AN EXPLORATION INTO THE GENDERED INTERPRETATION OF *SUMUD* AND ITS SUBSEQUENT MANIFESTATION IN PALESTINIAN PEACEBUILDING: TOWARDS A GENDER INCLUSIVE MODEL OF PEACEBUILDING

By

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ABSTRACT

From a human security perspective, it is imperative to understand and place the individual, thus the local, at the centre of analysis. In appreciation of this, through an endeavor to explore gender and peacebuilding in Palestine, this research will incorporate and investigate the uniquely Palestinian concept of *sumud.* By including the interaction between the concept of *sumud* and gender in the study of peacebuilding in Palestine this study honors unique situational and cultural contexts.

Current literature on peacebuilding confirms increasing recognition of the ways in which experiences of conflict differ for women and men. Furthermore, it is well documented that women often face the most severe consequences during times of conflict and they are highly underrepresented in formal peacebuilding processes. As a result, there has been a dramatic increase in attention to the inclusion of women in these processes. This is often framed as 'engendering peacebuilding'. However, to date, concepts of engendering peacebuilding, gender analysis, and gender mainstreaming most often equate the term gender with women. The treatment of gender as woman has led to a focus on the experiences, importance, and value of including women in peacebuilding. Although recognition of women's agency in peacebuilding is crucial to success, there needs to be a complementing and equally in-depth exploration of men's unique role in the same domain.

The intent of this study, then, is to analyze the gendered interpretation and manifestation of *sumud* and explore how gendered interpretation helps to better understand dynamics that influence Palestinian peacebuilding. Additionally, this research aims to explore the construction and assumptions of gender identities as they relate and contribute to peacebuilding in Palestine.

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ABBREVIATIONS

FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GAD	Gender and Development
IDF	Israeli Defense Force
ME	Microsoft Excel
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PA	Palestinian Authority
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNSL	Palestinian National Struggle for Liberation
SSI	Semi-Structured Interviews
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WID	Women in Development

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

It is often remarked that the conflict in the Middle East has raged for thousands of years. An air of despondent and irremediable regret often accompanies this comment as if to say, "it has always been this way and it will always be this way." Although it is true that many men and women have lost their lives as a result of the plethora of conflicts in the region, conversely there has been, and continues to be a strong culture of cooperation, nonviolence, coexistence, and peacebuilding between and within its diverse inhabitants. "This peacebuilding tradition involves a wide range of activities and actors, some of which engage with the various approaches and conceptions of peacebuilding reflected in the international literature, and some that are unique to Palestine" (Foster, 2011, p. 3). However, pre 9/11 and increasingly in the post 9/11 era, the existence of cooperation and peacebuilding between the disparate parties is not only misrepresented and misunderstood but is often deeply marginalized. Therefore it is consequential to bring forth narratives to counteract the current media representations of Palestinians. It is imperative to gain a greater understanding of the existing culture and practices that lend their hand to peacebuilding in the region.

Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 the Palestinian/Israeli conflict has been consistently plagued by misrepresentation, deception, and a trans-generational distrust; often with Palestinians unjustifiably portrayed as violent terrorist actors working against any representation of peace. Edward Said describes the Palestinians as having been denied 'permission to narrative' (Said, 1984). This is not to say that Palestinians have not perpetrated horrific acts of violence, nor that a pugnacious interpretation of jihad has not been employed by a select few. These are undeniable facts. However, the reality remains that the vibrant and dynamic peacebuilding movement within Palestine is generally ignored and disregarded (O'Connor, 2005, para. 1).

It is of great consequence to analyze peacebuilding in Palestine. However, the manner in which we accomplish this task is of the utmost importance. From a human security perspective, it is imperative to understand and place the individual, thus the local, at the centre of analysis. As human security goes deeper into addressing impacts of conflict on personal and community security, emphasis needs to be placed on psychosocial dimensions as well as community coexistence with respect to peacebuilding (Korhonen, 2009; Conteh-Morgan, 2005). In appreciation of this, this research will strive to investigate and analyze the concept of *sumud.* *Sumud* is a uniquely Palestinian concept of 'steadfast' in the face of Israeli occupation while promoting peaceful resistance and peacebuilding. Although sumud translates to steadfast, like many words sumud does not fully translate; "there is a degree of agency in the Arabic word sumud this is not present in steadfastness" (Malik, 2013, p. 33). Moreover, although expressed as a word, sumud is more than a word. It is a way of being and knowing which gives birth to a concept far richer in meaning and consequence than any translation can do justice. For this reason, sumud will not be translated into its English equivalent. Instead the original Arabic word will be used herein. Research conducted by Alana Foster pertaining to Palestinian peacebuilders' conceptualizations of men and masculinities in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict describes sumud as a "theme that I encountered as playing a significant role in Palestinian conceptions of peacebuilding" (Foster, 2011, p. 106). Foster (2011) goes on to note that while collecting data and conducting research, sumud narratives pervaded discourses of peacebuilding. She posits that this is due to the fact that sumud "exemplifies Palestinian peacebuilding pursuits… and is the theme that underlies and characterizes Palestinian peacebuilding and resistance approaches" (p. 106). By including the interaction between the concept of sumud and gender in the study of peacebuilding in Palestine this study will honor the unique situational context. Utilizing a bottom-up human security approach can help "recast efforts towards concrete interventions that

address the needs of people on the ground" (Korhonen, 2009, p. 47) and ultimately this will lead to a deeper holistic analysis, thus increasing the applicability and validity of findings.

Current literature on peacebuilding confirms increasing recognition of the ways in which experiences of conflict differ for women and men (Cockburn, 2005; De la Ray & McKay, 2006; Giles & Hyndman, 2004; Goldstein, 2003; Mazurana, Raven-Roberts, & Parpart, 2005; Skjelsbæk & Smith, 2001). This has led to extensive exploration into the 'gendered' nature of conflict and peacebuilding. It is well documented that women often face the most severe consequences during times of conflict and they are highly underrepresented in formal peacebuilding processes (Carpenter, 2006; Giles & Hyndman, 2004; Onyejekwe, 2005; United Nations, 2000). As a result, there has been a dramatic increase in attention to the inclusion of women in these processes. This is often framed as 'engendering peacebuilding'. However, existing frameworks often use the terms gender and women as if they were synonymous (Theidon, Phenicie, & Murray, 2011; Foster, 2011). The treatment of gender as woman has led to a focus on the experiences, importance, and value of including women in all forms of peacebuilding. This has occurred alongside recognition of the importance of not marginalizing women as victims but instead highlighting their resilience. There is, however, a significant gap in the literature. Given women's history of subjugation, exclusion, and discrimination, one can understand why men may have been pushed aside to create space for women. However, it is impossible to understand the complex interplay between gender, conflict, and peacebuilding without examining men's experiences. Additionally, although recognition of women's history of agency in peacebuilding, particularly grassroots peacebuilding, is crucial to success, there needs to be a complementing equally in-depth exploration of men's unique role in the same domain. Moreover, as peacebuilding, state-building, and community development affects both men and

women as victims of gender socialization, it is vital to work and collaborate with both sexes when striving to achieve these.

Research Aims

The intent of this study is to analyze the gendered interpretation and manifestation of sumud and explore how sumud impacts Palestinian peacebuilders' ability to overcome the challenges of peacebuilding in the region. Moreover, this research endeavors to examine the construction and assumptions of gender identities as they relate and contribute to peacebuilding in Palestine.

There is substantial need for research that deconstructs and analyzes peacebuilding in Palestine in the domain of both gender and cultural practices such as sumud. An understanding of the interconnected nexus between these concepts will lead to a better understanding of how gender and culture play into Palestinian peacebuilder's decision to work in this field. Furthermore, this research is informed by the concept that in order to holistically address peacebuilding, an understanding and conceptualization of *both* sexes' gendered experience is crucial. This research will contribute to a deeper understanding of the progression from a mono-dimensional 'male combatant' vs. 'female civilian' narrative and 'male top-down' vs. 'woman grassroots' peacebuilding by moving towards a more symbiotic, comprehensive model highlighting both sexes varied, complementary roles. This emerging gender inclusive model represents an innovative way of looking at peacebuilding that has broad applications. In the same way that gender dynamics are region-specific, perceptions of peace and security are as well. Subsequently, assessments that focus on issues related to how Palestinian men and women interpret sumud in divergent ways are vital. The proposed gender inclusive analysis provides a

forward-looking understanding of peacebuilding, which can lead to more affective policy that holds the promise of overall improvement in the welfare of all affected populations.

The purpose of this research is to explicate the need for greater investigation into the gendered interpretation of sumud and the subsequent manifestations in Palestinian peacebuilding. Moreover, the research aims to gain a greater understanding of how peacebuilding may be determined by gender and context. The first section will provide a discussion of the theoretical framework in which this research is located.

The foundational framework for this exploratory research is based on the paradigm of human security and critical feminism and directed by theoretical approaches to peace, conflict, and peacebuilding. Data was obtained in Palestine via in-depth semi-structured interviews and questionnaires conducted and distributed to Palestinian peacebuilders. The findings are pertinent to peacebuilding and thus the building of positive peace in Palestine. This research adds to the literature on engendering peacebuilding and sumud because it examined viewpoints of both male and female Palestinian peacebuilders. The views of the participants also lead to identifying factors that widen contemporary understandings and comprehension of firstly sumud, and secondly the connection between sumud and peacebuilding.

Central Research Question and Sub-Questions

The following questions helped to frame the research and develop a methodology consisting of in-depth semi-structured interviews and questionnaires:

- How do Palestinian peacebuilders define, embody, and practice sumud, how does this differ between genders?
- What is the relationship between sumud and peacebuilding?

- How do Palestinian peacebuilders perceive and define the concept of peace and peacebuilding and how does this differ between genders?
- What are the gender specific challenges, strengths, and opportunities that peacebuilders face in their careers? Do these challenge traditional conceptualizations and discourse of gender roles in peacebuilding?

In answering these research questions, the main arguments I make are as follows: an essential aspect of understanding and framing peacebuilding in the region centers on the uniquely Palestinian concept of sumud, sumud forms a base upon which Palestinian peacebuilders establish their understanding of their responsibility and function within the greater Palestinian movement. Acknowledging and analyzing sumud is integral to understanding the impact and response to the occupation by Palestinian peacebuilders. Understanding this is vital when working to increase engagement men and women in peacebuilding. Furthermore, an understanding of the gendered nature of sumud and the subsequent manifestation of this understanding is crucial in developing culturally appropriate peacebuilding programs, initiatives, and activities. Moreover, peacebuilding, as an appellation, is shrouded in nuance and convoluted associations. This leads to difficulty in terms of Palestinian peacebuilders' work, community acceptance of peacebuilding, and increasing participation and engagement in peacebuilding. Although men and women fill a diverse set of roles in peacebuilding, they are often, if not exclusively, governed by essentialized notions of male and female behaviors and characteristics. This leads to men being compartmentalized into roles that do not encourage or make room for them to act outside of traditional stereotypes of masculinity. Likewise, women are typecast into roles that do not challenge established norms for acceptable behavior and thus leave little room for women to progress both in their careers and also personally.

Definition of Terms

1. *Sumud*: A uniquely Palestinian concept directly translated as "steadfastness" that refers to a dynamic ideology committed to nonviolence and encourages a number of actions and ways of being aimed at resisting, undermining, and transcending the Israeli occupation.
2. *Gender*: The socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. Gender differs from sex, which refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women.
3. *Peacebuilding*: For the purpose of this research the term *peacebuilding* is used in its broadest sense. It is employed as a comprehensive multidisciplinary framework, including any conscious intention driven activity that seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from conflict and violence in all forms. This includes structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest (Schirch, 2008, p. 7). Peacebuilding in this sense refers to actions which aim to establish nonviolent modes of resolving conflict, protecting human rights, providing trauma healing services and humanitarian relief, supporting broad based education, dialogue programs, encouraging youth participation in politics, and promoting cultural tolerance and diversity (United States Institute of Peace, 2011, pp. 40-41).

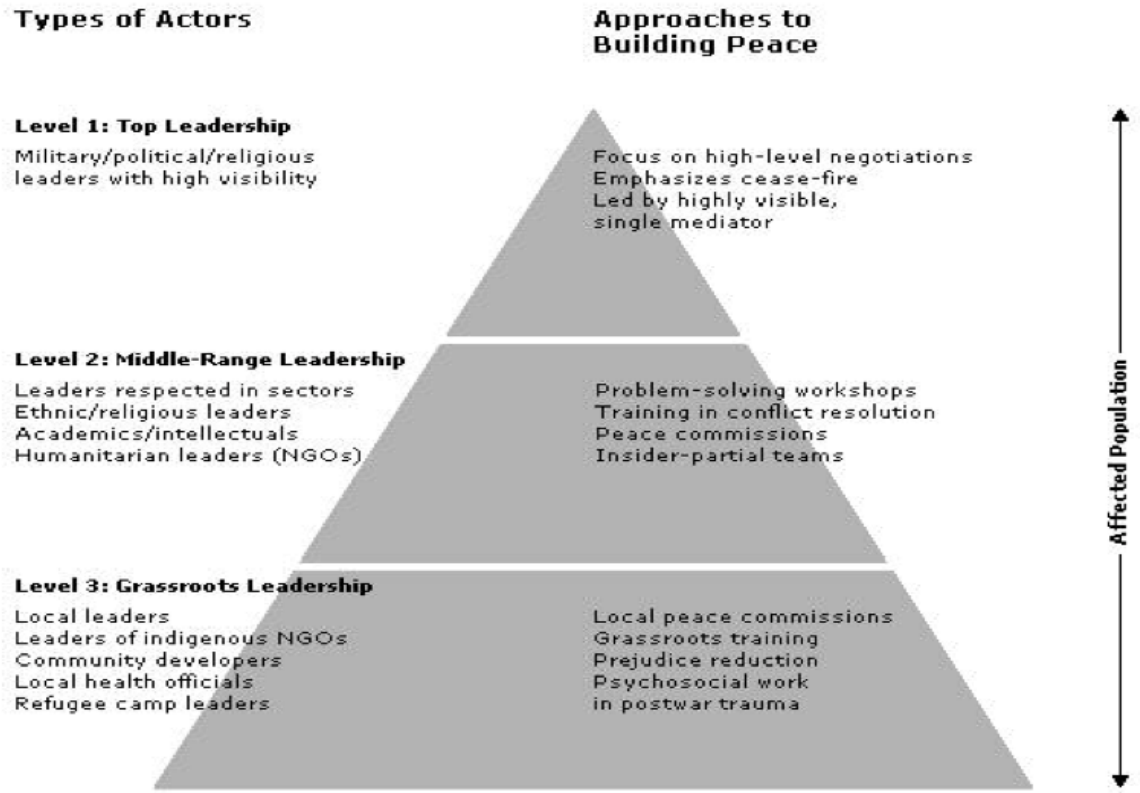
Conceptual Framework

This analytical framework is based on concepts of human security, peacebuilding, and critical feminism.

Human Security

The human security paradigm provides an important entry point for re-defining peacebuilding and analyzing the interplay between concepts such as gender, sumud, and peacebuilding. Often labeled as a "paradigm shift" from classic state centered approaches to security, human security places the individual at the center of analysis. The regional history in Palestine/Israel of state centered approaches to security dominating interpretations of security and thus trumping human security makes the reframing of security particularly important in the Palestinian context (Human Development Report, 2010, pp. 20-21). When speaking of peacebuilding in the region, focus often reflects the state centeredness of security and peace discourse. Subsequently, the only peacebuilding activities that are recognized in the region are the stalled government peace talks. However, these peace talks represent only a portion of the work that is being undertaken in hopes of building peace. What's more, many Palestinians and Israelis feel frustrated and are filled with distrust of the peace talks. These protracted peace processes represent a political crisis in national politics, which are manifested on the ground in severe insecurities that have lasted for decades. It is therefore imperative, if the building of lasting peace is to be achieved, that security be re-envisioned as something that needs to be addressed in all spheres of life, and particularly at the grassroots level (or Level 3: Grassroots Leadership).

Figure A: Approaches to Building Peace. Adapted from *Building peace: Sustainable*



development in divided societies (p. 39) By Lederach, J.P. Washinton: United States Institute of Peace.

The on-going realities of occupation have created a situation in which people in the West Bank face multiple risks and threats, and live with broad-based insecurity on a daily basis. Moreover, the military occupation of Palestine is an omnipresent force, which frames the processes and outcomes of peacebuilding in the area. The unique set of obstacles and challenges in peacebuilding that Palestine faces can be distilled to the fact that traditionally the crucial challenge of peacebuilding is confronting the legacy of the past. However, in Palestine, peacebuilders must confront the reality of the *present* while simultaneously confronting the legacy of the *past*. This legacy unequivocally shapes the foundation of tomorrow. Due to these realities it is vital to acknowledge that it is integral for peacebuilding efforts to take place within Palestine rather than solely between Palestinians and Israelis. In this way, peacebuilding efforts in

Palestine can be viewed as working to lay a solid foundation for a durable future peace. However, it is vital to acknowledge that the persistent occupation makes cross-border peacebuilding extremely difficult, contentious, and arguably futile as it is vital to reach a state of negative peace, and thus the cessation of occupation, in order to progress towards building positive peace. Using a human security lens we can see how the ongoing conflict and occupation has a detrimental impact on all 7 dimensions of human security: physical security, health security, economic security, cultural security, political security, environmental security, and food security. The resulting consequences of the occupation on these spheres of human security have tangible effects such as death, destruction of infrastructure, and inadequate access to education and health care, desolation of natural resources, and minimal economic development. However, the effects can also be less overt such as collapsing institutions, general distrust in the political process, destruction of family and community relations, psychological trauma, loss of hope and perpetual fear. All of these effects lead to an artificial thwarting of Palestinian potential and addressing both types of effects is essential. Palestine's unique situation thereby constitutes an equally unique understanding and conceptualization of peacebuilding. Human security stresses the importance of eliminating the root causes of conflict in order eliminate conflict. Root causes include poverty, inequality, resource scarcity and environmental threats, power disparity, lack of social justice, lack of education, etc. This epistemological approach asserts the preliminary necessity of the cessation of the occupation while simultaneously addressing individuals needs. As previously mentioned, from a human security perspective it is imperative to understand and place the individual, thus the local, at the centre of analysis. As human security goes deeper into addressing impacts of conflict on personal and community security, we need to consider psychosocial dimensions as well as horizontal and vertical community coexistence when addressing peacebuilding (Conteh-Morgan, 2005, p. 71-72). In appreciation of this, the following

research will strive to investigate and analyze the uniquely Palestinian concept of sumud. It is vital for any approach to peacebuilding in the region to be pragmatic in order to promote human security whilst still under, or emerging from occupation. An articulation of the need to incorporate human security and sumud into a holistic notion of peacebuilding is detailed in the following quote by the United Nations (UN) Human Development Report for the occupied Palestinian Territories (2009-2010),

> It is argued that social, economic and political participation becomes crucial both for building a viable Palestinian State and for galvanizing a large-scale civil rights movement. The participatory state-building priorities are highlighted as: territorial integration/contiguity, economic integration, social cohesion, sovereignty and political reconciliation. To this end, it was felt that a reformulation and reactivation of the long-serving principle of sumud, with proactive emphasis in the face of the prolonged occupation, is one strategy for popular mobilization which could contribute to these [peacebuilding] priorities (p. 17).

Peacebuilding

Peacebulding provides a framework from which to analyze actions aimed at encouraging the establishment of inclusive, autonomous communities, where all individuals are free to express religious, cultural, and national aspirations and identity free from fear of violence and discrimination. The actions taken and policies implemented within a peacebuilding framework span a wide range of topics such as security, socio-economic foundations, political frameworks, and conciliation and justice (Smith, 2004, p. 28). A peacebuilding framework provides an umbrella which recognizes efforts geared towards social change at all levels of society and at all stages of conflict. This framework supports interventions driven by the analysis of a conflict in

order to address underlying causes and consequences. Furthermore, this framework is based in the fundamental principles of local human capital, building capacity, sustainability, 'do no harm', transparency, negotiation, facilitation, and communication.

Feminist Critique

Feminism has traditionally been used to examine the many forms of patriarchy and domination within societies. Throughout the decades feminist theory has evolved to examine issues of power, domination, and exploitation. This research employs a feminist critique of the concept of gender and peacebuilding, as this serves as the underpinning of the human security paradigm. Feminist theorists identify the individual rather than the state as the main actor, and employ a 'bottom up' analytical approach to their understanding of peace and conflict. "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" (Habib, 2006, p. 36). From a feminist lens it is important to note that "human" in "human security" is often framed as being gender-neutral. However, as gender influences what is considered a threat or violence, as well as policy regarding security, security must be viewed in terms of voice, identity, power, and location. In order to do this we must include the specific concerns of women (Hudson, 2009, p. 291). Therefore, it is imperative to use a feminist critique, or a feminist lens in conjunction with human security.

Furthermore, a feminist lens highlights the importance of exploring the gendered interpretation of sumud. Hudson (2009) opines "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 [emphasis added]" (Hudson, 2009, p. 289).

At the theoretical level, this research emphasizes the contribution of a feminist perspective and critique of the life experiences and perspectives of people in Palestine in order to

contribute to the study and practice of peacebuilding (Sharoni, 1993, p. 5). From a feminist perspective the understanding of gender is not born from essentialized differences between women and men, rather it reflects socially prescribed notions of femininity and masculinity together with the complex relationships between them. “Work informed by these propositions begins with the premise that differences between individuals and groups are socially constructed and therefore no categories, identities, or practices associated with being a woman or a man are natural or universal” (Sharoni, 1993, p. 7). Feminism, and subsequent feminist analysis and critique, historically provided a new vision on gender issues, which functioned as the catalyst educing the development of gender analysis as a tool. However, as Correia and Bannon (2006) assert, taking into consideration the experiences of woman addresses only one half of gender. This research utilizes a feminist critique of gender in order to examine women’s *and* men’s interpretations of sumud and the subsequent impact on peacebuilding in Palestine.

In order to make gender visible in peacebuilding, we must move beyond exclusively asking the "woman question" to also ask what Kathy Ferguson termed "the man question" (Sharoni, 1993; Ferguson 1993). In other words, “future feminist interventions that seek to map new directions for the study and practice of conflict resolution should raise crucial questions concerning the influences of dominant conceptions of masculinity and femininity on the construction of knowledge about conflict and conflict resolution [and peacebuilding]” (Sharoni, 1993, para. 39). It is the belief of this research that focusing exclusively on women provides us only with a partial picture of the role of gender. Thus failing to holistically address the very concept we aim to critique. Therefore, it is a matter of the utmost importance to acknowledge both women’s and men’s experiences of gender.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT

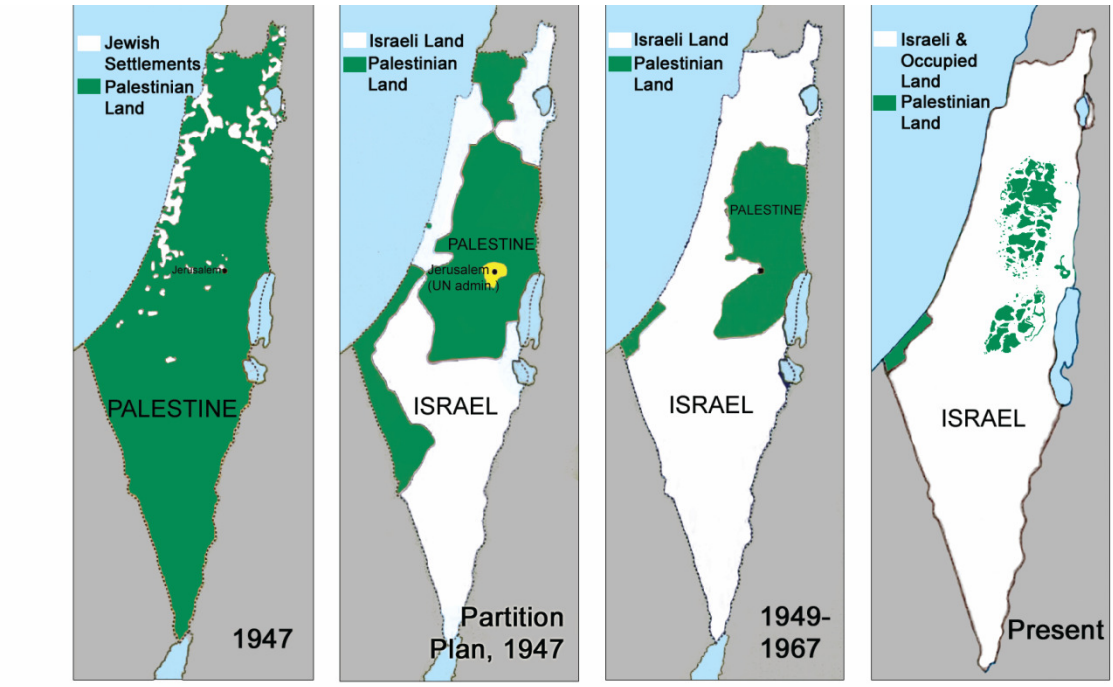


Figure B: Picture of "The Disappearing Palestine". Adopted from Palestine Awareness Coalition. (2013). Retrieved from: http://palestineawarenesscoalition.wordpress.com/

Background

The Middle East region is home to a rich, complex and often contentious history about which many books have been written. A comprehensive background and history of the region is far beyond the scope of this paper. What follows is a brief overview of the factors that gave rise to modern day political, geographic and demographic realities.

The region of present-day Palestine and Israel has been inhabited by many people through history; from the Canaanites, Babylonians, Romans, Crusaders, to the Ottoman Turks, and British. However, by the 19th century the land of Palestine was inhabited by a multicultural population; approximately 86 percent Muslim, 10 percent Christian, and 4 percent Jewish. In the late 1800s due largely to the rise in anti-Semitism in Europe a Viennese journalist named Theodore Herzl proposed a mass exodus of Jews to an autonomous Jewish state. Although

initially slow to gain acceptance, his movement eventually gained support and became known as Zionism. After deliberating on various locations such as Argentina and Uganda for the Jewish state, the Zionist movement settled on Palestine. In the late 1800s and early 1900s Jewish migration to Palestine gradually increased. Although initially not problematic, as more and more European Jews arrived in the region, conflict arose between the native predominantly Arab Muslim population and the new Jewish immigrants. After World War I, Palestine was administered by the United Kingdom under a mandate received in 1922 from the League of Nations. Succeeding, primarily as a result of the barbarity and abomination of the Holocaust during World War II and, to a lesser degree, the popularity of nationalism as a political philosophy in the post-war era, the Zionist movement enjoyed a proliferation of support from Europe and Britain in particular. By way of the Balfour Declaration, Britain officially declaring the end of the British Mandate rule in Palestine on May 14, 1948; that same day, Zionist leaders declaring the creation of the State of Israel. In the 65 years since this declaration, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has continued unabated.

On November 2, 1947 the UN Partition Plan of Palestine titled "United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 (II) Future Government of Palestine" recommended the partition of the territory into two states; one Jewish and one Arab, with the Jerusalem-Bethlehem area under special international protection administrated by the UN. The resolution included a highly detailed description of the recommended boundaries for each proposed state. However, the partition plan did not endure. In 1967 the six-day war between Israel, Egypt, Jordon and Syria resulted in Israel seizing control of the Gaza Strip, West Bank and East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. As a result, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 242, the "land for peace" formula, which called for Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967 and "the termination of all claims or states of belligerency." Although Israel eventually withdrew from the

Sinai Peninsula in 1979, up to the present time Israel continues to occupy the West Bank and Jerusalem. Furthermore, the temporary military administration established after the six-day war in 1967 to govern Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has yet to be dismantled and defines the current situation in the region.

In 1993 the Oslo Accords, the first direct face-to-face agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), were signed and intended to provide a framework for the future relations between the two parties. Implementation of the Oslo Accords proved extremely difficult for many reasons from continuous Israeli illegal settlement building, suicide attacks from Palestinians, and lastly the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Prime Minister and signer of the Oslo Accords, in November 1995 by Zionist extremists. Since 1995 there have been numerous unsuccessful peace summits and proposals, including the Camp David Summit (2000), Taba Summit (2001), the Road Map for Peace (2002), and the Arab Peace Initiative (2002 and 2007), and currently the peace talks engineered by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry.

Although a solution has yet to be agreed upon and there are still approximately seven million Palestinian refugees throughout the world (BADIL, 2007), the inhabitants of the region continue to persevere and find creative and innovative ways to coexist despite the challenging circumstances.

Gender in the Palestinian Cultural Milieu

As previously mentioned, one cannot discuss peacebuilding efforts in Palestine without recognizing the pervasive impact of the ongoing military occupation. In much the same way, one cannot discuss gender, gender norms and gender relations in Palestine without recognition of the omnipresent influence of the occupation and subsequent Palestinian national struggle for liberation (PNSL) on these concepts. However, it is important to note that a combination of the occupation together with differing stages of development and urbanization have lead to a vast

disparity between experiences of gender identities within different contexts and locations throughout the West Bank.

The social and cultural context of Palestinian society is predominantly patriarchal. However, gender relations in Palestine exist in a unique interplay between a foundation of traditional patriarchy and the modern realities of occupation and conflict, both of which challenge traditional gender roles and thwarts men's and women's ability to assert their gender identities (Ernudd, 2007, p. 1). As a result of the creation of the State of Israel, and later the military occupation of Palestine, men, women, masculinities, femininities and gender roles have faced three crucial milestones in Palestinian history: Al-Nakba, the First Intifada, and the Second Intifada.

Although men and women share many of the same experiences and challenges associated with living under occupation, each gender experiences a unique set of difficulties and subsequent ramifications. Israeli security policies such as: curfews, house demolitions, military checkpoints, and blockades employed by the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) violate basic human rights like the right to movement, work, medical care and education. However, due to women's socially prescribed roles of primary caregivers and housekeepers these policies are particularly detrimental to women. Palestinian women's situation is further complicated by the fact that they face two systems of subordination: occupation and patriarchy. On the other hand, one of the most cited effects of these restrictions on males and masculinities is commonly recognized as a 'crisis in paternity', 'thwarted masculinities', 'failed fatherhood' or 'masculinity in crisis' (Foster, 2011, p. 73-74; Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 36; Yaish, 2009, para. 7). Through her research in the West Bank, Foster (2011) distills three leading meta-narratives of challenges pertaining to men's ability to assert their masculinity in Palestine: the struggle of Palestinian fathers to sustain their

respect and authority under the forces of the occupation; the impact of land dispossession on men; and the increasing difficulties for men to maintain their breadwinner statuses within the family (p. 73).

Women's and men's visible contributions to the PNSL and political engagement were quite varied between the First Intifada (1987-1991) and the Second Intifada (2000-2005). For the most part, this is due to the theater in which the conflict took place. The First Intifada was predominantly a non-militarized, civil disobedience movement, which played out in the community; its streets, neighborhoods and homes. National unity and cohesiveness were crucial dimensions of the First Intifada (Johnson & Kuttab, 2001, p. 28). Subsequently, women were often in the forefront of activity being promoted as "mothers of the nations", building roadblocks, raising Palestinian flags, throwing stones, boycotting, refusing to pay taxes, and protesting. However, for men, although these tactics reached their full expression with the onset of the Second Intifada, the First Intifada saw public displays of violence and humiliation becoming an explicit tactic and policy implemented by the IDF aimed at terrorizing, controlling and crushing the Palestinian uprising. In 1988 the Israeli defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin described the new policy to quell the uprising as "might, power, and beatings" (Peteet, 1994, p. 36). As a way of coping with the inescapable environment of powerlessness and abuse during the First Intifada, beatings and detention, a tactic employed by the occupying forces which originally intended to humiliate, began to be reversed and framed as a rite of passage central in the construction of a gendered Palestinian male. This often meant that upon returning home from interrogation, detention or jail time, Palestinian men received new levels of respect and reverence within the extended family and community.

Scared by the breakdown of the Oslo 'peace process', the perceived failing of Yasser Arafat, the Second Intifada, or Al-Aqsa intifada, was born into an environment of frustration, defeat, and increasing powerlessness. All of which shaped the uprising's distinctively different features compared to the First Intifada. The Second Intifada took place predominantly at border-crossings, holy sites, the separation wall, etc., and occurred in a far more militarized environment. With tactics such as public displays of violence and humiliation becoming ever more prevalent, these policies primarily targeted men, particularly young men. As the battlefront moved from the community level to a more public arena, women's visible involvement diminished and the image of resistance fighter was further defined as a violent patriotic male willing to fight with his life. As one scholar argues, "clear sexual division of war usually disappears when there is no clear difference between battlefront and the home front" (Yuval Davis, 1997, p. 85). For women, the Second Intifada primarily differed from the first in three ways: there was a fundamental depoliticization of women's activism, there was a transformation in their roles as "mothers of the nation", and lastly, although to a lesser degree than males, the emergence of suicide bombers. This 'regression' of women's involvement suggests that to a certain degree, women's involvement and access to political and public spheres during the First Intifada was more an illusion of progress rather than a change in social norms. During the Second Intifada even the illusion could no longer be maintained as women enjoyed yet less recognition and involvement. However, it is important to note that women were by no means completely absent from the militaristic and violent acts of the Second Intifada.

In general, men's involvement and contribution to the Second Intifada occurred in two diametrically opposed ways: heightened violent resistance and avoidance/disengagement. The rise in militarism during the Second Intifada raised the stakes and risk involved with being

actively engaged and subsequently led to a rise in restriction of participation in the uprising, allowing only those willing to fight violence with violence to participate. Many men were discouraged by the lack of progress the First Intifada produced. As a result, numerous men who had previously been involved in the PNSL were more interested in going about daily life and trying to hold onto any sense of normality possible during the Second Intifada. Attempts to live a seemly ordinary life was in stark contrast to the First Intifada where men and women prided themselves in arresting their daily life in recognition that the Israeli occupation was an abnormal situation and therefore all normal daily happenings should be suspended and the subsequent freed up energy spent on organizing and resisting the occupation. While conducting ethnographic research during the Second Intifada, Kelly (2008) notes, "the dominant aspirations for many men in the village where I conducted fieldwork was to work in order to fulfill their kinship obligations" (p. 360). This observation offers an alternative view of the affirmation of masculinity in Palestine during the Second Intifada. Here we see masculinity being steeped in the more practical responsibilities of kinship, and the sacrifices of paternity and brotherhood rather than the sacrifices of ones body (Jean-Klein, 2000, p. 102-103; Kelly, 2008, p. 361).

All of the above factors have contributed to the current cultural milieu and have had a fundamental impact on Palestinians worldview and gender relations.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The examination of existing literature pertaining to this research project has been divided into five interrelated categories. Firstly, the literature related to sumud will be reviewed. An exploration into the existing literature on sumud, gender and peacebuilding will ensue. A review of the existing literature surrounding peacebuilding in general terms will follow. Next, a survey of literature pertaining to gender and peacebuilding will be developed. Lastly, an examination into the limited literature challenging the habitual equating of gender with women and advancing the notion of including men in the 'engendered' equation will be given. By addressing the literature related to the research topic through these five interrelated categories the literature reviewed will help contextualize this research on both a macro and a micro-level.

Sumud

Sumud, translated literally from Arabic, means steadfast. Sumud was introduced into general discourse at the end of the 1970s when sumud funds, or formally *The Steadfastness Aid Fund of the Jordanian-Palestinian Joint Committee,* were established in Jordan in order to facilitate the continued presence of Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem (Malik, 2013, p. 12; Nakhleh, 2004, pp. 31-34; Shearer & Myer, 2005, p. 167; Teeffelen, 2011, p. 21; Turner, 2012, p. 497). Literature and analysis pertaining to sumud during the 1970s and early 1980s, often framed it as a way of keeping the Palestinian community intact through grassroots community building when, at the time, "there was not yet a sustained and broad movement of struggle against the Israeli occupation" (Teeffelen, 2011, p. 136). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the sumud funds morphed into more of a movement that "informed the movement of nonviolent resistance through facilitating the mobilization, organization, and creation of socio-economic and protective support systems including the delivery of services ranging from day-care centers to income generation projects" (Human Development Report, 2010, p. 116). In the

1980s Raja Shehadeh (1982) described the birth of sumud as a conscious path taken in the face of Israeli occupation. He proclaims, “when faced with two alternatives, choose the third”; in the face of Israeli occupation, Shehadeh’s two alternatives are "mute submission" and "blind hate" while the third way was sumud (Shehadeh, 1982). Shehadesh’s view of sumud represents a refusal to submit to the occupation coupled with a refusal to take up arms. This, as Malik (2013) explains, leads to a continued “struggle to endure and to remain human in the face of extraordinary circumstances” (p. 17).

The evolution of sumud is further chronicled by Ibrahim Dakkak (1988). Dakkak distinguishes between the traditional form of sumud, related to the concept of being tied to ones land, which he refers to as ‘static sumud’ and the evolved manifestation of sumud which is a “less orthodox and more aggressive approach”(p. 289) referred to as ‘sumud muqawim’ or ‘resistance sumud’ which aims to resist through development (p. 288, 295). Adding to Dakkak’s idea of ‘resistance sumud’, Rami (2011) suggests that sumud offers a strategy for peaceful resistance as it expresses liberating and humanizing concepts of life, perspective, and movement while displaying different genres of action and communication that articulate a sense of morality and humanity in challenging occupation and the use of violence (p. 154).

When striving to define sumud some authors such as Meari (2011) describe sumud as “not a definable practice” due to its embodiment of a whole range of “significations, sensibilities, affections, attachments, aspirations and practices” (p.1). Likewise, Malik (2013) asserts, “sumud is not a slogan and it is not rhetoric… it is the inner struggle of man [and women]” (p. 15). Moreover, other authors define sumud as “resisting-by-existing” (Rangitsch, 2007, p. 15), and “steadfast perseverance” (Nassar & Heacock, 1990, p. 28). Despite differences regarding the exact interpretation of sumud, there is general consensus that it is “central to Palestinian self-definition” (Peteet, 2000, pp. 183-184).

Malik (2013) explains that over the years sumud "has been promoted by leaders, it has been used as the basis for government policies, and it has been romantically ever present in Palestinian art and literature" (p. 12). Salam Fayyad, the former Prime Minister of the Palestinian National Authority, "championed the term sumud in his speeches, claiming it is sumud which informs his policies, which will allow the Palestinian people to remain steadfast on their land" (Malik, 2013, p. 13).

Although the historical birth and definition of sumud is well documented, there is a dearth of current literature in regards to contemporary elucidation, practices, and manifestations of sumud (Halper, 2006) and even less research and discourse pertaining to the interplay between gender and sumud (Richter-Devroe, 2008).

Sumud, Peacebuilding, and Gender

In the Palestinian context, many authors call attention to the fact that the distinction between the concepts of peacebuilding and resistance is subtle (Hassassian, 2006; Musleh, 2012, p. 98; Richter-Devroe, 2008). Foster (2011) posits, "informal peacebuilding activities in the West Bank reside in a complex nexus of resistance to occupation, societal development, and nation-building with many local organizations involved in all three types of activities" (p. 20). Therefore, from Fosters (2011) standpoint, grassroots peacebuilding in Palestine necessitates: working to end the occupation and subsequently peace with Israel, promoting a culture of peace within Palestinian society, and working to construct viable community institutions in order to endure the occupation (p. 20 & p. 107). From this perspective it is possible to see the connection between resistance, as long as it is non-violent, and peacebuilding in the Palestinian context. For Musleh (2012), the term sumud highlights the connection between resistance and peacebuilding in Palestine (p. 98). Sumud can simply be educating your children not to hate, continuing on with your life in terms of traveling to see friends despite severe restriction on movement, planting

olive trees or participating in sit-ins, academic boycotts or celebrating Palestinian culture. Musleh (2012) explains that sumud means, "defying injustice by acting justly" (p.98). In addition to a commitment to active non-violence, sumud represents a way of building peace in a situation with such inescapable inequality and injustice. Furthermore, the Human Development Report (2010) explains that "sumud can be expressed in various ways and through several types of organizations, including agricultural, health and labour unions, students and women's groups, and professional associations, and is characterized by a strong tradition of volunteerism" (p. 117).

Peacebuilding

With the cessation of the Cold War, the face of conflict and war changed (David, 1997; Mair & Steiner, 2011; Paris, 2002; United Nations Population Fund, 2001; Yilmaz, 2007). Instead of embarking on an era of peace as was initially hoped, conflicts raged on in a new and insidious form. In contrast with the interstate wars of the Cold War era, there was a dramatic raise in intrastate conflicts. At its peak during the 1990's, 90 per cent of conflicts were within rather than between states (Shannon, 2003, p. 35). As a result of this transition, the casualties of war also shifted dramatically. The gradual shift in conflict style that occurred through the 20th century led to the largest number of victims and fatalities being innocent citizens and non-combatants. Ultimately, this necessitated a new way of thinking about conflict resolution, rebuilding, and healing.

Peacebuilding as an appellation is relatively new in the "development lexicon" (Munro, 2000, p. 1) and therefore possesses a limited degree of accumulated knowledge around what constitutes effective peacebuilding (Archana Aryal, Khatri, Tamang, Sharma, & Dhungana, 2012, p. 1). Robert Miller maintains that the term peacebuilding is in its "etymological adolescence" it is "gangly and undefined" (as quoted in Schirch, 2008, p. 2).

In its inception, the primary focus was predominantly focused on the political character

of peacebuilding. This interpretation is often labeled *liberal peacebuilding*. "Liberal peacebuilding is the idea and practice of building peace through liberalization" (Lederach, 1997, p. 4). There has been a great deal of criticism and debate in related literature regarding this narrow interpretation of peacebuilding (Gawerc, 2006; Liden, 2005; McKeon, 2003; Paris, 2002). Subsequently, in the present climate the literature acknowledges the dynamic nature of structural, social, psychological, and economical actives all working under the auspices of peacebuilding (Gawerc, 2006, p. 439; Lederach, 1997; Mair & Steiner, 2011). Although peacebuilding was initially envisioned as a process to help rebuild societies recovering from war and violence, recent literature focuses additionally on the need for peacebuilding as a way to mitigate the risk of further conflict (Mair & Steiner, 2011).

Prior to the end of the Cold War era, "the field and practice of conflict resolution, and the closely allied study and practice of peacebuilding, were largely independent from the field of development studies" (Shannon, 2003, p. 38). However, as a result of the transformation of war, the impetus behind the evolution of the concept of peacebuilding grew from the realization that a remodeling was necessary in order to move from the antiquated field of conflict resolution towards a "broader political agenda comprising civilian as well as military issues was needed for peace to be sustained" (Lederach, 1997, p. 4).

Originally coined in 1975 by Johan Galtung with the publication of *Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding*, the term peacebuilding aimed to broaden the range of activities that earlier notions of peacemaking and peacekeeping embodied. Galtung's definition of peacebuilding aimed to do this by acknowledging the importance of identifying and building structures which might militate against war, thereby addressing the root causes of conflict (Barnett, Kim, O'Donnell, & Sitea, 2007, p. 37). Galtung's notion of peacebuilding is informed by the core concepts of negative peace, positive peace, structural

violence, root causes of conflict and sustainable peace.

Table 1. Concepts and Definitions of Peace

Concept	Definition
Positive Peace	The absence of structural violence. The presence of social justice. The conditions that eliminate the causes of violence.
Negative Peace	The cessation and/or absence of violence.
Structural Violence	Indirect violence. "Violence that is built into structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung 1990, p. 171). Structural violence accompanies and is an underlying cause of direct violence.
Root causes of conflict	Manifestations of structural and cultural violence, leading to direct violence.
Sustainable Peace	Peace and processes towards it that address the root causes of violent conflict

Galtung believes that "structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur" (Galtung, 1976, p. 297). He also emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, ownership and participation in peacebuilding. Thus, actions such as dialogue groups and peace education programs along with culturally unique practices and beliefs such as sumud are placed solidly within peacebuilding work. It is from within this conceptualization of peacebuilding that this research derives its working definition of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding in the context of the current research relates not only to violence reduction strategies within communities and countries, but also includes the ability to foster and promote equality, justice, and human rights of all people (Mazurana & McKay, 1999).

Another pivotal influence in the conceptualization of peacebuilding as employed by this

research is John Paul Lederach. Lederach (1997), describes peacebuilding as a...

> [C]omprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct (p. 84–85).

Pertaining directly to this research, most importantly Lederach (1997; 2005) underscores that peacebuilding must acknowledge and augment cultural knowledge in conflict settings because requirements for peacebuilding differs according to the cultural context.

Officially introduced into mainstream discourse in the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report *Agenda for Peace* at the 47th Session of the UN in 1992, the concept of peacebuilding was quickly adopted into the comprehensive approach of human security which was defined in the 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report (Shannon, 2003, pp. 35-36). In Boutros-Ghali (1995) Supplement to the Agenda for Peace, he further developed the concept and used the term to refer to both pre and post-conflict measures. The concept of peacebuilding and subsequent interpretations and practices has been evolving ever since.

Authors such as Bronwyn Evans-Kent (2001) have distinguished between 'reconstructive peacebuilding' and 'transformative peacebuilding'. He describes reconstructive peacebuilding as the tangible aspects of peacebuilding, such as addressing infrastructure needs, the development of healthcare systems and political institutions with actors such as political elites, international organizations, and multilateral institutions. Conversely, he explains transformative peacebuilding as "a broad term for approaches that focus less on physical

reconstruction than on the broader social relationships that exist within conflict-prone societies" (para. 17). The following research builds its exploration of peacebuilding from within a transformative approach to peacebuilding.

Although current literature has advanced significantly in recent decades in regard to conceptualizing peacebuilding, there still exist many discrepancies in the field. Despite the capricious nature of the term peacebuilding, consensus exists around the fact that the ultimate objective of peacebuilding is to reduce and mitigate the impact, frequency, and severity of violent conflict.

Gender and Peacebuilding

The field of gender, conflict, and peacebuilding has evolved markedly since its inception; it has "become institutionalized through policymaking, legal practice, and the development of practitioner models and been enhanced through academic research" (Theidon, Phenicie, & Murray, 2011, p. 3). United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000, is generally viewed as the crucial benchmark in the international recognition of the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes. The resolution led to an ever-growing body of literature highlighting women's indispensible contributions towards building sustainable, positive peace (Anderlini, 2007; Mazurana & McKay, 1999; McCarthy, 2011, p. 7; Meintjes, Turshen, & Pillay, 2001; Pratt & Richter-Devroe, 2011). Furthermore, this ambitious and rhetorically transformative resolution acknowledged the unique experiences that women face in times of conflict and thus the pivotal input they have to offer towards building peace. The resolution calls for " increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict" (United Nations, 2000). This recognition led to a substantial increase in literature pertaining to women's

input, inclusion, skills, and gender specific needs in peacebuilding.

Although it is impossible to pinpoint the exact genesis of the field of women, peace and security, the 1970's sticks out as a point in time where feminist activists, writers, and scholars started to draw attention to these concepts by making gender a visible social construct in development. Then in the early 1980's many authors began questioning the stark characterization of men as warriors and women as peacemakers (Cancian & Gibson, 1990; Cockburn, 1998; Giles & Hyndman, 2004; Ruddick, 1989). The burgeoning literature pertaining to gender and peacebuilding coincided with the growing consideration of gender and development reflected in the widely accepted change of focus from 'women in development' (WID) to 'gender and development' (GAD). Collaboration between feminist theorist, political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, development and humanitarian experts lead to the analysis of war and peace as a gendered processes. This led to a large body of literature focusing on the varying gender specific impacts of violence and armed conflict on women (Cockburn, 1998; Moser, 2005; United Nations Population Fund, 2001).

Along with the rise of feminist critiques of gender, the field of gender and peacebuilding was influenced and fueled by the changing face of conflict in the post Cold War era. This is due to the fact that the prevalence and virulence of intrastate conflict has serious implications for women. Violence and war threatens women's physical security, food security, health security, economic security, political security, and environmental security. This is due largely to the fact that there is no longer a clear distinction between "the battlefield" and "the home front" and thus there is little or no distinction between soldier and civilian (Bethke Elshtain, 1987, p. 9). Subsequently, "women often experience a level of violence—principally sexual violence—and mortality similar to that of male combatants throughout the course of the conflict" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 6). The recognition that horrific consequences of war and violence

have an immense impact on women led to an increased acknowledgment of the importance of recognizing the consequent impact violence has on women—and thus on durable peace and reconciliation. It is this appreciation and awareness that led in part to the passing of UNSCR 1325.

Due to its origin, the concept of gender and peacebuilding is predominantly situated from within feminist theory and constructivist schools of thought. Hudson 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). These lenses offer a critical analysis of gender that emphasizes both the fluidity of gender and the danger in naturalizing femininity and masculinity. To this point, Cynthia Enloe notes, "neither brave soldiers nor patriotic mothers are born; they are produced through gendered processes" (As quoted in Moran, 2010, p. 263). Feminist research has established that men and women experience conflict and post-conflict situations differently as a consequence of identity and power, not sex. Furthermore, perhaps most importantly it is widely acknowledged that women do not suffer in war because of any intrinsic weakness, but because of their position in society (Pankhurst, 2000, p.7; Stern & Nystrand, 2006). Nevertheless, as with feminism in general, there is vigorous debate within feminist thought vis-à-vis gender and peacebuilding. However, these varying theories are outside of the scope and topic of this paper.

How one defines peace has a substantial effect on approaches to peacebuilding. Therefore, applying a gender-lens to peace and security practice requires one to question and reconstruct notions of security. Emerging from Johan Gaultung's theory of positive and negative peace, there has been an increasing recognition that peace is more than an absence of violence. It requires a more comprehensive approach than simply, "signing peace agreements… building schools and providing health care" (Mays, 2008, p. 2). A gender-sensitive approach to

peacebuilding necessitates taking an inclusive, positive approach to peace that ensures all voices and concerns are included. Many authors such as feminist peace theorist Birgit Brock-Utne (1989) incorporate a gender perspective into definitions of positive and negative peace. If peace is defined as an environment free of structural violence, gender based violence, mutual respect, and safety then an engendered approach thus becomes a fundamental principle linked to peacebuilding. In current literature, this is the prevalent understanding employed in the field of gender and peacebuilding.

With the passing of UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions, a gender inclusive perspective is slowly emerging from the confines of feminist literature into the mainstream peacebuilding field. However, while many people acknowledge the crucial implications of engendering peacebuilding, a gendered analysis is all too often neglected in peacebuilding research and practice. For example, as mentioned by Moran (2010), Roland Paris's influential book *At War's End: Building Peace After Conflict* (2004) "contains no index entries for 'women,' 'men', or 'gender'" (as quoted in Moran, 2010, p. 262). Munro (2000) suggests that the concept of 'gender and peacebuilding' is generally perceived in one of three ways in the literature and in practice: viewed as an approach (e.g. (en)gendering peacebuilding or a gendered approach to development), an analytical tool (e.g. gender, peace and conflict analysis of cause of war, program, a situation), or as a goal (e.g. gender equality or improved status of women). "These connotations are not exclusive but the emphasis of the term is put on different elements of the concepts" (Munro, 2000, p. 2). Despite the avenue of perception or analysis, gender and peacebuilding is a growing area of study pioneering much needed discourse.

Men, Gender, and Peacebuilding

There has been an increase in contemporary literature pertaining to the phenomenon of the term gender being used synonymously with women or the study of women (Foster, 2011;

Stern & Nystrand, 2006; Sudhakar & Kuehnast, 2011; Theidon, Phenicie, & Murray, 2011; Vries, 2010). To this point Pankhurst (2008) asserts that the feminist application of gender analyses in terms of exploring the "various and contrasting social roles, identities, sources of and constraints on power and control" (as quoted in Foster, 2011, p. 37) has not been applied to men to the same extent than to women in conflict settings. This one-sided interpretation of the term ignores the fact that men, as well as women, are gendered beings. Contemporary scholars agree that 'masculine' cannot be understood as separate from, or be defined in opposition to, 'feminine' (Stern & Nystrand, 2006, pp. 6-7) and deserves equal investigation and analysis when addressing gender. From this perspective, concepts such as 'engendering peacebuilding', 'gender inclusive', or 'gender sensitive approach to development' often only highlight and/or engage one side of gender and therefore offer an incomplete understanding or picture of gender issues in the context of peacebuilding efforts. Literature on this topic represents a belated recognition that men are gendered beings and have gender identities (Bannon & Correia, 2006; Heinonen, 2007; Sudhakar & Kuehnast, 2011). Cleaver (2000) explains, "[w]ith a few notable exceptions, men are rarely explicitly mentioned in gender policy documents" (p. 1). This has led to a new impetus to attempt to understand the male side of gender as it relates to peace and conflict and the concept of masculinity in peacebuilding (Bannon & Correia, 2006, p. xviii). In a like manner, Furman (2009) advances, "given that men and women are inextricably connected through our various systems and social ecologies, practitioners and academics must understand other aspect of gender [men] should they wish to create lasting change" (p. 126). This is extremely important, as the marginalization of women in peacebuilding is a threat not only to women's rights, it is also a risk for general failure of peacebuilding and the same can be said for the marginalization of men. This is due to the fact that marginalizing either gender gives an inaccurate understanding of the situation and is therefore detrimental to processes and activities working towards building

positive peace (Hudson, 2009). Many authors who support this notion bring attention to the fact that including men in gender discourse and recognizing the implications and importance of masculinities vis-à-vis peacebuilding, does not diminish the importance of acknowledging and highlighting women's important roles and struggle for equality. Rather by including men, it is argued that programs, theories, and models are more meaningful and therefore effective (Bannon & Correia, 2006; Vries, 2010). In a like manner Sudhakar & Kuehnast (2011) posit that expanding the gender lens to encompass men does not come at the expense of women rather, "as the evidence base grows, strategies can be better tailored to reflect the reality of shifting norms and roles for men and women in conflict [and post-conflict] zones" (p. 3). Furthermore, Heinonen (2007) explains that in order to promote sustainable structural transformation, a holistic approach to gender must be adopted. As gender is a cross-cutting issue, there is a need for greater policy coherence in terms of men as part of 'gender'. There should not be a separate approach for men, but rather the gender mainstreaming approach should be made more coherent with its original definition (p. 6).

As previously mentioned, many authors point out that when the term *gender* is mentioned in development work, peacebuilding literature, and gender equality discourse, it is generally understood to mean woman and if men are mentioned it is usually in relation to them being framed as 'the problem'. However, this is deceiving because "women are not always losers and men are not always winners in societal gender relations" (Bannon & Correia, 2006, p. 1). It is therefore suggested that if we hope to move beyond essentialized notions of gender we must break this oversimplified generalization regarding the experiences and notions of gender. Literature and general consensus has come a long way from Mussolini's hypothesis that "war is to man what maternity is to women". With that being said, although to a lesser degree, this mentality still exists. Although men often do make up a large percentage of combatants, the

societal default is so "ingrained with essential ides of manhood" (Handrahan, 2004) that men are often unfairly conventionalized as "warriors, soldiers, and combatants" (Foster, 2011, p. 32; Goldstein, 2003). This conceptualization exists alongside a simultaneous disregard for non-militarized men and masculinities in conflict and post-conflict societies. This depiction misleads one to believe that the only gender disposition and alignment for men is the stereotypical war enticing combatant (Handrahan, 2004), which is clearly inaccurate.

As Moran (2010) argues, a truly gendered approach to peacebuilding is not achieved if positive masculinities are not acknowledged and supported in the same way that a gendered approach to peacebuilding is incomplete and insufficient if it fails to recognize women's roles as perpetrators of violence. It is argued that men, in societies where violence is rife, who elect to abstain from violence should be supported as examples of challenging violent masculinities (Moran, 2010). The recognition of positive masculinities is important and benefits everyone. Men, as well as women gain from an approach that deconstructs gender roles and breaks down gender hierarchies and stereotypes of masculinity as these often harm men's interaction with other men as well as with women.

This chapter has outlined the various disciplines, themes, and literatures that intertwine to form the underpinning of this research. It has spanned the work and the current state of the various fields, which lend themselves to understanding the connection and interaction between gender, sumud, and peacebuilding. As the literature reveals, there is a dearth of current research and publications in regard to contemporary elucidation, practices, and manifestations of sumud, and even less research and discourse pertaining to the interplay between gender, peacebuilding and sumud. Subsequently, with the conceptual understanding of peacebuilding and its origins forming the backbone, this research aims to add to the understanding of the concept of sumud, how this concept is shaped by gender, and the roles and behavioral responses to the occupation

pertaining to peacebuilding that are shaped by this concept. Moreover, as illustrated by the literature review, there is much need for work that aims to contribute to the slowly growing body of literature recognizing the importance of not equating the term gender solely with women's experiences. This research aims to do this through including an equally in depth analysis into men's experiences and interpretations. Therefore, this research aims to begin to fill that gap and produce a piece of work that not only takes into account the importance of truly 'engendering' research, but also to take that understanding of gender and apply it to the study of sumud. This goal formed the backdrop of my understanding and played an integral role in shaping and constructing the research questions:

- How do Palestinian peacebuilders define, embody, and practice sumud, how does this differ between genders?
- What is the relationship between sumud and peacebuilding?
- How do Palestinian peacebuilders perceive and define the concept of peace and peacebuilding and how does this differ between genders?
- What are the gender specific challenges, strengths, and opportunities that peacebuilders face in their careers? Do these challenge traditional conceptualizations and discourse of gender roles in peacebuilding?

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Methodological Approach

The following section will summarize the methodologies utilized in this research paying specific attention to how the methods lend themselves to addressing the stated research questions and objectives, the procedures used in the data collection, and a description of how the data was analyzed.

This research is exploratory in nature and uses a qualitative research design that aids in highlighting the socially constructed nature of gender, peacebuilding, and sumud. This design is the most appropriate method for this study as qualitative research provides "a means of understanding the complexity of a situation by exploring the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem" (Creswell, 2009, p.4). The research questions and the objectives of this study necessitate such an approach as I aim to understand individuals' thoughts, feelings, and interpretations. Furthermore, this design is best suited for the present purposes due to the fact that qualitative research has been associated with a critical feminist sensitivity, best allowing women's and men's voices to be heard (Bryman, 2008).

This study consisted of an action research design. I feel fortunate to have the services of my friend and colleague, Sulaiman al-Khatib, as a key informant. He has been integral to the process of developing my research design and approach as well as ensuring the topic is framed in a culturally relevant and sensitive manner. Sulaiman was born in 1972 in Hizmeh, near Jerusalem. Detained at 14, Sulaiman spend over 10 years in jail. While imprisoned he spent his time reading about peace activists such as Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. It was in this environment that he developed his thoughts about the conflict and the means for resolving it. From 2003-2004 he participated in the joint Palestinian-Israeli expedition to Antarctica, Breaking

the Ice, and was subsequently granted the 'Search for Common Ground' Award. Sulaiman is now the General Director of Al-Quds Association for Democracy and Dialogue as well the co-founder and Coordinator of Combatants for Peace and Leading Leaders for Peace. Additionally, he co-founded People's Peace Fund and is the Director of a Palestinian-Israeli group called Wounded Crossing Borders. Given Sulaiman's background, his active participation and feedback has facilitated an outcome and process that is culturally appropriate, incorporating the population, history, culture, interactive activities and emotional lives of the individuals selected.

In order to maximize the reliability of findings two types of triangulation were utilized throughout my research: methods triangulation and analysis triangulation. Methods triangulation requires multiple methods of collecting data and subsequently participant observation, SSIs, and questionnaires were used in this research. A combination of these data collection methods produced a more holistic understanding of my topic than any one of these methods could do in isolation. Moreover, the data collected through the SSIs was then used to create the questionnaires. This helped eliminate ambiguous data in the SSIs and produced more pointed findings in the questionnaires.

In order to address the long-standing concern in qualitative research regarding the role of the researcher in assigning value to one of what may be many possible meaningful interpretations of the same data, I employed analysis triangulation (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). To achieve this, I had Sulaiman and Ali Abu Awwad, the founder of both Leading Leaders for Peace and the Al Tariq Centre for Nonviolent Resistance as well as a member of Bereaved Families Forum, review my findings and discuss my process of data analysis. Patton (2002) posits, "researchers and evaluators can learn a great deal about the accuracy, fairness, and validity of their data analysis by having the people described in that data analysis react to what is described" (p. 7). I posit that this process helped to reduce any researcher bias. Additionally, I gained meaningful insight and

confirmation of the accuracy of my data analysis.

Data Collection and Research Process

Having previously worked in Palestine, the idea for this study originated with me. However, my exposure, communications, and friendship with individuals working in peacebuilding in the region uniquely contributed to the formation of the research question and sub-questions. These interactions and the insight I gained from them helped me frame the premise of this research. For example, the concept of sumud was something I became aware of while living in the West Bank in 2011. Without this prior exposure, due to the lack of literature and international attention given to this crucial concept, the probability of this research existing in its current form is highly improbable.

The collection of field data took place during a three-month stay among Palestinians in the winter/spring of 2013/2014. Having spent three months in the region in 2011, I had a clear sense of the opportunities and challenges. The first month consisted of continuing intensive Arabic classes in addition to reconnecting with colleagues and individuals involved within the vibrant peacebuilding community in the West Bank. The subsequent months were spent collecting data through participant observation, SSIs, and questionnaires administered to male and female Palestinain peacebuilders working in the West bank.

Although all participants were offered the service of an interpreter, all of the SSIs were conducted in English with the exception of one that was conducted in Arabic with the help of my interpreter, Sulaiman Khatib. Interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants. In order to ensure comprehension, all written material such as consent forms and questionnaires were offered in both English and Arabic.

Due to the realities on the ground in the West Bank, it was necessary to alter the original

data collection methods in order to better reflect the local situation. This was due to a number of reasons related to the feasibility and logistics of conducting focus group discussions (FGDs). Firstly, obvious barriers such as the lack of freedom of movement, unreliable checkpoint wait times and closures, and the necessity of identity papers and travel permits to move within the West Bank made the prospect of getting a diverse group of peacebuilders together in one place at one time highly problematic. Secondly, colleagues and professionals with whom I liaised with expressed their aversion to, or more accurately their questioning of the utility of FGDs. In addition to the above, it was also suggested that due to competition between NGO's and various peacebuilding programs individuals may well be unwilling or less likely to share their thoughts and opinions in a group setting consisting of individuals working in the same field. Due to these reasons, I decided to deviate from my original research design by removing the FGDs and instead generating a questionnaire based on the findings of the SSIs. Therefore, in order to answer the research questions, data collection was drawn from three methods: SSIs, a questionnaire, and participant observation. All of the data collection took place in the West Bank, Palestine.

SSIs combine the unstructured open-ended interview with the directionality of a questionnaire to produce focused qualitative data (Schensul & Schnesul, 1999). This format allows for open-ended questions to evolve over the interview process. As Miller & Salkind (2002) confirm, "[o]pen-ended questions are appropriate and powerful under conditions that require probing of attitude and reaction formations and ascertaining information that is interlocked in a social system or personality structure" (p. 3). Therefore, this design is appropriate in order to understand Palestinians' perspectives on gender, peacebuilding and sumud. Furthermore, being cognizant of the fact that every open-ended question will take an undetermined amount of time, the semi-structured design allowed me to tailor questions 'on the fly' which ensured interviews stayed within the given time frame. This design also accorded the

leeway to probe at emerging themes throughout the interviews. The interview questions were pilot-tested with Sulaiman al-Khatib.

At the inception of the interview, participants were asked to read, ask any questions necessary, and sign an informed consent form. Working definitions of terms used in the interview were then discussed. The tape-recorded portion of the interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour and a half. However, before the interviews were conducted I had at least one, often two, meetings with participants. Our first meeting usually occurred over coffee. This meeting granted the opportunity to build trust and understanding between the researcher and participant. In addition to explicitly describing the research aims, these conversations functioned to provide background information about the participant's life, experiences, and insight regarding the current conflict. These conversations were extremely valuable as I was able to hear first hand from a diverse range of individuals, their narratives and recounts of past and current events. Many interview participants requested a second meeting, the first few times this occurred I naively assumed that the interview would occur during the second meeting. However, I soon learnt that the second meeting was not a meeting to conduct the interview, rather it was part of doing business in Palestine. After discussing this with my key informants they confirmed that it was part of the process of building trust and understanding. If a relationship was to be considered solid it was first necessary to drink coffee together and then share a meal together; then, business could be conducted. The second meeting usually took place at the participant's house or at the organization where they worked. There were always large amounts of food and numerous family members and friends present. Conversations often spanned all topics with the noteworthy exception of the research itself. As a zealous researcher, this was initially troubling. However, towards the end of the second meeting another date would be decided on and this is when the interview would take place. Although by the time the interview was finally coordinated there was

a level of comfort between the researcher and the participant, the environment and mood had changed dramatically. Once the tape recorder and notebook were out, participants changed their disposition and became very serious, professional, and pragmatic. I feel that the previous two meeting were necessary to build the rapport required for participants to feel safe in speaking freely and openly in the interview. Although I understood the importance and validity of building a trusting relationship with participants, throughout the meetings I, as a researcher, was conscious of the importance of retaining researcher objectivity.

Following the completion, coding, and analysis of the SSIs, a questionnaire was developed drawing on key themes and ideas extrapolated from the interviews. The questionnaire was made into an interactive document, which was then emailed to participants. Participants filled out the questionnaire on their computer and return it to me via email. This allowed me to continue to collect questionnaires upon my return to Canada. All questionnaires were anonymous and only collected important background information of participants such as gender and past engagement in armed resistance. The purpose of the questionnaire was to test key findings from the interviews with a larger sample size. In order to do this, the questionnaire used a closed response format utilizing a 6-point Likert scale, yes-or-no questions, and rank order scale. The questionnaire opened with working definitions for peacebuilding and gender. Next, three yes-or-no questions were used to gather basic background information of the anonymous participants. Questions utilizing the 6-point Likert scale were presented in the form of a statement and respondents were asked to specify their level of agreement or disagreement on a symmetric agree-disagree scale ranging from “absolutely not” to “extremely”. The range captured the intensity of their feelings in regard to the given statement. Questions employing a rank order scale required respondents to rank the importance or relevancy of a set of items by arranging the given possible options in order of importance/relevance from 1 to 5 with 1 being

most important/relevant and 5 being the least important/relevant. Lastly, the questionnaires closed with an option for the participant to add anything they felt that the researcher should know or anything else they wanted to add in regard to peacebuilding, gender, and/or sumud.

Participant observation was utilized throughout my three-month stay in the West Bank during which data collection and analysis took place. In addition to visiting field locations, I also observed conferences, presentations, and meetings with peacebuilders who work in the region. This aided me in gaining trust, rapport, and connections with local peacebuilders with whom I was not already acquainted. Given that location and context is pivotal to understanding behaviors and beliefs, participant observation allowed me to integrate observed behaviors into the physical Palestinian context. This led to a greater understanding of how local setting and behavior interact. Participant observation opened up possibilities for me to "check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews" (Kawulich, 2005, p. 4). Furthermore, this design facilitated my discovery of aspects of social interaction that are guided by rules and norms that the participants may experience at a subconscious level. Data was collected in the form of notes during observation when appropriate. Additionally, thoughts and observations were documented immediately following the observation period.

In addition to conducting primary research on my topic area, desk research was used to investigate previous research and pertinent literature dealing with gender, peacebuilding and sumud. An extensive review of the literature was conducted during the six-month period prior to departure to the West Bank. During this time I familiarized myself with current and historic literature, scholarship and theories pertaining to my research. This information was first analyzed

in order to identify gaps in the literature and then formed the backdrop of my understanding and helped to shape and construct my research questions.

Research Participants

The following section of this chapter will describe the research participants and detail how they were selected and invited to participate in the study. The process of recruitment, as well as the criteria for participating, was the same for the SSIs and questionnaires. Participants were individuals working explicitly in peacebuilding and occupying a multiplicity of peacebuilding roles within a variety of organizations. Although all participants were engaged in varying capacities with different peacebuilding organizations, participants were asked to reflect on their own personal beliefs and experiences when responding to questions rather than responding on behalf of their respective professional affiliations. Furthermore, individuals occupied various professional positions at the grassroots, mid-range, and top level. Participants were chosen from *across* the West Bank in Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron in the hopes of representing a cross-section of the society. Three months prior to my visit I sent out email invitations to potential respondents to participate in my research. I sent invitations to local NGOs and peacebuilders in the region that I knew from my previous visits to the West Bank, in addition to using the Internet to research organizations that work in peacebuilding. Furthermore, I requested that potential participants forward the invitations to their peacebuilding network. One week prior to my arrival in the West Bank I confirmed willingness to participate and exchanged phone numbers in order to ease communication once I arrived in the region. As with fieldwork everywhere in the world, it was often difficult to finalize and execute interviews. With that being said, of the 25 participants who confirmed willingness to participate in interviews, 12 were interviewed. As previously discussed, in order to build trust and rapport I met with the majority

of participants at least once but often multiple times, in a casual meeting prior to conducting the interview.

An equal number of men and women were interviewed in order to obtain sex desegregated, gender-balanced information. Participants were selected through a combination of two methods. Firstly, quota sampling was applied in order to ensure an equal balance of male and female participants. In addition, I made use of quota sampling to establish a diverse regional representation of participants. Secondly, snowball sampling was used in order to capitalize on informants' social and professional networks by requesting them to refer me to other individuals who could potentially participate. When potential participants were identified I sent or personally delivered a letter detailing the research objectives and procedures in order to formally invite the individual to participate in the study. Once individuals agreed, I obtained an informed consent in writing. In appreciation of participants' privacy, pseudonyms were offered to replace participants' names. However, without exception, all participants declined the opportunity for anonymity. Many participants expressed their pride and confidence in their actions, thoughts, and opinions and therefore felt no reason to "hide behind" (Issa) a pseudonym. It was also mentioned that this was closely tied to the concept of sumud (Leila). One's identity and assertions particularly pertaining to sumud and peacebulding were described as being a way of refusing to give into the fear created by the occupation, refusing to hide, refusing to disappear.

In order to qualify to participate in the research, participants were required to meet the following criteria:

1. Be between the ages of 20 and 50.
2. Reside within the West Bank

3. Work as a 'peacebuilder' as defined in the working definition of peacebuilding employed in this research.
4. Able to commit the time required and be available to clarify any statements made and answer any questions the researcher may have during the transcription and/or coding phase of research.

Although a signed informed consent form was obligatory, participants were free to withdraw from the research at any time. The procedures for withdrawal was shared with the participants in the invitation to participate, the consent form, and in the beginning of every SSI and questionnaire.

Although the West Bank does not represent the whole of Palestine, due to time constrains and logistical restraints such as security and freedom of movement, I did not interview peacebuilders from the Gaza Strip. Furthermore, due to immensely different circumstance, history, and available resources between the refugee population living in the West Bank and the rest of the citizens of the West Bank, I did not interview individuals living and working in refugee camps. This was supported by multiple informants who posited the importance of distinguishing between refugees, their experiences and current situations, and other Palestinians living in the West Bank. The fragmentation that exists within Palestinian society must be, to a certain degree, acknowledged when conducting research. It is important to note that this will affect the absolute or universal application of findings to a larger Palestinian context. However, the utmost of regard was paid in order to ensure the sample group represented various socioeconomic, political, and religious positions and backgrounds within the West Bank.

Research Analysis

Qualitative data was interpreted through thematic analysis where a process of coding was used to create meaningful patterns of themes. The analysis was based on transcripts from SSIs as well as findings from questionnaires and recall, and notes taken throughout the data collection process.

SSIs underwent transcription-based analysis. In addition to transcribing the words of the participants the transcription notes and comments were added alongside participants' words. These notes were based on voice inflections, pauses contained within the recordings as well as from the notes taken during the session. This allowed me to portray a richer recount of the participants' communication, thus increasing the accuracy of data. Following transcription the data collected in the SSIs underwent a process of tagging in order to identify key, codable words or phrases. This process began by reading and re-reading the interviews multiple times until tags become apparent. Next, these tags were grouped into key themes that were color-coded. Marshall and Rossman (2006), describe themes made up of tags as "baskets within which segments of the text are placed" (p. 159). Once all of the coding was completed I decided what codes were most important and created categories/themes and sub-categories by collating many codes together. I then labeled the categories and first analyze them and then describe the connection between them. This is where the fundamental key findings of my research were found. Furthermore, the 'keywords-in-context' technique was used in order to determine how words were used in context with other words. Onwuegbuzie et. al (2009) describe that "keywords-in-context represents an analysis of the culture of the use of the word" (p. 6). This technique facilitated a context specific human security centered analysis of the discussion, discourse, and themes. This technique helped to illuminate associations and connections between words and concepts regardless of the articulated premise.

In order to analyze the questionnaires each question and response was assigned a number. These acted as numbered codes. Data was then collated by transferring the responses from the questionnaires into worksheets in Microsoft Excel (ME). After all of the questionnaires were entered into Excel worksheets, a workbook containing all of the worksheets was created. This produced documents that presented clear tangible results of the questionnaires. Next, the percentages and frequency was calculated using PivotTable Wizard in ME. This extricated sex-disaggregated quantitative data representing men's and women's responses. Although quantitative data was not presented in the findings chapter, this data was then used to augment the findings and understand participants' level of agreement or disagreement with findings from SSIs. This process helped to eliminate outlying responses from SSIs and ensured that questionnaire participants supported the findings I was reporting from the SSIs.

Analyzing data collected from participant observation followed much the same process as the qualitative data collected in the SSIs. In view of the fact that participant observation data was in the form of personal notes, I relied on note-based analysis to produce key findings. These findings were then paired up with comparable conclusions from the SSIs and questionnaires to augment the overall research findings.

Assumptions

Firstly, it was assumed that after a discussion with the participant I would be able to convey the working definitions of concepts such as gender and peacebuilding. It was assumed that this would help to reduce confusion inherent in culturally constructed terms and concepts, and work to ensure a common understanding for subject material.

Secondly, as a researcher I entered into this research with an assumption that sumud continues to be a relevant concept in the lives of Palestinians today and that the lack of current

literature does not indicate a lack of relevance, rather simply a lack of attention, research, and scholarship.

Thirdly, there is an assumption that peacebuilding activities are desirable and will contribute towards an increase in the quality of life for Palestinians as well as contributing to an environment conducive to a lasting peace. This belief is conducive to the working definition of peacebuilding employed in this research. All peacebuilding activities, whether it is community based, youth centered, West Bank based, or joint Palestinian-Israeli programs contribute to peace.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND FINDINGS

In this chapter I present the results of my research based on analyses of the data collected during my field research. I present the qualitative data that is comprised of the results and analysis of 12 SSIs, 12 questionnaires, personal notes and observations. These findings are amplified by numerous participant quotations which shed light on the complexities of the explored concepts. Patterns of convergence and divergence between male and female participant responses are presented as a basis for conclusions which help enrich the qualitative analysis. As the concepts of gender, sumud, and peacebuilding, and the relationship between them are extremely interrelated, complex, and dependant on time and place, there is a wide range of possibilities for patterns of convergence and divergence within the data for male and female participants. Convergence indicates both genders concurrence regarding a given statement or questions and thus indicates a shared consensus between the male and female participants. Conversely, divergence illustrates each genders differing opinion about a given statement where there is no shared consensus between the male and female participants. It is in the divergence that the key to understanding the gendered nature of peacebuilding and sumud lies. Lastly, I use overall results to address each of the research questions articulated in Chapter One:

- How do Palestinian peacebuilders define, embody, and practice sumud, how does this differ between genders?
- What is the relationship between sumud and peacebuilding?
- How do Palestinian peacebuilders perceive and define the concept of peace and peacebuilding and how does this differ between genders?

- What are the gender specific challenges and strengths that peacebuilders face in their careers? Do these challenge traditional conceptualizations and discourse of gender roles in peacebuilding?

How do Palestinian peacebuilders define, embody, and practice sumud; how does this differ between genders?

Sumud, or صمود in Arabic, is an all-encompassing concept that exists, in its various iterations and broadest characterization, in all aspects of Palestinians' lives. "Sumud is different for Palestinians depending on where they are standing" (Leila) and has extremely personal meanings for individuals. The data suggests many convergent meanings and interpretations of the word in addition to divergent gender specific inferences.

It is important to note that as previously mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 the concept of sumud has evolved and morphed in its meaning. For the purpose of this research, I requested that participants described what sumud meant to them personally in their lives as opposed to what it means to 'Palestinians in general' o3r in the past.

Active. Unanimously, sumud is described most importantly as being a conscious, active, and intention driven concept or ideology. It is by no means passive and does not constitute inaction. It is not staying on your land for the sake of perseveration. It encapsulates a message and an active way of being and knowing that profoundly impacts one's daily life and outlook on the current situation and the conflict at large. "Sumud is more than just standing there, it is about being a good Palestinian, a good citizen… is about working towards building a better Palestine in 10 years, it is about development, not just sustaining" (Leila). In much the same manner, a male participant explains, "Sumud is more than simply existence and breathing, sumud is creating. We

must go beyond existing and simply reacting to the situation, we must be activists, not just re-activists" (Ali).

Human concept. Much like peacebuilding, in the data sumud is frequently associated with human rights and one's humanity. It was often described as defying injustice by acting justly. Due to the profoundly moving and articulate content of many interviews pertaining to the personal meaning of sumud, I feel it is valuable to let participants' own words speak rather than mine as the researcher. Therefore the following section will be imbued with interviewe quotes.

Sumud is often described as not allowing yourself and your people [Palestinians] to be dehumanized. "We sumud because we are human beings, not just because we are Palestinians" (Ali). In this way, sumud represents a mechanism of retaining ones humanity despite often inhuman situations Palestinians find themselves in as a result of the occupation. For one participant sumud means, "Being true to my values, retaining my humanity despite all of the humiliation. Staying true to the human I am, I am the same person whether I am under occupation or free" (Fadi). In addition to sumud being an active choice, it is also a personal struggle connected with one's humanity. Although both male and female participants noted that sumud was a struggle or a fight, as seen in the following quote by a female peacebuilder, "Sumud is a daily fight both internally and externally" (Clair), men described sumud as being a struggle to overcome destructive emotions and actions that are closely tied to their gender identity.

> Sumud is not letting yourself drift to animalistic states of revenge and reaction. Sumud is resisting the temptation to participate in inhuman behavior, the temptation to hate, the temptation to be a victim, the temptation of violence, the temptation of the easy way (Fadi).

One's dignity is also closely tied to the concept of sumud. Having sumud is described as having dignity, having pride in yourself both as an individual and also a Palestinian. "Sumud means

getting my human rights without giving up my dignity… to me [it] means using understanding, listening to The Other, believing in common humanity, our collective rights as human beings" (Aysha). As one participant described, part of sumud is putting a human face to the struggle against the occupation through resisting the temptation of anger and violence. Sumud is trying to prove that you exist, on your land and everywhere; that you are worthy as a human being.

One participant makes an important distinction that is connected to dignity and sumud; that is the distinction between sumud and resilience.

> The international community often equates sumud with resilience but it is not the same! Resilience is sad and desperate, one does it as a victim and out of no other option, it is associated with shame. However, sumud is a conscious choice, it is proud, it is not desperate (Daana).

As Daana explains, sumud is not done out of desperation, rather it is the manifestation of will, pride and hope. One must have hope in order to sumud; as sumud in itself is not the end goal. "You don't sumud for the sake of sumud, you sumud because you want an end result. Why would I stay here in Palestine and sumud if there wasn't a peaceful goal… you must believe in peace to sumud?" (Clair).

In addition to the connection between sumud, dignity, human rights and pride, participants also feel that sumud is about being human. On participant explains,

> Sumud means humanizing Palestine… We lost the propaganda war a long time ago, so by talking about the reality here, this is sumud. Part of my sumud is talking about Palestine in meetings and socially all over the world, in meetings with the World Bank and the IMF. It's about how you represent Palestine outside of the country (Leila).

It is evident that there is a deep connection between sumud and the struggle for the recognition of a common shared humanity. These sentiments articulated by male and female participants indicated a strong level of convergence regarding the foundation, or infrastructure of sumud. However, the data also presents gender specific articulations and manifestations of the concept.

The general thematic foundation of the gendered nature of sumud apparent in the data can be distilled into four interrelated elements: sumud is acted out in ways that are deeply connected to ones gender, the way in which sumud is practiced for both genders is born out of essentialized ideas of what is masculine and what is feminine, qualities inherent in the definition of sumud are feminized, and women bear the burden of the greatest responsibility of upholding values and principles of sumud.

Men.

Breadwinner. Male participants put significant emphasis on the role of breadwinning in sumud. "For men, sumud is also about finding a way to make a living to support his family" (Daana). As in many societies, Palestinian men are traditionally responsible for earning money to support the family. Restrictions on movement, displacement, random imprisonment, poor economic development, economic sanctions, security threats, and a general lack of opportunity in the West Bank have severely thwarted men's ability to fulfill their gender roles. Therefore, for many men, part of sumud is not leaving Palestine in search of work, rather it is finding innovative ways of providing for their family despite the challenges of living under occupation. This not only protects their dignity but also serves the broader goal of remaining in Palestine and continuing to live life as a self-respecting human being despite the constraints of the occupation.

Resistance. Another uniquely male distinction that emerged in the data was the connection between men's active forms of resistance and sumud. Male participants mentioned that women often 'practice' or live sumud on a local, informal, private, grassroots level while

men tend to observe sumud in more public, formal, structured level. The gender dimension of sumud is highlighted in the following quotation:

> Traditionally sumud for men would mean fighting back and resisting the occupation and for women it was about taking care of the family, visiting men in prison, keeping up the house, raising children. But now men fight their sumud at the negotiation table and women fight their sumud in secondary or supporting roles (Fadi).

The public versus private realms of sumud described in the above quote is indicative of a larger gendered environment in the West Bank. Although progress is acknowledged in areas of socially prescribed violence or masculinized forms of resistance, the distinction between how and where women and men enact sumud clearly still exists and dictates rules of engagement in sumud.

Feminine. As sumud is inherently grassroots, it operates in the domain of feminized activity. Likewise, many of the characteristics of sumud are distinctly esteemed Palestinian female qualities such as: deep inner strength, patient courage, silent endurance and perseverance. Therefore, many men described sumud as predominantly being a deeply respected 'woman's struggle'. A vast majority of men interviewed believed that although men's role in sumud is vital, women are the true *sumidin* (those who exhibit sumud) or *samed* (one who embodies sumud). The following two statements highlight this point, "Women are the pillars of sumud, without them sumud would not be possible" (Daana). "Palestinian women are the art of sumud" (Ali).

Women.

All female participants emphasis, regarding women and sumud, revolved around her domestic identity and roles. This can be broken up firstly into her role as a mother, secondly as a wife, and thirdly as her role in keeping the families' home and land in order. By honoring sumud,

women's actions of raising a family, upholding a household become intentional, political actions dedicated to her people and her country. A male participant noted, "Women are honored as camels in our society. The camel is a symbol of patience, tolerance, and strength. This is why women are the main pillars of sumud" (Daana).

Mother. Present in accounts of women's strength in both sumud and peacebuilding was the importance of her role as a mother, the creator of the next generation and the artist behind the minds of tomorrow. The data indicates a social phenomenon whereby it is believed that the duties of parenting belong exclusively to women as mothers and simultaneously men's roles as fathers are disregarded. The following quote exemplifies women's traditional actions such as bearing children being honored as actions of resistance and sumud, "When both my brother and I were in jail my mother had another child, a daughter. She named her Sumud. My sister represents the women's commitment to keep living and flourishing despite occupation and difficulties" (Souli). In this quote, women's maternal roles typify certain interpretations of sumud.

The following moving excerpt illustrates the strength required by women that is inherent in sumud:

> People ask why Palestinian mothers come to the media after losing a son or a daughter and wave their fists with victory screaming that she is willing to give all of her children to Palestine. She wants to deliver a message to the killer of her kids saying, "you will not break me down, I am stronger, we are stronger than that". However at the end of the day if you go to her bedroom you will see her crying when the cameras are gone. She is broken inside and is devastated, however she can't let them see that. This is sumud (Ali).

This type of narrative demonstrating the pain and subsequent strength that women must poses in order to practice sumud was particularly common in the data. Again, it represents a gender

double standard as it pertains to emotions of pain and suffering. Where is the father in this scenario? This passage highlights ways in which women are socialized into being the face of Palestinian strength and perseverance and thus sumud, due to her label as mother.

Another articulation of women's roles as mothers in sumud is that of her role in raising her children to be well adjusted, caring, loving human beings despite growing up under a sometimes brutal, inhuman military occupation. "For me, sumud is raising my children with values of love and humanity… this is important for Palestine because after [I am gone] my children will carry on the message" (Nariman). By instilling values of hope, love, and dialogue in children, women are not only achieving the goal of fighting dehumanization, a goal articulated by participants. They are also achieving the goal of retaining dignity, inner peace, freedom and enthusiasm for life in Palestine despite the difficult living situations. On a broader scale one can extend this to also contributing to what one participant described as, "supporting others to stay [in Palestine] through creating meaning and beauty in life here" (Hekmat).

***Wife*.** With nearly 5,000 illegally detained Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails in 2013 (B'Tselem, 2013) and countless civilian deaths (predominantly male), there are large numbers of households that are forced to survive without a breadwinner. High levels of male imprisonment and death places an additional burden on wives in particular as they are forced to absorb the roles and responsibilities previously assumed by their husbands. For many Palestinian women, accepting these challenges and not just surviving but thriving under such circumstances is a form of sumud. The above example illustrates how characteristics inherent in sumud such as deep inner strength, patient courage, silent endurance and perseverance are feminized. In recognition of the hardship, many participants explain, "for many women, sumud is taking upon themselves the roles of their husbands when they are killed or in prison… for them, sumud means standing by their men no matter what, supporting their family in any way possible" (Leila). By accepting

new roles and additional hardships, it is women that ensure the survival of the family in Palestine. In addition to absorbing the duties of their husbands, taking sole responsibilities for raising the children, and taking care of the household, women's sumud was also described as supporting their husbands by visiting them in jail. A male participant explained, "for women it [sumud] is about taking care of the family, visiting men in prison, keeping up the house, raising children" (Daana).

***House*.** As sumud is intrinsically linked to the land and ones connection to it, women's social role as a homemaker places her at the heart of sumud. One participant explains, **"**Because of our status, women are stuck to their land, their homes, their villages; this makes them more in touch and connected with sumud" (Hekmat). Building from within this understanding of sumud, factors leading to the assertion that women are "the pillars of sumud" or the "art of sumud", once again become apparent.

What is the relationship between sumud and peacebuilding?

Firstly, it is important to note that every research participant asserted that there was a strong connection between sumud and peacebuilding and each, in their own way, felt that their work as peacebuilders was both shaped by and contributed to sumud. Moreover, in reference to myself, the researcher, the majority of participants commented that they had never heard an 'outsider' use the Arabic word sumud, nor had they met a non Palestinian who understood and was curious about the concept. Subsequently, after asking a question about sumud a participant would first smile or chuckle, ask how I knew about this "Palestinian practice", and then take a few moments and reflect on the fact that they had never been directly asked about sumud nor had they given much thought to its influence and the subsequent manifestations in their lives. A few participants thanked me after the interview saying that it was very interesting for them to try and articulate something that they felt was so deeply engrained as part of their identity yet hard to

pinpoint. This has important implications considering only one participant worked with/for a peacebuilding organization that made mention to sumud in their mandate. This illustrates a ubiquitous and genuine incarnation of the concept of sumud in peacebuilders lives.

Mutually reinforcing and interdependent. Sumud and peacebuilding can be seen as mutually reinforcing. Participants noted that peacebuilding provides a way to succeed at sumud. "Peacebuilding and sumud create an environment where people can deal with their suffering and rebuild" (Ali). As peacebuilding aims to create a healthier more secure environment, peacebuilding work ensures Palestinians the rights, the means, and the legal support to honor their connection to the land, their country, and their humanity. It was proposed that peacebuilding aims to do this through ending the occupation, demanding human rights for all including refugees and Palestinian or Arab citizens of Israel, supporting economic development, ensuring political security, and promoting gender equality. As peacebuilding efforts aim to address the various components of human security, this in itself strengthens sumud. "If you don't feel safe within your community, you can't remain there and resist the occupation" (Issa). In a like manner, one participant explains, "Peacebuilding is a way to resist the occupation and have sumud" (Nariman). Building on the idea of the two concepts being mutually reinforcing, it was suggested that both sumud and peacebuilding aim to assert ones rights as a human being through engaging the common humanity in individuals. Moreover, both concepts promote the use of peaceful resistance and reject any claim to the utility of violence in achieving these goals. Therefore, participants identified the two concepts as maintaining common values and goals.

Hope and reason to continue the struggle. Along with their shared values, participants explained that the concepts of sumud and peacebuilding work together to create a better future for the inhabitants of the region. In order to achieve this, a sense of hope must be instilled while simultaneously changing the realities on the ground and providing motivation to stay and

continue the struggle. One participant eloquently proposes, “Peacemakers are really doing the best sumud because they are on the one hand resisting the victimization of the occupation, while also building a future and insisting on their dream of freedom” (Ali). Likewise, another participant explains, “peacebuilding is one of the main pillars of sumud. Without peacebuilding you can’t have strong sumud because to have strong sumud you must have strong families and to have strong families they have to be at peace within them” (Issa). This quote illustrates how the healing qualities of peacebuilding impact a family’s ability to sumud, to stay rooted in their land, and to resist the temptation to violent resistance. Along the lines of peacebuilding helping to create a better environment and thus increasing incentives to stay, another participant shared, “Peacebuilding allows you to spread peace messages in your family, community, and culture. The more peace messages you act out, the more you help others stay by creating a better environment. This is the role of peacebuilding in strengthening sumud” (Hekmat).

Creating hope was cited as a strength of both sumud and peacebuilding. One participant posited that this hope is necessary to carry on:

> You don’t sumud for the sake of sumud, you sumud because you want an end result. Why would we stay here if there was no peaceful goal… just to survive here we have to have hope in peacebuilding that the end result is a brighter peaceful future, otherwise why would you sumud? (Clair).

Here, the participant ascertains that both concepts require hope in order to reach their desired conclusions. One must have hope in order to sumud and one must have hope, or perhaps faith, in peacebuilding to believe that it can lead to a better future. Reflecting on the historical value of sumud another participant adds, “Sumud keeps us going through the Ottoman, the British, now the Israeli occupation, believing that a better future is possible. This requires optimism. Peacebuilding is the reason for optimism and the tool for a better future” (Souli).

Because sumud is so deeply dependent on peacefully attaining ones rights, it requires the tools of peacebuilding in order to do so. These tools may range from working with and engaging in joint programs, building cultural tolerance and understanding in ones community, promoting a culture of peace, ensuring men's and women's representation and participation in all levels of peacebuilding, strengthening democratic principals and practices throughout Palestine, and amenable to restorative justice exercises. "Sumud is not about ignoring Israelis, sumud is not to appear alone or to fight for your own individual rights, sumud is to use all means possible to build your life and your community and gain your rights. This requires peacebuilding" (Ali).

How do Palestinian peacebuilders perceive and define the concept of peace and peacebuilding and how does this differ between genders?

Definition of Terms

A crucial lesson, guiding this research was the importance of creating, defining, and articulating a culturally appropriate, context sensitive, and informed working definition of terms. Although this is an established phenomenon around the world in regard to a wide variety of terms, this is particularly true is the case of peacebuilding. The term peacebuilding is highly contentious in Palestine and often evokes a visceral reaction when not clearly defined. Many participants were either unwilling or uninterested in participating in this research until they heard, directly from my mouth (not in print in the formal invite) my working definition and contextual understanding of peacebuilding in the region. Moreover, upon our initial meeting, before I had the opportunity to bring the topic up myself, the majority of participant asked me to define and explain my definition of peacebuilding. I believe this indicates how crucial an in-depth understanding of the conditions and contextual background is in engaging and working with peacebuilders in the region; their reaction demonstrates the level of importance. Depending on my definition, participants would decide whether they to participate. Fortunately, following our

discussion of the concept of peace and peacebuilding all participants agreed to participate. As expressed by participants later in the interview, this reluctance and sensitivity surrounding the definition of peacebuilding is due to a number of reasons. These included multiple years of unsuccessful political negotiation coined as peacebuilding; the fact that peacebuilding can potentially imply that the conflict is over and one is now working to build or rebuild a society; the lack of understanding regarding what peace means to Palestinians as opposed to Israelis; and the fear of normalizing an abnormal and unequal situation between Palestinians and Israelis. There did not seem to be any gender difference in the way participants defined the significance and core frustrations surrounding the concepts of peace and peacebuilding. The following quotes highlight some of the sensitivities around peacebuilding in the participants' own words. One participant articulated the rejection of the word peacebuilding in the following way:

> If I am hungry and you keep waving a piece of bread before my eyes at first I will try my best to get it, I will talk to you, ask you, beg you, but then if you refuse to give it to me, even a piece of it, I will become angry and hate you for teasing me…. This is peace and peacebuilding in Palestine. People keep hearing about peace and peacebuilding but they don't live it, they don't taste it, they don't feel it… they are still hungry (Ali).

Moreover, another participant explained:

> Nobody wants this term [peacebuilding] to be affiliated or associated with the Israeli side in any way. Sometimes in this country the word peace is spontaneously perceived as normalization with the enemy or as opening channels with them as they still oppress us (Daana).

And Leila posits:

> For many the terms peace and peacebuilding are pessimistic words because they represent political peacebuilding [from which nothing has yet to be achieved]… peace is the unattainable word that we now connect with the ideas of compromise, surrendering, political loss, humiliation, and normalization (Leila).

Normalization and joint programs.

Despite the general consensus vis-à-vis the sensitivities surrounding the concepts of peace and peacebuilding, when asked about varying forms of peacebuilding in Palestine, participants were profoundly polarized into two competing ideological positions regarding the importance and role of joint Palestinian/Israeli peacebuilding initiatives. One group viewed joint programs as paramount in building understanding between Palestinians and Israelis. It posits that these programs serve to combat the vicious dehumanization that occurs on both sides of the conflict and is a key to building peace [see discussion re: building understanding below]. While the other group vehemently opposed all joint programs. They viewed them as profoundly undermining Palestinians' struggle for freedom by normalizing an abnormal political situation and thus perpetuating the status quo which is riddled with systematic political and social disparity [see discussion re: normalization below]. However, even participants who support joint programs stressed that peacebuilding cannot stop at joint initiatives such as dialogue programs. Instead, these programs must be but one component in a multi-prong approach to peace with the emphasis of efforts remaining focused on internal peacebuilding. The following quote emphasizes this point, "Peace is nonviolence, dialogue and direct action. However, it must be all of these things, peace is not *just* [emphasis added] dialogue, this may be normalization" (Ali). Although the majority of participants were clearly in one camp or another, in one case, a participant was not clearly in either ideological camp. Although he worked closely with Israelis in his organization

when asked about his views in regards to joint programs he exclaims, “How do I make peace with an Israeli when he is shooting me and occupying my land? I can’t accept the status quo and normalize the situation. This is why we must have internal peacebuilding first” (Issa). This reveals the intricacies of peacebuilding in the region. Although many peacebuilders do participate in joint programs it is very difficult for them to reconcile their actions with the reality of their daily lives.

It is important to give prominence to the critical pervasive existence of normalization discourse in the field of peacebuilding. All participants in my research mentioned the fear and dangers of normalization. This includes individuals who are actively engaged in joint programs and dialogue, many of whom mentioned the challenges associated with participating in these activities due to pressure and opposition within their community. I believe it is important to mention this fact as it illustrates the immense fear and distrust that exists. In addition, it points to a phenomenon that has a profound impact on peacebuilding and ones willingness to participate in it. Furthermore, being cognizant of the cardinal fear associated with joint Palestinian/Israeli programs offers practitioners, donors, and NGOs insight into how better design and present peacebuilding processes.

A point that was articulated repeatedly throughout the data illustrated the importance of recognizing what peace means and what it looks like for Palestinians. This was often delivered as a comparison between peace for Israel and peace for Palestine. One participant noted that, “Peace for Israelis is having better relations in order to have a better security situation, for us, peace means *starting* to live, not build better relations” (Ali). Another participant reiterated this sentiment, “For Palestinians building peace is equated with freedom but for Israelis building peace is equated with security” (Fadi). It appears that it was important for participants to distinguish between these two definitions of peace, as these are foundational in understanding

Palestinians definition and goals of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is about building a life, it is about meeting individuals needs, it is about creating a secure fulfilled life that currently doesn't exist.

Peace is built from the inside out.

Of the sentiments expressed during data collection, the single most pervasive point was the articulation of peace and peacebuilding as being constructed on the foundational understanding that peace must start from the inside and gradually move outward through all spheres of life; personal, community, regional, political, and environmental. One participant explains it as "We must live peace before trying to make it" (Aysha). This was expressed by the preponderance of participants. The participants described working towards "internal reconciliation" (Nariman), being at peace with oneself "to be calm and quiet within yourself first" (Issa). This then extends to one's family, ones culture, and is a fundamental prerequisite for peacebuilding between Palestinians and Israelis. "We are unable to build peace between us because we are unable to build peace within us and amongst us [as Palestinians]" (Fadi). The idea of building peace was broken down by participants into three main spheres: personal, community, and political. One participant explains, "We must recollect our fragments within Palestine; politically we are fragmented by geography, religion, agendas both foreign and domestic, socially we are fragmented emotionally, religion, refugee/non refugee etc" (Leila).

On a personal level, many participants described the process of overcoming the 'victimhood' mentality, a shaking off of the bondage of victimization, as an important step in peacebuilding. It is believed that this mentality thwarts ones ability to feel like a proud and engaged socially, economically, and politically active citizen. This limits ones motivation to work towards creating a healthier living environment. Victimhood, in this context, is viewed as a sense of helplessness, of self-pity, and of low self-esteem, which ultimately unconsciously

undermines individual power. “We must use peacebuilding to fight the culture of defeat that is spreading in Palestine” (Daana).

Although the notion of building peace internally before externally can be viewed as emancipating due to the fact that it empowers the individual to live and create a harmonious environment despite the lack of harmony on the outside of their being, at the same time this notion can also be construed as the language of powerlessness, particularly in the political domain, as the only domain they do have power over is the personal. In this regard, rather than being empowering it may exemplify the disempowerment many Palestinian peacebuilders are faced with.

Human security; the greatest obstacle to peacebuilding

Both male and female participants alluded to the concept of human security and made interesting points regarding the relationship between human security and peacebuilding. Participants posited that individuals living in insecure environments are unable, or less willing, to participate in peacebuilding activities, as they are preoccupied with trying to meet their basic needs. Necessities such as food, shelter, physical protection, and health care take precedence over working to build peace. “If people are struggling with poverty they will not have their priority in peacebuilding, they will say ‘give me food for my family and then maybe we can talk about peace’” (Majed). This quote echoes Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs. This participant suggests that we, as human beings, have needs that are so entrenched in our psyche that they demand attention before other less instinctive needs are addressed. This is not to say that reducing the threat of physical violence is not instinctive to individuals, all needs are instinctive, participants noted that some needs are more powerful than others.

> As an activist I often find it hard to talk about peace and engage people in it because they are very busy trying meet their needs on the ground…Israelis I

> work with often ask, 'where is the Palestinian peace camps, the peace demonstrations?' I say, 'Palestinians demonstrate for life, we demonstrate by surviving'. Instead of going to demonstrations we are trying to feed our families (Ali).

This offers important insight into a range of peacebuilding goals that must be considered in order to construct peace. This passage supports the common argument put forward by human security proponents who argue that we must re-envision security to view it as something that incorporates and addresses all humans basic needs not solely the absence of overt violence. Therefore, in order for peacebuilding to be successful, it must understand the necessity of addressing structural violence in addition to physical violence because unless human security is addressed, individuals are thwarted in their labor for peace.

Fixing fragmentation within Palestine.

Throughout the data participants emphasized the importance of mending fractures in Palestinian society on a community level. This was further broken down to highlight the following interconnected drivers of fragmentation: the physical dislocation of the West Bank and Gaza, the political rivalry between Fatah and Hamas, the disparity between urban versus rural living, and the split in religion and secular worldviews. One participant ponders, "How can we reach peace with the Israelis before we have peace within our community, how can I accept Israelis without accepting my neighbors, my family?" (Hekamt). It is believed that these divides are detrimental to Palestinians struggle for peace and freedom. They weaken the foundation of any possible Palestinian state by impeding the creation of a unified Palestinian voice while pitting Palestinians against one another instead of unifying them. "We must unite together and stop thinking about individual interest, as a united group is how we are powerful" (Majed). Moreover, it was mentioned that due to the challenging realities of life in the West Bank, oftentimes instead

of looking for ways to tackle the overarching structural violence and oppression [ie the occupation], people are distracted by petty struggles within their community. “We must build peace within Palestine as to not waste energy in enemies within our own community” (Issa).

Understanding, needs, and common humanity.

Male and Female respondents maintain that a connection with their own individual humanity as well as the acknowledgment of a shared common humanity is required in order for peacebuilding to be effective. One participant explains, “peacebuilding requires illuminating the human inside of you!” (Ali). The idea of ones humanity extends to understanding the needs, narrative, position, history and culture of The Other. In fact, all interview participants used the word ‘understanding’ when talking of crucial elements in peacebuilding. The sentiment captured in the following quote illustrates this, “Never say peace is impossible, because peace is the natural result of understanding and empathy” (Souli). A female participant posits, “We must first understand each others needs, then once we understand the needs of The Other we can try to solve the conflict” (Fatima). Likewise a male respondent asserts, “As I began understanding where the Jews were coming from, their deep fear, I began to understand how to build peace with them. I understood their needs” (Fadi). The building of understanding goes both ways as one respondent conveys, “For me part of peacebuilding is trying to lead Palestinians to accept Jewish culture as part of the mosaic of the Middle East” (Souli). Another participant explains, “I try to understand Israelis, what are their needs, who are they, what do they want. This way I can reach them and give them a message according to their culture and traditions” (Issa).

Participants’ views called on the moral potential of The Other. This moral potential is the nucleus of common or shared humanity. It is thus integral to the success of peacebuilding to highlight and develop the notion of a shared common humanity between all parties. The recognition of a common humanity and the subsequent restoration of human dignity is

fundamental to peacebuilding. Respondents note, "We must first build understanding between us, they don't know what happens behind the wall" (Clair). In order to build peace we must "build understanding with the Israelis by educating them on the occupation, show them what I am going through" (Nariman).

An interesting point to note is that some of the same participants whom conveyed the need for building understanding and a common humanity between both sides were also very skeptical of joint Palestinian/Israeli programs. This is surprising as one may presume that an individual who promotes the importance of building understanding between both sides would also promote meeting and collaboration with the other side in order to build that understanding. However, this anomaly highlights the complexities and pervasive nature of the fear of normalization. It would seem that although all of the peacebuilders interviewed acknowledge and highlighted the need and importance of building understanding with Israelis, there is still significant societal, cultural, and historical pressure thwarting some peacebuilders willingness and perceptions of validity of joint programs. However, other participants propose that joint programs are an opportune situation to build understanding.

Gendered Interpretations

Masculinizing peacebuilding.

Despite the congruent definitions and interpretations of peace and peacebuilding between women and men, a few notable gender differences emerged in the data. Multiple male participants noted that peace and peacebuilding require great courage; both the act of creating peace and also of living in peace was described as necessitating an enormous reserve of fearlessness due to the fact that both of these concepts represent a place where one must give up an active overt fight. Although never directly articulated, one can deduce that the opposite of giving up an active overt fight is engaging in an active or overt fight. Therefore these participants

viewed giving up active fighting as more challenging than participating in active fighting. As this was mentioned by solely male participants it can be opined that this reflects the pressure that men feel to prescribe to their gender roles as fierce protesters. The fact that they viewed peace and peacebuilding as calling for bravery suggests that male peacebuilders feel that they are required to resist norms and expectations within their own society as well as outside when deciding to engage in peacebuilding. They are fighting their lived socialization of gender which offers a limited degree of options to express their agency as men in peacebuilding. Subsequently, they appear to feel as though they have to assert, or prove, that peacebuilding is a masculine activity. It can be inferred that peace is not typically a male paradigm. Although top-down (political, religious, and military) peacebuilding is dominated by masculine norms, grassroots peacebuilding does not mirror this process. Furthermore, these remarks may indicate that the men gendered their peace work within the boundaries of the excepted societal norms in order to maintain the legitimacy of men doing peace work. One could argue that when male peacebuilders use the language of bravery, courage, and fearlessness they are gendering peacework in a masculine way, which then legitimized their participation in it. From within this same line of argument, one could argue that by working to say that peace work is masculine they are acknowledging an unspoken shared belief that war is men's work. Ali shares, "Peace needs courage, it is a place where you give up". His observation illustrates, inter alia, the fact that peace, and subsequently peace work, requires men to 'give up' or transcend their conventionally inhabited roles.

An interesting likeness to the above point is that many female participants observed that peacebuilding demands a great level of responsibility; both in terms of internal responsibility, "in order to transfer someone to a peace culture people must feel responsibility for their actions and for their peace" (Fatima) and also external responsibility "it is a lot of responsibility working in peacebuilding, a lot of weight and pressure, everyone is looking at you" (Clair). As women

traditionally bear the vast majority of responsibility in the family, it could be inferred that women must make a determined decision to overcome the social, religious and political obstacles that hinder their public activities and take on the additional work of peacebuilding all the while juggling household responsibilities. As one participant said, "many husband supports their wives working in peacebuilding but only as long as they are still a good mother and wife" (Fatima). Women must juggle the responsibility of being custodians of traditions and roles, which provide a strong identity while simultaneously transcending these traditions by taking on the added responsibilities of creating a better future. In this way, although peacebuilding is not traditionally thought of as women's work, women participating in it view their experience through the prism of their gender roles.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned findings, regardless of participants' gender, all participants reported that peacebuilders must display courage and determination in order to become involved in peacebuilding. They acknowledged that for many men and women engaging in peacebuilding activities and programs can be contentious in their community and family as many peacebuilding programs advocate a solution, narrative, or position contrary to the opinions of some. In light of these findings, we are able to see that patriarchal norms not only inhibit women, but also men, in participating in peacebuilding in the region. Therefore, the implementation of a gendered lens, through the deconstruction of patriarchal norms is instrumental to ensuring that both men and women are included in peacebuilding.

Healing, opening minds, and transcending gender norms.

Interview participants spoke of the healing power of peacebuilding in their lives. For men, participating in peacebuilding offers them a way to transcend or transform destructive emotions such as anger and turn it into a positive or constructive force; "peacebuilding helps us heal and move on" (Issa). Another participant eloquently describes,

> As a peacebuilder I must educate my anger to be useful, I must invest my anger and my pain in my humanity, this is controlling your anger, not letting your anger control you… peacebuilding creates an environment where people can deal with their suffering (Ali).

As anger is a traditionally accepted male emotion, participating in peacebuilding offers men a way of moving beyond their gender allocated forms of expression. In the same way, peacebuilding offers women an arena to exercise their voice, power, and agency. The same participant goes on to explain,

> Peacebuilding allows us to liberate our minds from culture and religious pressure. Men are able to show emotion and women are able to show fearlessness. Nonviolence doesn't require muscles; it gets its strength from other ways. This means that what men do in nonviolence women can not only do too, but probably do better because of her emotional power! (Ali)

For women, peacebuilding provides an arena in which their actions can be interpreted and respected outside of traditional paradigms. One participant who has traveled the world as part of a joint dialogue organization elucidates, "peacebuilding opens the door for social change in Palestine whether people want it or not. People travel and meet their counterparts and hear about other ways of being, they hear about feminism. This opens the mindsets of women and men" (Souli). In this way, participating in peacebuilding provides avenues for empowerment both internally with women finding their voice and externally with both genders growing understanding of feminism and equality paradigms.

What are the gender specific challenges and strengths that peacebuilders face in their careers?

It is easy to aggregate female's or male's experiences into a single group, thus essentializing a male or female Palestinian peacebuilder narrative and creating simplistic dualisms. However, it is important not to forget the diversity of positions and circumstances of Palestinians, as this would essentially deny individual agency and fail to recognize diverse roles and positions filled by each gender. Additionally, this would also fail to acknowledge individuals who act outside of gender norms. Subsequently, there is a fine balance between being gender blind and highlighting the common difficulties that each gender faces. With that being said, the data highlighted various gender specific challenges and strengths as they pertain to peacebuilding in Palestine.

Men's struggles in peacebuilding.

Pushback from community. Men cited pushback from within their community as a major challenge faced by male peacebuilders. Additionally, it is a force that functions as an impediment to engaging more men in peacebuilding, particularly grassroots peacebuilding. The varying nature of pushback can be reduced to two deeply interrelated concepts; the fear of normalization and cultural beliefs of how men 'should' behave as it relates to violence and gender relations. Participant responses highlight how masculine socialization and norms are linked to the use of violence and therefore pressure men to conform to the traditional masculine role of fighter.

Globally, men are socialized into believing certain emotions are appropriate to express and others are inappropriate to express. Palestine is no exception. As the majority of the population in the West Bank has grown up under occupation, in the social sphere, a great deal of importance is placed on resisting the occupation, fighting back, and not giving up. Although the concept of sumud encapsulates all of these values, it does so in a nonviolent way. However,

divergent means of meeting these goals, such as through the use of force and violence, also exists. It is important to take a minute to note the varying definitions and conceptions of violence. Although it can, violence does not necessarily mean the use of weapons and extreme tactics such as suicide bombing. It can also constitute throwing stones, physically refusing to surrender to restrictions on movement such as barricades, and dehumanizing the other side through the use of violent imagery and confabulation. These acts of resistance can often lead to physical confrontation and prescribe to male-centric confrontational modes of interaction. One participant describes the struggle against this mentality as a crucial element of his role in peacebuilding, "I must fight back against the closed minded views of men about peacebuilding and collaboration within my community… Part of my job is to reach out to them and to educate them" (Fadi). Another participant explains:

> Typically tough men are fighters here. Instead I am meeting Israelis and am struggling with them by my side, nonviolently. People accuse me of normalization; this is in my family, my friends, all spheres of society not just the village mentality (Souli).

This quote illustrates how peacebuilding and joint programs are sometimes equated with surrendering to Israeli dominance and ceasing to struggle for Palestine. From this perspective grassroots peacebuilding can be framed as anti-masculine therefore, isolating and discriminating men who engage at this level.

Interestingly, multiple participants cited the Fourth Geneva Conventions on Rules of War that was adopted in 1949 as having an impact on societies perception of the work and messages of peacebuilders. The fact that there are a plethora of applicable acts and articles in the Conventions that define the current occupation of Palestine as illegal has lead to the

popularization of the Conventions amongst the general population in Palestine. Although this has many positive repercussions, it has also lead to the exploitation and manipulation by some leaders of parts of the Conventions. This is particularly true of Act 1 C4, which declares that a people under occupation have the legal right to resist their occupation. The Act goes on to stress that force may be used to pursue the right of self-determination. Below is an excerpt from an interview with a male participant highlighting this phenomenon:

> The mentality of having the legal right to physically resist the occupation and fight back has resulted in the legitimization of violence, it has almost acted as an excuse for violence. This mentality is often used as ammunition against me as a nonviolent activist. But I always say to them 'Do you want to be right, or do you want to succeed?' Just because we can fight back doesn't mean we should (Ali).

In statements like this we see how violence is constructed as a legitimate response to the occupation. Additionally, the participant offers a glimpse of the pressure he is under to conform to an appropriate gendered response to the occupation; a response which includes the use of violence and force. The fact that he feels like the Geneva Conventions are used as "ammunition" against his insistence of nonviolence and peacebuilding illustrates the constraints, lack of space, and lack of respect that men face in regards to their peacebuilding roles when they are acting out of their socially prescribed avenues of expression and engagement.

Emotion. Careful analysis of the data gives insight into a strict code of etiquette in regard to men's ability to express emotions. An ever-pervasive theme of 'women are more emotional' materialized throughout interviews in both men's and women's responses. This was often cited as the reason why women are 'better suited' to peacebuilding and sumud than men. It was suggested that their ability to engage with their emotions, put them at an advantage attempting to construct

understanding and healing within Palestine and between Palestinians and Israelis. When one respondent was pushed further in regard to her opinion about men being emotionally void she shared:

> Maybe men have emotions too, but I am speaking from my experience within my family. My mother and father reacted very different to losing their two sons… 12 years later my mother is still living in pain, she visits their graves, washes them, lays flowers. My father doesn't do that stuff. Maybe it's because he is too busy with work and stuff (Aysha).

In this one example, mens' and womens' emotional reactions are described as antithetical to one another. However, a gender analysis of the situation would illuminate deep seeded gender essentialism in regards to her Fathers reaction being deemed as non-emotional or less-emotional than her Mothers. There is a clear gender binary established associating men with insensitivity, emotionally void, and work driven and women with being sentimental, emotional, and family driven. This illustrates the lack of understanding and curiosity in regards to males' experiences of emotions in addition to perceived biological differences between men's and women's emotional reactions to loss, sorrow, and mourning. The extent to which the male/emotionless verses female/emotional dichotomy exists is illustrated in the following quote, "Maybe peacebuilding is easier for men than women because they get over emotional things much faster… they are not interested in emotions, they are goal orientated and systematic, they're emotionless" (Clair). Another respondent noted, "peacebuilding requires mind and emotion, women can do this but men, they can only use mind" (Nariman). These quotes highlight a quality that was cited as both a strength and a challenge of men in peacebuilding; men are more 'logical' than women.

Men's strengths in Peacebuilding.

Logic. The alleged male propensity to logic over emotion was cited several times by male and female participants as both a strength and a weakness for male peacebuilders. One opinion suggests that it seems from the outside that men do not show emotions and do not hold on to emotions in the same way as women. They are able to better focus on the task at hand while not getting distracted with emotional baggage. However, the exact same point was also cited as being one the main downfalls for men in peacebuilding. Both male and female participants noted that men are reputedly less emotional than women, they are not able to read situations, connect with people, and develop an inclusive peace.

The impact of privileging emotion and maintaining its status in the female realm of peacebuilding behavior limits the forms of interventions and activities of male peacebuilders because the emotional realm is left out. This is detrimental to any peacebuilding effort as it risks further alienating men wanting to operate outside of gender norms as well as further perpetuating a limited understanding of men's experiences in peacebuilding and thwarting the potential of a gendered understanding of the peace process.

Violent resistance breeds legitimacy and trust. As mentioned by female participants, it is believed that the experience of suffering led to an increase in ones ability to build trust and understanding. The manifestation of this sentiment as expressed by male participants offers a particularly interesting point of analysis. Male peacebuilders, who were previously engaged in violent resistance and subsequently endured imprisonment, mentioned that their history provided legitimacy, strength, and persuasive influence in their peacebuilding work. One participant, a former leader of a Fatah armed resistance group who now leads a mass nonviolence movement in addition to running various joint peacebuilding programs notes, "No one can question my dedication to the cause, they know I am a fighter for Palestine. I have just switched tactics now"

(Ali). Participants who previously engaged in violent resistance and/or incarceration hypothesized that they would not have received the high level of support and respect for their peace work had they not previously been engaged in armed resistance. One participant explains, "My past as an ex-fighter and spending 10 years in prison has given me legitimacy in my community and within Palestine. Here information is much more about the messenger rather than the message" (Souli). This suggests that his work as a peacebuilder is more accepted in Palestinian society due to the fact he was willing to violently fight for his country and to endure violence at the hands of Israelis rather than about his message of nonviolence, tolerance, and peace. He goes on to describe:

> For peacebuilding to be effective within Palestine people must trust the peacebuilder, the person teaching and talking about peace. Trust is based on who they are, their past, their name etc. My background is full of suffering from the occupation. Suffering builds trust… I would never be where I am now, like as an influential peacebuilder, if it wasn't for my past. No one would listen to me. This is true around the world; Mandela wouldn't be famous if he was sitting on a hill in a villa somewhere (Souli).

These peacebuilders' history of violence serves as a passport to now operate in realms outside of their traditional gender roles. Moreover, the general public appears more inclined to respect and accept these actions due to the fact that they have already asserted their masculinity through violent engagement and incarceration. Furthermore, these men are utilizing the cultural respect for traditional male-centric forms of violent resistance to gain popularity as individuals and speakers while also using this respect as a tool to denounce the very acts themselves. This illustrates how the hierarchy established during violent periods of men's lives, transcends into peaceful times. This leads to their current messages and opinions being privileged and carrying

immense weight given their past. Ironically, their history of violence opened opportunities to openly speak out and denounce the use of violence while promoting collaboration and joint peace efforts.

Although the ex-combatant peacebuilders acknowledge the utility of their history in gaining acceptance and attaining their position of high regard as peacebuilders, no non-ex-combatant peacebuilders recognized the existence of such partiality in their field. When asked whether or not they thought that a peacebuilder with a violent past or one who had previously spent time in an Israeli jail possessed any advantage in their current work as peacebuilders, all non ex-combatants answered "no". Although it is possible that this represent a misanalysis on the behalf of ex-combatant peacebuilders, it appears to be symptomatic of an absence of reflecting on ex-combatants experiences by non ex-combatant peacebuilders.

Women's struggles in peacebuilding.

Although there has been a decline in formal social mechanisms of control and institutionalized gender inequality, many participants make reference to the plethora of barriers and challenges that women face in their struggle to be active peacebuilding contributors. Female peacebuilders are subjected to both overt and covert control mechanisms. These range from conspicuous control over women by fathers, brothers, uncles or husbands, to more clandestine means such as the use of gossip, challenging or calling into question female peacebuilders' honor, sexual innuendo, lack of higher education, and perhaps most importantly the messages of superiority implied since birth.

Honor. Women who deviate from traditional gender roles are subject to informal social regulations because they cross social boundaries. Participants identify attacking a woman's honor and reputation as one of the results of this subjugation. Both male and female participants highlighted how women's honor is used both consciously and subconsciously to legitimize

restrictions and control on female peacebuilders. This is because as with many Islamic communities, traditionally Palestinians family honor is directly linked to the purity and chastity of the women within the family. Therefore, male family members feel that it is not only their duty and responsibility to protect family honor but also their right.

Women's honor is exploited not only by their family and community but also by the greater socio-political setting. A male peacebuilder described how these traditional mindsets are used to discourage women from participating in peacebuilding in the following quote,

> When we have women activists in Hebron the Israeli soldiers attack her honor. They go to her family and tell them she is in danger. They would never do that to a man. They also use shame and send people to spread rumors about her in the community (Issa).

Moreover, another male peacebuilder highlights the impediment that a family's fear of dishonor presents for engaging women and girls in peacebuilding:

> My gender prevents me from engaging more women in my nonviolence movement and peacebuilding activities. Sometimes in order to take women or girls to workshops I have to be a liar, I have to invest so much time in the family so they will support and trust me and eventually give me permission to engage their daughters. Their fathers always want to know who will be at the meetings, will there be boys/men there… then if you do get her there it is still very difficult because sometimes if she gets back at night after a meeting or workshop people will start talking about where she has been or what she was doing. They try to attack her honor because they don't understand (Ali).

The importance of women's honor and reputation is so ubiquitous in Palestinian society that other women reject, withdraw their respect, and discriminate against women working in

peacebuilding if she is operating outside of gender norms or values. One participant describes how she is received by the women of her community in her peacebuilding work depends largely on matters of her personal life, "When I am divorced women are afraid of me, they think I will steal their husbands, and I am often rejected, they wont let me in" (Hekamt). This relates to what male participants posited in regards to messages being about the messenger rather than the message itself. When women are deemed 'safe', other women are more open to receive and engage in her peacebuilding work. Women's label of 'safe' or 'unsafe' is determined by her honor and reputation.

The above examples highlight the role that honor plays in controlling women's participation in peacebuilding and how this can be perceived in the larger context of social control both at the micro and macro level.

Lack of higher education. Lack of higher education was cited as a leading cause of female presence in formal, top-down level peacebuilding. Female questionnaire respondents adduced lack of higher education as being the leading impediment to them progressing in their peacebuilding career. The data pointed to two leading causes of this: the First and Second Intifada and familial responsibilities. The periods of the First Intifada (1987-1993) and the Second Intifada (2000-2005) saw a drastic raise in violence and uncertainty throughout Palestine. Violent clashes between the IDF and Palestinian civilians brought the conflict to the doorsteps of the average Palestinian home. There was an increase in draconian reprisals and a heavy Israeli military presence both in Palestinian communities and throughout Palestine at newly erected checkpoints. This led to elevated levels of fear and distrust in Palestinian communities. As a result of the increasing uncertainty and trepidation, many women were forbidden to attend University and women's enrolment in extra curricular activities such as language courses was drastically reduced:

> In the 60s and 70s many people were sending their daughters to Egypt and Russia [sic] to go to university, but after the intifada families from Nablus were even afraid of sending their daughters to school in Ramallah… The closure of the occupation has become a closure inside everyone (Hekmat).

Consequently, participants posited that this contributed to the current dearth of qualified women between the ages of 30-50 to fill high level peacebuilding roles such as chief negotiators, and mediators, as well as local and national politicians. The following passage offers one participant's account of her experience during the time of the First Intifada:

> I suffered a lot because of the restrictions put on women during the [First] Intifada. When I was 17 and graduating high school I wanted to go to university but the [First] Intifada was starting so I wasn't allowed to continue my studies because my Father thought it was too dangerous. They thought that if I went to university something would happen to me because the soldiers at that time were behaving in a very bad way. The only solution was to get married, get married without even thinking about love; it was about security (Aysha).

Once again we can see the mechanism of honor being manipulated as a justification for the thwarting of women's agency and participation. The above quote illustrates the control and sense of ownership over women's bodies. Although it was the women that would potentially be endangered by leaving the home to peruse higher education, it was the choice of her father, as if it were his honor that was at stake.

Tied to the obstacle of the lack of higher education for women moving up in their peacebuilding careers is women's lack of English language skills. In addition to this being

expressed by participants I, as a researcher, encountered this during data collection. Although I had the support of a translator whenever needed, I often made contact with and was connected to activists and peacebuilders in the region who could speak English. As I was relying partly on snowball sampling to connect with possible research participants it took considerable effort and explanation to communicate the importance of also meeting with activists that don't speak English. There was a general underlying understanding amongst fellow peacebuilders that activists and peacebuilders who could speak English were more useful, intelligent, resourceful, and valued.

In addition to the repercussions of women being discouraged from pursuing higher education in the 90's and early 2000's due to the rise in insecurity resulting from the Intifadas, familial responsibility was largely cited as one of the leading barriers to women accessing higher education and thus higher profile peacebuilding roles. Participants asserted that the difficulties associated with going back to school as a mother were inhibiting. The factors hampering women in achieving higher levels of education were the same cited as precluding women from participating in peacebuilding in general and those were: lack of childcare, lack of support from husband in regards to cooking, child rearing, and housework, and lack of financial support.

Given the fact that men did not cite a lack of higher education as being a barrier to their participation in peacebuilding, women's assertion reveals the lack of priority and thus support given to women's education. If the time and money is available for men to obtain Masters degrees, should they aspire to, the lack of time and money for women to clearly illustrates gendered priorities.

Familial duties. As well as thwarting women's ability to gain higher education, the data indicates that familial responsibilities also serve as a barrier to women participating in peacebuilding. Time and energy constraints imposed through the gender-related division of labor

in which women assume most of the unpaid and unrecognized work within the home and community thwarts women's ability to take on any additional roles or activities. Many women mentioned that with meetings and workshops often taking place outside of school hours, due to the lack of access to childcare and their husband's unwillingness to take on more parenting responsibilities, they were unable to participate in peacebuilding activities. This is an example of an invisible barrier to women's participation in peacebuilding. If this phenomenon does not inhibit women from participating in grassroots peacebuilding, it was cited as the leading barrier to women progressing or moving up in their careers. One participant noted:

> There is a conflict because I was allowed, even encouraged to work in low -level peacebuilding jobs but the higher you go you need to commit more time and it starts to consume your life. Then it is a problem because you are still expected to care for your family. This leads to many women working in grassroots peacebuilding but being unable to progress, this is what happened to me (Clair).

The above quote illustrates how peacebuilding is often structured as being yet another element of women's social roles. It is encouraged but not valued as a priority by a women's family. It was mentioned by numerous female participants that many women in high or senior positions in peacebuilding are either unmarried, widowed, never had kids or have older children that have left home. This indicates an underlying belief based on experience that the roles and responsibilities of having a family are incompatible with those of peacebuilding.

Cultural beliefs. The myriad of barriers and struggles that women face in participating in peacebuilding are inexorable from the larger macro structure of cultural beliefs. These beliefs range from the roles, duties and responsibilities of women as previously discussed, to fundamental beliefs of women's capabilities. As one participant shared, "There are internal and

external barriers, but the internal barriers are the strongest!" (Hekamt). Here, she proposes that it is the internal barriers, the barriers inside women's minds, their confidence, self-esteem, and faith in their own abilities that are the most tenacious impediment. In a like manner, another participant explains, "Firstly it is a personal fight internally to acknowledge your rights, then you must fight your family to gain your rights and then you must fight the society to let you actualize your rights" (Clair). Once women have acknowledged their 'rights', they must then work on finding ways to make a reality of them. Here, women face pushback from their families and community, as traditionally women are not thought to have a rightful place in public operations such as politics. The following quote illustrates this point:

> For women it is more difficult to be respected in higher levels of peacebuilding because it is difficult for women to give a message because in our culture women are supposed to be *receivers* [emphasis added], it is believed they are not adult enough to give a message, to send, to enlighten… For men, when women are involved in politics it is like when a child asks you a question about the news, they look at women as children, they say, "who are you to know anything about politics?" (Hekmat).

Competition. The data pointed to an important aspect of understanding the gendered nature of peacebuilding; the existence of tensions and hierarchies existing between and amongst peacebuilders. Both male and female participants noted the detrimental effects of firstly competition between female peacebuilders and secondly vying for resources and jobs between male and female peacebuilders. As there is a high level of unemployment in Palestine and peacebuilding projects and programs receive substantial funding, many people look to peacebuilding as a lucrative job. This creates rivalries and can propagate adversaries between supposed teammates. "Many women in this industry work at building themselves up, although

this is necessary at first, it must go far beyond yourself… They get so stuck in building and strengthening themselves that they lose sight of building and strengthening peace" (Hekmat). Given the plethora of insecurities in the region and the human propensity to competition in the face of scarcity, it should be no surprise that rivalry exists. To be surprised by this fact indicates yet another expression of gender essentialism branching from the belief that women are an innately passive/innocent/nurturing homogeneous group.

Another dimension of competition presented in the data is a direct result of the rise in gender and peacebuilding rhetoric resulting in gender being viewed as a high priority by donors. However, often times this focus predates training, education, and discussion on what 'engendering' peacebuilding means on the ground. The use of female quotas was given as an example of the results of the increase in emphasis put on including women in peacebuilding. Although the use of quotas can be a practical tactic to encourage and ensure women's participation and representation, if this comes without proper preparation and implementation on the ground it runs the risk of further perpetuating women's subordination through the creation of female figureheads while men still retain the power behind the scenes. This form of tokenism can also create oligarchical female representation. Moreover, measures such as quotas were criticized by the participants for merely attempting to incorporate women. However, these function to restrict the necessary structural adjustments from occurring. The following quotes illustrate this occurrence, "There are many women's peace organizations here but they are always so busy with traveling, getting funding and speaking tours that they are not focused on actually making a difference on the ground... I look at them and wonder 'do *you* [emphasis added] want to be star or do you want your *country* [emphasis added] to be a star?'" (Hekmat). "Many women and girls just want to take part in peacebuilding as something to put on their resume" (Fatima).

Competition between male and female peacebuilders was also mentioned as a hindrance

for women, “I also think one of the obstacles for women is that we as men are afraid of their engagement. We are afraid of inviting women into powerful peacebuilding roles because we are stuck in our ‘manhood’ mentality” (Ali). This insightful quote from a male participant provides evidence that patriarchy and misogyny are inherent in peacebuilding by revealing and openly acknowledging a witnessed gender bias. This is important to note because if men are primarily in charge of negotiations and senior peacebuilding their needs and interests will trump that of women’s. Additionally, they also retain the power to maintain and entrench their favorable positions.

The above section depicts the palpable contributing factors leading to the glass ceiling that exists for women in peacebuilding.

Women’s strengths in peacebuilding.

Participants referred to women’s strengths in peacebuilding in terms of gender specific skills, assets, and capacities imbued by their gender. These were things such as access to children, social networks, and a predisposition to emotions. These roles were described as wielding great power and placed women in an influential role as the backbone of Palestinian society. “We must engage women in peacebuilding because they are the main pillar of our culture, they are the house, they are the family, they are the children” (Issa).

Mothers. The cited strengths of women in peacebuilding were directly tied to gendered notions of what ‘woman’ is, predominantly in opposition to ‘man’. Women are mothers, they are wives, as well as being emotional and peaceful. As previously mentioned, these powerful roles lead male and female participants to privilege, at least theoretically, women’s contributions to peacebuilding. “Counter to what is may look like, I think that women are more important than men in peacebuilding because they have more power to make change since they raise the children and take care of the family” (Souli). Due to traditional gendered ideas of childrearing, women

bear the majority of responsibilities associated with raising children. Subsequently, it is believed that women have a far greater impact on the messages, lessons, and habits passed on to children, and thus the next generation. As much of peacebuilding is about learning new ways of viewing and interacting with The Other, the data suggests that Palestinians view the role of shaping the minds of tomorrow as extremely important. Subsequently, in the data women's role as educators of children was cited as playing a large part in perpetuating and/or curbing a culture of violence. Participants concluded that, as primary caregivers of children, women are more legitimate peacebuilders, since a mother's concern for her children in times of conflict is seen as innate. The data suggests that the emphasis on the importance of women's connection with children is placed on the power she holds in her influence over the behavior and beliefs instilled in children. "We must chose what sort of minds we want to put in children's heads- we have a lot of responsibility and power" (Aysha).

Participants went on to explain that women's ideas around the use of violence influence men's and boy's use of violence. Every participant interviewed, male and female, expressed this. The emphasis on the importance of women's roles as mothers ranged from being described as the apogee of women's responsibility to an aspect of her diverse roles inter alia. "Women's *most important role* [emphasis added] in peacebuilding is to prepare the future generations" (Aysha). "P*art of women's role* [emphasis added] in peacebuilding is for them to be the peace educators of children and thus the next generation and future of peace" (Nariman). The varied responses present in the data regarding the role of mothers exist within a complex nexus between a mothers desire to nurture and care for her children while simultaneously operating in an environment beset by feelings of patriotism and bravery which inevitably perpetuate militaristic male characteristics. Much to the same point, Sara Ruddick (1989) asserts, "It is the same blanket that mothers wrap around a sick child and a wounded killer" (p. 156).

"As peacebuilders we must teach women about dialogue and nonviolence, this will end the traditional stereotypes of military boys" (Majed). This excerpt illustrates two interesting points. Firstly, the concept that women play a significant role in creating the militaristic practices of men and boys and secondly, that women hold the power and autonomy to stop it. To the first point, the above quote notes that a degree of social conditioning is necessary in order to drive men and boys to fight. It is posited that, at least partially, the responsibility for this socialization lies on mothers as they are the ones who instill ideas of patriotism, honor, and bravery in their sons. Although it may be true that women hold a level of responsibility regarding the socialization of their children, it is crucial to recognize the ongoing conditions of patriarchy that may skew women's relation to power and powerlessness in the family. This requires a nuanced understanding of women's autonomy over raising her children and the values that are instilled in her children. The above statement is premised on the idea that women, the disempowered in society, are through their very disempowerment able to challenge social structures.

It must be noted that arguing for women's inclusion and involvement in peacebuilding on the basis of their roles as mothers and wives can essentialize women's roles and perpetuate inequality, preventing transformative change. Although motherhood and images of women's peaceful nature can highlight and empower women in their role of influencing men's attitude around violence, particularly in the case of male children, it also reinforces and perpetuates narrow gendered boundries of women's possible roles in peacebuilding. This can lead to ignoring women's agency in peacebuilding.

Social networks. Women belong to many different social networks. They are connected with their immediate family system and extended family as well as with many others in their community through various women's groups. These groups include connections at the local market, olive cooperatives, child groups, religious gatherings, and embroidery groups.

Participants pointed to these already established networks and groups, both formal and informal, as providing effective avenues for the dissemination of peace education. These groups further afford the opportunity for the recruitment for peacebuilding activities, and for mobilizing women across communities to prevent violence and promote peace. One participant notes, "Women have a wider circle of influence in the community, this is very important for peacebuilding, this means you have more influence through community engagement" (Fatima). A male participant supports the previous notion when he explains, "It is important to target women in peacebuilding because they make a bigger difference, they have a larger reach. They are the gatekeepers to the family and community" (Issa).

The pre-existing trust and familiarity of these connections can help other women to relate to the message and work of the peacebuilders, as they see her as one of them rather than an outsider coming in to talk about peace. In this way, female peacebuilders are able to build peace from within their communities by encouraging the engagement of other women in peacebuilding. This broader community participation is more likely to lead to initiatives and projects that address the needs and wants of the local community. Moreover, as it takes courage and strength to participate in peacebuilding, engaging women that straddle multiple groups and have a broad network provides positive role models for others. The following quote describes how this works, "Courage is like a snowball, when you speak out about something as a women other women around you are like "hey! I can do that too!" and courage grows, practicing courage helps others realize that they have courage as well" (Hekmat).

Suffering and trust. A pervasive reoccurring theme throughout the data was the idea that suffering can help build trust. Although both male and female participants expressed this, the line of argument went as follows: as predominantly women in Palestine suffer, under both patriarchy and occupation, they are therefore more adept at building trust. "Women's ability to talk to

people and build trust is very important in peacebuilding. Women are better at this because suffering can help build peoples trust and mostly women suffer here" (Aysha). It was often cited that women suffer more in times of conflict due to their subordinate positions in society. As most women can relate to this, it acts as a commonality that can be used to build connection, understanding, and ultimately trust. Moreover, it was argued that the message of peace coming from a mother who had suffered the loss her son, husband, house, or land to the conflict was extremely powerful. It was stated that it forces others to think, 'if she can do it, if she can overcome all of these hardships and still seek peace, then so can I'. This is closely tied to the previously mentioned point regarding the importance of the messenger in peacebuilding more so than the message itself.

Emotions. A point stressed repeatedly throughout the data collection process was the notion that women were more emotional than men and thus better at peacebuilding. It was a deeply held belief that emotions were a form of strength. Furthermore, they were a benefit and requisite for effective peacebuilding. Participants believed that this was due to the fact that emotional proficiency was seen as aiding in thier ability to engage not only their own community in peacebuilding activities but also other communities within Palestine, Israel, and also abroad.

Women's propensity for emotion was broken down into three categories, all with positive repercussions for peacebuilding. Emotional strength helps women forgive, see and engage the human inside everyone; emotional adeptness aids them in connecting with women from the other side; women's predisposition to ardent emotions burdens them with internalizing the pain and devastation of conflict which functions to better equip women with the strength to fight violence at all costs before it erupts. Both women and men articulated the notion that women are more proficient at peacebuilding because their emotional strength enables them to transcend pain and suffering. "Women have more patience, sympathy, emotions and therefore have more influence,

they reach and connect with more people" (Issa). The data illustrates the perception that women are uniquely socially capable of engaging emotions and operating in the realm of emotional restoration. Through integration of an emotional perspective into the process of peacebuilding they push the discourse beyond traditionally male focused distributive justice, such as punitive forms of oppression to integrate the necessity of emotional restitution. This is particularly important given the omnipresent misogyny that disempowers women and marginalizes them in the arena of politics.

Despite the strife surrounding joint Palestinian/Israeli programs, many participants noted that due to women's emotional capacity they were better suited and naturally adept at reaching out, connecting, and collaborating with women despite their background. One participant noted, "Women speak the same language and understand each others needs and priorities… take away the conflict, we are basically the exact same, just trying to raise our children with good values and trying to put food on the table" (Clair). In a like manner, another participant recounts her mother's experience meeting an Israeli for the first time, "When my mother met a bereaved Israeli mother she didn't see her as an Israeli, as our enemy, she saw her as a bereaved mother only" (Aysha). The notion that 'all mothers, all wives, all women hurt the same' was emphasized in every interview with women. "Despite the side, a mother is a mother" (Fatima). Through utilizing the ideology of motherhood, the above quotes illustrate the opportunity, which is opened to create alliances based on motherhood between Palestinian and Israeli mothers.

As it is believed by participants that women experience emotions differently and for a longer duration than men, participants suggested that this leads women to being more invested in averting violent conflict as they suffer from it more than men do.

> Its harder for a women than a man to accept the death of their child because women are more emotional… therefore we are more powerful at trying to avoid it and work towards peacebuilding (Clair).

Although women's proclivity to emotions of pain and loss could potentially be viewed as a weakness, the above quote illustrates participant's opinions regarding the constructive power that these emotions hold. Due to the gendered nature of conflict related fatalities and illegal incarceration in the region, many women have been left widowed, childless, and fatherless. Participants noted that these bereaved women are able to harness the pain caused by the deaths of male family members and utilize it as a form of strength to address difficult topics, situations, and actions necessary for peace. Since this was mentioned exclusively as a female phenomena, despite the fact that just as many men and boys have been left son-less, brother-less, father-less, this analysis points to the widely held seemingly subconscious belief that women are 'better' at peacebuilding. This is believed to be due to innate emotions rather than an acknowledgment of the existence of a socially constructed 'permission' to experience the emotions of grief and loss.

Gender essentialism can maintain gendered behaviors that affect people's access to peacebuilding by both thwarting efforts to act outside of gender roles and typecasting various skills and strengths as innately belonging to ones gender. When women are kept on the margins of peacebuilding and their grassroots work idolized as a natural feminine phenomenon, the true nature of limitations and barriers faced by women are ignored. Limitations on women's capacities as peacebuilders will inevitably persist if women continue to lack the broader economic opportunities and political power that would enable them to transcend their gender norms and achieve their goals.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Theoretical and Practical Implications of Research

Firstly, this research provides new insight into the concept of sumud and the connection between sumud and peacebuilding. Table 2 summarizes the gendered interpretations of sumud. Through gaining a clear articulation of the connection between sumud and peacebuilding this research also reveals the potential for sumud discourses to be utilized in region specific peacebuilding rhetoric and project design.

Table 2. Summary of Interpretations of Sumud

Gender Neutral	
1. Sumud is an active concept 2. Sumud is based on a common humanity	
Women's Interpretations	**Men's Interpretations**
1. Role as mother 2. Role as wife 3. Connection with house and land	1. Role as breadwinner 2. A form of resistance 3. Feminine

Endogenous traditions and methods in peacebuilding, such as sumud, should neither be idealized nor romanticized, but more important, should not be neglected or omitted. Although sumud is not a panacea for understanding local needs and perceptions of peacebuilding, it does constitute a deeply significant worldview, which shapes and contextualizes peacebuilding in the region. As sumud has been in a state of flux since its inception, this research provided a modern account of the concept. The challenge is how to harness sumud and mainstream it into systems of peacebuilding. Although the fluidity of sumud may pose a problem when trying to define it per se, it also presents an opportunity to incorporate it into universal approaches to peacebuilding.

Sumud is already credited with legitimacy due to its endogenous origin. The contextual embeddedness of sumud means that although it is intrinsic at the grassroots level, it exists at the regional and national level as well. This provides an approach for solutions based on sumud to contribute to solutions at the political level.

This research brings to light some of the gender specific interpretations of sumud. An understanding of the gender dynamic inherent in sumud helps to highlight the individual significance of female and male acts of everyday resistance and peacebuilding. As many of these activities occur outside of official peacebuilding, a local understanding is crucial for acknowledging these. This is acutely important in understanding inclusive, multilateral peacebuilding. Gendered acts of sumud can be viewed as avenues of accessing peacebuilding potential. Through understanding how sumud is practiced, peacebuilding practitioners can build informed peacebuilding frameworks reflecting the ongoing challenges faced by Palestinians who seek to build peace on a day-to-day basis. It also provides insight into the cultural baggage of individuals who are currently engaged in peacebuilding. This provides a deeper understanding of the psychosocial, spiritual, and emotional dimensions of the conflict and peacebuilding in Palestine.

Another cogent potential of sumud in peacebuilding is the strength it provides in defining perceptions of legitimacy in peacebuilding. Given the sensitivities that exist with regard to peacebuilding and normalization, framing peacebuilding within a sumud-based framework can provide legitimacy and confidence at the local level and thus increasing local engagement. As a deeply patriotic and proud concept, sumud provides a potential to fight the fear and association of peacebuilding with surrender, betrayal, and shame. Moreover, a sumud-based peacebuilding framework would conceivably highlight identity, equality, and human rights, perhaps deviating from conventional western frameworks that highlight democracy, security, and state building. A

combination of the two frameworks would appear to be ideal for the creation of lasting peace.

Secondly, this research highlights the complexity and subsequent sensitivity associated with peacebuilding occurring under occupation. As expressed by participants, peacebuilding in the Palestinian context requires a conceptualization beyond conventional mainstream terms and definitions. This context specific understanding of peacebuilding places substantial emphasis on building peace *within* Palestinian society rather than solely *between* the two divided societies, attaining human rights, and ending the occupation. Therefore, in order to avoid alienation and indignation it is of great moment that the international community strives to ensure the discourses they employ reflect the nuances of the local context.

More specifically, this research demonstrates that peacebuilding carries a degree of inherent political meaning – and in some cases, a social stigma. Through furthering an appreciation for various sensitivities vis-à-vis peacebuilding, this research provides an account of the importance of incorporating concepts such as normalization into peacebuilding project design and implementation. This will reduce misunderstandings and ensure better communication and rapport between peacebuilders, civil society, donors, and NGOs. The fear of normalization is among the most prominent challenges in peacebuilding for both male and female peacebuilders as it conjures up connotations of betrayal, corruption, shame and surrender. However, it is important to note that as male gender norms assert men's role in resisting the occupation, protecting his family by any means necessary, and being proud fierce fighters, men disproportionately suffer in their peacebuilding work under the critique of normalization.

Thirdly, gender affects women and men in different ways. As indicated by the research, traditional gender dichotomies continue to determine peacebuilding philosophies in Palestine. Peacebuilders face different challenges and opportunities in their work because of their gender, and these challenges and opportunities are predominantly prescribed by social norms. The gender

perspective taken in this research has helped in better understanding how both genders experience and interpret sumud and peacebuilding. Though this research in no way attempts to provide a comprehensive assessment of peacebuilding, gender, and sumud in the West Bank, the findings do allow for a greater understanding of the context specific gendered nature of peacebuilding. By aiming to fill gaps in current understanding, these findings highlight important barriers and thus areas to address in regard to men's and women's ability to actively engage in peacebuilding. Table 1 summarizes men's and women's strengths and barriers in peacebuilding. Understanding challenges faced by peacebuilders enables peacebuilding actors to address shortcomings and subsequently design and implement more inclusive and practical peacebuilding processes.

Table 3. Summary of Strengths and Barriers

Women's Strengths in Peacebuilding	**Men's Strengths in Peacebuilding**
1. Mothers 2. Social networks 3. Suffering builds trust 4. Emotions	1. Logic 2. Violent resistance breeds legitimacy & trust
Women's Barriers in Peacebuilding	**Men's Barriers in Peacebuilding**
1. Threat to honor 2. Lack of higher education 3. Familial duties 4. Cultural beliefs	1. Pushback from community 2. Cultural beliefs 3. Lack of emotions

The findings of this research reveal that women's and men's roles in peacebuilding are

largely conceived to be an extension of their social positions. It is believed that women are able to use their gender roles to foster peace within their family and community in addition to using their roles as mother to bridge ethnic and religious divides. However, the division of labor related to inflexible gender roles poses a substantial barrier to women participating in peacebuilding as they struggle to find the time to attend meetings, seminars, and workshops. Additionally, fear of women's honor being disputed severely limits women's ability to engage in peacebuilding. This results in women being prevented from obtaining higher levels of education in times of conflict and also controlling women's participation in peacebuilding activities in the community. On the other hand, men are believed to possess leverage in peacebuilding due to their propensity to logic and reason over emotion. It was proposed that this allows them to stay focused and not let emotion obscure their peacebuilding goals. It was also suggested that men excel in senior levels of peacebuilding because they are able to transfer their traditional roles as fighters to fighters at the negotiation tables. Moreover, the social respect gained through incarceration and armed resistance endure through male Palestinians' lifetime and affords them deference and social mobility in their peace work. However, the research highlighted cultural beliefs pertaining to men's behavior such as emotions and modes of resistance, that inhibit them from engaging in grassroots level peacebuilding as this is often deemed feminine. Ultimately, this research highlights how gender roles effectively limit access to opportunity and participation in peacebuilding simply by virtue of one's sex.

As indicated by the research, both women and men struggle to identify and consolidate new identities and roles in peacebuilding that conflict or challenge culturally defined gender expectations. In order to holistically understand the gendered nature of peacebuilding it is vital to acknowledge the barriers each gender faces when trying to move between peacebuilding roles. We must move beyond acknowledging women's contribution to grassroots peacebuilding and

start talking about women's contribution to peacebuilding in general. That is not to undermine, undervalue, or belittles the importance of women's grassroots work, rather it serves to ensure the horizontal and vertical mobility necessary for women's and men's needs to be addressed and met in peacebuilding. This is also true for the opposite gender. For men, it is important that they have the ability to act outside formal peacebuilding roles; that they are able to engage in peace efforts at a grassroots level without having their masculinity called into question. Men who reject classic forms of male engagement at the political top-down level must be encouraged and supported to do so in the same way that women who wish to reject the classic form of female engagement at the grassroots level are encouraged and supported to do so. Ultimately this will lead to better, more efficient peacebuilding initiatives, which will have long-term positive repercussions for a lasting peace. Therefore, focus and efforts must be made to allow both genders an opportunity to work towards building peace based on their personal strengths and interests rather that based on socially prescribed gender roles and attributes. This manifestation of gender equality is vital for a number of reasons. As peace is inextricably linked to equality between men and women, it is important to strive towards gender equality in all peacebuilding processes in hopes of influencing broader social change pertaining to gender equality. Also, reducing the barriers and encouraging men and women to engage at all levels of peacebuilding may lend itself to creating an inclusive, lasting, positive peace.

Suggestions for Areas of Future Exploration

This research has helped identify some of the current gaps in understanding about gender and sumud in the context of peacebuilding in Palestine. However, in addition to providing important findings, this research has exposed additional gaps in understanding, literature, and research. These gaps point to important areas of further exploration and research.

I consider the notion that *hierarchy's and respect established during violent periods of men's lives transcend into peaceful times* to be a crucial finding of this research. Subsequently, I believe it is important that more research be conducted on the impact of armed resistance and incarceration on male peacebuilders social acceptance and peacebuilding roles. Moreover, an exploration into the social repercussion of incarceration as it pertains to respect, legitimacy, and constructions of masculinities is of great importance. As these individuals have the respect of multiple divergent groups in Palestine, chiefly peacebuilders and armed resistance fighters, they possess a unique level of proficiency and the capacity to build the understanding and cooperation necessary to begin to heal the fractures in Palestinian society. Withal, as the association of male/violent/combatant is worldwide, combatants-turned-peacebuilders often receive high levels of international attention. A strength that when utilized to its fullest potential, can aid Palestine in first gaining the support and pressure from the international community necessary for ending the occupation, a prerequisite for peace, and secondly receiving the aid and assistance necessary to build a self-sufficient peaceful autonomous state.

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APPENDIX A- SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTION QUIDE

Introduction

Define working definitions of key concepts of gender and peacebuilding. Highlight the purpose of the research and how the information collected at the interview is going to be used.

Questions:

Peace

What does the concept of peace mean to you?

What does the concept of peacebuilding mean to you?

What does peacebuilding mean in the Palestinian context?

Can you give some examples?

What has shaped your understanding of peacebuilding?

When was the first time you heard about the concept of peacebuilding?

Was it ever talked about at home, at school, in religious settings?

Do you consider your work contributing to peacebuilding?

Why or why not?

What sort of peacebuilding activities do you engage in?

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Gender

What does the concept of gender mean to you?

Do you feel that gender norms and expectations have an impact on you personally in your work?

Do you personally ever feel restricted to certain peacebuilding roles because of your gender?

Do you think that peace means the same for men and women?

Do you think that gender has any relevance in defining peacebuilding roles?

Why do you think this is the case?

Typically gender stereotypes portray men as violent soldiers and women as innocent civilian victims in times of conflict, do you think that this generalization or stereotype exists in Palestine?

Do you agree with this stereotype? Why or why not?

If you were to have to make a generalization, what would you say is the most common stereotype of men and women in regards to peace and conflict in Palestine?

Do you think that the Israeli occupation has had an impact on gender roles/identities in Palestine?

How and why?

Do you think that peacebuilding challenges gender norms?

Does peacebuilding offer a way of moving beyond stereotypical connections of men and militarism and women and passivism?

Do you think your gender influences the way members of your community view your work?

Do you feel that your work transcends cultural ideas of gender roles in Palestine; does it step outside of what is typically thought of as man's/women's work?

What encouraged you to take this step?

Does this have an impact on your life outside of work?

Have you ever experienced pushback or pressure from friends or family as a result?

What is the gender distribution in your organization?

Are men and women equally represented at the grassroots and at the top level?

In your opinion, what would the benefit be of having an equal representation of women and men working as peacebuilders in Palestine?

Do values of gender equality influence and/or shape your work in peacebuilding?

Are there certain peacebuilding roles that men or women are more appropriately suited to?

If so, what is it about being a "man" or a "woman" that makes someone more or less suited for these divergent roles?

Is this ever directly articulated?

Who/what/how is this expressed?

Do you think your experiences in peacebuilding would be different if you where the opposite sex?

……

Sumud

What personal, social, cultural and/or political concepts influenced your choice to work in peacebuilding?

What does the concept of sumud mean to you?

Can you give some examples of what practicing sumud looks like?

Are the concepts of sumud and peacebuilding related?

If so, how?

Can you give an example?

Do you think the concept of sumud had an influence on your choice, consciously or subconsciously, to work as a peacebuilder?

If not, does it ever factor into the way you view your work now? How?

Do you think that ones gender has an influence on the way they interpret/practice sumud?

Do you think that this would have an impact on the type of peacebuilding action men and women take?

Is there anything else you would like to say about gender, sumud and peacebuilding in Palestine?

APPENDIX B- QUESTIONNAIRE

Study on Sumud (وصمد), Gender and Peacebuilding in the West Bank

Before you begin, it is important for me, the researcher, to share my working definitions of the concepts of peacebuilding and gender.

Peacebuilding: For the purpose of this research the term *peacebuilding* is used in its broadest sense. It is employed as a comprehensive multidisciplinary framework which includes any conscious intention driven activity that seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from conflict and violence in all forms. This includes structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest. *Peacebuilding* in this sense refers actions which aims to establish nonviolent modes of resolving conflict, protecting human rights, providing trauma healing services and humanitarian relief, supporting broad based education, encouraging youth participation in politics, and promoting cultural tolerance and diversity, gender equality, dialogue programs etc. Most importantly, the term *peacebuilding* refers to activities aimed at building peace at the community level and within the West Bank, not just joint Palestinian/Israeli programs.

Gender: The socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. Gender differs from sex which refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women.

Please check one:

What is your gender? Male:_____ Female:_____

For the next three questions please answer yes or no.

Before working in peacebuilding I was engaged in armed resistance at least once. ____

> If yes, do you feel that your past engagement in armed resistance has helped you gain legitimacy in your peacebuilding work? ___

I consider my work contributing to peacebuilding in Palestine. ____

For the next several questions please choose a number from 0 to 5 and write it next to each statement to indicate how much you agree or support the statement.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Absolutely Not					Extremely

Grassroots peacebuilding is important for fostering peace _____

The government peace process and negotiations are important for fostering peace _____

Youth are important in building peace _____

Women are important in building peace _____

Men are important in building peace _____

Religious leaders are important in building peace _____

Your opinion is equally valued to that of the opposite gender by your colleges in your peacebuilding work. _____

Women are better at peacebuilding than men. _____

Men are better at peacebuilding than women. _____

Women are more emotional than men. _____

Men are more logical than women. _____

Peacebuilding requires more emotion than logic. _____

Peacebuilding requires more logic than emotion. _____

Peacebuilding requires an equal amount of logic and emotion. _____

Peacebuilding must start with me. _____

Peacebuilding must start with government peace talks and negotiations. _____

Women are naturally more peaceful than men. _____

Peacebuilding encourages gender equality. _____

Men with a history of armed resistance are more powerful in peacebuilding. _____

Suffering builds trust and legitimacy amongst peacebuilders. _____

Women's education level has a large impact on the level of gender equality in her home _____

Men's education level has a large impact on the level of gender equality in his home. _____

Raising awareness in the Israeli public about the realities on the ground in Palestine is important for peace. _____

You feel comfortable working with Israelis? _____

Sumud (صمود) is part of my identity as a Palestinian. _____

Sumud (صمود) and peacebuilding are mutually reinforcing. _____

Sumud (صمود) and peacebuilding are not connected. _____

Sumud (صمود) requires action, it is not just waiting. _____

For the next several questions please rank the responses to the given questions in order of importance/relevance from 1 to 5 with 1 being most important/relevant and 5 being the least important/relevant. If more then 5 options are given, please only rank five.

What are the main barriers that **women** face in working in peacebuilding in the West Bank?

_____ Gossip from community regarding her honor

_____ Fear of being called a collaborator

_____ Too many household responsibilities (Ex. Cooking, children cleaning etc)

_____ Lack of education

_____ Lack of freedom to attend meetings and workshops (especially in the evening)

_____ Fear of normalization

_____ Husband's rules

_____ Parents fear of her honor being threatened

_____ Women are socialized to think that they are weaker and less important than men and they therefore think that they don't have anything to contribute to peacebuilding

_____ Competition between male peacebuilders

_____ The cultural belief that women don't belong and can't understand politics

What are the main barriers that **men** face in working in peacebuilding positions in the West Bank?

_____ Cultural pressure to be fighters and use armed resistance and aggression

_____ 'Bread winning' responsibilities

_____ Fear of being accused of being a collaborator

_____ Fear of normalization

_____ Religious pressure

_____ Lack of education

_____ Pressure to be a leader and necessity to have power

_____ A cultural mindset that men don't work in peacebuilding

_____ Hate for the other side

_____ Lack of communication skills such as listening, compassion, building trust and understanding

What are the most important roles for ***women*** in peacebuilding?

_____ Teaching children about peace and how to handle conflicts without violence

_____ Caring for the household while her husband works in peacebuilding.

_____ Practicing peacebuilding tools such as dialogue and nonviolent communication with her husband

_____ Talking to other mothers about peacebuilding

_____ Connecting and building understanding with Israeli women

What are the most important roles for ***men*** in peacebuilding?

_____ Supporting the women in his family and community to be engaged in peacebuilding

_____ Advocating for nonviolence amongst men

_____ Engaging religious leaders in peacebuilding

_____ Participating in political negotiations

_____ Connecting and working with Israelis in peacebuilding

What are the most important forms of peacebuilding in the West Bank?

_____ Joint Arab/Israeli seminars and dialogue groups

_____ Youth engagement

_____ Religious tolerance

_____ Democracy training

_____ Nonviolence training

_____ Cultural diversity training

_____ Government peace talks and negotiations

_____ Leadership training

What are the most important ways of having sumud (صمود)?

_____ Staying on your land

_____ Continuing your education despite difficulties

_____ Not leaving the country despite opportunities to do so

_____ Raising your children in a happy and healthy environment despite the occupation

_____ Encouraging others to stay in the country through creating a hospital environment within your community

_____ Retaining your pride and dignity in the face of the occupation

_____ Building peace within your community

_____ Asserting your Palestinian identity and the Palestinian struggle abroad

For the next several questions please mark all appropriate responses.

What sort of peacebuilding activities have you personally participated in the last 5 years?

_____ Joint Palestinian/Israeli seminars and dialogue groups

_____ Palestinian and/or Israeli education/awareness campaigns

_____ Youth political and peacebuilding training

_____ Engaging religious leaders in peacebuilding

_____ Peace demonstrations and protests

_____ Democracy training

_____ Nonviolence training

_____ Cultural diversity workshops/training

_____ Government peace talks and negotiations

_____ Leadership training

What are the greatest barriers to you progressing in your career in peacebuilding?

_____ Education level

_____ Financial barriers to obtaining higher education

_____ Childcare

_____ My gender

_____ Lack of encouragement from my partner in marriage

_____ Lack of confidence

_____ Corruption

_____ Unable to commit the required time for training due to household responsibilities

Is there anything you would like to add or that you think is important for me to know in regards to gender, peacebuilding and sumud (صمود)?

APPENDIX C- INFORMED CONSENT FORM

"An exploration into the gendered interpretation of *sumud* and its subsequent manifestation in Palestinian peacebuilding: Towards a gender inclusive model of peacebuilding."

Researcher: **Emma Swan**
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Purpose of Study
This research aims to answer the following questions:

- How do Palestinians perceive and define the concept of peacebuilding and how does this differ between genders?
- How do Palestinians define sumud, how does this differ between genders
- What is the relationship between sumud and peacebuilding?
- What peacebuilding roles do males and females fill? Do these challenge traditional conceptualizations and discourse of gender roles in peacebuilding?
- What is the interface between these roles? Are they complimentary and what implication does this have on our understanding of the gendered nature of conflict and thus peacebuilding?
- Do participants feel that the practice of sumud has or had any influence on their decision to work in their current field?

Research Format: Qualitative field research will be conducted in order to answer the research questions. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions will be held during the fall of 2013 in the West Bank.

Duration: It will take approximately 1 hour to complete the interview and approximately 2 hours to participate in the focus group discussion.

Potential Risks: There are no risks to participating in this study.

Potential Benefits: You will not directly benefit form participating in this study.

Statement of Confidentiality: Your participation in this research is confidential and the results of this research will be published together with data collected from other participants and other sources. Your name will not be included in the publication. The data will be stored and secured in a locked and password protected file during the fieldwork in Palestine and during analysis in Canada. Once research is completed all participant information and interview material will be destroyed and the audio recordings of the interviews will be electronically wiped.

Voluntary Participation: Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You do not have to

answer any questions you do not want to answer. Furthermore, you can stop and withdraw form this study at any time up until after one month of the date of the interview. You may request a transcript of your interview and you will be provided with a copy of the final research upon completion.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

I wish for my identity to remain confidential Y / N

I would like to be identified as:_____

I would like to receive a copy of this research after it is completed Y / N

Please note that I, the researcher, am available anytime to answer any questions that may arise. You can reach me via email at: emmalswan@hotmail.com or via phone at:

_____ _____
Participant Signature Date

_____ _____
Person Obtaining Consent (Researcher) Date