these fields (Bar-Tal, 2002).

The literature on peace has taken at least two different directions based on classifications by Johan Galtung, a key figure in peace research who labeled peace into negative and positive categories. Galtung (1985) specified that any conception of peace portraying the absence of direct war and violence between states was negative peace; such a situation, though not fully peaceful, is better than violence. On the other hand, Galtung (1985) suggested that the absence of structural violence caused by political constructions of exploitation and subjugation is positive peace. Thus, negative peace is

generally understood as the absence of war, while positive peace, which is much more profound, is understood as both absence of war and absence of social injustice (Harris & Morrison, 2003; Roberts, 2008; Webel, 2009). Positive peace proposes a more comprehensive approach that goes beyond war, and aims to end social, economic, and political roots of conflict, presenting more practical and lasting solutions for ending armed conflict (Mac Ginty, 2006). Consequently, positive peace is recognized as the foundation for social harmony, equity, and justice (Webel, 2009). Besides, the transition to positive peace is thought to be achieved through processes of peacebuilding (Price, 2010). Having elaborated on the directions that negative and positive peace take, it is pertinent to outline the aspects of peace that conventional theories have incorporated.

Concerning approaches of mainstream theories toward peace, Richmond (2008a) suggested that realism has focused more on negative peace, while liberalism has offered "a one size fits all progressive framework with little recognition of difference" (p. 36). Marxism, on the other hand, has argued that peace cannot exist until political and economic structures that benefit the elites and dominate the powerless are removed, even if such hegemonic structures are eliminated through violent revolution. As such, Marxism has supported the empowerment of subjects over structures, indicating a desire for peace through equality, empowerment, and justice (Richmond, 2008b). Additionally, critical theory and post-structuralism have portrayed a peace in which freedom, justice, identity, and representation of marginalized actors (such as women, children, and minorities) and environmental factors is endorsed (Richmond, 2008a).

However, Richmond cautioned about theoretical approaches and empirical inquiries related to peace, which according to him, have generalized application of peace in all settings. He considered it imperative to understand the differences in approaches to peace in global and native contexts. Therefore, considering the centrality of context, the current study focused specifically on grassroots women's perceptions of peace in the context of Pakistan and its cultural background.

Moving on to perspectives of religions on peace, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism have all considered peace a central aspect in their mission (Harris & Morrison, 2003). Buddhism has always been associated with peace and nonviolence because its fundamental teaching is to cherish all life, even though Buddhists at times have pursued goals by less peaceful means (Kraft, 1992). For Hindus, the Bhagavad Gita (holy book) justifies war, but only in certain conditions. Besides, a Hindu is required to respect all beings because all living beings have within them the spirit of truth and peace; accordingly, Hinduism has basically preaches peace and is a religion of peace (Harris & Morrison, 2003). The scriptures in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam underscore the relevance and significance of collective and individual peace, holding peace as a great virtue. In all three religions, the use of force necessitates a strong justification for war, valid only in specific circumstances (Dorn & Cation, 2009). According to Harris and Morrison (2003), though all the great religions believe in peace, they have contributed as much to war as to peace; this paradox is indicative of "certain ironic and contradictory aspects of human nature (p. 39).

Cultures of Peace

According to de Rivera (2004), the concept of a culture for peace was first put

forward by MacGregor (1986) to develop an initiative in education to resolve conflicts

through non-violent means as opposed to violent means. de Rivera further stated that a

culture of peace was initially conceived as a concept that could be contrasted to a culture

of war, and as a way to unify people for peace and justice. The United Nations General

Assembly, through resolution A/53/ 243 passed in 1999, declared a program for building

a culture of peace for the world's children. The resolution highlighted that the

foundations of a culture of peace includes among other factors, education for conflict

resolution, promotion of human rights, gender equality, tolerance and community-

building (General Assembly, Resolution A/53/243, 1999). The United Nations

declaration of a decade for a culture of peace and non-violence for the children of the

world was "a mobilizing force for efforts to bring about some of the significant changes

in global politics and institutions intended to avoid the scourge of war" (Reardon, 2001,

p. 20). Among international organizations, the United Nations Educational Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was the first to give voice to a deeper understanding of

redeeming human society from war, and moving toward a culture of peace (Reardon,

2001). According to de Rivera (2004), the U.N. program for a culture of peace proposed

a positive peace based on justice and human rights.

Additionally, a peace culture is defined as one that "promotes peaceable

diversity" (Boulding, 2000a, p. 1). Boulding (2000a) emphasized that a culture of peace

incorporates beliefs, values, and behavior that promote caring and an appreciation of

difference. Boulding (2000b) further declared that a culture of peace leads people to live with one another "without the aid of structured power differentials, to deal creatively with their differences, and share their resources" (p. 196). However, Boulding (2000a) acknowledged that it perhaps would not be possible to find perfect peace cultures because all societies will have some conflicts. Reardon (2001) interpreted cultures of peace more subjectively, asserting that representations of a culture of peace, besides being found in nations, can also be found in families and communities. From Reardon's perspective, though a culture of peace can exist at all levels of human society, the possibility cannot be achieved without establishing the "value base" (p. 59) for the development of human capacities, empathy, and positive citizenship through education. Additionally, she underscored that in order to build a culture of peace, education must include environmental sustainability, social responsibility, and gender equity.

On a similar note, Basabe and Valencia (2007) advocated a culture of peace founded on societal structures such as "democracy, open communication, and gender equality that are the opposite of the hierarchical structures, secrecy, and male dominant characteristics of a culture of war" (p. 406). Bar-Tal (2011) postulated that though a peace culture encompasses many different elements, its central foundations are reconciliation and tenets of peace. He underscored that a culture of peace needs to replace a culture of conflict in a conflict zone, and further stated that peace education is a fundamental means to achieve this essential change. Reardon (2001) also underscored that schools are the institutions most essential to education for a culture of peace, and that teachers are the most responsible and significant agents for promoting a culture of peace.

It is due to the emphasis on the role of teachers as peace educators that this study included school teachers as research participants and examined their views pertaining to peace and peace education. Moreover, it has been critical to examine their views on the role that peace education can play in alleviating tensions and conflicts in Pakistan, particularly from the perspective of girls. The following section sheds light on the literature related to peace education.

Peace Education

What is peace education, and what does it encompass and accomplish? This component of the literature review offers answers to these questions and examines the main characteristics of peace education. Peace education can have varied meanings for people in different settings, and the content covered can also vary according to the contexts in which it is practiced (Groff, 2002; Bar-Tal, 2002; Harris, 2004; Oord, 2008; Salomon, 2002). Harris (2004) was of the view that the growing field of peace education has encompassed at least five different types of education:

1. International education
2. Human rights education
3. Development education
4. Environmental education
5. Conflict resolution education.

However, Harris (2004) found "a family resemblance" (p. 6) in the five types of education mentioned above. Oord (2008) concurred that "peace education is not a monolithic entity" (p. 51) and, on similar lines, Jones (2006) considered that the

initiatives of peace education are wide-ranging and that it integrates at least two subfields: human rights education and conflict resolution education. Other scholars considered moral education as an integral part of peace education (Harris & Morrison, 2003; Ayers, 2004).

Moving on from the diverse dimensions that peace education has incorporated within its domain, Morrison, Austad, and Cota (2011) focused more on its deeper aspects, underscoring that peace education begins at the personal level and then moves out into a wider scope: "Peace education begins with each one of us as individuals, and moves out into issues of the wider world" (p. 177). Thus, from their perspective, the field includes accepting values, attitudes, and behaviors that lead to harmony with oneself and others. The current research also postulated that peacebuilding and peace education can begin on the individual and personal level at home and that mothers can play a role in incorporating values of peace in their children, leading to harmony within self, community, and country. Therefore, besides teachers, stay at home mothers were also included as participants in this study so that they could voice their viewpoint on peace and elaborate on values they incorporated in their children's upbringing.

Elucidating on peace education, Fountain (1999) provided a definition by the Peace Education Working Group at UNICEF:

> The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to
> bring about behavior change that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent
> conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and

to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Fountain, 1999, p. 3).

Additionally, Harris and Morrison (2003) considered peace education as both a philosophy and a process. The process, they suggested, consists of empowering people with expertise and knowledge to create a safe world, while the philosophy teaches nonviolence, empathy, and veneration for all life. Moreover, peace education "empowers" (p. 85) in the sense that it has enabled people to develop capacities "to become effective citizens and change agents" (p. 85).

Furthermore, Salomon (2002) identified three categories of peace education; the first is the category of peace education for "intractable regions" (p. 6) where conflicts are ongoing. Salomon's standpoint is that in regions of intractable conflicts, peace education faces numerous challenges such as "collectively held animosities, shared painful memories, and common national or ethnic views of self and others" (p. 7). Peace education in this category attempts mainly to change mindsets that pertain to the "other;" examples of regions of intractable conflict that Salomon (2002) gave are Northern Ireland, Israel-Palestine, Cyprus, and Rwanda. The second category of peace education is in regions where interethnic tensions prevail. Salomon envisioned the second category as one where, even though interethnic, racial, or tribal tensions have prevailed, there have been no acts of explicit and visible aggression between these groups. The examples Salomon gave for such regions included Belgium, Germany, and the Black, Latino, and Native Americans in the USA. The third category of peace education, according to Salomon, is education in regions of relative tranquility where there are no specific

ongoing conflicts. He proposed that peace education plays a crucial role even in peaceful regions by cultivating a respect and concern for peace. However, Salomon did not identify regions that fall under the category of relative calm and tranquility. Pakistan perhaps comes nearest to Salomon's definition pertaining to regions of intractable conflict because conflicts have been ongoing there for the last several years.

Moving from categories of peace education, it is relevant to identify its objectives as highlighted in the literature. Danesh (2008) maintained that peace education develops peaceful outlooks, fosters critical thinking, supports emotional well-being, and encourages innovative action. Thus students, with the help of teachers and often parents, begin to relate to and pragmatically apply the principles of peace in their personal, family, and community lives. Reimers and Chung (2010) elaborated that peace education endeavors to teach people to work out their differences in respectful, empathetic, tolerant, and therefore non-violent ways. Also, because peace education is based on human rights education, "it aims to reduce incidences of violent political conflict" (p. 505). Most markedly, the mission of peace education, whether carried out in schools or out of school, is to teach youngsters to give legitimacy to the other side's collective narrative, to empathize, and to develop positive attitudes toward non-violence (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Salomon, 2004). This has been one of the biggest challenges that peace education faces in regions of conflict and tensions (Rosen & Salomon, 2011).

Elaborating on the goals of peace education, Bar-Tal (2002) stated that these are categorically different from traditional educational objectives in that peace education requires a different pedagogy. Moreover, Bar-Tal considered peace education as "teacher

dependent" (p. 33). Harris and Morrison (2003) highlighted that peace educators have focused on three different levels, namely peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. They further underscored that peace education "empowers" (p. 85) because it enables people to develop capacities "to become effective citizens and change agents" (p. 85). Therefore, in order to implement peace education, teachers have to possess the skill and knowledge to be motivated to carry it out (Bar-Tal, 2002; Reardon, 1988). Teachers can play an important role in promoting peace and have a moral and ethical responsibility to make both schools and society more just. As such, teacher educators should consider the issues of equity between people as central to the creation of positive peace (Christopher & Taylor, 2011). However, Bar-Tal (2002) argued that if the objectives of peace education are to be achieved, such education cannot be an isolated project implemented in schools. "Peace education in schools, without a wider societal campaign, is fruitless and disconnected from social reality" (p. 31).

Peace education, as seen in the review of literature, has included diverse fields under its umbrella and has been employed differently in different contexts. Moreover, in today's world of intrastate conflicts, it has become a tool for equipping people with strategies for conflict resolution and peace-building. The next section highlights the outlook on peacebuilding as expressed by mainstream literature. Understanding peacebuilding was significant from the perspective of this dissertation research because the study focused on comprehending grassroots women's perceptions of peace as well as on their contributions to peace and peacebuilding in the home, the community, and in the country.

Peacebuilding

The concept of peacebuilding was promoted by Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992), a former United Nations Secretary General. In his Agenda for Peace, he defined post-conflict peacebuilding as an "action to identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (p. 823). Boutros-Ghali (1995), in his Supplement to the Agenda for Peace, developed the concept further and used the term to refer to both pre- and post-conflict measures, thus peacebuilding now included among other things, "the control of small arms, institutional reform,…..and the monitoring of human rights" (para. 47). In the supplement, the long-term mission of peacebuilding was described as the "creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace" (para. 49).

Since the concept was first introduced, many peace researchers have employed peacebuilding as an overarching term for processes involved in conflict prevention and resolution (Lederach, 1995; Schirch, 2004). Schirch stated that peacebuilding aims to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, and at the same time, it empowers people to build relationships at all levels. Schirch (2004) further emphasized that transformation and relationship building are key principles of all peacebuilding programs because the objective is to "transform individuals, families, communities, businesses, structures, and governments away from destructive expressions of conflict and toward constructive growth and development" (p. 45).

While Schirch (2004) considered transformation and relationship building as most relevant to peacebuilding, Riemann (2004) asserted that the three key principles for

peacebuilding are transformation, conflict settlement, and resolution. Conflict settlement approaches have focused on negotiations (Lederach, 1997), whereas transformative approaches have endeavored to initiate dialogue among grassroots, middle, and top level leaders (Kaye, 2011).

More importantly, Lederach (1997; 2005) underscored that an important factor that theories of peacebuilding must acknowledge is that of cultural knowledge in particular conflict settings because requirements for peacebuilding will differ according to the cultural context. Furthermore, Kaye (2011) emphasized the significance of getting to the root of the causes of conflict in a particular setting in order to determine appropriate strategies for peacebuilding. For example, Fearon and Laitin (2003) observed that protracted conflicts occur specifically in countries marked by poverty; in this respect, Kaye (2011) underscored that economic prosperity provides a key to lasting peacebuilding in regions of prolonged violence.

Doyle and Sambanis (2000) considered endeavors toward strengthening of state institutions, broader political participation, land reform, and respect for ethnic identities as ways of contributing to peacebuilding. Thus, for them, peacebuilding is akin to fostering the social, economic, and political institutions and attitudes. "Just as civil wars are usually about failures of legitimate state authority, sustainable civil peace relies on its successful reconstruction. Peacebuilding is about what needs to be done in between" (p. 799).

On a completely different note, Plonski (2005) proposed the intersection of a variety of peacebuilding and educational initiatives as paramount to building a culture of

peace, and considered peacebuilding and peace education as closely related disciplines because, according to her, peace education provides the gear for peace-building. Schirch (2004) also advocated for the inclusion of peacebuilding in educational endeavors because "each type of education has the potential to foster love and respect between people, and can be critical in building peace" (p. 57).

However, according to McKay (2002) mainstream peacebuilding literature has not satisfactorily identified the contributions of grassroots people, including women, toward peace-building. For McKay, it is feminist literature on peace and peacebuilding that stresses the significance of including the standpoints of grassroots peacebuilding groups, and recognizes their contributions to peace. The next section describes peace from a feminist perspective.

Gender Standpoint and Peace from Feminist Perspectives

Hudson (2009) stated that feminist thinking offers a vision of security and peace through the lens of gender, which provides a comprehensive and wide-ranging analysis. A gender lens is used to examine the different roles men and women play, and the ways in which their identities are molded (Harris, 2011). By focusing on gender in conflict settings, feminists have studied the "differential impact of conflict on men and women, and the unique experiences that both groups bring to the peace table" (Hudson, 2009, p. 288). Hence, a gender perspective has sifted experiences of the two genders as separate entities and has examined how gender identity influences attitudes and behaviors in violent zones and crisis situations (Baines, 2005; Caprioli, 2005; Cockburn, 2004; El-Bushra & Piza-Lopez, 1993; Hudson, 2009; Nargahi Anderlini, 2011; Piza-Lopez, 2010).

In addition, adopting a gender perspective is all the more crucial because most conflicts today are internal rather than international wars, and civilians, especially women, are often targets. More than 80 percent of casualties worldwide have been women and children, and they have also accounted for more than 75 percent of the 40 million displaced by conflict or human rights abuses (Asian Human Right Commission, 2000). In Pakistan alone, thousands of people, mainly unarmed women, have been affected by displacement in the northern areas due to intense fighting between Pakistan's security forces and the Taliban (Dawn, 2011; Norway Refugee Council, 2011). Thus, the purpose of the present study was to understand grassroots women's standpoint on peacebuilding in Pakistan, with a related goal of making their viewpoints available to policy makers for more inclusive peace-building policies in the future.

Literature on gender and conflict has been emerging and evolving since the last twenty years (Thompson, 2006); yet, most studies often have assumed men as perpetrators of violence and women as victims. The reality, however, is different because men and women are impacted by conflict in different ways (Caprioli, 2005; El-Bushra & Piza-Lopez, 1993; Naraghi Anderlini, 2006). Though it is crucial to employ a gender perspective in conflict and peacebuilding analysis, Cockburn (2004) considered most conflict and peace studies as gender-blind, and Caprioli's (2005) viewpoint was that such studies are either gender neutral, or only take a "male-centric" (p. 162) approach. Disagreeing with both neutrality and male-centeredness, she accentuated that a gender standpoint, which considers perspectives of women separately from those of men, is key to understanding not only conflict situations but also peacebuilding processes.

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Concurring with these views, Naraghi Anderlini (2011) indicated that despite the relevance of the gender perspective, it has been "at best ad hoc" (p. 4) in conflict studies. She emphasized the need for adopting a gendered stance because such a stance has added depth to our understanding of conflict and non-conflict situations, and has been crucial in launching peacebuilding initiatives. In fact, she asserted that "gender sensitivity draws attention to the human dimensions of fragility, pointing to possible solutions and change agents that could mitigate and prevent violence, or contribute to conflict transformation" (Naraghi Anderlini, 2011, p. 1).

Though a gender analysis has afforded authenticity and substance to the concept of peace and security, offering "a bottom-up foundational logic" (Hudson, 2009, p. 291), voices of women remain unheard, and their efforts towards peace-building at the grassroots level continue to be unrecognized (Dyfan, Haver, & Piccirilli, 2004). These scholars further asserted that women, whether as community leaders or at the grassroots level, can no longer be excluded from formal peace processes while warlords and leaders of fighting parties, "historically all male, have seats at the table" (p. 2). McKay (2004) was of the viewpoint that despite being left out of the public arena, women's peacebuilding has had a significant impact in restoring normalcy within postwar countries. Women peace builders typically have worked at the community levels where they have emphasized processes such as reconciliation, which in turn have contributed to peace and security (de la Rey & McKay, 2006).

Regarding the definition of peace and peacebuilding from a feminist perspective, peace has represented its positive aspect pertaining to absence of structural as well as

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direct violence (Plonski, 2005). As such, peacebuilding has encompassed not only rebuilding efforts in post-conflict settings, but has also included endeavors towards equality and justice. Thus, peacebuilding is defined as the "ability of women, men, girls, and boys in their own cultures to promote conditions of nonviolence, equality, justice and human rights of all people, to build democratic institutions, and to sustain environment" (Mazurana & McKay, 1999, p. 9). Additionally, Reardon (1993) argued that peacebuilding is incomplete and unjust if it aims to end direct violence only. She stressed that peace building must also aim toward changing of social structures which contribute to the inequality in society.

Within the emerging body of gender studies literatures on peacebuilding, at least three themes have emerged (United Nations, 2002). The first theme has concentrated on the impact of armed conflict on women, gender relations, and gender roles (United Nation, 2002; Baines, 2005). The second theme has highlighted the ways international humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping operations spread or reduce unequal gender relations within a specific population (Clifton & Gell, 2001; United Nations, 2002). The third theme has focused on the relative absence of women in positions of decision making processes in formal institutions considered central to peace-building (Baines, 2005; Stiehm, 2001; United Nations, 2002).

Underscoring the need to bring women to the forefront in peacebuilding and to hear their perspectives, Hudson (2009) stated that on the one hand, considering gender in peacebuilding increases chances of successful planning and implementation in post-conflict settings; while on the other hand, marginalization of women in peace-building is

a threat not only to women's rights, but it is also a risk for general failure of peace-building as an enterprise (Hudson, 2009). As such, "ignoring gender dynamics and excluding women from peace negotiations inhibits implementation of the resulting agreements" (Baines, 2005, p. 6). In fact, women have often played decisive roles in negotiating the peace process. They have successfully contributed to peace processes in several regions. For example, in Liberia, the Women's Peace Initiative made major strides toward a peaceful resolution of the fourteen-year conflict by pushing for disarmament of the warring groups before signing a peace accord. In other war-torn countries such as Guatemala, Burundi, Cyprus, Bosnia, and South Africa, women's peace organizations and coalitions have played a crucial role in helping to bring about peace (USAID, 2007). However, the USAID report stated that despite some progress over the past decade, "women tend to fade into the background when it comes to rebuilding destroyed economies and reconstructing war-torn societies" (p. 4).

Gender mainstreaming has provided not only substantial improvements in women's lives, but its advantages can go far beyond improved gender relations (Hudson, 2009). In fact, including the gender considerations in conflict and peacebuilding can empower women, and "lead to new social, economic and political realities that redefine gender" (Meintjes, Pillay, & Turshen, 2002, p. 7). Peacebuilding without gender mainstreaming has faced two major threats to its success: first, the reconstruction often has been disconnected due to the fact that while women activists are preoccupied by grassroots human rights violations, the warring parties and external actors strike deals without the women's participation. Second, differential security needs and particular

rights of women have been overlooked, and are consequently under-resourced within the security sector reform in such processes (Hudson, 2009, p. 297). Therefore, threats to the success of peacebuilding can only be alleviated with a focus on women as agents in political and social life. In a foreword to the study on Women, Peace and Security, former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan said, "only if women play a full and equal part can we build the foundations for enduring peace, development, good governance, human rights and justice" (United Nations, 2002).

Though mainstreaming gender in peacebuilding can re-conceptualize the peace agenda in more comprehensive ways, it is imperative to understand that "a culturally contextual gender analysis is a key tool for feminist theory of peacebuilding, and the practice of implementing a gender perspective in all peace work" (Hudson, 2009, p. 289). Consequently, Hudson accentuated that women's varied experiences cannot be understood without referring to the context in which these diverse experiences take place. Critical feminist frameworks have highlighted not only the centrality of a gender standpoint in peace and conflict studies, but have also placed corresponding emphasis on the differences of women's experiences in cultural contexts.

Moving on to the discipline of peace education, Brock-Utne (2009) was of the view that even in this field the work of women is rarely recognized, even though they are often the backbone of many peace organizations. Brock-Utne asserted that in the curricula for peace education, women are almost invisible. Citing the example of history books, she said that these are more akin to "his-story" books, unfolding conflict and wars started by men. She further emphasized that "it is difficult to educate youngsters on peace

when the textbooks youngsters are required to read are mostly on war" (p. 215). Reardon (2001) entwined gender equality with peace, and emphasized that equality between men and women is an essential condition for a culture of peace. Such a system would take fully into account the potential and actual roles of women in public policy and peace-making. Thus Reardon advocated education for gender equality as an indispensable component of peace education.

Women's Contributions to Peace

Even before World War I began, there were enterprising women's groups that worked for advocacy of peace and human welfare. Among such organizations were Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association, and later, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Boulding, 2000a). In 1915, a noteworthy women's conference was held at The Hague under difficult conditions where more than 1,000 women from 12 countries met under the leadership of an American woman, Jane Addams, to protest against war and discuss strategies for a peace agreement (Dungen & Wittner, 2003).

More recently, in Britain, the women who maintained a permanent peace camp at the Greenham Common nuclear missile base for nearly 20 years achieved worldwide attention during the 1980's. Today, women are again in the forefront of the direct action Trident Ploughshares campaign, which intends to disarm the UK Trident nuclear weapons system in a nonviolent way (Dungen & Wittner, 2003).

Additionally, the U.N. and other international actors in the field have increasingly recognized the contribution of women in helping to rebuild war-torn societies. In 2000,

Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, beckoned a change for adopting comprehensive policies by documenting women as active agents in the implementation of peace-building. Subsequently, women's resistance to violence now has been recognized as a contributing factor in local and international peace movements, and Resolution 1325 has become a milestone in the recognition of women's rights in policy, and in international human rights (El-Bushra, 2007; Gizelis, 2009).

Regarding individual contributions made by women to peace, Stiehm (2006) specially focused on women who have won the Nobel Prize for Peace. She declared that these women had a vision and a commitment for action, and some even faced imprisonment in the process. Stiehm further elaborated that the prize winners have either been women of titled nobility, or they have simply been subsistence farmers; interestingly, some of them have held doctorates while others have been barely schooled.

One such charismatic leader of the women's peace movements in the pre-World War I years was Baroness Bertha von Sutter of Austria whose novel Die Waffen Neider (Down with Arms) became a best seller, and was translated into several languages. In fact, it was she who persuaded Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, to initiate the Peace Prize which she won in 1905 (Ferrell, 2001). World War I evoked further feminist initiatives for peace (Carter, 1992) and one of the most prominent peace leaders was the American woman, Jane Addams (Cortright, 2008). As a result of Addams's efforts, the Women's International League for Peace was formed and has continued running successfully since its inception. Also, in 1931 Addams was the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize (National Women's History Museum, 2007).

According to Stiehm (2006), Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma challenged established powers and sought justice for her homeland in nonviolent ways. She received the Nobel Prize in 1991 when she was under house arrest; her commitment to peace and democracy continues. Shirin Ebadi of Iran, who received the prize in 2003, was a lawyer by profession and an advocate for human rights in Iran. She particularly focused on the rights of women and children. Ebadi described her own work as being the speaker for "silent people."

For Wangari Muta Maathai of Kenya, the Greenbelt movement of planting trees and saving was only the first step – her goals included giving women confidence, generating income for them, and empowering them. She won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 for her approach to development, human rights, and women's rights (Stiehm, 2006).

Latest in the addition of Nobel Peace Prize winners are three women who shared the prize in 2011: Leymah Gbowee, the central organizer of a non-violent campaign in Liberia; President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, also of Liberia, and the first woman to be elected President in modern Africa; and Tawakkol Karman of Yemen, a journalist and prodemocracy campaigner. Besides acknowledging the contributions of these women from Africa and the Arab world, a crucial aspect that the joint prize has demonstrated is that women persevere year after year in patience and action toward their goal. The three women have become symbols of the power of women's work in peacebuilding (Thistlethwaite, 2011). Thus, contributions of women to peace movements, whether individual or collective, have been no small feat. The following section focuses on studies relevant to women as peace-builders in society and in education.

Women as Peace-builders

While there are several theoretical studies from the standpoint of women's significance in peacebuilding and peace education, empirical research focusing specifically on women in these areas has been limited even though the fields have started to grow steadily in recent years. The few studies examined in this section not only shed light on women's understanding of peace and their role in peacebuilding and peace education, but also provide support for this dissertation research.

One such study by Abu-Saba (1999) focused on post-conflict Lebanon, which according to her had been a zone of intense violence for 17 years. Her viewpoint was that amid the vast devastation in Lebanon, women frequently raised persistent calls for peace and sanity. The purpose of Abu-Saba's article was to present peacebuilding programs offered by women working for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to alleviate effects of direct and indirect violence in the region. Abu-Saba considered the human needs theory proposed by Galtung (1994) as an avenue by which peace-builders can be involved in assuaging direct and structural violence. The needs theory offered a way of resolving conflict through satisfaction of mutual wants and necessities. Abu-Saba's (1999) standpoint was that in a war-saturated environment, women reach out to help others in satisfying needs for security and well-being. "In doing so, women provide the avenue by which they liberate themselves from their own oppression" (p. 38). Moreover, according to Abu-Saba, these women "acted out of their role as nurturer and caretaker…." (p. 41). She further emphasized that peacebuilding in Lebanon (at the time

the article was written) signified building bridges between factions and sects that were involved in the civil war.

Citing efforts by Lebanese women NGOs to collaborate in peace projects and set examples for women in similar situations, the first project discussed in Abu-Saba's (1999) study was one developed and implemented by the Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SIGI), an NGO whose specific goal was to raise awareness of women's rights. SIGI developed a human rights educational manual with the objective of raising consciousness among women particularly in Muslim societies. The method involved small groups of women within their local settings to examine the sayings and attitudes of their faith and culture that benefit women and those that do not.

The women participants were also introduced to the universal human rights concepts such as the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). A major premise of SIGI's human rights educational manual was that there was no contradiction between human rights and Islam, citing for example that Mohammed the Prophet offered rules that elevated women's status above the accepted norms of his contemporary society. Therefore, SIGI members emphasized that the Quran be interpreted bearing in mind its original intent and within the context of present day human rights. In the process, women became aware of their rights and were encouraged to seek endorsement for their rights within their own religious tradition.

The second project that Abu-Saba (1999) discussed was the People's Rights Movement (PRM) which promoted nonviolence and tolerance for gender, sect, and class in Lebanese schools. Its leaders trained school teachers and wrote curricula for promoting

peace-building. The then leader of the PRM, a woman, Ugarite Younan, also worked with UNICEF to revise the curriculum of history and civics textbooks. According to Abu-Saba, by focusing on the education of youth, PRM attempted to undo the structural violence which instigated strife among 18 different religious sects in Lebanon. She added that PRM also focused on creating egalitarian relationships, and a society tolerant of sect, class, gender, and peaceful settlements of conflicts.

The descriptive study by Abu-Saba (1999) was an example of the work that women have been doing in peacebuilding. Even though Abu-Saba's (1999) work did not focus on grassroots women's efforts, it did provide information about ways in which grassroots women can be led toward peace-building and emancipation. Abu-Saba's study was relevant for this dissertation project because in societies such as Pakistan, it would be highly appropriate to initiate similar campaigns for grassroots women to explain that Islam is not against their rights; this will not only raise awareness of rights but also help in raising their critical consciousness. However, it would have been pertinent if Abu-Saba's study had included empirical research. If local women who had participated in the SIGI projects had been interviewed, the research could have contributed more to understanding what the women had acquired from the program and how women's lives changed since attending the SIGI programs.

The next study analyzed was by de la Rey and McKay (2006) who conducted empirical research and employed qualitative methodology to explore women's perspectives of peacebuilding in the South African context. The authors' posited that peacebuilding was frequently viewed as post-conflict societal reconstruction without

considering either the cultural context or gender. Using a feminist participatory methodology, de la Rey and McKay examined South African women's understandings of peacebuilding and investigated how these perceptions (of peacebuilding) are determined by gender and context. Besides examining the meanings South African women attributed to peacebuilding, de la Rey and McKay also compared meanings assigned by participants with those mostly used within mainstream international frameworks. Their findings pointed to gender and context specific aspects of peacebuilding.

For their qualitative study, de la Rey and McKay (2006) collected data through a workshop. Regarding recruitment of participants, they met with a number of individuals and NGO's in South Africa to learn of their interest in women and peace-building. Depending on their interest, the meetings led to several of the individuals becoming members of an advisory group, and a two-day workshop was then designed after consultations with this group.

The workshop brought together sixteen women leaders in South Africa who were involved in peacebuilding. As individuals, they represented diverse ethnic backgrounds, regions, religions, and ages. The workshop, which was facilitated by two women identified by the advisory group, focused on the meanings of peacebuilding, real life experiences of peace-building, and challenges to achieving a peaceful society. All participants were active contributors, and one author was the recorder and the other a participant observer. The proceedings were recorded on audio and videotapes.

Each researcher conducted thematic analyses separately and later compared and verified each other's analysis; this was followed by a check for correspondence across the

two researchers' accounts. The themes that emerged from the analysis regarding peacebuilding indicated images of a symbolic journey representing roads, trains, and wheels. Another critical feature concerning strategies for peacebuilding, as recognized by the group, related to addressing basic needs such as those of food, water, and shelter. The participants also identified the need for improved communication skills to keep the process of peacebuilding moving forward. According to de la Rey and McKay (2006), South Africa has 11 official languages, thus it was not surprising that communication skills were given high priority. Another factor participants identified was that of domestic violence as an obstruction to peacebuilding; for South African women, this was a critical concern. Furthermore, participants were highly conscious that women have been excluded from peacebuilding, and that their peacebuilding initiatives have been unrecognized and restricted due to lack of power. They felt that men were at the center, and that women were positioned at the periphery in South Africa. Respondents therefore stressed that efforts should be made to change the mindset of people in the country.

In studying how understanding of peace-building may be determined by gender and context, de la Rey and McKay (2006) found that in South Africa, human needs and communication strategies had a significant role. In comparing participants' perspectives with current mainstream definitions of peacebuilding, the authors identified that human needs and communication strategies typically have been lacking. As such, de la Rey and McKay argued that on the one hand it was relevant to employ peacebuilding processes that are meaningful within the contexts of different cultures, and on the other hand, it was also imperative to understand women's perspectives.

The research by de la Rey and McKay (2006) informed this dissertation study by demonstrating that culture, context, and gender does matter in peacebuilding. More importantly, it added to the relevance of the study because grassroots women's peace approaches were explored in the Pakistani cultural context. It was also evident from de la Rey and McKay's findings that contributions by women working for peace have not been recognized in the South African context. It therefore highlighted the importance of the dissertation study because one of its goals was to recognize women's voices and their contributions to peace.

In another qualitative study, Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) examined whether values, beliefs, and dispositions influenced Iranian students as well as their parents' stance on peace. The authors' outlook was that besides one's prior knowledge, peace-associated issues were also affected by other aspects such as beliefs and values. Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) therefore designed their research to study the perception of 18 Iranian secondary school female students about the concept of peace and the problem-solving process. Additionally, considering the family's role as a significant socializing agent, they examined the perceptions of participating students' parents to investigate whether students' and their parents' visions of peace were similar. The research questions pertained to Iranian female secondary school students' conceptions of peace, their views on how peace could be achieved, and whether the parents' conceptions of peace contributed to their daughters' views of peace.

Employing the qualitative technique of semistructured interviewing, the authors interviewed students individually, while parents (limited to two cases because only two

fathers participated) were interviewed together. In the other cases, each mother was interviewed separately. Since only two fathers participated, all participants in the study, barring two, were female. The interviews were conducted in Persian, which is the official language of Iran. Before the interview, students were presented with the following "scenario" (p. 252):

> The U.N. and related organizations (e.g. UNESCO and UNICEF) attempt to promote peace in the world. What is your conception of peace? In your opinion, what factors threaten our attaining peace? Imagine you are leaders of the world: how would you achieve peace in the world? (Hashemi & Shahraray, 2009, p. 252)

> While Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) elaborated that "parents received the same questions as the children" (p. 252), they did not clarify whether parents were also presented with the scenario that their children received. They also did not clarify whether the scenario was given as a written handout or if it was presented verbally.

Regarding selection of participants, the female students were selected through purposeful sampling based on their socio-economic status and education of parents in three localities of Tehran, Iran. Two schools, and three secondary female students of humanities from each school, were selected from three areas of Tehran representing high, middle, and low socio-economic districts for a total of 18 participating students. Parents of students selected from high socio-economic status had attained university education, whereas parents of students recruited from the middle socio-economic status had acquired high school education; the parents of students recruited from lower socio-economic status had received middle school education.

All interviews were audio-recorded and as mentioned earlier, parents were asked the same questions as their children. Students' and parents' interviews were transcribed and coded. Based on the three main components of the interview, themes were developed regarding conceptualization of peace, factors determining peace, and ways of achieving peace.

Findings from the students' data revealed that regardless of socio-economic status and parental education, there were similarities in students' conceptions of peace. Human solidarity, friendship, serenity, and the absence of war were the common pivotal characteristics of student participants' understanding of peace. However, one main factor that stood out was that views of students from high socio-economic status included protecting the environment and respecting the rights of others, whereas students from lower socio-economic status did not include the environment or rights of others in their answers. Also, answers of students from higher socio-economic status were more detailed and elaborate than the responses of students who came from middle and low socio-economic status. Regarding causes of conflict, statements of most students were based on their beliefs and value systems. Their emphasis was mainly on imbalance of power and development in the world.

There was variety in students' beliefs and values about how peace might be attained. For example, one student from a high socioeconomic district considered eliminating religious prejudice as key to attaining peace. Another student from the middle socioeconomic district felt that eliminating poverty and illiteracy were the main answers to achieving peace. Yet another student participant from the middle socioeconomic

district considered education and dispatching "peace maker groups to countries" (p. 255) as significant measures for establishing peace. Among students from the lower socio-economic district, one suggested employing knowledge from developed countries for development of weak countries "because the imbalance between them causes a gap in the world" (p. 255); she also considered providing knowledge to people regarding how to use natural resources as one aspect that could lead to peace. According to Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) some students did not represent clear beliefs about attaining peace; they specifically mentioned three students who said it was difficult to solve such problems. The authors, however, did not specify the socio-economic status of the three students who did not present clear beliefs on how to attain peace.

The analysis of the parents' interviews revealed that there was limited convergence between students' and their parents' views on peace. While parents also included ideas such as friendship, justice, and absence of poverty in their perceptions of peace, they did not have views similar to their children's regarding achieving peace. In only five interviews did a relative convergence between parents' and students' beliefs emerge. For instance, one participant mother expressed similar beliefs as her daughter regarding elimination of poverty and illiteracy in order to achieve peace. Another mother, like her daughter, relied on religious beliefs to explain how peace could be actualized. Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) also stated that "most of the parents did not present a detailed analysis of how to attain peace" (p. 257), and "expressed only a general view of how peace can be achieved" (p. 257).

In their research, Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) considered it probable that students' schemata for peace are affected by other socialization sources such as teachers, peers, and media. The authors concluded that beliefs and values contribute to framing people's thinking and cognition. They found this particularly applicable in the context of girls from the lower socio-economic stratum of society. Additionally, their research suggested that students" conceptions of peace did not entirely coincide with their parents, regardless of their socio-economic status and parental education.

According to Hashemi and Shahraray (2009), their research indicated that girls in Iran (at least the participants), regardless of their socio-economic status and parental education, were aware and alert about peace and peace-building strategies. The authors, therefore, emphasized that people should not hold stereotypes or have prior assumptions about girls from low socio-economic strata as being unaware or uninformed, even in patriarchal cultures like Iran and in other countries.

The study by Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) informed my research to the extent that it employed a qualitative methodology, and because the research questions pertained to participants" perceptions of peace. More importantly, it was interesting to compare the views expressed by Iranian mothers with those expressed by Pakistani mothers, even though my study had participants only from the lower socio-economic strata of society. Furthermore, Hashemi and Shahraray's (2009) study provided motivation for conducting further research beyond the dissertation by including participants from all strata of society.

Moving on from peacebuilding to peace education, Deveci, Yilmaz, and Karadag (2008) explored pre-service teachers' perceptions of peace and peace education. Though not all participating teachers were women, this study has been included because among the 26 participants, a majority, i.e. 19 were female pre-service teachers, and only 9 were male.

The study by Deveci et al. (2008) highlighted the significance of peace education during primary school years. The authors considered it crucial to identify pre-service teachers' opinions and attitudes toward peace education as this shed light for those who prepare and develop curricula for teacher education programs. The main purpose of the study was to determine pre-service teachers' perceptions of peace education. The research questions included studying the opinions of pre-service teachers on the following aspects:

- Peace education

- The need for peace education in primary schools

- Primary school courses that should include peace education

- Engaging in activities that may improve awareness about peace education in primary schools

- The dream school profile of teachers relating to peace education.

The 26 participants included students (pre-service teachers) enrolled in primary school teacher training programs in the Primary Education Department at Anadolu University in northern Cyprus. In order to determine pre-service teachers' perceptions about peace education, data was collected using the qualitative method of semi-structured

interviews. In addition, through the employment of a survey method, data obtained from interviews were analyzed and expressed quantitatively.

Questions asked during the semi-structured interviews related to the participants' perceptions of peace and peace education. Criterion sampling, a purposeful sampling method, was utilized to determine criteria for inclusion of participants in the study. Data was transcribed, coded, and analyzed by Deveci et al. (2008), and the five questions asked of all pre-service teacher participants were as follows:

1. What comes to your mind when you first think about peace and peace education? (p. 68).

2. Do you think peace education is a necessary inclusion in primary schools? Why or why not? (p. 70).

3. Into which primary school courses should peace education be integrated? (p. 71).

4. What should be done to improve peace education awareness? (p. 73).

5. What is your dream school/education profile related to peace education? (p. 74).

Findings indicated that besides associating peace with a life without nuclear weapons, participants also connected peace with serenity, friendship, tolerance, and equality. Their definitions of peace education included raising people's awareness about peace, accepting differences among people, and building ideas of solidarity, equality, justice, and tolerance in students. They also defined peace education as convincing

students to live in harmony, to respect others' opinions, and to create a peaceful living atmosphere.

For responses to the question concerning the need for including peace education in primary schools, a majority of participant pre-service teachers said it was necessary to incorporate peace education at the primary level. On the other hand, two participants who objected to the inclusion of peace education within the curricula, specified that "inconsistencies between what is taught and what is demonstrated in front of the children were their main reason" (p. 70). Most respondents said that the primary school courses that should integrate peace education were social studies, civics, and life knowledge. Participants' opinions regarding conducting possible activities in primary schools that could improve awareness about peace and peace education included organizing a peace week and reading poems and articles on peace. When expressing views about their dream school, a main theme that emerged pertained to the school environment as being democratic and where a genuine relationship between teachers and students could be developed.

Analyzing the views of these teachers, Deveci et al. (2008) concluded that it would be appropriate to include peace education for students at the primary school level. The authors further asserted that change should be made within the curricula and teacher training programs. They also underscored that peace education should be a core component of teacher education programs.

The study by Deveci et al. (2008) was relevant from the standpoint of the dissertation research. First, the study was relevant because participant teachers in the

study also expressed views on peace, and on a specific kind of education that could lead to peace. Second, the participants in the Deveci et al. study were asked whether they had incorporated any peace strategies in their pedagogy, and participants in the dissertation study were also asked the same question. Therefore, the questions asked in the study by Deveci et al. provided guidance in defining questions asked of the teacher participants in the dissertation study. More importantly, the views expressed by Pakistani teachers on education that could contribute to peace were compared to opinions of teachers in the research conducted by Deveci et al.

The next project, also related to peace education and peace educators, was Kirk and Mak's (2005) exploratory research in which they focused on lives and experiences of 15 women in Montreal who were peace educators but working in different ways and in different schools. Kirk and Mak (2005) postulated that schools have been a major influence in the socialization of children and in helping them to learn to live in a community. In their study, Kirk and Mak (2005) examined views of teachers regarding their experiences as peace educators.

Based on focus group and individual semi-structured interviews, the research included classroom visits as part of data collection strategies. Kirk and Mak (2005) employed video and audio technology for recording interviews and group discussions. Interestingly, they also analyzed the video and worked it into a thirty-two minute bilingual video, which they call Women Educating for Peace Project to stimulate reflection from groups of teachers. According to the authors, the video has already been used in many teacher workshops.

The primary focus of Kirk and Mak (2005) was neither on classroom activities nor on teaching strategies; instead, their focus was on the women teachers" lives and experiences. Kirk and Mak's main emphasis was on women's stories relating to their philosophies and experiences of educating for peace. Moreover, the purpose of the authors was to make an in-depth exploration of the personal dimensions of the women's lives and "to do so with a gender perspective" (p. 21). The emphasis of the Women Educating for Peace project was in investigating women's life experiences in teaching "in gaining insights into how they live their lives and negotiate their roles as women, mothers, wives, daughters, and teachers" (p. 21). Thus, the project positioned women teachers as active agents in peace-building processes and related their work to the broader issues of women, peace and security agendas. It also endeavored to examine how and why women have become active agents for peace in schools. The study also looked at women teachers' experiences of living out this commitment to peace.

The participants, all women educators interested in issues of peace and peacebuilding, were recruited via emails sent and forwarded through different formal and informal networks. Although the teacher participants did not necessarily refer to themselves as "peace educators," the topic of the project was obviously of considerable interest to them to volunteer participation. Some of the women knew each other from different projects in the past, but some had no previous contact with each other. The group was diverse and included educators from the French, English, and private school systems. Participants came from German, British, Rwandan, French, Colombian and

Chinese backgrounds, and their religious orientations were Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. All participating teachers worked at the primary level of education.

Data analysis revealed that these educators wanted to teach peace because some participants believed in the caring aspect of women, and others considered family members being affected in one way or another by conflict as a reason for getting involved in peace education and peacebuilding. According to one of the participants, the objective of peace education was never to allow wars to happen again. Another participant said that she had experienced violence and conflict in her country (Rwanda) and now wanted to reflect on how she could help change conditions for others. Others had sources of inspiration such as their mother's social work involvement.

In addition, participants talked about their own emerging theories of peace education and about activities they had used in the classrooms to raise students' awareness of peace. All of them affirmed that students did not have to agree at all times with each other's ideas, but at least they had a platform to discuss peace. Also articulated through the stories were the participants' understandings of what peace-building is and what it requires in the educational milieu. Rather than employing previously formulated theories of peace and peace education, the participants were working within broad social value frameworks. Through telling stories, sharing their experiences, and reflecting on experiences of others, they began to clarify relationships for themselves and to build their own theories of peace grounded in experience. One participant, sketching her theory, showed the need for head, heart, and hands to be involved in any peace-building activity. She explained that first one has to have the intention, then one needs to genuinely

welcome initiatives, and finally one needs the hands to carry out the deed. This theory of peacebuilding resonated with the whole group.

One challenge that all participants acknowledged was the difficulty to create changes in schools. Some said the difficulty was due to a few colleagues who were set in their views and did not want to consider other alternatives. Others said that some teachers thought that broaching the subject of conflict and peace could lead children to talk about things for which they were unprepared. Though Kirk and Mak (2005) stated that their project indicated that there was a lot to learn from what women are doing in classrooms for peace, they also acknowledged that the study was not evidence that all women are peace-builders.

Kirk and Mak's (2005) project was relevant for the dissertation research because it offered insight into why some women have become peace educators. Furthermore, the understanding gained through Kirk & Mak's (2005) work could be a starting point for dialogue with women who have wanted to work for promoting peace in other contexts and countries. Their project was also an inspiration for women to become peace educators and covered strategies for incorporating peace-building in classrooms.

While all studies analyzed so far have been qualitative in nature, the last study examined was Yablon's (2009) quantitative project, which focused on gender differences concerning peace and peace education. Based in the Israel and Palestine context, 180 high school students participated in a peace education program. Specifically, gender differences between male and female students were examined with a particular focus on their outlook on peace and the different benefits they gained from peace education

programs. A pre-post research design was used for studying predispositions as well as different contributions that peace encounters have for men and women.

The research sample consisted of 17-year-old students from one Israeli and one Arab high school. Israeli participants included 44 male and 52 female students, and Arab participants included 42 male and 42 female students. Participants from each school were randomly sampled, and four different questionnaires were used to measure the social relationships between the Israeli and Arab students. The answers were rated on a five point Likert scale (1 indicated very low support, and 5 indicated very high support). In addition, a 21 item "feeling check list" (p. 293) was adapted to the needs of the population, and these items were again rated on a five point Likert scale. The feeling check list, according to Yablon, was based on a valid, reliable, and established check list originated by Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999) Also, a 13 item questionnaire was used to measure participants" willingness to interact with someone from the other group.

Four Arab and four Israeli teachers were trained as moderators for students' workshops. The main phase of the project consisted of four face-to-face encounters between the two groups, held once a month. During the one-month intervals between meetings, students held weekly sessions in their own schools where they discussed issues related to the meetings in which they participated.

Two separate multivariate MANOVAs (gender × group) were used: one for studying gender and group differences before commencement of the peace program, and the other for studying gender and group differences after participation in the program. Before the start of the peace program, differences were found between genders, $F(1,86)$

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= 45.98; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.35 and not between groups. However, after participation in the program, differences were found between genders, F(4,82) = 30.11; p <0.001; Eta = 0.59, as well as between groups F(4,82) = 6.05; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.23. Female students in both Jewish and Arab groups were generally more positive than the male students toward members of the other group and demonstrated more affirmative feelings for each other than the male students.

Further reporting the findings pertaining to the main question of the study regarding gender differences in peace, Yablon (2009) highlighted that before participation in the peace program, differences between males and females were found with reference to willingness to participate in peace encounters, F(1,86) = 45.98; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.35] and feelings towards members of their conflict group, F(1,86) = 39.46; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.31].

After participation in the peace program, differences between males and females were found in three major aspects of peace. The first aspect was connected to the willingness to participate in future peace encounters: F(1,85) = 107.52; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.56. The second aspect was associated with the positive attitude toward members of their conflict group [F(1,85) = 6.57; p < 0.01; Eta = 0.07]. The third aspect was related to social distance [F(1,85) = 11.85; p < 0.001; Eta = 0.12. As such, both Israeli and Arab women appeared to be more optimistic and affirmative than men in these three aspects of peace.

Yablon's (2009) stance was that the findings supported the notion that women were more "dovish" (p. 697) than men with regard to peace. More importantly, the

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findings revealed "women's peace orientation" (p. 697). The female students not only rejected the use of force but also agreed to take action in order to enhance peace understanding. Additionally, they also gained more from the peace education program. Therefore, according to Yablon (2009), "peace programs and other forms of conflict resolution should be more gender sensitive, taking into account the differences between males and females, and the benefits they can derive from their participation in peace negotiations" (p. 698). Thus through a quantitative study, Yablon's research corroborated one of the intents of the dissertation study regarding inclusion of peace education for girls and women in Pakistani schools and highlighted the positive attitude of girls toward peace.

Peacebuilding and Peace Education in Pakistan

Pakistan, the context of this dissertation research, has been experiencing several interstate conflicts on the one hand and huge challenges because of its support of the United States War on Terror on the other (Insight on Conflict, 2012; Taveres, 2008). Though empirical studies related to peace education and peacebuilding in Pakistan are not available, specifically from the perspective of grassroots women, substantiation for motivation toward peace has developed in light of various peace institutes and women NGO's currently working in the country.

Wien (2010), in her article pertaining to peace education in Pakistan, particularly commended the Peace Education and Development Foundation (PEAD), which was established in Pakistan in 2003. A woman, Sameena Imtiaz was the founding head of PEAD and is working as its Executive Director. She has been conducting training on

peace and conflict resolution as well as on gender and human rights issues. The core areas of focus for PEAD include peacebuilding, gender mainstreaming, youth empowerment and the environment (PEAD, 2012). PEAD is also working in a partnership project with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in the NWFP (now renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 36 selected public schools in four districts. It is also working in partnership with the Hans Seidal Foundation in Germany, on a three-year program, for creating awareness of rights and responsibilities in youth (CARRY) in 22 public high schools (boys and girls) in districts Peshawar, Mardan, and Nowshera of NWFP (Wien, 2010).

PEAD has also launched the Peace Network Pakistan (PNP) in collaboration with Save the Children, Sweden. The objective of PNP is to create counter narratives to tackle radicalization, religious extremism and violence. A further aim of PNP is to become a part of an informed debate on peace-building and peace promotion (PEAD, 2012).

Like PEAD, another organization that has had commendable achievements to its credit is Open Minds Pakistan, an NGO, working on a project run in partnership with the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), UK. The project has provided training in journalism to young people aged 10-19 in selected schools and madrassas (religious schools providing Islamic education), and a huge achievement of the project is that it has trained youth from madrassas in vocational skills designed to attract young people away from violence and views that support violence (Wien, 2010).

Referring to the widespread ethnic and sectarian violence in Pakistan's largest city, Karachi, Pazhwak (2012) lamented that Karachi schools have yet to incorporate

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peace education, which could help alleviate local conflict. However, she said that recently, with the support of USIP, Peaceful Schools International (an international NGO based in Canada) has started working on education programs in 25 Karachi schools that will contribute to students' peace-building skills and work toward building nonviolent outlooks in students.

In another report, Iqbal (2005) reflected on a human rights program developed by a private school in Rawalpindi, which according to her, has contributed to creating a culture of peace. The school has been networking with 6 NGOs, 25 schools, and 5 international organizations. Iqbal further stated that the program has been renamed as the Peace and Human Rights Education Program. The private school also established the Center for Peace and Human Rights Education (CPHRE) in December, 2001.

Further, women's NGO's have endeavored to work for peace, human rights, and women's empowerment in the country. Among these is Awaz e Niswan (Voice of Women), which emphasizes strengthening the process of social development (Voice of Women, 2012). Another women's NGO is the Women Empowerment Literacy and Development Organization (WELDO). Founded in 2003, WELDO focuses on carrying out social, economic, and peacebuilding research. In the peacebuilding sector, WELDO has carried out initiatives aimed at analyzing the causes of conflict, sectarian violence, and religious extremism. Some of their direct interventions include building tolerance, respect, and peace (WELDO, 2012).

As seen from a review of peacebuilding efforts in Pakistan, a few steps indeed have been taken in terms of peacebuilding approaches. However, barring some evidence

regarding individuals who have been diverted from fundamentalist madrassa education and brought into the mainstream (PEAD, 2012; Wien, 2010), there is a lack of empirical data pertaining to the effects of peace-building strategies in Pakistan. Nonetheless, the first steps have been taken and the process needs to continue into the future.

This dissertation research endeavored to continue the process of peace initiated in Pakistan by seeking to understand participants' perceptions of peace and their views regarding contributions women have made for peace in the country. In giving voice to historically under-represented women, the study pragmatically followed an approach indicated by feminist literature of peacebuilding, and highlighted that it was crucial to incorporate perspectives of all segments of society for launching efforts in the path of positive peace. Consequently, considering grassroots women's standpoints and needs, future polices in peacebuilding and peace education in Pakistan could be developed more comprehensively.

Chapter Three: Method

The design and research methods employed for the current study are discussed in this chapter. In qualitative research, the purpose of the study is the main guide for design and data collection strategies (Patton, 2002). Similarly, Weiss (1994) stated that the methods of a research study are directed by its objectives and goals. The purpose of this qualitative study was to comprehend viewpoints of grassroots Pakistani women (stay at home mothers and school teachers) regarding peace and the contributions women make to peacebuilding in Pakistan. This project was guided by a critical feminist lens and provided a podium to disadvantaged women in the Pakistani patriarchal context to voice their views. To achieve the purpose of understanding participants" views of peace, three questions were examined:

1. What is peace in (underprivileged) Pakistani women's perspective?

2. What is peace in Pakistan in their experience?

3. In what ways do Pakistani women identify their contributions to peace?

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methodology was most apt for this study because qualitative researchers focus on aspects in their natural settings and endeavor to interpret phenomena "in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). Patton (2002) affirmed that qualitative designs are naturalistic because the research takes place

in real world settings. He further added that qualitative methods facilitate a detailed and in-depth study of issues. More importantly, by examining perspectives of participants, qualitative research has permitted researchers to determine how meanings are formed in different cultural contexts and to "enter the world of the participants, to see the world from their perspective, and in doing so make discoveries that will contribute to the development of empirical knowledge" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 6). Thus methods of qualitative inquiry were appropriate for this study because the aim was to comprehend meanings assigned by grassroots women to peace and their perspectives concerning peacebuilding within the cultural context of Pakistan. Moreover, Corbin and Strauss asserted that qualitative research methodologies deploy a wide range of interconnected practices for getting a better understanding of the issue being studied.

Critical Feminist Lens

The theoretical analysis of this inquiry, as discussed in the literature review was directed by feminist critical theory. Halpern (2002) recommended a feminist critical approach to data analysis as a significant and meaningful method that is focused, rational, and goal-oriented. Additionally, from the feminist standpoint, "knowledge is shaped by the social context of the knower; the perspective of groups marginalized by race, gender, or class is more complete because it reflects the experience of the disadvantaged within the dominant culture" (Wuest, 1995, p. 126). Wuest also added that in feminist research, there is a commitment to make generated knowledge available to those best able to use it, including the women participants, the general public, academics, practitioners, and policy makers.

Regarding studying peacebuilding from a feminist viewpoint, Hudson (2009) asserted that the evidence gathered (in studying peacebuilding) from a feminist perspective can be used to re-conceptualize the peace agenda in more inclusive ways. Hudson also posited that "a culturally contextual gender analysis is a key tool both for feminist theory of peacebuilding and the practice of implementing a gender perspective in all peace work (p. 289). Since Pakistan was the context for this study, I now move on to elaborate on the specifics of setting, participant selection, and methods for data collection and analysis employed in this research.

Setting

The locale for data collection was Karachi, the capital of the province of Sindh and the largest city of Pakistan. Karachi was preferred not only because it is the largest city of the country but also because it is ethnically diverse and is representative of the population of all four provinces of the country. In fact, Shah (2012) described Karachi as a cosmopolitan city representing ethnic populations, various political beliefs, and diverse economic status. Pertaining to significance of the research context, Glesne (2011) stated that selection of a research setting is built into the research problem; as such, researchers must have a rationale for site selection. Likewise, for Patton (2002) the primary focus of data collection is based on what is happening to individuals in a particular setting.

Venues for data collection within Karachi comprised two girls' schools from which teachers were interviewed. Access to these schools was facilitated by friends who are educators and social workers in Karachi. The reason for having many friends and acquaintances in the teaching profession in Karachi is because Pakistan is my country of

origin, and Karachi is the city where I was born, raised, and educated. I was also in the teaching profession in Karachi for over two decades and had been involved in voluntary social work as well.

While in the United Sates, I initiated contact with my educator friends in Karachi between February and June 2012 via phone, email, and Skype. This initial contact resulted in the selection of two girls' schools and participant teachers from both schools. Keeping in mind that the focus of my study was on underprivileged women, both selected schools are located in an area of low socioeconomic status. My initial plan was to interview teachers from one school only but this did not materialize due to the low positive response of teachers from that school.

The two schools, situated in an area of low socioeconomic standing in Karachi, were located at a distance of approximately four and a half kilometers from each other and are therefore positioned in the same vicinity. Both schools are run under private management; a local NGO is managing one school on a non-profit basis, and private owners are managing the other school on a small scale. The schools, registered with the Board of Secondary Education, Sindh, follow syllabi prescribed by the Board, and offered education up to matriculation, which is equivalent to U.S. tenth grade in the Pakistani educational system. All schools registered with the Board of Education are recognized by the provincial Ministry of Education, Sindh.

My contacts in Karachi obtained access to the schools by first explaining to the principals about my research project and subsequently seeking permission to speak with the teachers. In their meetings with teachers, they elucidated on my study and requested

voluntary participation. Stay at home mothers, whose daughters were studying in the two

schools, were contacted by the principals and requested to participate in the study. Details

related by the teachers and stay at home mothers who were willing to participate were

provided to me by the educator friends who had facilitated access to the schools. All

information given by my contacts was verified once I arrived in Karachi for data

collection.

After my arrival in Karachi on September 6, 2012, I contacted the principals of

the two schools selected for this research. Both principals were kind enough to arrange

meetings with teachers who had volunteered to participate in the study. The initial

meetings, though, very brief, facilitated a preliminary introduction with the participants.

These meetings also helped because I explained about my research in person and also

reassured the teachers about confidentiality procedures. Details of participants provided

by my contacts were also verified. In confirming details, I found minor discrepancies

concerning educational qualifications of the teachers. These inconsistencies were

rectified and an accurate account has been included in the segment on participant

selection.

Regarding prior meetings with the stay at home mothers who had volunteered to

participate in the research, the principal of one school arranged a meeting a couple of

days before the interviews began. However, it was not possible for the principal of the

second school to arrange a meeting with the mothers; she therefore asked each mother to

arrive earlier (on the day of the interview) than the scheduled time so that we could meet

each other briefly before the interview began. Details of stay at home mothers provided

by my contacts did not have any inconsistencies and have been included in the section containing details of all participants.

The teachers from both schools were interviewed in their respective schools after school hours. This decision was made in consultation with the principals and the teachers. On their own request, and again after consultation with the principals, the stay at home mothers also were interviewed on the school premises; however, since they had daughters currently studying in the two schools, they found it more convenient to be interviewed during school hours so that they could take their daughters home with them after school.

A sketch of the schools. The two schools, as already discussed, were located in an area of low socioeconomic status in Karachi. On entering the school gate of the NGO managed school, I came across a small but clean playground surrounded by neem trees, which are native to Pakistan and can be seen everywhere, even by the roadside in Karachi. A huge coconut tree grew on one side of the playground. On the extreme right, almost hidden by the trees, was a tiny tuck shop from which students could buy cookies and candy.

Once I crossed the playground, the first room encountered was that of the principal. This room appeared rather unkempt with dust accumulated on the principal's chair and table and also on the sofa set aside for guests. A heap of files and a newspaper was kept on the principal's table. Some books could be seen on one shelf, and a few awards (rusty silver plated shields with inscriptions) could be seen on the other. The principal explained later that the awards were given to students who had won

competitions in poetry recitations, sports, and other events arranged by the school as well as in interschool competitions within the area.

Stepping out of the principal's office, I saw the classrooms in which desks were arranged in straight rows. The desks looked worn out and the light beige paint of the walls was wearing off on several expanses. All the girls were in school uniform and pin drop silence prevailed in the classrooms. The only voices that could be heard were those of the teachers. Teachers spoke in such a loud voice that one could hear them even in the small hallway outside the principal's office. The only occasion on which I heard students' voices was during recess time. I was there during recess because I had arrived a little early for interviewing a mother. The school, during recess, had come alive with the sound of children's voices. All students, ranging from 6 to 16 were out of the classrooms, screaming with excitement as they ran and skipped on the small playground. Simultaneously, a number of girls flocked to the tiny tuck shop to get themselves some treats.

The school had two floors and the room provided for the interviews was on the second floor. Though the stairs leading to the room were creaky and steep, the room itself was quiet, airy, and comfortable with a lot of sunlight coming through. This room had until recently been a library which was now being moved to another area in the school; as such there were still a few books in Urdu and in English kept on the half empty shelves. The room had two chairs, a table and a small sofa. It was ideal for conducting interviews because there was no disturbance or distraction here. Therefore, all interviews were held in a peaceful, relaxed atmosphere.

The second school, i.e. the non-elite, small-scale private school, was situated in a very narrow building and had three floors. Of the three floors, the school owned only the two upper ones because the ground floor had small shops selling vegetables, flour, corn, rice, and other edible items. Each of the two upper stories had five small rooms; because the school could not accommodate students for all grades at the same time, it ran two shifts, morning and afternoon.

This school, because it was located on a narrow but busy street, had neither a playground nor a tuck shop. The principal's room was visible as soon as I climbed the steep stairs and arrived at the first floor. This room was so small, that besides the principal, only one other person could get inside to sit on a chair opposite that of the principal's. Like the principal's room in the NGO managed school, the small desk and two chairs were also heavily laden with dust. Outside the principal's office, I saw beautiful, handwritten posters, all in English, displayed on the white and grey walls. The posters displayed sayings such as "Every child deserves education," and "Education builds knowledge."

Of the four classrooms on the second floor, only two had worn out desks; in the other two rooms, little girls, around five and six years old, sat on the floor which was covered by clean rugs. All girls in this school were clad in their school uniform. On the second floor, however, all four classrooms had chairs and desks. The desks in each classroom also were placed in straight rows. In rooms where students sat on the floor, the arrangement was the same: the girls sat in straight rows, while the teacher sat facing them.

In this non-elite small-scale private school, the voices of teachers as well as those of students were audible. In one classroom, the teacher was asking questions of the students, and in another room, the teacher was reciting a nursery rhyme in Urdu and the little girls were echoing the words of the teacher in chorus.

The room provided to us for the interviews was on the second of the two owned by the school, but technically, this was the third floor of the building. The room was provided on an upper floor to reduce the effect of traffic din (mostly public buses), which could be heard at all times since this was a busy street. It was a small room and had a worn out refrigerator and three chairs placed around a small table. We closed one side of the only window in the room as well as the door so that the noise of traffic would not disturb the interviews. On most days, the fan in the room could not be switched on due to electricity shortages and power outages. Interestingly, on each day that I was there, the participant and I were so engrossed in the interview that we did not feel disturbed by the hooting of horns of buses and motor bikes on the street. Also, even though October was not so warm, we did feel the heat due to fans not being functional on most days. Having briefly described the two schools, I now move on to describe participant details.

Participants

The respondents in this study are referred to as participants and not as subjects, because coming from the critical feminist perspective, the word "subjects" has other connotations for me. In support of my standpoint, I refer to Willis (2007) who affirmed that respondents in a research project should not be termed as subjects but as research participants. Additionally, Polkinghorne (2005) stated that participants in a qualitative

study should not be referred to as a "sample" because this has implications for representing a sample from a population, which indicates that the findings could be applied to the whole population. Since in qualitative research, the findings may typically not be generalizable or applicable to a whole population, respondents in this study are denoted as participants and not as a sample.

According to Polkinghorne (2005) participants for a qualitative study are selected because they can provide extensive contributions and perspective to the experience under study. Moreover, Patton (2002) highlighted that "the key issue in selecting and making decisions about the appropriate unit of analysis is to decide what you want to be able to say at the end of the study" (p. 229). Since the purpose of my study was to examine perceptions of Pakistani women regarding peace and peacebuilding, subsequently, my findings at the end of the study reflected their perceptions. As such, the two groups of participants, one comprising stay at home mothers and the other comprising teachers formed my unit of analysis.

My selection strategy for participants was "purposeful" because according to Patton (2002) purposeful selection supports in-depth study of information rich cases. Within the purposeful selection, my criterion for selection represented a homogenous strategy. According to Patton, the purpose of homogeneous selection is to "describe some particular subgroup in depth" (p. 235). In my study the respondents had to have specific homogeneous characteristics. For example, teacher respondents had to teach in a school (not in a college or university) and the school had to be located in an area of low socioeconomic standing. Regarding homogeneity of stay at home mothers, they had to

have children enrolled in school and particularly have a daughter studying in school at the time when the study was conducted.

Most importantly, a common characteristic for all participants was that they came from the lower socioeconomic segments of society. However, it is important to clarify that within the homogeneity condition, some differences were acceptable; for example, the teachers were teaching different grades or subjects in school and varied in age, educational qualifications, and experience. Similarly, educational qualifications and age varied for the stay at home mothers, and they had children of different ages studying in different grades in school.

Teachers. A total of eight school teachers teaching different grades and subjects participated in the research. Of the eight teachers, three were teaching at the non-elite private school, while five others were teaching in the school managed by the local NGO. Their ages ranged from 25 to 45 years. Regarding their religious affiliation, seven of the teachers were followers of Islam, while one was a follower of Christianity.

Before moving on to elaborate on the subjects they taught, I have to explain that it is common practice in Pakistani schools, specifically for teachers who teach in NGO managed, government run, and small scale private schools, to be assigned to teach the same subject to different grades or to teach more than one subject because of lack of resources. According to a study conducted jointly in Pakistan by UNESCO, USAID, and a Pakistani NGO, ITA (Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi) the translation of which is Institute for Education and Awareness, teachers manage several grades and teach more than one subject in small scale schools in Pakistan (UNESCO/USAID & ITA, 2008). Thus six of

the eight participant teachers taught more than one subject and all eight taught more than

one grade. Table 1 displays the educational qualifications, subjects, and grades that the

teachers selected for this study taught.

Table 1

Participant Teachers

Participant Teachers	Educational Qualifications	Subjects taught	Grades taught
1	Master's	Civics and Social Studies	9 and 10
2	Bachelor's	Social Studies and English	8 and 9
3	Bachelor's	Social Studies and Pakistan Studies	6 and 7
4	Bachelor's	Pakistan Studies and English	7 and 8
5	Intermediate	General Science and Civics	5 and 6
6	Intermediate	Social Studies and Math	5 and 6
7	Matriculation	Urdu	4 and 5
8	Matriculation	Urdu	3 and 4

Status of teachers in Pakistan. Since teachers formed one group of participants

in this research, it is appropriate to include general information related to Pakistani

teachers and their status in the country. In Pakistan, teachers" status is gauged via their

academic, social, and economic standing (Vazir & Retallick, 2007). Paradoxically, on the one hand, teaching is considered to be a noble profession but on the other hand, it is least considered for career options. This is due to poor working conditions, lack of standards, poor training level, and low salary, particularly in government and small-scale private schools (UNESCO/USAID & ITA, 2008).

The academic standing of teachers depends on the education they have. Teachers having higher levels of education have a higher academic standing (Khan, 2006). Vazir and Retallick (2007) asserted that in order to have good academic standing, teachers in Pakistan have to have a comprehensive background in education, effective groundwork, and planning in methods of teaching and learning. They lamented that this is unfortunately lacking in Pakistan, particularly in public and small-scale private schools. Thus Vazir and Retallick highlighted that the academic status of teachers cannot be ascertained without taking into consideration the quality of education in the country.

Social status of Pakistani teachers is related to a number of factors. One major aspect is the quality of teachers' performance. Due to the shortage of teachers in non-elite private and government run schools, teachers have been at times managing as many as six grades and doing multi-level teaching of many subjects. Due to such flawed provisions, performance of educators is severely impacted. Consequently, teachers in these schools earn low respect. Other factors contributing to low respect for teachers include limited resources, fragmented professional training, and almost non-existent research practices at the government and non-elite school level (UNESCO.USAID/ITA, 2008)

Furthermore, Khan (2006) asserted that in Pakistan, there is barely any recognition given to teachers" services; there are hardly any national awards announced for teachers though other professionals are recognized at the government level through awards. Also, teachers are rarely given representation in developmental educational projects and are considered to have less autonomy and prestige than specialists in other professions. Therefore where social standing is concerned, teachers, particularly those teaching in non-elite schools, do not have a high standing in society (Khan, 2006, Vazir & Retallick, 2007).

Income or salary is an important measure of economic status. Though salaries of teachers in government schools are low, there is a fixed pay scale for male and female teachers. This is not the case in non-elite private schools. Not only is the salary low, female teachers are paid much less than their male counterparts. Also, in NGO managed schools, teachers earn a salary much below that of government school teachers (Khan 2006; Vazir & Retallick, 2007). Furthermore, there is no job security for teachers in small-scale private schools or in schools managed by NGOs, and the services of teachers can be terminated at any time (Khan, 2006). However, teachers in elite private schools get much better salaries than those serving in the non-elite sector (UNESCO/USAID & ITA, 2008).

Additionally, the competence of female teachers is undermined due to the tenacious patriarchal traditions in the country. Ironically, though female teachers are treated differently than male teachers, teaching is seen as the most feasible profession for women in the country due to prevailing cultural norms. Due to the half-day commitment

and the number of holidays, it is thought that the teaching profession allows women to manage domestic and productive roles side by side. (UNESCO/USAID & ITA, 2008). Thus cultural norms affect women at every step in Pakistan, including in their professions.

 Stay at home mothers. The second group of participants in this research comprised the stay at home mothers whose age range varied between 25 and 38 years. Like the teacher participants, the stay at home mothers also came from the grassroots level of society. Homogeneity was also a condition applicable in the case of the mothers because they had to have a daughter enrolled in school when this research was conducted. However, there were variations in age, educational qualifications, and religious beliefs. Regarding their religious beliefs, five of the seven mothers were followers of Islam; among the other two, one was a follower of Christianity while the other was a follower of Sikhism. Yet another factor that varied was that they had children of different ages studying in different grades in school. Table 2 displays the educational qualifications of the stay at home mothers.

Table 2

Participant Mothers

Participant Mothers	Educational Qualifications
1	Intermediate
2	Intermediate
3	Matriculation
4	Matriculation
5	Matriculation
6	Grade 7 (incomplete)
7	Grade 8 (completed)

Dyadic relationship of participants. One important selection criterion for participants in my study was based on their dyadic relationship. I interviewed mothers whose daughters were studying in classes that the teacher participants were teaching. This was done from the viewpoint of maintaining consistency and connection in the selection strategy. Although in dyadic interviews the two persons who form the dyad are interviewed together (Sohier, 1995), in my study, the participants were interviewed individually. In fact, Eisikovits and Koren (2010) suggested that quality data can be collected from individual interviews of members of the dyad. Consequently I employed only the basic concept of the dyad because it was relevant from the viewpoint of maintaining a connection between the two groups of participants. However, because of stay at home mothers' hesitation to participate in the study, I did not have an equal

number of mother and teacher participants. The number of teacher respondents was eight, while the number of stay at home mother respondents was seven.

Establishing relationship with participants. It was important to meet the participants prior to the interviews. The first school I went to was the one managed by an NGO; it was from this school that five teachers participated in the study. On arrival, I received a warm welcome from the principal who had made prior arrangements for this meeting. I was seated in a room adjacent to the principal's office, and, within minutes of my arrival, the five teachers, accompanied by the principal walked in. The principal introduced the teachers briefly and left the room. At this stage, the teachers had not chosen pseudonyms for themselves, but because of confidentiality matters, they are introduced in this section by their pseudonyms which they chose for themselves at the time of the interviews. Alina, Mashal, Nadia, Rija, and Sana, were the teachers from the NGO managed school who participated in the research.

The first thing I noticed as the teachers entered the room was that they were all well and neatly dressed. Even though they all walked in with smiling faces, they seemed to be a bit reserved during the first few minutes of the meeting. However, as the meeting progressed, I noticed that they were more relaxed, and, the forty-five minute meeting was mostly held in a friendly and casual atmosphere. Before explaining about my research and confidentiality procedures, I started the conversation by asking for how long they had been educators and what they enjoyed most about teaching. The teachers on their part, inquired about my research and Mashal asked me reasons for doing this research. She also inquired why I was living in the United States, and if the research I was doing would

be published and who would read it. In response, I explained what a dissertation is and why I was writing it. Sana asked me if I would be asking questions generally about peace, or if I would focus only on peace in Pakistan. At this meeting, I also verified information I had received from my facilitators, who had provided me with information about these participants. There were minor discrepancies that were rectified at this point.

My next meeting was with the three teachers, Raina, Shehla, and Sozen, from the small scale private school. Here also, the principal introduced me to the teachers and left after the introductions. The meeting was held in the room that was later provided to us for conducting interviews. The teachers of this school were also neatly dressed and had smiling faces; however, as was the case with the teachers from the previous school, it was only after a little while that our thirty-five minute meeting was conducted in a casual and friendly atmosphere. Here again, I asked them about their profession as educators and what they enjoyed most about teaching. Later, I explained details concerning my research. The questions these three teachers asked related more to life in the United States than to my research. They were particularly interested to know for how long I had been living in the United States and whether I missed Pakistan. The teachers also briefly discussed the violent situation in the city, because, on that day, there had been several targeted killings in Karachi and the situation was quite tense.

Regarding meetings with stay at home mothers, the principal of the NGO managed school arranged for a meeting, two days prior to the interviews. Four mothers, Aisha, Fatima, Warrira, and Zainab, who were plainly dressed, walked in a little nervously into the room. I asked them generally about their children and whether all their

children were going to school. Later, I explained about my research and confidentiality procedures and also verified if details about their education, provided by my friends were accurate. Except for a couple of questions that Aisha asked about life in the United States, the mothers did not ask any other questions. None asked any research related questions. However, Zainab did say that it was wonderful that I was conducting peace related research because that was "very important."

Unfortunately, it was not possible for the principal of the private school to arrange for a meeting with the three mothers, Amna, Maria, and Ruchna; as such, I met each one individually on the day of her interview. However, the principal had arranged for these mothers to arrive about ten minutes prior to the time of the interview, so that we could meet before the interview began. It was therefore only possible to interact very briefly with these three mothers. I asked how they were and thanked each one of them for participating in the study and briefly asked about their children and explained about my research.

Meetings with participants prior to the interviews were beneficial for the participants and for me. These meetings facilitated preliminary introductions and were important for explanations about the research project and confidentiality procedures. From the perspectives of the participants, these brief meetings were very important, because, having met me, they would not have to encounter a stranger on the day of the interview. Details of participants' backgrounds are included in the chapter on findings.

Data Collection

My source for data collection involved conducting individual interviews in person with each of the participants. The 15 participants interviewed included eight school teachers and seven stay at home mothers. I conducted only one interview per day so that my undivided focus was on that particular respondent's views. Another factor for conducting one interview per day was not to put any time constraints on the participant so that she could have as much time as she wanted for sharing her insights. My interview schedule started October 1, 2012 and ended on November 2, 2012. While the average time for most interviews was two hours, the lengthiest interview continued for two and a half hours and the shortest interview (only one) lasted for an hour and fifteen minutes.

Approval for conducting research was obtained from the George Mason Human Subjects Review Board prior to conducting the interviews. At the beginning of each interview, the protocol and procedures outlined by Human Subjects Review Board (HSRB) of George Mason University were meticulously followed. The procedures included a clear explanation of confidentiality procedures, underscoring that the identity of the participants and the institutions they work for (in the case of the teachers) would not be divulged. In order to maintain confidentiality, each participant was requested to choose her own pseudonym before the interview commenced. Additionally, an explicit clarification regarding voluntary participation in the research and an explanation pertaining to rights of participants, including the option to opt out of the research at any time was provided. Informed consent was also obtained from each participant before the interview began. It was also communicated to participants that if any issue arose during

an interview, not only would the participant be assisted in accordance with the rules laid out by the HSRB, but the matter in question would be brought to the attention of my dissertation advisor and committee.

All interviews were conducted in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, because most people who come from the underprivileged population in Pakistan are not well versed in English. In order to make respondents comfortable and to provide them the fullest opportunity to be able to express their views, Urdu was considered as the appropriate language for the interviews. Another major reason why Urdu was chosen as the language for the interviews was to give respect to the participants" language. Also, conducting the interviews in Urdu provided a more supportive environment for the participants. Schwartz and Jacobs (1979) said that for qualitative methods, using natural language is best for gaining access to the life-world of individuals in a limited time. It would be pertinent to clarify that I can read, write, and speak Urdu fluently and that I was comfortable in transcribing interviews in Urdu. All interviews were audio recorded with the consent of the respondents.

In addition, there was a second individual meeting held with each participant after completion of her interview transcript. The purpose of this meeting was for each respondent to verify authenticity of her transcript (explained later in this chapter), every interviewee also got an opportunity to add to her views expressed in the earlier interview. The supplementary views of participants, if they contributed any, were also audio recorded and transcribed.

Rationale for conducting interviews. My rationale for conducting in-depth, individual interviews as a data collection strategy was related to the purpose of my study, which was to comprehend perspectives of participants regarding peace and peacebuilding. Since understanding perceptions of respondents was the purpose of this research, interviewing was the most appropriate strategy. Weiss (1994) posited that qualitative interviews make it possible to grasp a situation from the inside, indicating that interviews contribute to understanding the world from participants' point of view and further that interviews can unfold their lived experiences. Weiss also stated that quotations from interview material can approach the "you are there vividness of a documentary" (p. 10). Additionally, Seidman (2006) described interviews as people's stories and considered interviewing as "a way of knowing" (p. 7). She further emphasized that the core of in-depth interviews is to understand lived experiences of others. Willis (2007), in agreement with these scholars, stated that interviews result in powerful stories that can enlighten and inspire.

Another factor that supported interviewing for data collection was related to women: interviewing gives researchers access to people's insights, views, and memories in their own words, and this "asset is particularly important for the study of women because this way of learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 19). Recognizing and redressing women's invisibility has been one of feminist researchers' important accomplishments, and interview studies of women have played a major role in this (Reinharz & Chase, 2003). Coming from a feminist perspective, I strongly believe that

interviewing women, particularly marginalized women in Pakistan, will go a long way in restoring their voice. However, how much voice respondents receive depends on the way the interview is structured.

Considering the structure of interviews, Glesne's (2011) standpoint was that interviews can be categorized into three kinds, i.e. structured, semistructured and unstructured. In structured interviews, the researcher forms interview questions prior to the interview and rigidly asks exactly the same questions of all respondents. On the contrary, in unstructured interviews a researcher develops questions on the spot through dialogue, i.e. the interview is a completely open process. In between the two extremes fall semistructured interviews, where questions may materialize during the interview and maybe added or replaced. Similarly, Gubrium and Holstein (2003) described interviews as being exceedingly structured, semiformal guided conversations, or free-flowing casual interactions.

Of the three approaches mentioned above, the semistructured interview best suited my research purpose, first because coming from the critical feminist stance, I did not want to bog down participants' freedom of speech by restricting them to completely structured questions. Second, because these participants have led restricted lives and have never had a platform to voice their views they needed some guidance to be able to express their perspectives, otherwise they could have felt lost. Even in the case of educators, a semistructured approach was most suitable because educators in Pakistan, particularly those who serve in schools in underprivileged areas have been so used to structured regimens in their authoritarian schools that they needed some direction to help

them voice their views. Thus the interviews I conducted were semistructured, but within the semistructured interviews, respondents had the fullest possible freedom to voice their views. I developed interview guides on Patton's (2002) outline of following the same basic line of inquiry with each person interviewed. Yet, I also focused on Patton's advice regarding "keeping the interactions focused while allowing individual perspectives and experiences to emerge" (pp. 343-344). Thus, follow up questions were asked depending on responses of participants.

Based on my research purpose, interviews were the most appropriate strategy for data collection. However, there were certain other factors that needed attention. The first among these was the influence of the researcher on the individuals who participated in the research. Maxwell (2010) asserted that the researcher is part of the world he or she studies and as such is a powerful influence on those being studied. As such, "what the informant says is always influenced by the interviewer and the interview situation" (Maxwell, 2010, p. 282). In order to avoid influencing the respondents, I did not in any way assert my views directly or indirectly, before, during, or after the interview so that it did not affect the quality of their responses. One way Maxwell recommended for lessening researcher influence is not to ask leading questions. In order to make my research transparent, I have included my interview guides for the teachers and stay at home mothers in the appendix of this document. Another important factor that countered researcher influence was that participants in this study did not gain any financial or other benefits. Considering this aspect, they were not anxious to please me by giving answers that catered to my subjectivities.

Closely related to the question of researcher influence on the settings and participants is the aspect of power and hierarchal issues that emerge during qualitative interviews. I refer to Kvale (2006) who stated that considering interviews as a form of dialogue is misleading. "The qualitative interview entails a hierarchical relationship with an asymmetrical power distribution of interviewer and interviewee" (p. 484) because the interviewer rules the interview by deciding the topic and questions. Furthermore, Kvale (2006) asserted that the interview is a means to serve the researcher's interests. Coming from the lens of feminism within the critical theory perspective, it is against my beliefs to exercise any kind of power over participants; however, there were two potential threats concerning power that could have emerged in my study. The first was that I was a stranger for the participants and also because they came from disadvantaged segments of society, they might have considered me (the researcher) in some kind of position of authority. This could have prevented them from openly voicing their views. The second concern was that they could have felt under pressure because I was more educated than they were, and I was coming from a foreign Western country.

To counter this issue, I conducted what Kvale (2006) described as the caring interview. Though Kvale (2006) posited that by developing a gentle and caring relationship with participants, researchers try to get more information from participants and that the interview could even be a "manipulative dialogue" (Kvale, 2006, p. 384), from my standpoint, the caring interview was helpful because the women had never been exposed to interviews before. Thus they needed to be treated gently and with care. Holstein and Gubrium (2003) presented a more substantial standpoint in this connection.

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According to them, the interview has been re-conceptualized so that participants are not seen merely repositories of information, but are active in the creation of knowledge. The interviewer and interviewees are denoted together as "interview participants, highlighting their collective contribution to the enterprise" (p. 19). My aim was to be caring and gentle during the interview as well as to give space to participants to be responsible contributors.

Procedures Subsequent to Interviews

Procedures subsequent to interviews involved transcriptions of interviews in Urdu. Once an interview was transcribed, I held a second meeting with each participant separately so that she could read the transcript of her interview and endorse that her words were accurately transcribed as she had meant them to be, and that nothing had been misquoted or misrepresented. Though the second meeting did not include a formal interview, participants were asked in this meeting to contribute any additional insights they had. In this way, respondents validated transcriptions and also had an opportunity to contribute to their initial views if they wished to do so. This authentication of transcripts is described as a procedure of member checks. Maxwell (2009) described this as "systematically soliciting feedback about one's data" (p.244).

Another important factor concerned the phase following my initial data analysis and development of findings. After initial data analysis and preliminary findings were developed, I requested a peer, (who was also one of the facilitators for access to schools and participants) for substantiation of findings. She read through the transcripts (with pseudonyms) and my initial findings. Barring one minor factor, which I had not included,

she corroborated the findings I had developed. I have referred to the reviewer as a peer because we had been educators together in Karachi, and she has continued her career as an educator. Her review contributed to verification and transparency of data analysis. Details of data analysis are discussed in the next section.

Data Analysis

Sources for data analysis included interview transcripts and supplementary insights that participants" contributed during individual follow up meetings. In addition, memos I wrote during various phases of analysis helped me immensely in thinking analytically and kept my thoughts focused on participants' perspectives. Details pertaining to the memos have been included in a section that follows. Interviews, transcriptions and data analysis were conducted concurrently because I started analysis after the first interview was conducted. This concurrent process was useful because by the time all transcriptions were completed, I had developed rudimentary thoughts on bearings of data. Corbin and Strauss (2008) highlighted that in qualitative research, data analysis begins after the collection of the first pieces of data as this provides a sense of direction to the researchers. Before providing an in-depth description of analysis procedures, it is essential to elaborate on the language in which data were analyzed.

Language for data analysis. Rather than translate the Urdu transcriptions to English, data analysis was conducted in Urdu i.e. in the language in which the interviews were held and transcribed. A primary reason for doing analysis in Urdu was to respect participants' language and culture and also to ensure authenticity of analysis. Torop (2002) asserted that translation involves not just interpretation of words but also of

culture; moreover, ideas expressed in one language for a particular societal group are translated in another language for a different social group. This indicates a process of cultural interpretation as well, and translation of culture can never be done accurately. Concurring with this view, Halai (2007) declared that interviews are rooted in participants' culture and should not be considered just as spoken words. Thus "translation is generally a boundary crossing between two cultures (p.345). She specifically highlighted that interviews reflect the lived experiences of people; hence in doing analysis, researchers need to keep the target culture in mind. Vygotsky (1987) emphasized that "every word that people use in telling their stories is a microcosm of their consciousness" (p. 236). Furthermore, Bakhtin (1982) accentuated that language is not independent of its speakers and that spoken words express value systems. Keeping in mind that concepts expressed by participants represented their culture, and translations of transcripts could take away from the meanings the women wanted to express, all procedures for analysis, including labeling of initial concepts and developing categories and themes were conducted in Urdu.

However, because this study was written for a general audience, after completion of analysis in Urdu, the initial concepts derived, the categories formed, and the recurring themes in data were translated into English for the benefit of all readers. Also, because it was relevant to include excerpts supporting participants" perspectives, only those extracts incorporated in this dissertation have been translated into English. In doing these translations, I have attempted to replicate views of participants as accurately as possible.

For this purpose, I also used a dictionary of Urdu to English conversion to make sure that I was using appropriate words in translations.

Code-switching. Code-switching is defined as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). It is pertinent to inform readers that during interviews, participants interspersed English words, phrases, and infrequently even verbalized a full sentence in English. This was more the case with teachers than with the stay at home mothers, though, even the mothers used some English words while expressing their views. According to Iqbal (2011), code-switching between Urdu and English is quite common for several reasons. English was brought into undivided India during the British colonial rule and the contact between Urdu and English started with borrowing words from English (Talaat, 2002). For example, words such as "school," "teacher," "black board," and "office" are just a few words borrowed from English and are constantly used in Urdu. Khan (2004) added that even if people are not well versed in English, they use words and phrases to give their discourse a touch of English, because English, according to Khan is the symbol of economic power and social realities.

In this study, words such as "school," "teacher," "education," "peace," "freedom," "values," "media," and "behavior" were only a few of the many English words used by participants in the interviews. Examples of English phrases articulated by participants included "mental tension,' "mental peace," "freedom of speech and opinion," "women's rights," "negative role," "positive behavior," "corrupt government," "change of government," and "load shedding." While doing verbatim transcriptions of interviews in Urdu, the English words and phrases used by participants were transcribed in English.

There is a feature in the Urdu-Inpage (the software used for typing in Urdu) that allows the transcriptionist to do that. Having explained niceties of language used by participants, I now move on to elaborate on memos I wrote during various phases of data analysis.

Analytical memos. All memos I wrote during various phases of analysis were dated and stored in three different notebooks. The first notebook contained memos written after conducting an interview; this was done to put initial thoughts regarding participants' views on paper. The second notebook contained memos written while listening to recordings of interviews and while doing transcriptions; these related to views and concepts respondents had expressed. Memos written in the third notebook were devoted entirely to accounts of participant's backgrounds and upbringing as revealed by them during interviews. Since all analysis procedures were conducted in Urdu, memos were also written in the same language.

According to Corbin and Strauss (2008) memos express thoughts of the researcher, and, "it is in thinking that analysis occurs" (p. 118). They also suggested that memo writing should commence with the first analytic session. In Corbin and Strauss's view, these notes help the researcher immensely in moving the analysis forward. Also, virtually all scholars of qualitative inquiry agree that whenever stimulated by an idea, an analyst should stop whatever he/she is doing and capture the thought on paper (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Saldaña, 2009).

For me, the main purpose of writing memos was to facilitate data analysis. I wrote memos at the end of every interview, and these were simply a preliminary outline of views participants had expressed. More detailed notes were written while I listened to

recordings of interviews and later on while I did transcriptions. Often, I paused the

recording or stopped transcribing because I wanted to note down aspects a participant

expressed on a particular topic so that I could think systematically about specific

characteristics. I also noted possibilities and angles from which an explicit piece of data

could be analyzed. Memos helped me think systematically about the data. Even if

participants had expressed similar outlooks on a subject, I could comprehend subtle

gradations within the same topic. An example was the theme of freedom and the nuances

associated with it. Another example was education and its various aspects discussed by

participants. Saldaña (2009) considered that the purpose of memos is "researcher

reflexivity on the data corpus" (p.33). He emphasized that memo writing, like coding is a

qualitative data analytic activity.

An additional purpose for writing memos was that of consulting these notes

during the procedural phases of coding and categorizing data and while studying data for

recurrent themes. Doing so contributed to internal validity of findings. I compared data in

memos with initial concepts, categories and themes developed for any discrepancies or

for any important characteristic that may have been missed. According to Saldaña,

memos are a "reality check" (p. 35) of our thinking processes. Thus, if I found a

discrepancy between notes in the memos and the codes and categories developed, then

data related to that particular aspect were reread, and at times, recordings of interviews

were replayed until the inconsistency was clarified. An example is that of participants'

standpoints concerning basic necessities. When comparing notes in memos and the codes

assigned, I realized that I had missed one important aspect expressed by a participant

regarding the relationship between the dearth of basic amenities and violence. As such, memos helped immensely at every step of the analysis procedures. Though data examination had begun soon after the first interview, a rigorous process of analysis was initiated with preliminary coding of raw data.

Strategies for data analysis. The principal strategies used for data analysis in this study were based on coding and categorizing techniques outlined by Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Saldaña (2009). Corbin and Strauss defined open coding as evolving and developing concepts from data. While agreeing with this view, Saldaña (2009) added that there could be fewer or several coding cycles. Corbin and Strauss further explained that concepts are words used for representing ideas contained in data. They highlighted that initial codes represent "lower level concepts," (p.160) and categories and themes denote advanced level and refined concepts. These strategies have been discussed in detail while describing the processes of analysis.

Emic and etic perspectives. Another strategy considered during phases of analysis was the emic and etic approach. Sands and McClelland (1994) delineated emic and etic perspectives as insider and outsider perspectives respectively. The participants are considered as insiders whereas the researchers are considered as outsiders. Sands and McClelland described emic perspectives as representing participants' innate cultural outlooks native to their values and beliefs. On the other hand, they explained etic perspectives as representing external viewpoints of the researcher because he or she is an outsider to the culture being studied. Maxwell (2009) stated that categories derived from

the researcher's concepts are etic, while those derived from participants' concepts are emic.

Before focusing on emic and etic approaches applied in this study, it is essential to explain that because my country of origin is Pakistan, and because I am well versed with Pakistani culture, I did have an insider perspective on the cultural context being studied. However, I have explicitly elaborated in the section on ethical issues (which follows the section on data analysis), that I did not let my subjectivities and insider views interfere with the study. In fact, in that section, I have also explained the approaches I put in place to counter issues of subjectivities.

Most importantly, I conducted this study from a critical feminist lens, which focuses on bringing forward voices of marginalized communities. As such, I emphasized the emic perspectives of participants in this research. Moreover since the purpose of my study was to understand standpoints of selected grassroots women participants, it was appropriate to employ an emic approach. Additionally, because a main goal of the study was to afford visibility to these women's hitherto unheard standpoints, I highlighted the emic, rather than the etic perspectives. Sands & McClelland (1994) suggested that researchers should make thoughtful connections between the topic and questions under study and then make decisions regarding the impact of emic and etic choices on analysis and presentation. Walle (1997) concurred with this view and indicated that focusing on emic, etic, or on both perspectives depends on the questions and analytical methods of a study. Furthermore, Maxwell (2005) accentuated the importance of distinguishing between emic and etic perspectives in a study. Keeping this in mind, it is appropriate to

state that participants' perspectives, i.e. emic perspectives, were the focus during analysis. However etic perspectives were also important in this study to the extent that these focused on the theoretical framework and research questions examined.

Constant comparative analysis. A tool employed throughout examination of data was that of constant comparative analysis. Corbin and Strauss (2008) described constant comparative analysis as a method of comparing different pieces of data for similarities and differences. This is the main principle of qualitative analysis in the grounded theory approach. In this process, data are analyzed, and further areas of data collection are identified by the researcher. Moreover, the original question is modified in the light of what is being learned. This process goes on until the researcher has sufficient data for conceptual saturation and can "put up a coherent explanatory story" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 197). In this study, the tool of constant comparative analysis was adapted to the needs of the study because this study did not take a grounded theory approach and there was no iterative process of collecting data, or of adding or changing questions. However, Boeije (2002) suggests that comparison is a central source for data analysis in other traditions of qualitative research and can be adopted for qualitative data analysis.

According to Charmaz (2006), the constant comparative method involves making comparisons during every stage of data analysis, for example, comparing interview statements and incidents within the same interview and then comparing statements and incidents in different interviews. In the dissertation research, I followed the constant comparative method in the following way:

- Comparison within a single interview

- Comparison between interviews within the same group

- Comparison of interviews from the two groups.

As I moved along the analysis, each incident in data was compared with other incidents for similarities and differences and incidents found to be conceptually similar were grouped together. Boeije (2002) suggested that the number of steps in the constant comparative method depends on the kind of data at hand. Employing strategies highlighted above, a detailed description of analytical procedures is provided in the following sections.

Understanding participant backgrounds. The first phase of analysis encompassed understanding participants' backgrounds. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008) the analyst should begin by locating concepts such as family background and other characteristics allied with participants to develop a better understanding of interviewees. Corbin and Strauss considered it relevant for researchers to understand participants' backgrounds. For this phase of analysis, I read passages from transcripts that related to participants backgrounds and values. Factors I examined included an understanding of how and by whom the participants were brought up. I also studied whether the mother, father, or both parents were responsible for participants' upbringing when they were growing up. I also examined the values that the women in the study incorporated while rearing their children and whether the sole responsibility of their children's upbringing rested with them. Other background factors, such as daughters being treated differently from sons were also studied. Depending on the information

provided by respondents, I wrote words and phrases in the margins denoting their

background.

After completing this process for all participants, I first compared interviews

within one group and then between the two groups of participants to understand the

similarities and differences regarding the values these women were raised with. I then

compared this to the values they incorporated into their own children's upbringing.

Memos I had written regarding their backgrounds were helpful at this and at every stage

of analysis because I verified any aspect I had missed and also confirmed that notes in

memos represented the same aspects as I had outlined in the margins of the transcripts.

Coding data for initial concepts. Corbin and Strauss (2008) consider the

assigning of initial concepts as "breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for

blocks of raw data" (p. 195). They emphasize that during the process of initial coding for

assigning conceptual labels to data, researchers must be open to all possibilities, and only

after a thorough examination of data should labels be assigned in accordance with

outlooks indicated by data. Saldaña (2009) described a code in qualitative inquiry as an

"essence capturing" (p. 3) attribute for a particular piece of data and added that codes or

initial concepts could include a single word or a phrase depending on the primary

information provided by that section of data.

Hard copies of transcripts were used in this phase of initial coding. Each transcript

was read several times, and, depending on what that part of the data revealed, a

conceptual label was assigned and written in Urdu in the margins of the transcript. In

order to clarify further, I have included some examples of codes assigned and written in

the margins of the transcripts: if a participant had spoken at length about disseminating education among the entire population of a country, asserting that this could help reduce conflicts, the concept assigned in the margin was "spreading education helps reduce conflicts." If another interviewee had expressed views on education but had said that only a specific kind of education, one that provides ethical development and understanding among people could reduce conflicts, the code written in the margin was "specific education can reduce conflict." Below that, written in parenthesis was the phrase "education for ethical development and understanding." Another example concerns the viewpoint of freedom. If a participant spoke on the aspect of freedom as an essential component of peace and also emphasized specifically that freedom of opinion and speech were most essential, the words "freedom - an aspect of peace" were written in the margins followed by the phrase "freedom of opinion and speech" in parenthesis.

An important aspect for data analysis at this stage was associated with researcher based concepts or "in-vivo" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 65) codes. Corbin and Strauss stated that a concept or code either can be denoted by the researcher, or, due to participants' frequent use of a term, the researcher borrows the words of a participant to describe a concept they describe as in-vivo codes. In this study, the codes assigned were mostly based on participants' concepts and words. This factor is akin to what has been discussed earlier regarding emic and etic perspectives. Details elaborating reasons for employing emic perspectives while coding data have been discussed in an earlier segment. Figure 1 shows the initial concepts developed.

Peace should begin at home	Provide jobs	Peace spreads from homes to communities	Healthcare	Freedom is crucial for peace	Women are educators
Electricity	Freedom of opinion and speech	Water	Independence for everyone	Food	Proper Islamic education
Break shackles of domination	Tension free mind	End external and internal wars	Inner peace	Stop building weapons	Women are social workers
Equity	End sectarian violence	Girls and women's education	End ethnic violence	Stop domestic violence	Eliminate poverty and reduce inflation
End terrorism	Honest leaders	End targeted killings	Understanding leaders	Tolerance among people	Women's limited role in politics
Positive and authentic role of media	Friendship and understanding	Women have made contributions to peace	Education for all	Women raise children	Spread positive thoughts through education
Women maintain peace in the home	Education for tolerance and unity	Women's struggle for rights	Education for morals		

Figure 1. Initial 40 concepts.

Developing initial concepts such as those included in Figure 1 was a central phase in data analysis because concepts assigned to parts of data reflected participants' perspectives. Saldaña (2009) explained that just as the title of a book or film projects its main idea, in a similar manner a code signifies a datum's principal indication. Also, this process of initial coding facilitated analysis, because dividing data and assigning concepts to segments of data not only reduced the challenge of data being unmanageable, but also contributed to doing a focused and detailed analysis. According to, Saldaña (2009), designating concepts reduces the volume of data a researcher has to work with and also "provides a language for talking about the data" (p. 160). More importantly, it is only after initial concepts are assigned that the next step in the analytical process of combining similar concepts to form distinct categories becomes possible. Thus coding supported a coherent, systematic, and logical process of analysis.

Furthermore, though coding was an initial step in the analysis process, it facilitated vastly in comprehending priorities respondents placed on various concepts. Recurrence of a concept in the transcripts and emphasis participants gave it, enabled my understanding of respondents' precedence concerning actions they thought necessary for peace. For example, high priority was given by participants to promotion of tolerance and unity for ending all intrastate conflicts. Another priority for them, from the viewpoint of a peace, was an emphasis on education. Thus developing initial concepts helped immensely in understanding participants' views and priorities and simultaneously aided in moving on to the next step in analysis, i.e. combining codes to develop discrete categories.

Categories and themes. In this phase of analysis, distinct categories representing concepts with similar meanings were formed. To elaborate further, from among the forty concepts developed in the initial phase of analysis (listed in Figure 1), those with similar meanings were combined under distinct categories. According to Saldaña (2009) coding is a method that enables researchers to "organize and group similarly coded data into categories or "families" because they share some characteristics - the beginning of a pattern" (p. 8). Elucidating on categories, Corbin and Strauss (2008) stated that categories represent higher level, vivid concepts. They also suggested that the terms category and theme imply the same things. In their words, "higher-level concepts are called categories/themes and categories tell us what a group of lower level concepts are pointing to or indicating" (p. 160). Additionally, Corbin and Strauss considered that grouping of lower level concepts under one higher-level descriptive concept enables the researcher to "differentiate one category/theme from another and to identify properties and dimensions specific to that category/theme" (p. 73).

In order to maintain systemized, manageable, and readily accessible data, a system of color-coding on chart paper helped at this stage. The chart aided analysis because adding quotes form participants' interviews in different colors under specific categories (on chart paper) not only facilitated in comprehending the crux of data but also helped in substantiation of recurring themes in the interviews.

Figure 1 shows the 40 codes derived from data merged into 13 distinct categories. Focusing on Figure 1, concepts that indicated similar meanings were included under a single, discrete category. For example, factors participants had highlighted as lack of

basic amenities such as lack of food, water, electricity, and healthcare, were all combined under one category labeled "basic necessities."

Thus Figure 2 was designed to provide a lucid understanding of categories developed from initial concepts shown in Figure 1. Including concepts with similar meanings under one distinct code helped further in refining and organizing data. The distinct categories developed from concepts were relevant because these indicated a pattern emerging from data. Furthermore, studying patterns recurring in data helped in identifying emergent themes from data.

Home and Peace	**Freedom**	**War Free World**	**End Intrastate Conflicts**
• Peace should begin at home • Peace spreads from home to communities	• Freedom is crucial for peace • Freedom of opinion and speech • Break all shackles of domination	• End all external wars • End all internal wars	• End ethnic violence • End sectarian violence • End terrorism • End targeted killings

Tolerance and Unity	**Education**	**Economic Stability**	**Basic Necessities**
• Tolerance among people • Friendship and understanding	• Education for all • Positive thoughts through education • Education for tolerance and unity • Education for morals • Proper Islamic education	• Eliminate poverty • Reduce inflation • Provide jobs	• Health care • Electricity • Water • Food

Mental Peace	**Women's Rights**	**Government**	**Media**
• Tension free mind • Inner peace	• Equity • Girl's and women's education • End domestic violence	• Honest leaders • Understanding leaders	• Positive role of media • Authentic role of media

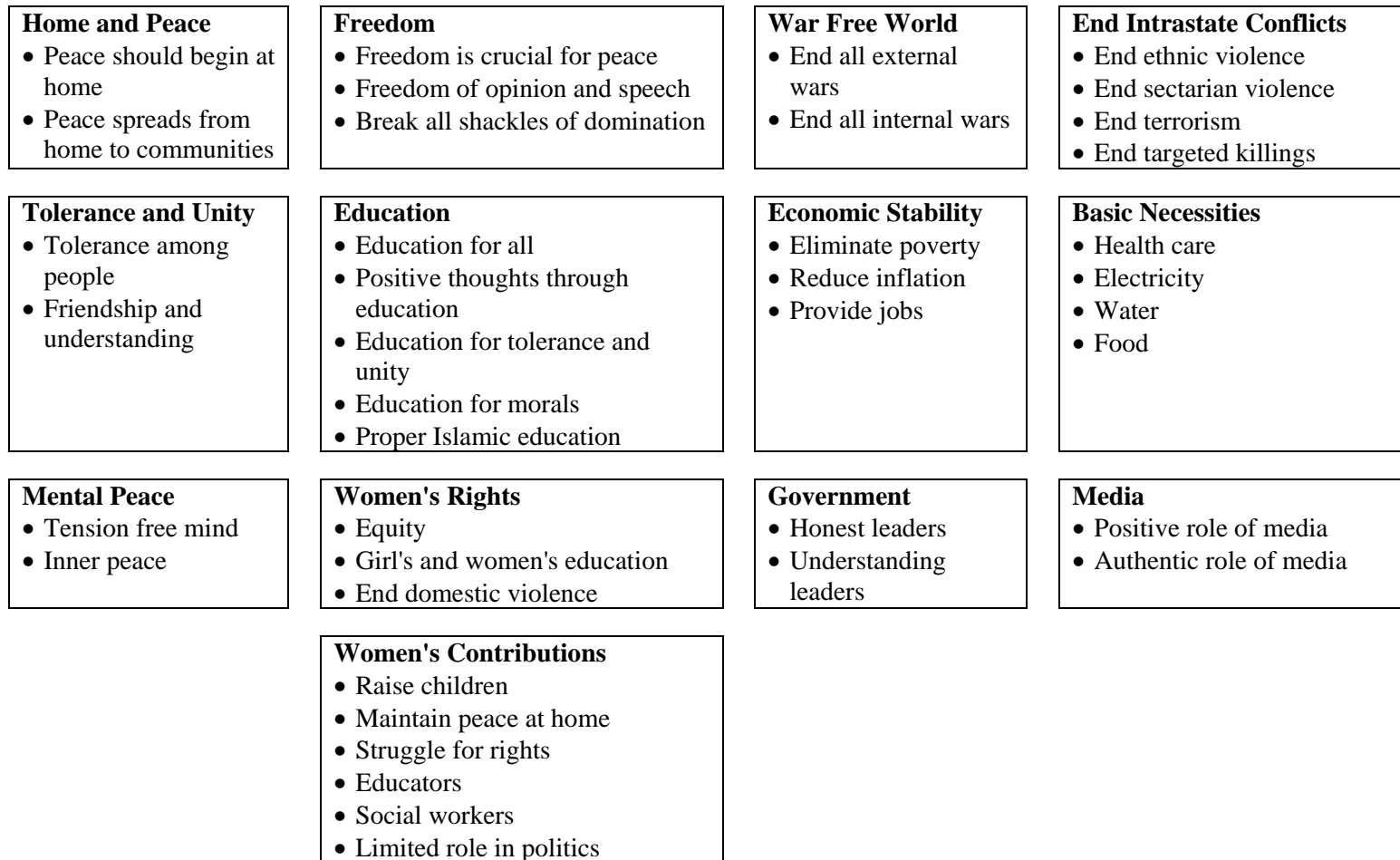| **Women's Contributions** |
|---|
| • Raise children
 • Maintain peace at home
 • Struggle for rights
 • Educators
 • Social workers
 • Limited role in politics |

Figure 2. Categories and codes.

Examining the frequency with which concepts appeared in data helped identify recurring patterns and themes. Moreover, interview data were also compared to study repetitive patterns. As explained in an earlier segment of this chapter, constant comparative analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) was a tool employed for this. For example, if a participant had brought up the subject of women's rights, then first, that particular interview was studied again to verify whether the concept occurred repetitively. If that particular concept did occur repetitively, then the nuances of the concept, within the interview were studied. After examining individual interviews, comparative study was made for recurrence of the concept in the interviews of the group. For instance, if a teacher had brought up the subject of women's rights, then after making comparisons in individual interviews, comparisons were made within interviews of all teachers to understand whether the concept of women's rights was repetitive in the group and what the differences and similarities of views were regarding women's rights. After making comparisons within one group, a cross case analysis of comparisons were made between the two groups of participants, i.e. between the interview transcripts of teachers and stay at home mothers, to check for similarities and differences related to that concept of women's rights. Thus the method of analysis was recursive and laborious but it helped vastly in identifying patterns and themes indicated by data.

Before moving on, it is also appropriate to explain that during this phase of analysis, there were ambiguities related to some categories developed. Certain quotations of participants could be included under more than one category. For instance, when participants spoke generally about ending wars in the world and when they spoke about

ending intrastate ethnic and sectarian conflicts within Pakistan, they expressed similar views and said similar things. In such instances, the relevant quotes were included under the different categories to which the quotes were applicable. One advantage of this approach was that it led to identifying overlapping themes.

Ethical and Quality Issues

The first thing that came to mind when considering quality was researcher bias. Luttrell (2010) stressed that all qualitative researchers need to be aware of their biases: "it is the demand placed on qualitative researchers to be aware of our subjectivities and to harness our predispositions, imagination, and empathy toward others that distinguishes our craft" (p. 160). Both Patton (2002) and Luttrell (2010) elaborated that researchers "should discuss their biases and subjectivities without ambiguity in their study. In strong agreement with the two scholars, Maxwell (2010) also emphasized that it is crucial for researchers to explain their biases and to clarify in their study how they will deal with this issue.

While I accepted that it might not be possible to simply shelve my prior beliefs and subjectivities, I was simultaneously aware that I could circumvent my biases from intruding into this study. One step I took in this direction was to recount my subjectivities openly, and the first aspect that came to mind regarding this aspect was my background. Since Pakistan is my country of origin and also the context of my research, I have a personal concern and a subjective outlook on the issue of Pakistan's well-being and safety. Moreover, because I was born, raised and educated in Pakistan, and was also an educator there for over two decades, I brought an insider perspective on Pakistan's

culture, educational system, and society. As such I was aware of disadvantaged women's

marginalization and their being at the periphery of society. I was also conscious of the

pros and cons of Pakistan's educational milieu. Consequently, my insider perspective

could have had a negative as well as a positive effect on the research. The negative aspect

related to my subjectivity having influenced my research while the positive aspect related

to an authentic perspective that I brought through my understanding of the conditions in

Pakistani society.

Regarding values I cherish, my core beliefs have been in social justice, gender

equity, non-violence, and peace. I conducted research from the feminist lens and my

standpoint was that women, particularly women from disadvantaged segments in the

patriarchal Pakistani society have been marginalized and neglected. I have believed that

including their voices and views (as much as including the voice of any other Pakistani)

in policy making in education, peacebuilding, and in all other sectors of society would

contribute vastly to improved, comprehensive, and more fruitful policies.

Having said that, as a researcher, I made every possible effort to put my biases

aside and conduct the research with an open mind. The buffers that I had in place for

doing research open mindedly included countering misgivings related to biased findings

because of my prior beliefs. The first strategy in this connection related to searching for

discrepant cases during data analysis. Searching for discrepant data in qualitative research

is a crucial aspect in data analysis (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Patton, 2002; Maxwell,

2010). Elaborating on discrepant cases, Patton explained this as checking for cases that

do not fit in the pattern because this can "broaden the rule, change the rule, or cast doubt

on the rule" (p. 554). Creswell and Miller (2000) described negative cases as "disconfirming evidence" (p. 127), which allows for data to be analyzed from multiple perspectives. Consequently, data analysis is not limited to finding consistent patterns. Thus, I searched for alternate themes and "rival explanations" (Patton, 2002, p. 553) throughout the data analysis process.

In qualitative research, apart from the overall standards (discussed above), factors related to paradigmatic foundations are considered very important for assessing validity or quality. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), the underpinnings of critical theory paradigm include increasing consciousness about issues of power, such as identifying the sources of inequality and representing perspectives of marginalized and disempowered communities. In addition, focusing on power issues and relationships between the researcher and the researched is another crucial aspect of assessing the quality of qualitative research conducted from the critical theory perspective.

Since this research was conducted from a critical feminist perspective, I focused on the fundamentals of critical theory for quality purposes as well. Among other reasons, I selected participants for this research from a marginalized community to highlight gender inequality in Pakistan. Moreover, by affording respondents an opening to voice their views, these women, who are otherwise sidelined and disenfranchised in the Pakistani milieu, were able to enunciate their thoughts on various peace related aspects. Regarding raising their awareness to oppression, inferences of respondents toward inequity and subjugation of women of their class in Pakistan (elaborated in the findings) indicated that the research was a first step in in that direction.

Another factor regarding ethics from the critical theory perspective was that of power and research relationships. As mentioned earlier, coming from the perspective of critical feminism, it is against my ethics to exercise power. As such, I maintained a non-hierarchical relationship with the participants by respecting them, which was their due; I also maintained a relaxed and friendly rapport throughout the interviews. Moreover, because I conducted interviews from the caring stance, I offered complete space to participants to voice their views and to be responsible contributors during the interviews. Therefore, from the beginning to the end of this research, I worked conscientiously not only to avoid any biases from interfering with the study but also followed the fundamentals of critical theory because I believe in them.

Research Credibility

The terms trustworthiness, credibility (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), and authenticity Patton (2002) are often employed in reference to findings of qualitative research. Patton identified that a main hurdle affecting credible qualitative findings ensues from misgivings of readers who consider that qualitative researchers seek findings in accordance with their preconceived notions and beliefs. As such, a trustworthy research strategy should be one that "does not set out to prove a particular perspective or manipulate the data to arrive at predisposed truths" (p. 51). In order to assure research credibility, I employed the following measures recommended by Patton (2002) and Maxwell (2010).

- Clarifying researcher biases: I clarified my researcher biases and explained how I would deal with such issues.

- Member checks: As discussed earlier, after transcribing interviews, I had a follow up second meeting with interviewees and requested them to read the transcripts to check for an accurate representation of what they had said during the interview. In fact, according to Maxwell (2010), "this is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants' say and do" (p. 283).
- Scrutiny of data analysis and findings: At the end of data analysis and initial findings, I requested that my educator friend in Karachi, Pakistan study the transcripts and the initial findings that emerged from the data. This was akin to a peer review of findings. Therefore in this manner, I pursued an independent explanation and interpretation for the findings of the study.

Boundaries of the Study

One boundary of this research was that participants came only from one city of Pakistan. Additionally, my data collection strategy comprised only interviews; therefore, it was not possible to apply the qualitative strategy of triangulation to my findings from the standpoint of different forms of data collection. Moreover, I conducted only one round of interviews, though participants were contacted for a second meeting for verification of data and also added to their earlier insights during the second meeting. However, on record, only one lengthy interview was conducted.

Also, though Urdu was the language used for interviews, transcriptions, and all analysis procedures, for the purpose of accessibility of this study to a general audience, relevant sections such as codes, categories, themes, and extracts from participants'

interviews included in the study have been translated to English. In doing translations of pertinent passages, I have endeavored to authentically represent views of participants, yet this could be considered a boundary of the research. However, in this and in all other matters, I have worked diligently and open mindedly concerning every step of the study and research process.

Chapter Four: Findings

The findings from the study are presented in this chapter. After brief introductions of participants' backgrounds, a discussion of recurrent themes, supported by excerpts and vignettes from participants' interviews is presented. This is followed by a cross case analysis of similarities and differences between findings from the two groups of participants comprising teachers and stay at home mothers. Data for this study were analyzed using coding techniques of qualitative inquiry delineated by Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Saldaña (2009). Constant comparative analysis, as outlined by Corbin and Strauss was used as an analytical tool throughout the procedures.

Since a major goal of my study was to give voice to grassroots women in Pakistan, interpretations of data and subsequent findings were founded on emic perspectives, i.e. on insights assimilated from participants' interviews and follow up second meetings with them. Nevertheless, throughout the study, the focus of researcher based etic perspectives was on the theoretical framework and research questions pertaining to participants' standpoints on peace, their perceptions of peace in Pakistan, and their views on women's contributions to peace in Pakistan.

Locating the Self

The first phase of analysis entailed understanding participants' backgrounds as demonstrated by interview data. Corbin and Strauss (2008) explained that participants

locate themselves and explain who they were versus who they are now. They further highlighted that "locating" is a major concept under which several minor concepts such as family background and other contextual aspects associated with participants help us understand who the person was and provide us some of the characteristics and scopes of "locating the self" (p. 165), i.e. how the interviewees saw themselves. Corbin and Strauss were of the view that "locating the self can cut across interviews" (p. 165) whereas family background is likely to be different for different participants.

All aspects of participants' descriptions of themselves, their family backgrounds, and their beliefs, which highlighted information relevant to this study, have been included in the participant descriptions. One applicable example is of values with which participants' parents raised them and how they are raising their own children. The identity of all participants was protected by the use of pseudonyms. Also, respecting the autonomy of the women, each participant was asked to choose a name she liked best.

Teachers

Before moving on to introductions of teachers in this study, it is pertinent to deliberate on their demeanor before, during, and after the interviews. The enthusiasm of teachers regarding the interviews was evident; most of them came in their best dresses and looked visibly excited and confident. They were engrossed and interested throughout the interviews and were vocal in expressing their views. Also, the teachers looked visibly happy at the end of the interviews, and most said that they looked forward to reading the transcripts of their interview. Observing the interest and zeal of the interviewee teachers was certainly very heartening.

The teacher participants are introduced in alphabetical order, depending on the name (pseudonym) the teacher chose for herself. All eight teachers belonged to the lower socioeconomic echelons of Pakistani society and all resided in the vicinity of their respective schools so that traveling to and from work was manageable. During the period in which the interviews were conducted, three teachers taught at a small-scale private school and five others taught at an NGO managed school. In addition, six of the teachers were married and had children, while two others were single. In providing introductions, any information that could lead to participant identification has not been included. Following are the eight teachers who participated in this research.

Alina. Youngest among three daughters and two sons, Alina was born and raised in Karachi. Recalling her past, Alina said that her family changed their place of residence twice. On one occasion this happened because her father could not afford to pay the rent and on the second occasion, which was more recent, they had to change their residence because that area, according to her, "was very sensitive and ethnic riots often erupted there." Alina revealed that though she is happy in her new home, long hours of power outages in that area "make life very difficult."

Alina and her siblings were brought up by their mother and maternal grandmother. The values they learned from their mother included speaking the truth, respecting elders, and being kind to everyone. Besides the values their mother raised them with, their grandmother taught them to offer prayers and trained the girls to do housework. Above all, the children were asked to always "keep their tempers under control and never to quarrel with anyone." Alina considered that her father "hardly had a

role" in the upbringing of his children because he came back late from work and did not find time to devote to his children. Though Alina's father and mother treated sons and daughters "equally," according to her, the father has a "soft corner" for his sons. Alina was single and was relatively new to the field of teaching. She had been teaching in school not only because she enjoys doing so but also because she has to provide financial support to her family.

Mashal. Mashal grew up in a joint family, i.e. paternal uncles and their families, paternal grandparents, and her parents with their children living together. Karachi is the only city where she and her family have lived. Including her, there were four sisters and three brothers, but one of her sister's passed away last year "due to illness." She was second among her siblings. Mashal recalled that in the extended family in which she grew up, girls and boys were treated very differently. Her brothers received "special treatment" from both parents. Whether it was in the context of education or distribution of food at the dinner table, the brothers got "preferential treatment." It was the same for her cousins with whom she grew up. The uncles and their wives treated their sons with "special care," whereas they treated the daughters "as if they were unimportant."

It was the responsibility of the women in the family to raise their children. She remembered vividly that her mother was very strict with daughters and taught them to respect elders and never to "utter a word before them." Besides the strict discipline of respecting elders, her mother also taught the daughters to cook and sew. Sometimes, for Mashal and her sisters, this strictness was "too much to endure." Her brothers, she

recalled, "never even got up to fetch a glass of water," because it was considered to be the sisters' "duty" to look after their brothers.

Mashal in now married and has two sons and two daughters. She believes that it is a mother's responsibility to treat all children equally, and according to her, that is what she does. She also explained that her husband "does not show preferential treatment to sons, though sometimes, he praises our sons more than he praises our daughters." The ethics with which she has raised her children include a strong belief in equality and respect for elders. She has also focused on developing an understanding of religious values in her children. Though her husband has an "understanding nature," all final decisions are made by him. Mashal has enjoyed teaching but also needs the salary to manage household expenses because her husband's salary "is not enough."

Nadia. Nadia, like Mashal, also liked to teach but she too needs the money for household expenses. Beside herself, she has one sister and two brothers and was the youngest among the four children. Initially she had three brothers, but one of them was killed during a war with India. Upbringing of the children was solely the responsibility of her mother because her father was "never at home." Moreover, Nadia believed that in Pakistani culture, it is the responsibility of mothers to raise children. Her mother taught the children not only to respect elders, but also to respect those who were younger than them. Nadia's mother emphasized offering prayers five times a day and also guided the children on how to "move about in the outside world." The highlight of her upbringing, as she explained, was to believe that "everyone is human," and that "everyone is equal." Looking back on her past, she thought that the aspect of equality was perhaps emphasized

because they belonged to a "not well to do family" and her mother did not want the children to feel that "money changes the equality status."

Concerning differential treatment to brothers and sisters, Nadia said that while her mother did not differentiate between girls and boys, her father did. However, she was quick to add, "but this does not mean that our father does not love us." She too is married and said that both she and her husband love their children equally; however, she has the "major share" in her children's upbringing and has been raising her son and daughter with the same beliefs that her mother taught her. Additionally, considering the current times, she has cautioned her children to stay away from sectarian and ethnic arguments in school. In her case also, decisions related to "all matters" rest with her husband.

Raina. Riana was the youngest among four sisters and did not have a brother. She and her sisters were brought up by their mother, but her older sister also had a role in her upbringing. According to Raina, this was so because her father was too busy trying to make ends meet. Her mother and sister taught her to always speak the truth, respect elders, say prayers regularly, and never feel afraid of facing struggles in life.

Raina, like her sisters, was born in Multan, a city in the province of Punjab, but when she was about ten years old, her father decided to move to Karachi in search of better economic prospects. The family has since been living in Karachi. According to Riana, her father, did not lament for not having a son. She also added, that if he did have any "regrets in his heart," he had never voiced them.

Now married, Raina has two daughters and one son. She has been teaching her children exactly the same values that she learned from her mother and wants them to

believe in humanity, equality, and love. She also has made "conscious efforts" to explain to her children to stay away from any kind of tussles between students in school. She and her husband collectively make decisions for the family. When her husband disagrees with her views, he does what he thinks is best.

Rija. Third among four siblings, Rija, her two sisters and a brother along with their parents have spent all their lives in Karachi. Having lived all her life in Karachi, Rija loves the city but lamented that it was "a very expensive city" and that it was difficult to make ends meet. Regarding upbringing of children she said that though her mother was responsible for raising the children, her father was "not ignorant of what happened at home." She explained that the values she and her siblings were raised with included religious teachings, upright morals, and respect for elders. The daughters were taught to do housework as well. Whenever the siblings quarreled, their mother was the one to make peace and to reprimand them against quarreling. Rija's father loved his son and daughters equally, but because her brother was "the only son her parents have," she thought that perhaps they are a "little more inclined toward him," even though she reasserted that they have all been treated "equally" at home.

Rija has realized after getting married that women are the ones who have to "make compromises all the time to make their marriage work." She has been fully responsible for raising her three daughters because her husband "keeps very busy" trying to earn a livelihood. One of her daughters will be going to college in the coming year. Because both she and her husband are anxious for their daughter to go to a private college, they will need a lot of money to pay for her tuition. Besides teaching her

daughters values she was brought up with, she also discusses the volatile situation in the country and has cautioned them to be wary of the city situation. She has been telling her daughters that fighting, violence, and terrorism are "negative, evil things" and should be shunned. Regarding her husband's attitude about not having sons, Rija says that he has not "complained" about this, though his parents are unhappy about it and have often expressed their displeasure in her presence.

Sana. Yet another participating teacher in this research, Sana, who has always lived in Karachi, explained that her mother had a "seventy percent share" in her upbringing and the remaining "thirty percent" was her father's responsibility. She grew up in a joint family in which paternal uncles, aunts, and grandparents lived together. Recalling her childhood, she specifically emphasized that in her joint family, there was "no freedom" and "no value of education." Yet, both her parents struggled to educate their two sons and two daughters of which Sana is the second. The children were raised with the values of honesty, respect, and love. They were taught that even though they were not "rich," all human beings, whether rich or poor are equal.

In her initial years of marriage, Sana yet again had to live with her husband's extended family. She emphasized that this was very repressing for her because she could not utter a word in front of her husband's many relatives who were very "domineering." However, she considered herself fortunate because her husband "understood" how she felt, and much against the wishes of the extended family, they moved into a separate house. She also explained that she is working partly because it helps in running household expenses because her husband "does not have a regular job." Raising her only

daughter has been her responsibility and she is doing this by trying to incorporate values of honesty, respect, and love. Regarding "important family decisions," Sana's husband is the one who has the last word.

Shehla. Shehla has one sister, and she is the older of the two. Her mother brought up the two daughters and was very particular about teaching them respect for older and younger people. The two sisters were also taught to cook and do other household chores. Later, when Shehla was getting married, her mother told her how she should behave toward her in-laws. Having lived in Karachi all her life, Shehla said that though the city has "several problems," she would like to continue living here. She does not like the "colony" where she lives with her husband and children, but due to "lack of resources," they cannot afford to live in a better locality.

Shehla is raising two daughters and one son, in the hope that "they will be better than me in every way." Her priority for her children has been to educate them because she wants them to be "good human beings both inside and outside their own society." She believes that this can happen only through proper training at home and education in school. Her husband supports her views regarding their children's upbringing. However, she and her husband argue about certain decisions and usually her husband gets his way. Though Shehla likes to teach, she had always wanted to become a doctor. This could not happen because of lack of money. Currently she too contributes "the little bit" she earns to her household because her husband "does not earn much."

Sozen. Based on alphabetical order of pseudonyms, Sozen is the last of the eight participating teachers. Sozen has one brother and was the older sibling. Karachi was the

only city she knew, because she, her family, and also their "ancestors" had spent their lives in this city. Her mother was the one who brought up her brother and herself because her father, according to her, "never paid any attention to our upbringing." When asked why that was so, she answered, "I don't know that. Maybe, that was his nature or maybe because he did not love us." Moreover, Sozen explained that her father had never had a steady job and that had been the cause of anguish in her family, though her mother had been patient throughout "her very difficult life." Her brother was still studying in college and she was the one who supports her family. She has been giving all her salary to her mother to run the household.

Sozen's mother taught the children to read holy books and also explained the "ups and downs of life" to them. Most of all, she and her brother were taught to be patient in life. This was so because it was often the case that there was not "enough to eat" at home. Besides the quality of patience, the children were also taught to be tolerant because "that is the best way to handle everything." Sozen considered her mother as her role model and said that she tries to emulate her in every way. Sozen is single but hopes to get married in 2013.

Stay at Home Mothers

Prior to introducing the stay at home mothers who participated in this study, it is appropriate to reflect briefly on their demeanor, (as was done in the case of the teachers) before, during, and after the interviews were conducted. Unlike the teacher participants who came in their best dresses, the stay at home mothers were dressed in simple, everyday apparel. Also, on arrival for the interview, the mothers looked composed and

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confident, but the indications of excitement or enthusiasm seen in the teachers were not apparent in their manner. Although they appeared composed before the interviews commenced, two of the mothers were a little tense during the first few minutes of the interview but then seemed to relax. All stay at home mothers were responsive to questions asked and elaborated on their viewpoints, but compared to the teachers, they were not as vocal on all topics brought up in the interviews. After the interviews ended, the stay at home mothers, barring a formal greeting of departure, did not say much.

Like the teacher participants, the stay at home mothers who participated in this research also belonged to the grassroots segments of Pakistani society. Also, like the teachers, the stay at home mothers, resided in the vicinity of the schools where their children were studying. At the time the research was conducted, a shared characteristic among all seven mothers was that each one of them had a daughter or daughters studying in the class of a teacher participant. The stay at home mothers were also asked to choose a pseudonym they liked best, and the brief introductions below are presented in alphabetical order based on the name they chose. Information which could have led to identification of the participants has not been included in their backgrounds.

Aisha. Aisha, her two brothers and a sister, were brought up by both her parents. Aisha was the oldest among the four children and her family had always lived in Karachi. Aisha's mother taught the children "values of life," such as speaking the truth, respecting elders, and offering prayers; her father mentored them regarding "behavior in the outside world." She recalled that her father often talked to the children about maintaining good relationships with neighbors and children in school and explained that if there was a

dispute in the community or in school, they should help solve the matter through dialogue. Aisha proudly disclosed that she cites the example of her father before people, telling them how well he trained his children. She was also proud of the fact that her parents never differentiated between sons and daughters.

Aisha has two daughters, and in raising them, she follows the example of her parents. The responsibility to raise her children is "mostly hers," because her husband came home late from work. Elaborating further, she informed me that though they live in a joint family, i.e. with her husband's extended family of aunts and uncles, her children have never gotten into quarrels with their cousins. Decisions related to the family are taken by the older uncle who is the head of the family. According to Aisha, this was "not an easy thing matter to accept," because she herself had been brought up in an "open minded atmosphere" by her parents; however, she explained that she does not complain because her husband is "a good man." She elaborated further that her husband "does not mind" not having a son and further that he loves his daughters very much. She is very keen to have her daughters highly educated.

Amna. Amna stated forcefully that her entire upbringing was the responsibility of her mother who taught her three children, a daughter (Amna was the eldest among the three) and two sons "never to speak ill of anyone." Her mother also focused on respect for elders and on religious teachings. Amna was also emphatic in stating that as far as she could recall, her father was always busy with his own friends and never found time to share with his children.

Though her family had always lived in Karachi, after marriage, she moved with her husband to Hyderabad, a city in the province of Sindh. It was only a couple of years ago that her husband decided to relocate to Karachi. Regarding upbringing of her two daughters, Amna explained that she has trained them to respect elders, to always be polite, and to offer prayers regularly. Also, she has "made it clear" to her daughters that they must always speak the truth. Being very concerned about "extreme lack of finances" she was sending one of her daughters to a sewing school in the afternoon (the daughter attended regular school in the morning) so that she (the daughter) could earn some money via sewing. Amna also said that she hardly ever leaves the house because her husband does not like it. Furthermore, because she only has daughters, her husband often has complained about not having a son and even threatens to remarry. However, he has no objection to his daughters going to school but "only up to a certain level."

Fatima. Another stay at home mother, Fatima, third among three sisters and two brothers, was brought up by her mother because her father spent a very busy life trying to earn money to keep the household running. Fatima clarified that it was not her father's "fault" that he could not devote time to his children's upbringing because he even worked "night shifts" to earn money for his family. Fatima's mother trained her children to speak the truth, say their prayers, and do housework. She also emphasized that the children maintain a good relationship with everyone. According to Fatima, her parents did not differentiate between daughters and sons.

Fatima specifically referred to the class system in Pakistan, elaborating that there are differences in the way "upper class" and "lower class" people raise their children. She

described herself as a member of the "lower class," and elaborated that she has raised her son and two daughters by explaining to them that they could not afford things that people from the upper class have; as such they must learn to be satisfied with what they have. Her husband has insisted that daughters should not go out of the house except for going to school. He also has wanted that they should not study beyond basic education; Fatima, however, is keen for her daughters to get higher education.

Maria. Maria, the next participant, had a lot of complaints against life in the city of Karachi, even though she had always lived in this city. She thought that life in Karachi was "very tough." Regarding her upbringing, she explained that she, her brother and sister, were "singlehandedly raised by their mother" who showed them how to respect elders and trained the daughters to do household chores. Being the eldest among the children, she usually had to do most of the household chores but did not mind "the major share of work" given to her. Maria's father, who always differentiated between his son and daughters, was never at home because he came back late from work. On the weekends, he either spent time with his brothers or with his friends. Her mother, however, treated her daughters and son in the "same way." Maria considers her mother as her "role model" because, according to her, she gave them the "best training." According to her, had it not been for their mother, the children would have been "immensely neglected."

Maria has trained her daughters to be polite to everyone and to never get into any disputes. She wants them to be "kind and empathetic" to everyone because these are the "best qualities in a person." Another aspect that Maria considers important is that of

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education; she wants both her daughters to work hard and get good grades in school so that, later on in life, they can get college and university level education. Maria does not have any sons but her husband is not "displeased about this," though sometimes he wonders whether life would have been different if they had a son. Life has been difficult for Maria's family because they do not have enough money to "lead a comfortable life" and sometimes there has been a lot of "tension" due to this factor.

Ruchna. Ruchna also said that the responsibility of bringing up children in their family rested with her mother. Ruchna, her sister, and two brothers were trained to respect everyone, and to never raise their voice in front of the elders of the family. Second among the four siblings, Ruchna recalled that when she was growing up, her parents lived in a joint family. Therefore, her mother made sure that the children respected all uncles, aunts, and cousins. Having lived in Karachi all her life, she felt that the city, which was once "peaceful and beautiful," has been "infected by violence, and terrorism."

Ruchna also revealed that sons in their family got much more "importance" than daughters, but that she herself treats her only son and two daughters "equally," though her husband shows a "clear preference for their son." She has trained her children to work hard in life, never to be upset by hurdles, and to always look at the positive side of things. Considering the situation in the country, she is apprehensive about her family's safety; therefore, in guiding her children, she also emphasizes that they stay away from disputes of every kind.

Warrira. Warrira and her younger siblings, a sister and a brother, were also brought up by their mother because according to her, "in our society, it is the responsibility of mothers to bring up children." She elaborated that their mother treated her three children as friends and was never strict with them. She always explained "the differences between right and wrong." Her mother led a very simple life and that is what she taught her children as well. Even though Warrira's parents had spent their entire lives in the "modern city of Karachi," their mother led by example and showed them how to live a simple life. Warrira also emphasized that her parents did not differentiate between the son and daughters. Her father, she recalled was also "a simple person" and preferred to stay with his family when he was not working. However, when important decisions had to be made, it was always her father who had the final word. .

Concerning the upbringing of her two sons and two daughters, Warrira said that she explains to her children that everyone is equal in the eyes of God. She has also taught her children to respect elders and to say their prayers regularly. Due to the current violence in the city, she has told her children never to get into any argument in school. Her husband according to her is "understanding," but does not involve her in decisions he makes. When the decision has been made, he just lets her know. According to her, "the best thing about her husband was that he is good to the children, both to the boys and to the girls."

Zainab. When Zainab and her brother were growing up, their family lived on the outskirts of the city of Larkana in Sindh. They moved to Karachi when Zainab, the older of the two siblings, was in the eighth grade. In Zainab's case, though her mother raised

the children, her father also "took an interest in our upbringing." She happily expressed that her father was more attached to her, while her mother loved both the children equally. Both parents were particular about their children's education but her mother was also concerned about teaching them religious values. Zainab recalled that her father took his children "all the way to Larkana" to attend school. Zainab fondly remembered her father as a "very hardworking and kind man," and also informed me that he had passed away a few months ago. She was all praise for her mother also because she thought that her mother was "the best" and had always focused on their moral development.

Zainab now has full responsibility for the upbringing of her own children, so much so that in her words, "my husband does not even know in which grades our children study." If a parent is called to school by the principal, it is only Zainab who attends the meetings. Her husband does not get time for their two daughters and one son due to the difficult nature of his job. Zainab has focused on her children's schooling because she understands the importance of educating. Her husband makes decisions in all "important matters," but she does not mind that.

Comparing Participants Backgrounds

The above introductions provided a glimpse into the backgrounds of the selected participants for this study. Based on comparisons of participant teachers' backgrounds, it was seen that with the exception of one teacher who said that her father had "thirty percent" responsibility for her upbringing, all others explained that they had been brought up by their mothers. Similarly, the six teachers who were married and had children, highlighted that they have the responsibility for raising their children. The values that

these particular teachers were raised with were similar. For instance, all were taught to respect elders, and all were taught religious values. Two teachers highlighted that belief in equality was an important value they were raised with and it was emphasized in their upbringing, that regardless of a person's wealth, everyone is equal. Also, most teachers voiced their views regarding difficulty in making ends meet, and all said that they have been contributing their salary to the family budget.

In highlighting how they raise their own children, one teacher specified that in addition to teaching them values she was brought up with, she is also raising awareness in her children against ethnic and sectarian strife. Another indicated that she advises her children not to get involved in quarrels in school. Other teachers who have children stated that they were incorporating the same values in their children with which they themselves were raised.

The brief backgrounds of the stay at home mothers also revealed that the responsibility for the upbringing of most of them rested with their mothers and also that all of them are currently raising their own children with values similar to the ones they were raised with. The reasons cited for the responsibility falling on the mothers' shoulders appeared to be the same in every case, i.e., the busy schedule of the fathers. However, one participant specifically said that in the Pakistani society it was the mother's responsibility to raise children. Also, considering that exceptions are always there, it did not come as a surprise when Aisha cited the example of her father because of the excellent training he had given his children.

In comparing backgrounds of the two groups of participants, barring a few minor differences, backgrounds of both teachers and mothers demonstrated noticeable similarities. The values incorporated in their upbringing were the same for both groups, such as respecting elders, building religious values, speaking the truth, and being polite to everyone. Also principles they were incorporating in their children's upbringing were mostly similar. Understanding participants' backgrounds and how they reflected on their past and present situation assisted immensely in moving on to deeper phases of analysis and making a connection between their backgrounds and views.

Analytical Procedures in Summary

Before moving on to discuss the findings from the study, the procedures for analysis, elaborated in chapter 3 are revisited briefly. After analyzing data for understanding participants' backgrounds, the next step in the analytical process was that of coding raw data and assigning concepts to parts of data in accordance with the main ideas revealed in interview transcripts. Forty concepts identified via coding of data in this phase (shown in Figure 1 in the previous chapter) led to the next step which entailed combining similar concepts to from distinct categories. After combining similar concepts, 13 discrete categories (shown in Figure 2 in the previous chapter) were formed, indicating the main themes prevalent in data. The findings from this study and emerging themes from data are explained below.

Recurring Patterns and Themes

Findings were developed on the basis of frequency of codes and recurring patterns that appeared in the data. Comparisons for identifying recurring patterns in data were

made at three levels: within the same interview, between interviews of one group, and between interviews of the two groups of participants. Some themes overlapped for participants' broad understanding of peace as well as for peace specifically from a Pakistani standpoint. Among themes that overlapped, a war and violence free world, ending all intrastate conflicts, and spreading education had the strongest presence in data. Other corresponding themes reflecting participants' views for wide-ranging interpretations of peace as well as for peace in Pakistan, included unity, tolerance, freedom, and homes being spaces from which peace should originate.

Beside ending all intrastate conflicts and providing education, other themes that evidenced solid manifestation in data explicitly in Pakistan's milieu comprised elimination of poverty, provision of basic necessities of life, mental peace, women's rights inclusive of ending domestic violence, and an upright leadership. An additional theme that occurred in Pakistan's schema for peace but appeared comparably less frequently in data comprised a positive role of media, because participants' stressed that Pakistani media has to play a positive role to promote peace and unity in the country. Among these themes, ones that recurred more often in data and had the strongest presence include ending of intrastate conflicts, providing quality education, ending poverty, and provision of basic necessities. Themes that had a comparatively less presence were those related to mental peace and women's rights. The aspect of upright leadership was interconnected with all other themes. For instance, participants expressed the view that because the leadership of the country was not upright and diligent, interstate

conflicts could not be controlled, poverty could not be eliminated, and basic necessities could not be provided to the masses in the country.

Regarding themes associated with identifying women's contributions to peace in Pakistan, the most prominent insights included women's contributions as homemakers, as educators, and as social workers. Furthermore, participants highlighted women's struggle for their rights in the country. Another outlook that emerged in this connection, but with lesser frequency, pertained to women's role in politics. Over-lapping themes for participants' general views on peace as well as for peace in the Pakistani situation, and themes specifically pertinent to the Pakistani context, referred to briefly in this section, are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Over-Lapping Themes

Among over-lapping themes emerging from a cross case analysis from within one group and then between the two groups, a violence free world and an end to all conflicts were the leading and most recurrent themes in women's generic perspectives of peace as well as for peace in the Pakistani milieu. However, both, the framework and substance varied for the overall agenda of peace and for peace in the Pakistani locale. Also, the teachers and stay at home mothers were not as vocal in voicing general perspectives of peace as they were in sharing their views on peace in their country.

Whereas for an understanding of peace, women generally stressed ending all external wars between countries but with respect to Pakistan, they emphasized complete eradication of all intrastate conflicts. In their general perceptions concerning a nonviolent world, participants highlighted the futility and devastation of war but from Pakistan's

perspective their outlook was subjective and reflective of the current conditions in Pakistan. Excerpts from interviews supporting these standpoints of participants are included in the discussion of specific themes.

A war free world. Among a variety of responses regarding what peace is, the most common answer that all participants provided related to absence of war. Some women elaborated on the futility of war, others commented on the devastation that war brings. Aisha, a stay at home mother, spoke about both issues. In her words:

> All we get from wars is death and destruction. I don't know why people can't understand that wars are useless; wars achieve nothing. I think that if there are problems between countries, leaders should discuss the issues and find solutions. If there are no wars, then only can we have peace.

Maria, another stay at home mother, expressing her views on war, asserted that no one has the right to kill. She also stressed that no religion allows killing of others and that all killings must end. According to her:

> I'm a simple person and cannot understand why people wage wars. But I know and understand that no one has the right to take life. Only God can do that. No Muslim, no Hindu, no Christian, no one can take anyone's life. The world will have peace only when we understand this.

Nadia, a teacher, also advocated a war free world as an essential factor for peace and urged for destruction of all weapons. Also, she was very passionate while speaking on the topic of war. The following vignette from her interview reflects this:

You know, I lost my only brother in India's war with Pakistan in 1971. He was a soldier. But you know I was only a little girl at that time and don't even remember his face. My mother talks to us about him. There must be so many mothers in the world who have lost their sons, so many women who have lost their brothers, husbands….I think all weapons must be destroyed. People should not have any weapons, either nuclear or any other weapons.

The three excerpts shown above present analysis of war and peace from different angles: Aisha offered a route for resolving disputes between countries via dialogue because wars only lead to devastation. Maria's statement may seem simple on the surface, but it carried a deep message. It was an appeal to people of all religions to realize that killing is prohibited in any faith and until individuals and societies comprehend and accept this fact, there can be no peace. Initially, Nadia's words projected an angle of personal loss, but what stood out in the quote was the empathy she had toward other women who have experienced similar losses. This connoted a consideration not only of one's own suffering but also of anguish sustained by others. The views of these women are therefore noteworthy. Moreover, the characteristic of nonviolence corresponded with their explanations of the schema for peace.

Ethnic and sectarian conflicts. Though the theme of nonviolence and a war free society overlapped in participants' perspectives of peace as well as for peace in Pakistan, their views with respect to Pakistan related to the contextual situation of current intrastate conflicts raging in the country. All teachers and stay at home mothers underscored that ethnic and sectarian conflicts within the country have to end if peace is to prevail in

Pakistan. Furthermore, they called for an end to terrorism, suicide bombings, and targeted killings of specific communities. An excerpt from Shehla's interview encompassed views that most women expressed:

> There is no peace left in Pakistan. You know, when we leave home we don't even know if we will come back. There is so much violence, so much killing in the country… killing of Mohajirs by Pathans and Pathans by Mohajirs, killings in Baluchistan; the worst thing is this Sunni and Shia fight. We are all Muslims and we should think like Muslims. In the past all communities lived together. All this killing, this terrorism has been an immense setback for the country. It has affected normalcy of life and it has severely impacted Pakistan's economic sector. Peace can return only if we learn to live together again.

Shehla's words revealed the fear and uncertainty which have haunted the Pakistani population. In addition, a significant aspect in this quote related to her emphasis on a Muslim identity rather than on an ethnic or sectarian identity. The reference to a Muslim identity is steeped deeply in the religious and cultural setting of Pakistan because most Pakistanis believe that India was divided to enable Muslims to practice their religion and culture in a separate country.

Another relevant aspect of Shehla's quote concerned the economic setback the country has experienced due to widespread violence. It is a known fact that businesses and trade have been massively affected by the situation, to the extent that some textile industries have closed and many Pakistanis are moving their businesses and finances out of the country. Bokhari (2013) stated that since the last few years, large industrial

enterprises, and textile units in particular, have been moving from Karachi and Punjab to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Dubai, and Singapore. Elaborating further, Bokhari (2013) stated that over the last one year, even the small industrial units either have been closing down or moving out. He considered two major factors responsible for this: the first was the prevailing security situation in the country and the second was the energy crisis the country has been facing. Bokhari further emphasized, that if such a situation continues, it will be devastating for the country's economy, because, the country has already suffered losses of millions of rupees.

To express her views on ethnic conflicts in the country, Warrira, a stay at home mother, used the terms "ethnic hatred," instead of ethnic strife or violence. Her standpoint was that ethnic hatred was spreading to educational institutions as well. The following vignette from her interview shed further light on her views:

My family recently moved to (name of locality) and I took two of my children to a nearby school for admission. Those in the management of the school...well, I don't want to take any names; the first question the people in the management asked me concerned my ethnicity. In fact, one of them asked me directly if I was a (ethnic identity). The moment I said yes I am a (ethnic identity) they retorted that there was no place for my children in their school. You can imagine how I must have felt. I held my children's hands and walked out of the school. I said to myself that I am a Pakistani but if admission is given here on the basis of ethnicity, who knows what they teach in that school. Maybe they even teach

ethnic hatred in that school. I think a main reason for not having peace in Pakistan is that we live as Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, but not as Pakistanis.

This vignette not only provides a glimpse of the extent to which ethnic hatred is fanned in Pakistan but is also cause for alarm for Warrira and many others like her. Warrira's indication is that education should lead the way in the direction of tolerance and peace rather than intolerance and hatred. Biggs (1999) underscored that schools are places for initiating peace. Accentuating on the role of education specifically in the Pakistani context, Nayyar and Salim (2004) stated that education has to play an important role in achieving the goal of a progressive, moderate, and democratic Pakistan. They further highlighted that children in Pakistani schools must learn to value responsibility, equality, justice, and peace. Furthermore, Reimers and Chung (2010) emphasized that education, particularly peace education, teaches people to work out their differences in respectful, empathetic, and tolerant ways. Thus Warrira's alarm and anxiety are understandable, because, not only was she taken by surprise at the reaction of the management, but she expected schools to teach tolerance and peace, rather than hatred. Another very important aspect regarding Warrira's statement was that she identified herself as a Pakistani rather than on an ethnic or religious basis.

One of the teacher participants, Alina, also condemning ethnic strife, blamed political parties for the ethnic divide in the country. Like Warrira, she too emphasized a Pakistani identity and considered political parties responsible for destroying peace in Pakistan. In her words:

Political parties in Pakistan are based on ethnicities; when these parties have rallies, supporters attend the rallies carrying party flags. No one carries a Pakistani flag. The Pakistani flag is all but forgotten. We must realize that we are all Pakistanis and not Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans, and Mohajirs. Peace can return when we start thinking like Pakistanis, when we raise the Pakistani flag….

All the preceding excerpts have one commonality, i.e. an emphasis on moving beyond ethnicity and accepting a strong Pakistani identity. Shehla however, was more focused on a Muslim identity. Warrira reflected on the situation more in terms of personal experience and Alina on the role of political parties in spreading ethnic divide. Regardless of the stance of participants, one factor that emerged from these and other interviews was that Pakistan needs ethnic and religious tolerance if peace is to prevail in the country.

Yet another aspect related to violence in Pakistan that participants commented on was terrorism and suicide bombing in the country. Twelve women spoke about the War on Terror that Pakistan is fighting with NATO forces and the United States. Eleven out of the 12 participants who spoke on the War on Terror accentuated that terrorism in Pakistan was happening because of its support of this war. They blamed the War on Terror for suicide bombings and other attacks of terrorism in the county; however, Rija, a teacher, was very vocal in her support for this war:

> We need to get terrorists out of our country, therefore we must give every support to this war…. this is what I think, though I know that many people will not agree with me. We must all unite and support this war for the sake of peace.

These words indicate a paradox because on the one hand, all participants in the study, including Rija, had emphatically condemned war as an obstruction to peace, whereas in this instance, Rija's words imply support for the War on Terror. On deeper thought however, it could be inferred that from her viewpoint, as an exception, if the price of peace is war, and if there is no other option, then out of necessity, Pakistan needs to fight this war to rid itself of terrorism.

Unity and tolerance. Closely linked to ending all conflicts, data indicated recurring concepts of unity and tolerance that overlapped with participants' perspectives of peace and also for peace specifically related to Pakistan. In fact, Fatima's understanding of peace was the following: "If I were to define peace in one word, I would say it is tolerance. If we can be tolerant of everyone, then we can live in peace." Other thoughts expressed in this respect by all teachers and mothers concerned tolerance and unity among the people of all provinces in Pakistan. Some women spoke of "friendship" and "understanding" between the people of all nations. From the viewpoint of tolerance and unity, another view expressed by some participants concerned stronger countries' tolerance and understanding toward weaker ones and the importance of developed countries contributing to the development of weaker states. In this connection, Raina said the following:

> I personally think that it is the responsibility of all leaders of the world, especially those who lead strong, and powerful countries to help the weaker ones; what we are seeing these days, is just the opposite; every rich country wants to exploit the poor countries to their advantage….I personally think, …my view is, that if there

is a genuine desire for peace, then it is the responsibility of leaders of strong

countries to be tolerant toward weaker countries and to help these countries to

develop. I think if this can happen it would be very good for the whole world. I

think there was never a greater need for unity between countries as it is in these

present times.

In the preceding excerpts, Fatima emphasized tolerance and considered this as a

central aspect of peace. In fact, for her, peace is tolerance. Thus Fatima placed the

responsibility of tolerance generally on the people of the world indicating that if people

of the world are tolerant of each other, there would be no cause for war. Raina however,

placed the responsibility of spreading tolerance and unity more on the leaders of stronger

countries than on general populations and added that besides being tolerant toward

weaker nations, leaders of stronger countries must also help weaker countries develop.

Though the two participants differed in their views on who should bear the onus of

spreading tolerance, nonetheless, both considered tolerance as an essential aspect of

peace. A profound characteristic of Raina's viewpoint concerned her thought regarding

tolerance and unity never being more important than they currently are.

Education. The patterns in data also indicated a strong manifestation of education

as an overlapping theme in women's standpoint of peace around the world and also in

their specific perspectives of peace in Pakistan. Thirteen women considered education as

a contributing factor to peace. However, for their general views on peace, all mothers,

with the exception of Zainab, commented generally on educating people all over the

world because they thought that educated people would understand that "wars are evil"

and would perhaps stay away from combat. Zainab highlighted particular facets of education that could contribute to peace. The following excerpt presents Zainab's outlook:

> I think education is actually a part of peace. I mean, I don't know how to put this in words, but what I'm trying to say is that for me, education is a constituent of peace. If a human being is educated, then in my opinion, that person will understand the difference between good and bad. My view is that education should develop good morals and if people have good morals they will never fight each other. I think if human beings are educated and if they develop good morals through education, then they can teach better morals to their children. I believe very strongly that if the morals of a nation are good, then that country can be a home for peace.

Sozen, a teacher, had a different take on education. She indicated that education can only contribute to peace if a positive image of the people of the world is presented in schools. The following vignette from her interview further elaborated her stand.

> Education must show a positive image of the people of the world. We teach about wars in history and that such and such persons were our enemies and how bad they were and how we defeated and killed them. I think that we should tell students how good the people of the world are, instead of saying how bad they are.

Sozen was requested for clarification regarding her reference to "we," i.e. who she had in mind while using the term "we." Her prompt reply was that she was referring to Pakistanis. This is how she clarified the matter:

> I can only refer to Pakistan because this is where I teach, but I think the same thing must be happening in other countries also; I don't really know…I, I'm not sure. But in our history lessons, we keep saying how bad our enemies were and how we defeated them. I think we must forget about past wars and project a positive image of the people of the world. Education should teach love, and if you love people, then there will be peace.

In the first excerpt on education quoted above, the embodiment of education as an agent for moral development was not exclusively mentioned by Zainab. Although she was the only mother who discussed this topic, six out of eight teachers also held the perspective that building ethical values should be a part of education. In the second excerpt, Sozen's standpoint that education should portray a positive image of the world propagated that horizons of education need to be widened to include a constructive image of the nations and people of the world and that, according to her, at least history lessons need to go beyond battles lost and won. In Pakistan's current history books, there are endless references to wars with India and how East Pakistan was separated from the West wing due to conspiracies. Furthermore, these texts even deliberate on wars that Moghul emperors waged. Discussing this aspect, Nayyar and Salim (2004) underscored that the Social Studies, Pakistan Studies, Civics, Urdu and even English curricula prescribed by provincial Text Book Boards from grades 1 through 12 are contrary to the goals of a

moderate and progressive Pakistan. They emphasized that these texts not only represent history inaccurately, but that these texts also incite to violence and glorify war. Nayyar and Salim (2004) further highlighted that in Social Studies textbooks, material is presented in such a way that encourages the student to be hostile toward other social groups and people in the region. However, these authors also clarified that for the first 25 years after Pakistan's creation there was enlightened teaching of history, but things started changing thereafter, specifically after the introduction of a subject known as Pakistan Studies.

Though participants considered education as a relevant factor in their general perceptions of peace, it was from Pakistan's perspective that participants, particularly all the teachers, spoke at length on education. In doing so, on the one hand they highlighted that education can contribute to peace, but on the other hand, they were very critical of education in Pakistan not being "proper," "not playing its role," to the extent that one participant said that education in Pakistan was "not serving any purpose." All eight teachers, (barring nominal differences in views) defined a precise and specific kind of education in Pakistan if it were to contribute to peace. In this respect, Sana said the following:

If you ask me, education in our country is really not education. There is no education for morals and ethics. We teach the same books year after year. In some government schools, teachers don't even come. If we don't have a proper education system, nothing will change. The thinking of people needs to change

here; they must learn good morals, unity and love through education. The government must focus on this issue.

There was not a single teacher who did not bring up the above issues pertaining to change of syllabus, proper education, and other related issues. Alina went to the extent of saying, "education here (in Pakistan) really serves no purpose except for teaching children how to read and write." Moreover, four teachers explained that in "expensive private schools," education was imparted "differently" than in government schools and small-scale private schools like theirs. Upon asking these teachers if they believed that education in private schools developed ethics and had "a purpose," two of the four teachers answered in the negative saying that what they had implied was that the schools had sophisticated equipment, and also to the best of their knowledge, teaching methods were "somewhat" different there. The other two teachers who had brought up the topic of education not catering to any authentic purpose, responded that they were not aware of the purpose educators focus on in "big private schools," but when they come across students who are products of these schools, they realize that these students know "much more," as compared to students in the small scale private and government schools.

Three teachers also raised the issue of including "proper" Islamic education in schools; for example, Raina was of the viewpoint that "the blame for a lot of what is happening in Pakistan lies on the shoulders of mullahs who completely misinterpret Islam." She recommended inclusion of proper Islamic education in schools. When asked if Islamic education was not already being conducted in schools, Raina responded that though it was, "the real spirit of Islam is not being taught."

Each teacher, after she had spoken in detail about education was asked if she had heard of "peace education." All eight teachers responded that they had not. Upon asking if subjects they taught included any topics on peace, seven teachers answered in the negative while one teacher responded that "one lesson in the Urdu textbook focuses on peace." Every teacher, however, expressed the manner in which they, on an individual level, incorporated peace oriented strategies in their classroom. Examples of such strategies mostly pertained to peaceful settlement of disputes and quarrels among children in the classroom. A couple of teachers said that they sometimes asked children to write a paragraph on peace or on the situation in their city and related measures for improvement. Others said that on their school day (which is once a year) they have tableaus and speeches emphasizing unity and peace.

Stay at home mothers who were more vocal on education in Pakistan than on education generally, mostly offered views regarding spreading of education to all. Some did say that their children were "not learning much" in school. Maria described the situation in the following way:

> I think education can teach children to lead a better life. I mean, I think that
> education can help to understand matters better and it can serve the purpose of
> building friendship and unity. It is important to be educated…that is why I pay
> special attention to my children's education, but from what I see, my children are
> not really learning much at school. I think steps must be taken to improve
> education for our children so that they can learn about unity, friendship, and other
> such matters in school.

All stay at home mothers, like teachers, were asked if they thought their daughters were learning anything related to peace in schools or whether the syllabus contained anything on peace. Three of the stay at home mothers responded that they had not looked at the syllabus or books; two others said that though they helped their children with homework, they had not come across anything related to peace, ethical development, or unity. Furthermore, they were not aware whether teachers in classrooms did any peace related activities or not. Only one mother said that sometimes her daughter came back from school and narrated how the teacher settled a dispute between students in the classroom.

Analyzing the several angles on education that data from teachers and stay at home mothers projected, one factor stands out: the participants vociferously advocated change in the system of education. Teachers were particularly vocal about change of syllabus and favored inclusion of subjects related to peace and moral development in the syllabus. This indicates that the selected teachers and mothers were not satisfied with the current status of education in Pakistan. The emphasis of participants' on inclusion of peace related subjects for education to cater to a change in thinking reflected their belief that education could accomplish this; however, they all felt that this could happen only if education incorporated factors related to peace and unity into its realm. Furthermore, their views also reflected the belief that ethical development can contribute to peace. Education that gears toward moral development, unity, and change of mindset were thus most important facets of education, according to the respondents in this study.

Freedom. Aspects related to freedom emerged as vital factors in participants'
overview of peace and also for peace in Pakistan. Six participants, all teachers,
considered freedom as a substantial aspect of peace. Though different characteristics of
freedom were highlighted by participants, and a variety of words and phrases were used
interchangeably to denote freedom, the resulting implications were similar. Sana
advocated freedom of opinion and speech as being essential constituents of peace because
in her words "If you are not free to express your views, then you cannot be at peace; you
feel restless and choked." Alina preferred to use the term "independence," explaining that
there should be no interference either at the personal or country level. Elaborating further,
she said, "If there was no dictation by others, if we could have independence, then I think
this would vastly help everyone to be peaceful."

For Mashal, freedom signified "breaking the shackles of domination." She
expressed the view that (among other factors), domination was a key obstacle in the way
of peace. The following is an excerpt from her interview:

It is very difficult to give a complete definition of peace….but I think, in order to

have peace, it is very important that we break away from the shackles of

domination. Anybody from your home, to your office, to your country should not

dominate. In homes domination smothers a person; if people are dominated in the

office, they cannot work efficiently, if they are dominated in a country by the

government, then a time comes when they rise for their freedom….did you see

what happened in Egypt and other countries. In my view, to be at peace, you need

to be free whether in Pakistan or anywhere else in the world.

Freedom was referenced in similar contexts in their general views on peace and for peace in Pakistan; however, considering the Pakistani context, Mashal added that "majority of the population in Pakistan are oppressed; unless they get their freedom, they cannot get peace." When she was requested to explain the term oppression, she explained it in the following way:

> I mean…I mean subjugation—perhaps that's the best way I can explain it. People like us are subjugated at every step of our lives: socially, economically, and even by the government. The government does nothing for us at all. Until this subjugation ends, conflicts will never end in Pakistan; there will be no peace."

Considering participants' concepts of freedom, it is evident that these women closely associated peace with freedom and indicated that if there is no freedom, there will be no peace. However, in expressing their views, different dimensions of freedom were referenced and each dimension had its own dynamics. Sana's emphasis on freedom of opinion and speech indicated that not only are women not allowed to express their views, there are restrictions even on their thought. Alina preferred to use the term "independence" because what she values most is that there should be no "interference" from any quarter in the life of an individual. The emphasis here was on people being free to lead their lives in a way they consider best. Mashal's metaphor regarding domination smothering a person at home was vivid and forceful. In voicing that view, she was perhaps indicating the rigid and strict conditions under which some populations, particularly at the grassroots level of society in Pakistan have lived. More importantly, the subjugation referred to by Mashal was an indicator of the different levels of

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suppression in Pakistan; the social, the economic, and the political found in the Pakistani society, especially for the underprivileged. The implication that the preceding excerpts carry is that an emancipation from oppression at all levels should be granted across the board to everyone, otherwise there will continue to be hindrances to peace in Pakistan and generally throughout the world.

Peace originating at home. A theme that has a noticeable presence in stay at home mothers' interviews is that of peace originating at home. Five stay at home mothers brought up this topic with respect to their broad views on peace as well as in Pakistan's setting. All five highlighted that the first steps toward peace should begin at home. They also agreed that it was a mother's responsibility to train her children adequately for peace. Furthermore, they asserted that it was the women who needed to keep peace in the entire family by not getting into arguments with their husbands or in-laws so that the children should not be influenced in a negative way. However, two of the participants who had broached this subject also said that considering their circumstances at home, it was very difficult to "fully achieve" this objective though they were trying their level best. Additionally, these mothers also suggested that peace could spread from homes to communities and perhaps even to the country. Following is an excerpt from Ruchna's interview:

> For me, peace begins at home. If there is peace at home, it could be spread to the neighborhood, and to the entire society. I think that it is a mother's duty to teach her children to maintain peace at home. It is also our responsibility to see to it that there are no quarrels at home. I think that if mothers can show the way, the

children will also behave in the same way (peacefully) when they are outside the home. I often hear shouting and screaming from my neighbor's home. If the atmosphere of the home is like this, I mean shouting and screaming, how can there be peace outside?

Mothers who expressed the thought that peace should begin at home had similar viewpoints. Except for one mother, Aisha, who put the onus of generating peace in homes on both parents, the others considered this to be the responsibility of mothers. Therefore data from stay at home mothers' interviews indicated that mothers should be role models in their homes and that perhaps responsibility of peace in homes rests entirely with the mothers. This view clearly projected thinking of the Pakistani patriarchal society, which has been thrust on the women, particularly women belonging to the disadvantaged strata of society.

Thus among themes overlapping for women's generic perspectives of peace and for peace in Pakistan, the most prominent related to the absence of war and eradication of all intrastate conflicts, including sectarian and ethnic strife. Other themes that overlapped in both contexts included unity and tolerance, spreading education—particularly in Pakistan's context—and an education inclusive of ethics, unity, tolerance, and proper Islamic education. Furthermore, another dominant theme was that of freedom. From Pakistan's viewpoint, a freedom that liberated the people from all forms of oppression was most important. Finally, stay at home mothers voiced their opinion regarding peace originating at home, whether it was the world over or in Pakistan. A significant point to

note is that rather than provide abstract definitions of the term "peace," participants

expressed views on actions conducive to peace.

Themes Specific to Pakistan's Context

Having elaborated on themes that overlapped for participants' general

perspectives of peace as well as for their views of peace in Pakistan, this section

discusses themes that arose specifically from participants' perceptions of peace in

Pakistan. These were standpoints that the participating teachers and stay at home mothers

did not bring up for their generic views on peace but emphasized specifically from the

context of Pakistan. On making comparisons within single interviews, within group

interviews, and between interviews of the two groups, the strongest of the recurring

themes and one that ran across all interviews, related to poverty, inflation, and

joblessness.

Poverty. All participants identified that apart from ending intrastate violence, a

foremost factor for establishing peace in Pakistan related to elimination, or at least

reduction of poverty, inflation, and provision of jobs to people. In fact, the women in this

study considered poverty as one of the causes of violence in the country. Raina, a teacher,

summarized how poverty contributed to violence in the following words:

> Poverty is the main culprit. I think that in Pakistan, poverty leads to so much
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> violence. I think poverty can even destroy a whole society; my view is that this is
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> exactly what is happening in Pakistan. Young men and even teenage boys are so
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> frustrated because of poverty that they get involved with criminals. You know, I
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> can tell you that these gangs of terrorists who want to destroy Pakistan, offer

money to the frustrated young boys to join them. Once in the clutches of these gangs, there is no escape for them. I think if poverty is eliminated, or even reduced, there will be much less violence. It is the government's duty to help eliminate poverty and provide jobs…. unfortunately, all government officials just fill their own pockets.

Raina's metaphor of describing poverty as a culprit identified poverty as a prime perpetrator of violence in Pakistan. This is a very forceful example, particularly when she said that poverty can destroy a whole society. Two other aspects from her excerpt deserve attention: the first indicated that the dynamics of peace are not only related to physical conflicts but also to other deprivations of a society. Conversely it can be said that aspects such as poverty have been responsible for generating conflicts in a society. A second aspect that demands attention is the negligence and ineptness of the government toward its people.

Though Maria, a mother, was also of the view that poverty instigated violence, she also added that it disrupted family life. Moreover, she described the combination of poverty and joblessness as "lethal." Here is what she said:

You know, there is so much inflation; so much poverty and to make matters worse, there are so many people, even educated people who are jobless. I think poverty and joblessness together can kill a person. You know, jobless youth are even lured into violence because they are offered money. My husband often loses his temper with us because currently he is without any job; he feels frustrated that we don't have enough money to live on. You know, my children are still in school

and can't earn any money yet. We don't have peace at home and there is no peace outside home. Life is very difficult for us….

The above excerpt offer insight on obstacles to peace in Pakistan. Maria's narration signified disturbance of domestic peace due to lack of finances and inflation. Since in Pakistan, the ratio of poor people is much more than those who are affluent, Maria's words reflected the condition of a majority of families in the country. Additionally, most participants (both teachers and stay at home mothers) expressed similar views as Maria's. These women also emphasized that it was the government's duty to reduce inflation and poverty and to create jobs. Though ineffectiveness and corruption of government was a theme in its entirety for lack of peace in Pakistan (explained later in this section) government and its failure was brought up by participants in almost every phase of the interviews.

Lack of basic necessities. Additionally, a theme that dominated from Pakistan's perspective of peace in participants' experience, concerned deprivations of the common man due to lack of basic necessities of life. All the selected women in the study complained about long hours of load shedding and lack of potable water. Load shedding is the term for describing the deliberate switching off of electrical supply. This happens when the demand for consumption of electricity exceeds the electricity supply that the electric network can generate. These women also asserted that lack of basic necessities not only disturbed their lives but was also a huge factor causing absence of peace. They clarified that peace in homes is disturbed by shortage of basic amenities. More importantly, lack of these essential services led to riots and protests. Participants

explained that violent mobs protesting against lack of basic amenities, block roads, burn buses and other vehicles, and sometimes even loot property. Moreover, they were vocal once again in condemning government for its disinterest in the welfare of the people. Fatima complained that her children sometimes "lay awake for the whole night because there is no electricity and there are so many mosquitos." Ruchna, besides complaining about electricity and water, also mentioned scarcity of basic food items. Her words are quoted below:

> Sometimes there is no flour in the market and sometimes there is no sugar. They hide these items and later sell them at black market prices. We can't afford to buy items that are so expensive. But I can tell you, the worst of all is the electricity problem. You know, sometimes we don't have electricity for 15 to 24 hours at a stretch. The general public gets fed up and goes out on streets to protest; they burn vehicles, loot banks and there is chaos. You know, even at the peak of summer when the temperature is more than 110 degrees Fahrenheit, sometimes we don't have electricity for 15 to 18 hours in the day.

Most participants also associated availability of basic amenities or lack thereof with peace by saying that it was because of lack of necessities such as shelter, health care, electricity, and water, that peace is disturbed. Thus focusing specifically on Pakistan's context, participants established a strong link between lack of basic necessities and peace. They also considered that the government in the country did not take any measures to alleviate the distress of the masses.

Lack of inner peace. Yet another theme that did not come up in participants' general views of peace but emerged in Pakistan's context, related to mental tension and lack of inner peace. Five teachers highlighted this factor. While their concepts pertaining to this aspect were more similar than different, two teachers blamed the violent situation and the deprivation of amenities for lack of inner peace; three others added poverty as a third factor responsible for mental tension and missing inner peace. Here is what Amna, a stay at home mother said:

> We don't have mental peace; ask anybody, they will tell you that we are under so much tension. I'm sure you understand that also; when our minds are disturbed, how can we be at peace? I mean peace of mind, if we have inner peace, then outer peace will come automatically…. there is so much violence here; besides, we don't even have water and electricity to make our life a little comfortable. Look at the poverty all around….

Women's rights. A theme that five teachers considered vital for peace, which was brought up mostly in the follow up second meetings, related to women's rights in Pakistan. Three teachers were particularly vocal about giving equal rights and educating all girls and women. Furthermore, they underscored that domestic violence must end. In this context, they referred specifically to abuse by husbands and acid attacks on women. It was their general view that equal rights for women in Pakistan would be conducive to peace because women are also a part of society, and until every member of society gets rights, peace seemed like a difficult prospect to them. Mashal, elaborating on women's rights had the following views:

Women are also a part of society; people should realize this. If women are not

given equal rights, society will be incomplete. Women raise children, they bring

up future generations, and if women are not given rights, if they are suppressed,

what will become of the future generations? Women like us don't have freedom

in this society; we don't get good jobs here; we don't even get respect here. If a

man does something good, he is praised to the skies, if a woman does something

good, they either ignore her or even try to get rid of her.

Bitterness against the patriarchal Pakistani society is evident in the above excerpt.

This was not only Mashal's view. Other teachers who talked about women's rights were

also bitter when they underscored the severities women are subjected to in Pakistan.

Mashal's implication about "women like us," was a reference to the disadvantaged

women, who, according to her, do not even get respect, let alone jobs or freedom. This

portrayed a lopsided picture of society where men have been recognized for good deeds

whereas women even have been eliminated. Additionally the quote, though based on a

few lines, spoke volumes for the plight of women, especially those from the

disadvantaged groups in Pakistan.

Change of government. Finally, a theme that not only came up separately but

also merged into other recurrent themes in participants' interviews pertained to change of

a corrupt government in Pakistan and accessibility of leaders to the public. At every level,

whether it related to intrastate conflicts, lack of necessities, poverty reduction, provision

of jobs, or women's rights, all women in the study put a major part of the blame on a

lethargic, corrupt, and disinterested government whose officers "were busy filling their

own coffers." They held the government responsible for inaction and complete disinterest in the affairs of the nation. All participants were emphatic in condemning the government and voiced the view that unless the government changes and is replaced by honest leaders who are attentive and accessible to the general public, it will be difficult to restore peace in the country.

To sum up, themes that emerged exclusively from the selected Pakistani grassroots women's standpoint of peace related to elimination of poverty and inflation and provision of jobs. Additionally, participants stressed that lack of essential amenities hampered peace. Furthermore, they advocated equal rights for women, including putting an end to domestic violence, and finally, all participants favored a change of government. In their perspectives on Pakistan, the participants were subjective and described peace or the lack of it as they experience it in their daily lives. Also, as was the case with overlapping themes, they emphasized more on actions that need to be taken rather than rely on abstract terms defining peace in Pakistan.

Women's Contributions to Peace in Pakistan

Another segment in the interviews that also related to Pakistan but focused on women's contributions to peace in Pakistan was one where participants were unexpectedly less vocal than the rest of their interview. In their limited responses to women's contribution to peace in their country, a recurrent theme across all 15 interviews was that of women as homemakers. All women responded that it is women who raise children and endeavor to make them "successful and responsible members of society." In addition, they highlighted women's role in looking after their families and trying to

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maintain a peaceful atmosphere at home. Three teachers also mentioned women's efforts in trying to balance home and work simultaneously.

Besides this, all participants underscored women's contributions as educators. Some emphasized women's role in spreading education in the urban as well as the rural sectors in Pakistan. Pertaining to education, all nine participants who were interviewed after the attempted assassination of Malala Yousafzai spoke very highly of the struggle Malala had launched for girls' education in Pakistan. Malala Yousafzai is a fifteen year old girl activist who advocated education for all girls and survived an assassination attempt in October 2012.

Benazir Bhutto's name was mentioned by all participants in connection with political services she rendered and also for taking a stand for the women of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto served twice as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but on each occasion, her government was toppled, and she was finally assassinated. One thought provoking point that came up here was that though participants mentioned Benazir and Malala, they implied that girls and women who try to serve Pakistan in any way have been brutally dealt with. Raina's viewpoint cited below was representative of what most participants said about Benazir and Malala.

> Look at what they did to Benazir for being a woman leader and standing up for
> women. They got her out of the way by assassinating her. This Pakistani men's
> society will not change so easily. Look at what they did to Malala; she is only 15
> years old. I salute her for standing up for girls' education despite the opposition of
> all these fundamentalist Taliban. I wish I could also do something for the women

in this country. I think that the thinking of men needs to change here before any woman can contribute substantially to peace or in any other field.

In Amna's perspective, the women who struggle for women's rights and peace are "brave." She elaborated that the Pakistani society is one where men dominate, and, "the men cannot bear to see a woman go ahead of them in any way." She further added, "these women are actually endangering their lives by doing social work and standing up for women." Two mothers, Fatima and Maria were more cynical in their approach, with Maria saying in the context of Malala, "this is what girls and women get when they try to do something good. That is why women are afraid to come out."

Ten participants also highlighted women's role as social workers, predominantly in helping destitute women and women who are victims of domestic violence. Some names cited for social work included Bilquis Edhi, and Asma Jahangir. Bilquis Edhi is a social worker, managing a home for destitute women. She also has arrangements for teaching skills to women to earn a livelihood. Asma Jahangir is a women's rights activist and was also an ex-president of the Pakistan's Bar Association. Sana, a teacher, referenced Sharmeen Obaid, who won the Emmy award as well as an Oscar in 2012 for making a film on women whose lives are ruined due to acid attacks in Pakistan.

One mother very honestly said that she was not aware of contributions women have made to peace in Pakistan. When asked if she had heard any names in this context, she replied in the negative saying that "these things may be shown on television, but we don't have a television because my husband is against our watching TV." However, suddenly, while another question was being asked during the interview, she said, "yes,

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yes, I've heard of Bilquis Edhi. She runs a home for destitute women and does a lot for them."

Another mother admitted that she was very afraid to do anything for women, otherwise she would have loved to do a lot." Yet another mother said, "women have always been considered inferior in this society, so why would anyone allow women to do anything for peace. Men think that women know nothing."

Warrira, was not sure whether struggle for women's rights should be included as part of peace contributions or not. In her words, "some brave women are waging a struggle for women's rights, but I'm not sure if women's rights come within the domain of peace. I'm really not sure of this, but if it does, then this is also a contribution of women." This reflected that some women are not sure of what may be included as women's rights.

Interestingly, in response to a question concerning individual contributions made by the participants to peace in Pakistan, the participants' main responses applied to upbringing of children and managing homes. The teachers added their services to education also. Asked whether they would want to make further contributions, all answered in the affirmative. However, they could not elaborate on the types of contributions they would like to make.

Regarding a question related to recognition of women's contributions to peace in Pakistan, either the women answered in the negative saying that there was no recognition, or at the most they said that there was "nominal recognition" of their contributions. Two teachers, Sana and Sozen, said that the services of women have been recognized "only by

women." To a question regarding the measures that need to be taken so that women's contributions to peace are acknowledged, most participants said that the government and the media should play their role. They elaborated that the government should officially recognize women's contributions and encourage them, and the media should highlight the services rendered by women. Maria, however, was of the view that women have to take a stand to promote themselves. She highlighted that they could do this by having a women's channel on television.

In summary, for responses regarding women's contribution to peace in Pakistan, the few themes that came up relate to women as homemakers (including raising children) and educators. Additionally, women as social workers, as politicians, and as a community struggling for rights were other features participants expounded. Though not as a theme, a relevant aspect that came up in this connection, related to women being courageous in patriarchal societies such as Pakistan in order to make contributions to peace or to any other field. Moreover, participants were also of the view that contributions made by women remain unrecognized or minimally recognized in their country.

Cross Case Analysis

The culminating phase of data analysis was to compare findings from the two groups for similarities and differences. Before explaining similarities and differences of views between the two groups, it is pertinent to state that all teachers presented more wide-ranging views than the stay at home mothers. However, there were certain topics on which stay at home mothers were equally vocal, for example, ethnic and sectarian conflicts in Pakistan, poverty, and lack of basic necessities. A reason for mothers being

less comprehensive could be because they are used to staying at home and these interviews were their first ever experience. On the other hand, though interviews for teachers were also a first experience, the teachers have been working outside the homes and appeared to be more confident than the mothers.

Additionally, in follow up meetings, five teachers extended their views both on peace in general and peace in Pakistan, and one teacher added to her perceptions of women's contribution to peace. However, only one stay at home mother made further contributions to her perspectives on education in Pakistan and one on her views regarding peace in Pakistan. Thus while six teachers added further insights on their earlier perspectives, only two stay at home mothers made additional contributions.

Considering similarities and differences in views, the similarities in perceptions of the two groups of participants are more and the differences are fewer. Convergence of views appeared in standpoints of both groups regarding absence of war as a main foundation for peace. A very minor difference at this point was that some teachers, besides calling for an end to all wars and conflicts, also favored destruction of all weapons. None of the stay at home mothers alluded to weapons in their discussion of ending wars. Additionally, none of the teachers considered religious perspectives on war, but two stay at home mothers spoke unambiguously about the religious angle, stating that no religion permitted taking of life in war or in any other circumstances. Also, though limited to one teacher only, personal loss incurred during a war was highlighted, but none of the mothers referenced any personal loss during war. Most participants, whether

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teachers or mothers did not offer any concrete solutions regarding means by which interstate wars could be avoided or resolved.

In terms of intrastate wars in Pakistan, teachers and stay at home mothers were on the same page. In fact, this was one of the topics on which stay at home mothers and teachers spoke extensively. All women expressed uncertainty and fear in the current situation, and all underscored that the conflicts have to come to an end if peace is to prevail in Pakistan. Another similarity was that most teachers and mothers endorsed their identity as Pakistani and considered this as one solution to ethnic strife. However, one teacher defined herself on religious basis and considered herself a Muslim.

Some parallels and a few variances also appeared in data regarding education. While all eight teachers brought up the issue of education and considered spreading "proper" education as a relevant factor for peace, only five of the seven participating mothers regarded education vital for peace. Except for two mothers who highlighted education for morals and unity, others spoke generally about educating people around the world. Some mothers stated that education is not what is should be in Pakistan and that their children were hardly learning anything at school. However, they were unable to elaborate on this issue.

Furthermore, teachers delved into the intricacies of syllabi and spoke about the matter at length, but the mothers did not do so. This aspect is understandable because mothers who are not involved in the teaching profession were not aware of changes, which, according to the teachers, are essential if education is to have a purpose in Pakistan. Regarding questions about peace education that were asked during the

interview, responses from both groups were identical. None of the teacher participants had heard about peace education, though what the teachers said regarding the kind of education necessary in Pakistan was very similar to characteristics that peace education encompasses.

In addition, freedom as a theme emerged only in teachers' interviews. None of the stay at home mothers indicated freedom as a necessity for peace. Though only five of the eight teachers discussed the subject of freedom, they did so from their generic perspectives on peace as well as for peace in Pakistan. All five considered freedom as an essential component of peace.

Other topics that appeared only in one group of interviews included peace originating at home and lack of mental peace. The link between peace and home came up only in interviews of stay at home mothers, while the lack of inner peace and related mental tension came up only in teachers' interviews. Thus, minor differences of views were present in both groups of participants.

One major topic that arose in teachers' perceptions of peace in Pakistan but was missing from interviews of stay at home mothers related to women's rights in Pakistan. While some teachers briefly talked about women's rights in their interviews, most teachers spoke of this issue mainly in follow up second meetings with the teachers. None of the mothers broached this subject either in the main interview or in the follow up meeting.

Themes on which views of teachers as well as stay at home mothers converged included poverty, inflation, joblessness, and lack of basic amenities in Pakistan as major

impediments to peace. Participants from both groups emphasized poverty as a major

hurdle for peace, and both groups referred to youth being lured into crime and terrorism

because of financial needs. Additionally, teachers and stay at home mothers referred to

lack of basic necessities such as scarcity of water, long hours of load shedding, and the

mob violence that erupts as a result of the dearth of essential services. Furthermore,

teachers and mothers agreed that provision of basic necessities would help reduce

violence in Pakistan; in fact, both groups felt that it could be a major contributing factor

to peace.

Finally, in terms of women's contributions to peace, both groups were unable to

provide detailed responses. All teachers and some mothers gave similar responses such as

women's contributions at home, in education, in social work, and to some extent in

politics. However, some teachers also highlighted women's struggle for their rights. The

one mother who brought up the subject of women's rights was unsure if women's rights

was a part of peace or not. Thus, on making detailed comparisons, some differences were

visible in views of teachers and stay at home mothers, but seen collectively, there were

more similarities in the standpoints of both groups than differences, except that teachers'

views were more comprehensive.

Summary of Findings

In summary, findings supported by data were discussed in this chapter.

Overlapping themes for participants general perceptions of peace and for peace in

Pakistan included end to inter and intrastate conflicts. The women in the study

emphasized resolving interstate disputes through dialogue and resolving intrastate ethnic

and sectarian conflicts in Pakistan by respecting diversity in ethnicity, and by building harmony and understanding between various ethnic and sectarian groups. Moreover, they accentuated on a Pakistani, rather than an ethnic or sectarian identity.

Another overlapping theme for participants' generic views on peace and for peace in Pakistan, included a right to freedom for all. Respondents highlighted freedom from domination of all kinds and respect for independence. From the Pakistani perspective, they accentuated freedom on the social, economic and political fronts.

Yet another theme common to their general perspectives of peace as well as for peace from the Pakistani standpoint was that of education. They recommended spreading education among all communities throughout the world and also highlighted that educated people were less prone to war. Regarding the Pakistani viewpoint, respondents recommended an explicit kind of education, one that helps build morals, teaches respect for the people of the world, and contributes to change of rigid mindsets.

From the explicit context of Pakistan, besides ending intrastate ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and imparting purposeful education, participants advocated end to poverty, inflation and joblessness. In their view, poverty led to disturbance of negative as well as of positive peace. Further, they advocated provision of basic necessities of life, because dearth of basic necessities contributed vastly to absence of peace. In addition they wanted a responsible government which was receptive to hearing and solving problems faced by the people.

Additionally, they voiced their standpoints on equal rights for women, and particularly accentuated end to domestic violence against women. Furthermore, views

related to women's contributions to peace in Pakistan included women's services as homemakers, educators, and social workers. Women's struggle for their rights also came up in this context. Most participants expressed apprehension regarding harm caused to women who tried to contribute to peace or to any other field in Pakistan.

Conclusively, comparative analysis of data derived from the two groups of participants demonstrated that there were more similarities than differences in perceptions of teachers and stay at home mothers, although the mothers were not as vocal as the teachers. Furthermore, subjects such as freedom and women's rights were discussed only by teachers. However, despite the fact that mothers were less expressive than teachers, there were many commonalities between the findings from the two groups. A discussion of the findings is presented in the last chapter.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand perceptions of selected grassroots women in Pakistan on peace, peace in their experience in Pakistan, and the contributions of Pakistani women toward peace. Additionally, a goal of the study was to facilitate a forum whereby unheard voices of underprivileged women could be heeded. Furthermore, this study posited the relevance of an education inclusive of peace, particularly for Pakistani girls and women in order to support their peacebuilding approaches.

Blending the literature reviewed with findings from the study, the discussion in the final chapter focuses on the significance of grassroots women's perspectives on peacebuilding in Pakistan. Areas of discussion relate to key dimensions indicated by findings of the study, namely, a culture of peace for Pakistan, context and gender specific peace (covering areas of negative and positive peace), and the relevance of peace education for girls and women in Pakistan. Finally, an important area included in the discussion pertains to the extent of women participants' awareness (or not) of their oppression.

Before discussing the three key areas of findings, it is pertinent to expound on responsiveness of participants in the interviews conducted for the dissertation study. All teacher participants spoke at length on several topics expressing their views comprehensively. It is a dominant assumption in the Pakistani milieu that people, mainly

women from the lower socioeconomic echelons, have either limited knowledge or they are uninformed about the world around them. According to Latif (2009) women in Pakistan are said to have "much less understanding of the world" (p. 426). Latif further asserted that in the Pakistani patriarchal society, it is believed that women have neither awareness nor opinions of their own. However, contrary to the views prevalent among the male dominated Pakistani society, all teachers in this study, despite belonging to low socioeconomic backgrounds, were cognizant and vocal during the interview sessions.

This trait was comparable with a characteristic emphasized in Hashemi and Shahraray's (2009) study in which they explored perceptions of Iranian secondary school girls and their parents (mostly mothers) from all strata of society regarding peace and peacebuilding. The scholars found girl students from the lower socioeconomic stratum of Iranian society to be as alert, aware, and vocal about peace and peacebuilding strategies in Iran as the girls from the middle and upper strata of society. Elaborating further, Hashemi and Shahraray stated that standpoints of girls from all sections of society were similar. Therefore, the authors emphasized that people in Iran (and elsewhere) should not stereotype or have prior assumptions that girls and women from the lower levels of society are unaware or less informed even in patriarchal societies like Iran.

This study supported and strengthened the standpoint of Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) that stereotypes should not be constructed about any community or population, including women from any segment of society. The animated approach of teachers and detailed examination of various topics during interviews indicated zeal for sharing their views. Conversely it can be said that because voices of grassroots women remain

neglected in Pakistan's patriarchal scenario, they were eager to communicate their

thoughts to the world outside via the interviews.

Interestingly, Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) also stated that the views of mothers

in their study were not as extensive as those of their daughters who were students in

secondary schools. The authors further elaborated that though Iranian mothers expounded

their views on peace, they did not offer details regarding peacebuilding strategies. The

dissertation study also indicated that the stay at home mothers were not as expressive as

the teachers; though in the present case, there were instances when stay at home mothers

conveyed wide-ranging views. An example was, when they spoke on poverty and also

while highlighting the association of lack of basic amenities with absence of negative and

positive peace. Perhaps one reason why stay at home mothers were less articulate was

because unlike teachers, they have not had exposure to the outside society and have been

mostly confined to their homes.

A Culture of Peace for Pakistan

Moving on to a discussion of key areas supported by findings, all participants in

their general views regarding peace as perspectives on peace specifically for the Pakistani

context endorsed a culture of peace. This was not only encouraging, but also reflected

their in-depth and positive thinking. Though respondents did not use the term "culture of

peace," as such, the characteristics highlighted by them for peace in Pakistan

corresponded with features of a culture of peace as described by the literature. Bar-Tal

(2010) emphasized that it is imperative that in regions of conflict, a culture of war is

supplanted by a culture of peace. The United Nations General Assembly recognizes that

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the basic principles for a culture of peace include community building, tolerance, human rights, gender equity, and education that contributes to conflict resolution (General Assembly, resolution A/53/243, 1999). de Rivera (2004) declared that as the concept of a culture of peace developed further, it also included understanding, solidarity, justice, and sustainable development. In light of these definitions, the perceptions of women in the dissertation study demonstrated strong support for a culture of peace in Pakistan as opposed to the culture of war currently dominant in the country. In stressing that people from all provinces must stand united as Pakistanis instead of identifying themselves as Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, or Pashtun, the women supported a culture of peace. The participants accentuated not only on respect for diversity among the ethnic and sectarian populations but also harmony and friendship among all groups in Pakistan. Boulding (2000a) emphasized that for a culture of peace to flourish, it is imperative to understand that difference is a part of life. While bonding with fellow citizens and with people belonging to different nations is crucial, recognizing and accepting difference between people is equally essential.

Moreover, Boulding (2000b) stated that in a culture of peace people live together and devise strategies to settle differences. Findings from this study indicated that participants recommended dialogue instead of violence for solving disputes and also advocated tolerance for all sects and ethnicities as a solution to ethnic and sectarian strife. In fact, as mentioned in chapter 4, Fatima, a stay at home mother said that if she were to explain peace in one word from Pakistan's standpoint, she would define it as "tolerance." In recommending that the people of Pakistan should learn to tolerate differences and live

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in unity, the selected grassroots women in this study advocated a culture of peace for Pakistan.

In addition, Reardon (2001) suggested that cultures of peace can also be found in families and communities. Stay at home mothers, in opining that peace begins at home were corroborating Reardon's stand. In elaborating that it is from homes that peace spreads to communities, societies, and even to the country, the women were perhaps extending this standpoint further by suggesting that if there is peace at home, then it can extend beyond the boundaries of the home.

A related aspect for a culture of peace emerged in the findings from teachers who advocated freedoms of several kinds, for example freedom of opinion and speech. These views support the perspectives of Basabe and Valencia (2007) who recommended that a culture of peace should be established on the foundation of open communication and democracy. Thus, all preceding factors highlighted by participants were analogous with a culture of peace in Pakistan. In sections related to context and gender specific peace that follow, and also in the segment on peace education, additional perspectives of participants signifying a culture of peace are presented.

Context Specific Peace

As examined in the literature review, scholars argued that peace is context and culture specific (de la Rey & McKay 2006; Lederach 1997; Lederach, 2005; Richmond, 2008a) and that a unanimous and common (Richmond, 2008a) agenda for peace cannot be applied to all conflict zones of the world. The findings of this study substantiated the assertions that peace is context specific. Therefore, even while identifying negative

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peace, which represents the absence of wars and conflicts (Galtung, 1985), the women in the study focused on the explicit nature of ongoing intrastate conflicts currently raging in Pakistan. For example, participants documented ethnic and sectarian wars in several cities. In particular, they named factional conflicts between the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam and between different ethnic groups as major factors hampering negative peace in Pakistan.

Regarding other context specific factors obstructing negative peace, participants referred to terrorism via suicide bombings and targeted killings in specific communities in major cities of the country. Not all conflict ridden zones have experienced suicide bombings and targeted killings, and not all have been inflicted by specific sectarian conflicts. Thus, these are categorical issues relevant to the Pakistani setting.

Elaborating on reasons for intrastate violence, a major cause that all except one participant cited pertained to the people of Pakistan not identifying themselves as Pakistanis but as members of ethnic and sectarian groups. This inference signified an identity crisis that Pakistanis have been experiencing. Most participants unambiguously pronounced that until people of the country stop thinking as Pashtuns, Mohajirs, Sindhis, Baloch, and Punjabi and are united on one platform as Pakistanis, peace will be elusive for Pakistan. Commenting on identity crisis in Pakistan, Khan (2011) stated, "absence of a consensus or even a debate on the issue of the national identity of Pakistan has resulted in an identity crisis for Pakistanis" (para 1).

It is pertinent to note that barring one participant whose preference was to focus on a Muslim identity, all other women emphasized being Pakistanis. This came as a

surprise, because most Pakistanis are devout Muslims. Also, most women had stressed in their introductions that they were brought up with staunch religious beliefs and that they too were cultivating religious values in their own children. Nevertheless, on deeper reflection, the refined implication of this finding demonstrated that adopting a Muslim identity excludes the minorities living in Pakistan whereas, recognizing a Pakistani identity, includes minorities living in the country under the umbrella signifying Pakistan. This spoke volumes for the open mindedness of these women because it showed respect for and acknowledgment of minorities being a vital component of the Pakistani nation. Thus, in voicing their views regarding identities divided on religious and ethnic basis, and in emphasizing on Pakistani identity, the women in the study were advocating not only positive peace but also unity for all Pakistanis. Moreover, this stance demonstrated a pragmatic application of participants' belief in unity, tolerance, and peace that they had expressed during the interviews.

However, the one woman who emphasized a Muslim identity, though an exception amongst the participants was not alone in her views in the country. There are many who think like her because the dominant ideology projected in Pakistan is that the country was created for Muslims to practice their religious beliefs. According to Nayyar and Salim (2004), since the founding of state of Pakistan, the outlook that Pakistan is an Islamic state was reinforced. This came about because of the two nation theory at the time of the partition of India and also because of the insecurity the newly born state was experiencing. These two factors combined to produce a "Muslim identity" (p. 3), even though it meant "suppressing the many different shades within Pakistan" (p.3).

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More importantly, peace for the grassroots women in the study went beyond its negative features to its positive aspects. Positive peace takes a more wide-ranging approach and pertains to ending social, economic, and political roots of conflict and includes justice, equity, and harmony under its realm (Harrison & Morrison, 2003; Mac Ginty, 2006; Roberts, 2008). It is from the outlook of impeding positive peace that socioeconomic and political issues emerged strongly in the findings. The women highlighted absence of freedom, inequity, poverty, lack of basic necessities, and suppression of women's rights as major causes for absence of peace in the country. In fact, participants even linked roots of some of the intrastate conflicts to these factors. Kaye (2011) underscored the relevance of exploring the roots of conflicts in order to determine lasting measures for peacebuilding.

Considering context specific peace further, it is important to cite the study conducted by de la Rey and McKay (2006) for examining South African women's perspectives of peace and peacebuilding and to compare findings from that study with findings from the current study. According to de la Rey and McKay, their study revealed that communication strategies and human needs were foremost measures for peace in the perspectives of South African women. In South Africa's case, as explained by the authors, there are 11 official languages; therefore, the emphasis on communication policies is rational and understandable. However, the dissertation findings demonstrated that Pakistani grassroots women did not even remotely refer to communication approaches for peace in Pakistan because Urdu is the only national language for the entire country. Although there is strong influence of English in Pakistan, and varied ethnic

languages are spoken by diverse groups, ethnic strife in the country is based more on acquiring power and space rather than on language. The current carnage in Pakistan, therefore, is more of an armed conflict between ethnic groups fighting turf wars for control, land, and resources (Global Issues, 2011).

Additionally, as stated by de la Rey and McKay (2006), South African women stressed the lack of basic necessities as another main factor hindering positive peace. While findings from the current study also reflected that women cited lack of basic amenities as a major factor obstructing positive peace, in the South African setting, the women focused mainly on food and water. In Pakistan's context, though women referenced shortage of food and water, they placed the highest priority on provision of electricity. In Pakistan, electrical supply in all cities is purposefully turned off unannounced for long hours due to insufficient production by electricity grids in the country. The respondents in the study considered this a prime factor for curbing peace. They elaborated that load shedding impacts both positive and negative peace, explaining that not only is peace disturbed in homes but riots erupt due to long hours of intentional power outages. For instance, protesting mobs block roads, burn vehicles, and generally destroy property. Consequently, though dearth of basic necessities figured in South African women's as well as in Pakistani women's views, priorities even within the same field differed based on the needs of their specific context.

Regarding other context specific issues concerning obstruction of positive peace in Pakistan's setting, participants emphasized reducing poverty, inflation, and joblessness. Raina's view that poverty could virtually destroy a whole society was

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specifically thought provoking. Fearon and Laitin (2003) observed that protracted conflicts occur in countries marked by poverty. Moreover, the women also emphasized that poverty and joblessness were major factors for frustrated youth from low socioeconomic segments getting involved in terrorism and crime. This echoed the views of Hasan and Mohib (2003) who stated that frustration caused by unemployment and poverty has driven youth from underprivileged sections of Pakistani society to violence. This also indicated that the women in the study were far sighted enough to understand that excessive poverty does not auger well for peace in the country. Kaye (2011) was of the view that economic prosperity is a crucial factor if lasting peace is to prevail in any region of the world.

Not only did the preceding observations of participants underscore the contextual priorities for peace in Pakistan, but these reflections also highlighted that simply having negative peace by eliminating conflicts will not serve the purpose. According to Reardon (1993) it is insufficient to end direct violence; she highlighted that for lasting peace, the roots contributing to violence in society have to be eliminated. More importantly, in emphasizing reduction of poverty and provision of jobs for all, the participants were also advocating a culture of peace. de Rivera (2004) explained that practical development in a culture of peace includes among other things "eradication of poverty, reduction of inequality, and environmental sustainability" (p. 531). Though women did not refer to environment, they were emphatic about the eradication of poverty, which, in a subtle manner, also advocated equality for all.

Gender Specific Peace

Beside culture and context, gender is a crucial factor for understanding the dynamics of peace (Baines, 2005; Cockburn, de la Rey & McKay, 2006; 2004; Hudson, 2009; Naraghi Anderlini, 2011). In this study, participants' views indicated how women were particularly impacted by absence of positive peace. This was in conformity with the feminist stance on peace, which encompasses its positive aspects, i.e. absence of structural as well as direct violence (Plonski, 2003). One main instance related to the lack of freedom that women experience. Teachers who participated in the research lamented that women were denied freedom even in their homes. They emphasized that women be granted some space so that they do not feel stifled. Mashal's accentuation that domination at home was smothering, reflected views of other teachers as well. Denial of freedom for women is predominantly a reference to the patriarchal Pakistani society where women are intimidated at home by their husbands, by their fathers, and even by their brothers. Women coming from underprivileged groups bear the major brunt of the patriarchal society in Pakistan, where men completely dominate women (Latif, 2009; Mohiuddin, 2007). Freedom is the right of every human being; therefore, Mashal's passionate appeal was to grant breathing space to women in Pakistan.

A mother, who did not directly bring up the topic of freedom, implied lack of autonomy when she explicated that her husband was not in favor of his family watching television, therefore, they could not have one. This showed the extent women are oppressed and the degree men execute power over them. Niaz and Hassan (2006) asserted that underprivileged women in Pakistan have been captive even in their own homes. As

such, Basabe and Valencia (2007) advocated gender equality and features that are "opposite of hierarchical structures and male dominance characteristics of a culture of war" (p. 406). Therefore absence of freedom was a factor that explicitly impacted women in Pakistan and has hampered positive peace. Consequently it is crucial in the dynamics of positive peace to grant women the freedom, which is their right. If that is not done, then, according to Niaz and Hassan (2006) subjugation of women, especially those who are underprivileged, can severely affect their mental health. Freedom, thus, is an issue that clearly explicitly affects women in Pakistan.

Another aspect to consider from the selected women participants' perspectives in the study concerned the paucity of basic necessities of life. Different situations impact both women and men but the impact on women is more challenging (Caprioli, 2005; Naraghi Anderlini, 2006). For example, Fatima's grievance, which was also voiced by other women, concerned sleepless nights children spend due to shortage of electricity. The women added that mosquitos were a further cause for children's distress during such nights. On the face of it, the reference to mosquitos may hardly seem relevant to shortage of electricity; however, mosquito breeding is common throughout Pakistan, and these flying insects bite more frequently in the dark, especially during power outages, when electric fans cannot be switched on for air circulation. Furthermore, mosquitoes cannot be brushed away merely as irritants because their bites cause diseases such as malaria and dengue which lead to physical distress and sometimes even to death. Also, treatment of disease carried by mosquitos incurs huge medical costs, which are unaffordable for people of low socioeconomic status.

Hudson (2009) stated that gender analysis from the viewpoint of culture and context has been most significant for understanding challenges faced by women. In Pakistan's cultural context, it is the women who have responsibility of looking after the children and managing households (Latif, 2009). Thus considering the instance narrated above, women have been the ones who have to keep awake all night with their children while their husbands sleep or at least rest if they cannot sleep due to power outages. Moreover, if children fall sick due to mosquito related diseases, it is again the women who have to nurse their children during illness. Additionally, working women have to leave for work the next morning as well as manage affairs at home. Even from the viewpoint of stay at home mothers, despite keeping awake all night long, they have to cook, clean, and do other household chores. Simultaneously, it the women who have had to bear the brunt of the irritability of husbands due to children's illnesses and even due to lack of basic necessities. Thus women are impacted in different ways than men, and it is essential to take into consideration their perspectives if positive peace is the goal.

A related factor central to the gender perspective of positive peace was that of equal rights for women. It was a general view expressed by participants that equal rights for women would be conducive for peace in the country, because, in Mashal's words, "women are also a part of society." This rightly implied that society would be lopsided if women are not given equal rights. The emphasis of participants was particularly on educating all girls and women and ending domestic violence, especially abuse by husbands and acid attacks on women. Ali and Gavino (2008) considered domestic violence as "the most pervasive, yet least recognized human right abuse in the world" (p.

198). Fikree and Bhatti (1999) stated that in Pakistan, domestic violence is considered as a family and private matter and therefore, there is hardly any focus on assessment or policy changes in this context. Ali and Gavino also stated that the most common types of domestic violence in Pakistan consist of spousal abuse, honor killings, acid attacks, and burns caused by angry family members. Therefore, from women's perspectives, it is imperative to eliminate violence against women and provide them equal rights. This endorsed the views of Mazurana and McKay (1999) who advocated efforts toward equity and justice for all if peace is to be maintained.

However, while women participants discussed violence against their sex, not a single participant brought up the issue of rape, even though rape is a common form of violence against women in Pakistan. A main reason for not doing is perhaps because rape and any related reference is considered taboo in Pakistani culture and society. According to Zakaria (2005), the discussion of rape is such a huge taboo in Pakistani society that even if women want to speak out against it, they are subjected to malice and suspicion. Thus women in Pakistan are reluctant to speak out or deal with the menace of sexual violence.

Another thought provoking segment of the findings concerned women's contributions to peace in Pakistan. Most participants asserted that if women in Pakistan tried to make any contributions, they have been brutally dealt with. Supporting this assertion, they cited examples of Benazir Bhutto and Malala Yousafzai. There was anger but also fear in their voices when they elaborated that whenever women tried to do something fruitful, they were eliminated. These standpoints, along with the view that

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women are considered inferior and that "men cannot bear to see women go ahead of them in any way," demonstrated the dominant ideology of patriarchy copiously practiced in the country.

This also endorsed the assessment that one of the prerequisites for peace in Pakistan is to endeavor to change the patriarchal mindset that men are superior to women and that the place of women is at home. Ali and Gavino (2008) stated that the mindset of considering women as compliant and submissive beings has to change; until that happens, nothing will change. One way of changing a rigid mindset is through imparting an education conducive to a change of thinking. The next section, therefore, elaborates on findings from the study that focused on a relevant and purpose based education for Pakistan in order to achieve peace.

Peace Education for Girls in Pakistan

Most women in the study, particularly all teachers, underscored that one of the foremost aspects for acquiring peace in Pakistan was to impart a specific kind of education, one which has a purpose and which could contribute to peace in the country. Though none of the participants described this particular category of education as "peace education" per se, the characteristics and norms (of education) discussed during interviews included major facets that peace education encompasses. This factor was all the more remarkable, because, as reported in the findings, none of the participants had heard or read about peace education. Despite not having heard of peace education, their standpoints came close to the precincts that peace education signifies.

The features and content of peace education vary according to the settings and circumstances in which it is imparted (Bar-Tal, 2002; Groff, 2002; Harris, 2004; Solomon, 2002). Therefore, in highlighting specifics of education, the women focused on the Pakistani milieu. Zainab, a stay at home mother, described education as a "constituent" of peace, perhaps indicating that education can and should contribute to peace. She further emphasized that "education should develop good morals…." All teachers also expressed similar views regarding the contribution of education to ethical values. Moral education is considered one of central components of peace education (Ayers, 2004; Harris and Morrison 2003). Therefore, when participants recommended that education build morals, they were in fact supporting one of the many doctrines of peace education.

The findings also demonstrated that the teachers supported an education that portrays a positive image of the people of this world and leads to love, harmony, and respect. Sozen had particularly accentuated this aspect. This is in keeping with Morrison, Austad and Cota (2011) who recommended that peace education should develop values, attitudes, and behaviors that lead to harmony with self and others. Moreover, Harris and Morrison (2003) suggested that peace education teaches respect and empathy for all life. This established another connection between views of women regarding education and the tenets of peace education.

Additionally, Sozen's reference to history textbooks taught in Pakistani schools was pertinent. Hashemi and Shahraray (2009) described school textbooks as cultural sources from which students acquire knowledge and then practically apply to the world.

Similarly, students in Pakistan have approached the world outside schools using textbook knowledge. Referring particularly to social studies texts prescribed by provincial educational authorities in Pakistan, Nayyar and Salim (2004) highlighted that the material contained in these texts has been presented in a way that makes students "susceptible to a violent and exclusionary worldview" (p.1). Malik (2012) discussed this issue at length and elaborated that primary and secondary schools curricula being taught in Punjab and Sindh is replete with content that can instigate hatred, extremism, and intolerance in society. Therefore, if textbooks presently taught in public schools and in small scale private schools in Pakistan propagate the prevalent ideology of the country regarding war and destruction of enemies, then this is what students accept and pragmatically apply. Thus, the teachers urged that there it was of prime importance to integrate texts in curriculum that teach a culture of peace instead of a culture of war.

Teachers in the dissertation study also accentuated that the "thinking" of the Pakistani nation, principally the mindset of men, needed to change and that only education imparted in this direction could help. The standpoint of Solomon (2002) is that although not an easy proposition, peace education in regions of intractable conflict endeavors to change mindsets pertaining to the "other." Also, regarding views of participants that ethnic strife in Pakistan should be resolved through understanding, friendship, and unity, Reimers and Chung (2010) emphasized that peace education teaches people to resolve their differences in a respectful, tolerant, and empathetic manner. Moreover, Danesh (2008) said that because peace education fosters principles of

peace, students begin to apply these principles in their personal, family, and community lives.

Considering Pakistan's religious background, three teachers also saw the need for including proper Islamic education in the school curricula. Raina's perspective was that the proper "spirit of Islam" was not being taught in schools and added that Islam was completely misinterpreted by the clerics. Seen from this perspective, it would indeed be appropriate to teach authentic Islamic values, particularly the concept of Jihad, which is constantly misinterpreted by clerics. According to Noor (2011), Islam is a religion of peace, and Jihad in its factual meaning represents a struggle. The struggle can be against one's own personal weaknesses or a struggle for self-defense. But the Muslim world has been full of self-proclaimed clerics who misinterpret Jihad as an aggressive attitude. Thus, if genuine Islam is taught in schools, then this could widely contribute to peace.

Additionally, Islam gives ample rights to women, but clerics deliberately, to serve their own ends and the ends of feudal lords, either misinterpret this entirely, or subdue the aspect of women's rights in Islam (Latif, 2009). Thus it was a thought provoking aspect that some participants brought up regarding inclusion of authentic teachings of Islam into the curriculum. Incorporation of peace education in the curriculum in Pakistan along with authentic religious teaching also reflected that education, like other peace related aspects, is context specific.

While the preceding discussion demonstrated that perspectives of teachers on education for Pakistan were very close to principles of peace education, there were several other reasons manifested in the findings that support peace education primarily

for girls and women in Pakistan. First, all women acknowledged in their introductions that the mothers are responsible for the upbringing of their children and that mothers raise children with explicit values. The only participant who highlighted her father's role in her upbringing acknowledged her mother's role as well. However, while elaborating the values with which they were raised or values they have been incorporating in their children's upbringing, participants made minimal references to principles of peace. Thus if girls, who are to be future mothers can be educated for peace, it would be an added asset for them because they would then be able to incorporate values of peace in their children's lives.

More importantly, human rights and gender equity are tenets of peace education (Harris, 2004; Jones, 2006). Therefore, if girls are exposed to peace education, they will become aware of their rights. Also, findings specified that teachers were aware to some extent about women's rights and equality being related to peace but the stay at home mothers were either unsure if women's rights had a connection to peace, or they considered this to be out of the domain of peace. Warrira, a mother, asked a question in this respect, wondering if women's struggle for their rights in Pakistan was a contribution to peace. As such, if these and other women like them are introduced to peace education from their childhood, their awareness will be raised and they will be empowered to stand up for their rights. Danish (2008) explained that peace education develops critical thinking, and Harris and Morrison (2003) underscored that peace education empowers people by developing their aptitudes to become change agents.

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Findings revealed that though teachers elaborated on various kinds of freedom as important aspects of peace, mothers did not bring up the subject of freedom. One reason for this was perhaps because women who stay at home are so suppressed by the system of patriarchy that they could not even imagine freedom as being a part of peace. It is through peace education that they could learn that freedom is also a human right shared equally by men and women. Jones (2006) expressed the view that peace education focuses on positive peace and human rights education. Therefore, from this angle also, peace education is essential for girls and women so that they realize their oppression and can take a stand against it.

Also, findings indicated that while reflecting on Pakistani women's contributions to peace, many participants considered that any girl or woman who had contributed to peace or to any other field had been viciously dealt with in Pakistani patriarchy. Amna thought that women who venture to make contributions in Pakistan are "brave." She further elaborated that such women are actually endangering their lives. Also, the lament in Raina's voice was evident when she said, "I wish I could do something for the women in this country." She further underscored that the thinking of men needed to change before women could make any meaningful contributions. Maria added that most women were afraid to come out and also that women were considered inferior in society. All these views indicated that the patriarchal ideology of women being inferior to men has been thrust on these women. Considering these aspects, it will be most relevant and timely to impart peace education to girls and women, because peace education empowers, gives confidence, and makes women aware of equity. Harris and Morrison (2003)

considered that peace education provides people with skills to make the world a secure place and teaches respect for all life. They also accentuated that peace education contributes toward effective citizenship.

In addition, when teachers were asked whether they included any peacebuilding strategies in the classrooms, their responses mostly included instances of peacefully settling disputes between children. Language teachers (English and Urdu) said that students were asked to write paragraphs on peace or on the current situation and related solutions. Teachers of other subjects did not any incorporate any peace related strategies in their classrooms. Since peace education teaches skills for peace, it would be appropriate to incorporate such education in the curriculum of Pakistani educational institutions at all levels. Though not related directly to peace education, all teachers emphasized a change in school curricula, suggesting that materials related to ethical development, unity, and harmony be integrated in the syllabi.

A related factor concerned a focus on teacher education programs in the country. The reflections of teachers strongly augmented the need for changes in teacher development programs. It is crucial that teacher educators in Pakistan focus on assimilating peace education in teacher education programs and workshops. Bar-Tal (2002) and Reardon (1988) said that in order to implement peace education, teachers have to possess the skill and knowledge to be motivated to carry it out.

Bar-Tal (2010) and Reardon also (2001) stated that for replacing a culture of war with a culture of peace, it is imperative that peace education be imparted in schools. Thus if the culture of war is to be replaced by a culture of peace in Pakistan, it is essential to

include education that caters toward peace. Reardon also emphasized the role of teachers as peace educators and as significant change agents in promoting a culture of peace. Though it is the responsibility of teacher educators to incorporate strategies for peacebuilding in their teacher training programs, it is of equal importance to highlight that if teachers had exposure to peace education in their student days, they would have been helped immensely as educators.

Therefore from all perspectives, it was evident that peace education is relevant for girls and women in Pakistan. The characteristics regarding a specific type of education that the women in this study recommended for Pakistani children were analogous with the tenets of peace education described by scholars. Moreover, factors affecting women, such as their rights and their freedom, all are aspects that peace education embraces. The findings from this study thus presented a strong case for incorporating peace education into the Pakistani curricula in all educational institutions, whether these are expensive private schools for the elite or public and small scale private schools for children from lower socioeconomic segments of society.

At this point it must be clarified that though it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to focus on boys' education, it is by no means implied here that peace education should only be limited to girls. Peace education for boys could comprise a whole new study and can be a part of the agenda for future research.

Women's Awareness of Oppression

Among participants, the teachers were relatively more aware of gendered oppression than were the stay at home mothers. Teachers spoke of women's rights issues,

violence against women, and issues related to their freedom. None of the teachers spoke of sexual violence (rape) during the interviews. The stay at home mothers did not share any insights related to these issues. However, the purpose of the study was to give voice to the women and to make their perspectives visible. Concerning a related emancipatory goal of the study, the very fact that these women agreed to participate in the interviews is in itself an emancipatory step for them. Nevertheless, this was only the first step in leading them toward emancipation, and as a critical feminist researcher, I will continue to pursue this goal in my future research. In addition to this goal for research, other areas of research indicated via implications of this study are discussed in the following section.

Implications and Agenda for Future Research

Insights gained from this study contributed to a wider understanding of peace in Pakistan from the standpoint of selected grassroots women. The dissertation research demonstrated not only the significance of context and gender specific peace but also indicated directions for integrating strategies for positive peace in Pakistan. Implications of this study are relevant for developers of peace policies in Pakistan, for education policy planners, and for educators. Understanding selected grassroots women's perspectives and affording visibility to their needs in descriptions of negative and positive peace, as well as in education, supported the incorporation of diverse perspectives of all segments of society, if peace policies are to be successful. Therefore, future areas of research entail examining perspectives of women, not only from grassroots communities, but from the middle and upper echelons of society as well as from all cities of Pakistan.

Another direction for future research is to study perspectives of both men and women, via the gender lens, in order to understand the different roles they could play for peacebuilding in Pakistan. This would contribute to developing comprehensive peace policies in the country. Most importantly, it is crucial to study perspectives of women who are living as internally displaced persons (IDPS) in camps in various parts of Pakistan because they are the ones bearing the major brunt of conflict in the country. Incorporating their perspectives could lead to even more wide-ranging policies on peace.

Considering implications of this research from the viewpoint of education policy makers, it is crucial that in developing education policies, the standpoints of educators are also included. In fact, it is imperative that educators be involved in curriculum development and in education policy development, because educators are the people who disseminate education and shape future generations. Keeping this in mind, another area for future research is to examine factors that policy makers focus on while developing policies and to investigate reasons for excluding educators from policy and curriculum development.

Implications of this research for educators are also very crucial. The teacher participants indicated that barring a few simple strategies, they did not include any peacebuilding tools in their pedagogical practices. Even if the current syllabi do not include peace related material, teachers need to understand their responsibility as educators and devise peacebuilding strategies in classrooms. This also had deep implications for teacher education programs in the country and for education policy makers to arrange for extensive teacher education programs for teachers from

underprivileged groups. Keeping this in mind, another relevant area for future research is to examine teacher educators' views regarding education policies in the country. Additionally, it is also relevant to study the standpoints of educators from all major cities regarding the education system in the country and the changes desired in the system.

Conclusion

This dissertation research was informed by critical feminist theory and examined grassroots women's perspectives of peace in Pakistan. Critical feminists assert that viewpoints of marginalized populations such as women are primarily significant for outlining comprehensive policies for peacebuilding and in all other fields. The purpose of this research was therefore to amplify understanding of peace in Pakistan by including marginalized Pakistani women's voices.

Grassroots Pakistani women advocated positive peace for Pakistan. However, the current focus in the country has been on negative peace in the endeavor to decrease intensity of intrastate conflicts and terrorism. At this moment of Pakistan's conflict ridden history, it is pivotal to emphasize positive peace, which includes eradicating deeper causes of conflict and accommodating social justice and equity.

The dissertation study has contributed to literature on peace and peacebuilding by incorporating selected Pakistani grassroots women's views on peace. More importantly, in Pakistan marginalized women's perspectives on peace or in any other developmental project have not been profiled. The current study was a response to this gap in literature, specifically literature pertaining to peace in Pakistan by incorporating ordinary Pakistani women's standpoints on peace. The acumen of the women facilitated in identifying

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factors that widen comprehension of positive peace in Pakistan. The issues obstructing peace according to participants are multidimensional, including economic, social, and political factors. Most importantly, the role of proper and purposeful education has been emphasized. By recognizing, respecting, and implementing perspectives and needs of underprivileged women, those currently at the helm of affairs in Pakistan or associated with devising education and peace policies can render huge services to peace in the country.

As a concluding thought, achieving peace in Pakistan, as many inside and outside the country speculate, is not an elusive or futile venture; peace is possible for Pakistan and for all other conflict zones of the world. As long as girls like Malala Yousafzai, one of the nominees for the Nobel Peace Prize for 2013, are working on the ground in Pakistan there is hope for peace. The need of the hour is to focus on education, social justice, gender equity, and rights of all citizens to achieve a lasting and comprehensive peace.

Appendix

Interview Guide for Teachers

1. For how long have you been in the teaching profession? Do you enjoy teaching? Why/why not?

2. For how long have you taught in this particular school? How many children do you have in your class? What grades and subjects do you teach?

3. Let's talk about how you were raised. Who brought you up and what are some values you were raised with? Are you incorporating the same values in your children?

4. Do the children learn about peaceful living and peacebuilding in your classroom? Have you incorporated peace/community building strategies in your teaching practices? Why/why not? How does this help (only if the answer is 'yes')

5. How can children be specifically taught to learn about peace in school?

6. In general, what do you understand of the term 'peace?'

7. What is your conception of peace in Pakistan? Why?

8. What is peace education in your perspective?

9. How can peace education contribute to the wider society? How can it help girls and women? Should peace education be included in schools? Why/why not?

10. How can Pakistani women contribute toward peace in the home, community and country?

11. What is the significance of women's contributions to peace and in other domains?

12. To what extent do you believe that women's contributions are recognized?

13. How can Pakistani women contribute toward peace at home, in the community and country?

14. To what extent do you believe their contributions are recognized? How? (or why not? If the answer is in the negative?).

15. How can efforts of Pakistani women towards peacebuilding (or in any other field) be recognized and by whom?

Interview Guide for Mothers

1. How many children do you have? (How many sons and daughters?)

2. Do they all go to school? What grades are they studying in?

3. Now let's talk about how you were raised. Who brought you up and what are some values you were raised with? Are you incorporating the same values in your children's upbringing?

4. What are some values that you incorporate in your children's upbringing? (depending on the answer to the previous question). Are you satisfied with the upbringing of both your daughters' and sons? (only if the respondent has daughters and sons).

5. How are decisions about raising children in your family made? Who takes most responsibility for their upbringing?

6. Are your children learning about peaceful living and peacebuilding in school? How? (if the response is a 'yes'). Why not? (if the response is a 'no.')

7. In general, what is your understanding of the term 'peace?'

8. What is your conception of peace in Pakistan? Why?

9. What are some contributions Pakistani women have made towards peace?

10. Have you made any contribution to fostering peacebuilding in your home, community, city?

11. Do you believe that women's contributions to the family, community welfare or in any other form are recognized at home or in the community? How (or why not? Depending on the response).

12. How can Pakistani women contribute toward peace at home, in the community and country?

13. What do you believe is the significance of women's contributions to peace and in other domains?

14. To what extent do you believe their contributions are recognized? How? (or why not? If the answer in in the negative)

15. How can efforts of Pakistani women towards peacebuilding (or in any other field) be recognized and by whom?

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Curriculum Vitae

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