I AM MALALA:

A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR EDUCATORS

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The Global
Women's Institute
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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MALALA
FUND

A PREFACE FROM MALALA'S FATHER

It is the elder generation's duty to teach children the universal human values of truth, fairness, justice and equality. For this purpose, we have two institutions: families and schools. Education, whether at home or in the classroom, has the power to promote acceptance of others' views and to challenge biases and bigotry.

In patriarchal societies, women are expected to be obedient. A good girl should be quiet, humble and submissive. She is told not to question her elders, even if she feels that they are wrong or unjust. As a father, I did not silence Malala's voice. I encouraged her to ask questions and to demand answers. As a teacher, I also imparted these values to the students at my school. I taught my female students to unlearn the lesson of obedience. I taught the boys to unlearn the lesson of so-called pseudo-honor.

It is similarly the obligation of schools and universities to instill the principles of love, respect, dignity and universal humanism in their students. Girls and boys alike must learn to think critically, to stand up for what they believe is right and build an effective and healthy society. And these lessons are taught at schools through curriculum. Curricula teach young people how to be confident individuals and responsible citizens.

I Am Malala is a story about a young girl's campaign for human rights, especially a woman's right to education. The power of this story is that it is true. Truth, justice, forgiveness, and equality—these are the universal human values, and they are the lessons instilled in Malala's book. I am, therefore, very pleased that the Malala Fund and the George Washington University have partnered to develop this resource guide to accompany *I Am Malala*.

The resource guide for educators will elevate Malala's story from a news story to an inspiration for coming generations. It tells how a country's power and politics can endanger its own citizens. It tells how a few people can misinterpret and misuse peaceful religions to distort their true message. It tells how women and children suffer due to conflicts. And it tells why millions of children are out of school.

People ask me, what is special about my parenting, which has made Malala so bold and so courageous and so vocal and so poised? I tell them, "Don't ask me what I did. Ask me what I did not do." I did not clip Malala's wings. Now Malala's story will be shared in classrooms around the world. I hope that my daughter's message will resonate with many future generations of our children and young people, and that they, too, will feel empowered to raise their voices and spread their wings.

Ziauddin Yousafzai

To expand the reach of Malala's memoir—*I am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*—and spread Malala's message to young people and activists, the Global Women's Institute of the George Washington University, in collaboration with the Malala Fund, developed a resource guide for high school and college students around the world. Building on the content of Malala's memoir, the resource guide supports global efforts to mobilize women and men to address women's and girls' rights to an education.

Malala's memoir opens the door to some of the greatest challenges of our modern world. It is about politics, education, culture, religion and violence against women and girls. It is a moment in the life of a young girl and in the history of a country. To do these broad themes justice, faculty from a wide range of disciplines contributed to the development of the resource guide.

The resource guide challenges students to think deeply, share their experiences, and engage with their communities. Each theme begins with learning objectives and a narrative, intended to start the conversation and help plan lessons. The theme then includes individual exercises, group activities, and resources to assist students and instructors in deepening their knowledge of a topic.

THE EIGHT THEMES ARE:

REFLECTIONS FROM A PAKISTANI SCHOLAR

I Am Malala: A Resource Guide for Educators is a unique endeavor to enlighten students and academics, providing a well-deserved space to the emerging struggle for life, peace, and education around the world. It is a privilege and honor to have worked with my brother in peace, Ziauddin Yousafzai, as well as the faculty of the Global Women's Institute at the George Washington University, to provide my input on a broad range of issues covered by the resource guide.

Education has the power to transform lives, communities, and societies. I once asked Malala why she had chosen education as her single-point agenda. Her clear and simple response was that education offers health and hope, options and opportunities.

Malala's journey of peace through education and nonviolent resistance is shaping a new discourse from the United Nations, through refugee camps in Jordan, on to villages in Kenya, and into schools in the Swat Valley, sharing the message of struggle and hope. This is happening because Malala chose peace and forgiveness over the violence that has brought prolonged suffering and misery to the lives of those in her own Pashtun community in Pakistan and Afghanistan and in many countries around the world.

Before 9/11, the idyllic Swat Valley, the land of Malala, was calm. Fruit orchards and vegetable gardens were in abundance. People were renowned for their folk music and storytelling; schools were in almost every village and town; and people lived in peace, resolving their disputes nonviolently through *Jirga* and *Sulha*. Suddenly armed militancy appeared on the scene, destroying peace, prosperity, and *Pashtunwali*, the way of life of Pashtun people. Traditions faded quickly into the past, as the deadly conflict and trauma of war scarred a generation of children and of women.

Swat has fresh water, green forests, precious gemstones, and small cottage industries with the potential to export hydropower, water, fresh and dried fruits, vegetables, and gems. Pashtuns are dreamers, innovative and creative. Women make fine crafts, and men produce stirring poetry and art. They have the capacity to resolve their disputes and conflicts creatively through the long-standing institutions of *Jirga* and *Sulha*. Once interference in their social, cultural, and political affairs has ended, Pashtuns will expel extremism from their land.

Malala's struggle for peace and education against the worst form of violence in the Swat Valley almost cost Malala her own life. But instead she has become a torchbearer for peaceful and active resistance. Malala provides continuity for building stable societies, as embodied by those heroes of nonviolence Rumi, Bacha Khan, Gandhi, Mandela, King, and Mother Teresa. With this shining lineage we are inspired to contribute to a generation of young people—women and men—who are well-educated in many fields and grounded in the knowledge of processes that create a peaceful society.

This guide will set a foundation to explore the lives and struggle of Pashtun people and address the root causes of war in Malala's land. I am confident that students and academics will create forums, seminars, conferences, and research centers for dialogue to defeat extremism and bring peace to the people of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and our shared world.

Jahab Zeb
Director of the Global Peace Council Canada
The Centre for Peace Advancement at Conrad Grebel University College,
affiliated with the University of Waterloo, Canada

MEMOIR AS LITERATURE AND HISTORY

BY JULIE DONOVAN

PART 1

Introduction

In choosing to narrate the brutal attempt on her life, Malala Yousafzai selected the literary form known as memoir, a well-established genre used by historical figures and other thoughtful but less recognized men and women to capture a certain moment in time. This theme will consider the particular characteristics of memoir as a literary device and its effectiveness in communicating Malala's story through a discussion of the following topics:

- The unique attributes of memoir as a literary genre
- The difference between autobiographies, memoirs, and diaries
- Memoir as a powerful witness to history
- The relationship between memoir and memory

Malala Yousafzai's stirring memoir, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*, combines the personal story of a girl's life caught in the vortex of war and religious extremism. As an increasingly popular genre of literary nonfiction, Malala's memoir prompts the question: What is it about the memoir that can make it a more powerful means of expression than other literary forms? In *Testament of Youth* (1933) Vera Brittain provides one answer. Grappling with how to depict World War I from a young woman's perspective, Brittain rejected the idea of writing a novel, feeling that it would be too far removed from the reality of her experience. Opting to write a memoir enabled Brittain to recount her personal story against the backdrop of a harrowing war, within a society that decried female independence and denied her the right to vote. Here is how she explained her choice: "In no other fashion, it seemed, could I carry out my endeavor to put the life of an ordinary individual into its niche in contemporary history, and thus illustrate the influence of world-wide events and movements upon the personal destinies of men and women." (12)

A memoir can excel in evoking immediacy and veracity, where private feelings mesh with public issues and raw emotions intertwine with the detachment of rational argument and the exegesis of an intellectual or political stance. Memoir differs from autobiography in that the memoir concerns a specific, concentrated period within a life, whereas an autobiography tends to recount the story of a life that is generally more all-embracing, with a greater chronological sweep and more linear structure. There are also points of contiguity between the diary and the memoir, but the temporal immediacy of the diary typically does not allow the degree of reflection found in the memoir. All three forms of relating personal stories are told in the first person, and therefore readers need to be mindful of the process of interpreting a narrator's point of view. When we read a memoir, we may be less conscious of its aesthetic effect than we are when we read a poem or a novel. Yet there is an art to the memoir that exercises rhetorical skill just as much as other literary forms in terms of pace, tone, and choices in language.

Elie Wiesel's Holocaust memoir *Night* (1955), and Ishmael Beah's account of war in Sierra Leone, *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* (2007) demonstrate how the memoir stands as a powerful witness to history. Both of these works convey the visceral effect of personal experience that gives history a more human context than a bald recounting of dates, battles, and other details of more formal or grand historical narratives. They also demonstrate the occasionally didactic nature of the memoir, which raises consciousness about society, culture, and government. Since memory is intrinsic to this genre, we should consider the complicated relationship between history and memory, and why some events emerge as more notable than others. Indeed, the memoir prompts us to consider how memory and history have an unsettled relationship that is open to examination.

While the memoir serves as a testament to injustice, it is also a genre that may indulge the worst excesses of contemporary voyeurism and self-absorption, so it is worth considering when memoirs reveal merely narcissism and even deceit. Though readers concede the subtleties of framing a story, there remains an expectation that a memoir must, at its core, be genuine. When it was discovered that parts of James Frey's confessional memoir of drug addiction, *A Million Little Pieces* (2005), were intentionally fabricated, many readers felt betrayed. While fiction has its share of unreliable first-person narrators, what is demanded of the memoir is reliable narration, since the memoir is inherently linked to a sense of authenticity and good faith.

Despite Malala's courage, maturity, and poise, her experiences happened when she was a child. Malala's narrative is typical of the memoir's ability to give us an insider's perspective on events that may seem remote when reported in newscasts and other media. The vividness of personal experience evokes not only the sense of terror and displacement caused by Taliban control but also the beauty of the Swat Valley and the renowned hospitality of the Pashtun people. It also serves to educate us about an area too often conceptualized in the abstract. As Malala explains, she thinks of herself as primarily Swati, then Pashtun, and then Pakistani, demonstrating complicated allegiances in regional and national identity. Malala's authorial voice is alternately strident and playful, but we may consider the challenges involved in successfully sustaining that voice.

Malala's memoir illustrates the power of contrasts—from descriptions of bombardment and her assailant's shaking hand as he shoots her at close range—to teenage preoccupations with *Twilight* books and arguments with Munneba, her loving but possessive best friend. Although she campaigns against the encroaching fundamentalism seeking to destroy girls' access to education, Malala's criticism of the Taliban is combined with an exposition of other factors that have destabilized her former home: the repercussions of British colonialism, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, support of the West for Afghan mujahideen and military dictators in Pakistan, and U.S.-ordered drone strikes. Malala provides the kind of details that only an eye-witness familiar with her surroundings can give: how a charismatic Taliban leader sets himself up as a modern-day Robin Hood through his FM radio station, or how some people prefer sharia law because it is considered more effective than the corrupt legal system in place. Piquant details that Malala provides, such as the Pakistani establishment's production of a popular soap opera of its travails called *Beyond the Call of Duty*, are described with the impish humor that shines through Malala's prose, despite the horrors she experienced. Perhaps it is this capacity to find laughter amid tears that tempers her indictment of inequality and cruelty.

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Individual Activities

1. Writing memoir: Just as the assassination attempt on Malala profoundly altered the course of her life, students will write a brief memoir that focuses on one memorable instance where everything seemed to change. The event can be personal and directly related to their family, such as birth, death, marriage and remarriage; on the other hand, it can be something of global significance. For many, living through the attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2011, or the inauguration of the United States' first African-American president in 2008, profoundly marked them. In organizing your own memoir, reflect on how Malala organized her narrative by providing the description of a key event, historic and cultural context, and her own response.

2. Contrasts and complexities in memoir: Explore the contrasts and complexities revealed by a memoir of your own choosing. How do the contrasts and complexities relate to individual experience as it is affected by social, cultural, and historical events? Do you find that you also have "contrasts" within yourself as they relate to things in your life that you feel passionate about or want to change? What can we learn from looking at the world and ourselves in a more complex way?

3. The introduction to memoir states that the memoir evokes "immediacy and veracity, where private feelings mesh with public issues, and raw emotions intertwine with the detachment of rational argument.. Write an essay where you argue for the benefits and downfalls of approaching a historical or personal account in this manner. To what extent it is bad or good to have the personal be mixed with the "facts"? Can you think of a time in your life when the personal and public became intertwined and how that affected your thinking or recounting of a situation?

4. Select a historical, social, political, or cultural event and create a blog about it. Consider what it is like to write a running history based on your own experience.

5. Analyze the following Malala blogs in the light of what you understand about memoir:

   http://malalayousafzaibbcblog.blogspot.com

   http://www.malala-yousafzai.com

   http://ziauddinyousafzai.blogspot.ca

Group Activities

1. Identify a historic event chronicled by journalists, historians, and individuals that has also been addressed in the form of a memoir, diary, or autobiography. Divide the class into groups, and ask each to read different accounts of a same event. For example, one group can read historical accounts of the Jews in Holland during War World II whereas another will read selections from The Diary of Anne Frank. Another pair might read historical accounts of apartheid South Africa while others will read Kaffir Boy. How do they each portray the times? The emotional context? Historical facts? Where do we feel the greater affinity?

   While there are hundreds of wonderful memoirs, diaries, and autobiographies written in response to major historical events, we offer these as possible suggestions:

   • *The Diary of Anne Frank* (Anne Frank) and/or *Night* and the Holocaust (Elie Wiesel)

   • *Kaffir Boy: The True Story of a Black Youth's Coming of Age in Apartheid South Africa* (Mark Mathabane)

   • *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* (Ishmael Beh) and the war in Sierra Leone

   • *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (Azar Nafisi) and the Iranian Revolution

2. A comparison of Malala and Persepolis by Marjane Satrapi. Both of these books deal with the plight of schoolgirls living under a fundamentalist regime. Students may read an extract of Persepolis or watch the film in class. Students will then divide into smaller groups and identify similarities and differences between Malala and Persepolis. This activity can show students how Muslim women hail from different histories, backgrounds, and cultures.

3. Students will be organized into groups to work on the task of interviewing a person who has lived through a life event such as the Civil Rights Act, the Apollo moon landing, or Vietnam War. Develop a memoir based on your interview and conversations, considering how the sharing of narratives sheds light on different perspectives of a historical event.

Resources

Teachers are encouraged to view the PowerPoint presentation prepared by Professor Julie Donovan. https://malala.gwu.edu/sites/malala.gwu.edu/files/Memoir PPT revised.pdf

*For more information about the resource guide, visit **malala.gwu.edu** or **www.malala.org**.*

EDUCATION: A HUMAN RIGHT FOR GIRLS

BY MICHELE A. CLARK & LARISA WARHOL

PART 1

Introduction

On October 9, 2012, 15-year-old Malala Yousafzai was shot in the face on her way home from school. Her offense was a deeply personal love of learning, accompanied by an equally passionate belief in the right to an education for girls in Pakistan and beyond. This theme will consider the importance of education for girls as a basic human right through a discussion of the following issues:

- The status of girls' education in Pakistan
- The international frameworks to ensure education as a human right for girls
- The importance of education and schooling
- The challenges unique to educating girls

Girls' Education in Pakistan

> *"The School that my father dreamed of would have desks and a library, computers, bright posters on the walls and, most importantly, washrooms."*
>
> *(Malala, Page 41)*

After independence, Pakistan inherited a British colonial school system that has changed little in the past 65 years. According to the Constitution of Pakistan, the government is required to provide free and compulsory education for children ages 5 through 16, although this is not followed in practice. The educational situation in Pakistan is complex. There are large disparities between urban and rural areas as well as social and economic classes and ethnic groups related to access to school and school resources. Currently a class-based education system is in place: high-quality private schools for elites, low-cost private and public schools for the poor, and madrassa schools for the poorest of the population. In 2009, primary school attendance for the entire country was only 66 percent, well below the world average of 90 percent.

Many schools have large gender disparities. While there is more gender equity in urban areas, rural areas experience much gender inequality. In areas like the Swat Valley, after the Taliban in 2009 enacted a ban on the schooling of girls, 400 private schools enrolling 40,000 girls were closed, including the private school run by Malala's father, the Khushal School and College in Mingora. However, even after the Pakistani government regained control over the region and reopened the schools, many girls did not return and Taliban insurgents still tried to prevent girls from being educated. During this period, Malala became an internationally recognized spokesperson for education, which resulted in her shooting by the Taliban. Since the education ban, national and international NGOs have been working to create more gender balance by opening "non-formal" schools (Latif, 2011). Malala, her family, civil society organizations, and the government continue working to overturn the gender disparities and the social/cultural norms against schooling women, especially since Islam urges both men and women to become educated.

Overall, Pakistan suffers from common education challenges seen in both developing and developed countries: lack of highly qualified and trained teachers, outdated curricula, and a lack of education resources and materials (Ahmad et al., 2013). There are also challenges related to establishing the role of religion in school curricula and determining the language of instruction. Urdu is the language that different peoples and provinces in Pakistan use to communicate with one another, whereas English is the official language of the state and the language of higher education. At the same time, education research promotes the use of local languages for cultural continuity and the cognitive benefits of multilingualism.

The efforts of Malala, her family, and the previous PPP and ANP coalition government have brought some positive changes to education in Pakistan (e.g., more tolerance and protection of human rights and the inclusion of more secular nationalist leaders, movements, and historical figures). In addition, after Malala's shooting, a U.N. petition prompted the ratification by the Pakistani National Assembly of the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Bill of 2012, which upholds the constitutional mandate of education for all and authorizes fines for negligent schools and parents. Malala's story has brought worldwide attention to the ongoing challenges and to the changes that need to take place to improve education in Pakistan, especially for girls.

Education as a Human Right for Girls

> *"As we crossed the Malakand Pass, I saw a young girl selling oranges. She was scratching marks on a piece of paper with a pencil she had to account for the oranges she had sold, as she could not read or write. I took a photo of her and vowed I would do everything in my power to help educate girls just like her. This was the war I was going to fight."*
>
> *(Page 217)*

Malala's commitment to education for girls is grounded in modern international human rights discourse. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), education is considered a "fundamental human right" and "essential for the exercise of all other rights." The international community first recognized this in 1948 through Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stating, "Everyone has a right to education." The article affirms the right to free and compulsory education in elementary school and the general availability of technical, professional, and higher education.

Building on the universal declaration, numerous conventions have affirmed the rights of children to "free, universal, and compulsory education" with specific references to the rights of girls. Notably, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) calls upon states to "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure them equal rights with men in the field of education."

The third Millennium Development Goal seeks to "promote gender equality and empower women," but we are far from seeing success. One hundred twenty-three million young people worldwide still lack basic reading and writing skills, and girls comprise 61 percent of that number. While girls are gaining access to primary education, gender disparities remain high precisely where education is able to help shape a young person's future—at secondary and higher levels of education. On her 16th birthday, July 12, 2013, in a speech before the U.N. General Assembly, Malala reminded the international community of its commitment to defend the rights of education for girls and women by saying, "Today is the day of every woman, every boy and every girl who raised their voice for their rights."

Purposes of Education and Schooling

> *"They can stop us going to school, but they can't stop us learning."*
>
> *(Page 161)*

Education is an integral and necessary part of any society. In modern times, it is most often associated with schools and the information learned in schools. As globalization encourages nations to form modern capitalistic societies, much of what children need to know to actively participate in these types of societies is taught in schools. In postcolonial countries where there is often linguistic and cultural diversity, schooling has also become an important tool to build national unity and promote citizenship through a national curriculum, such as the one developed in Pakistan in 2006. Thus, education and schools impart not only specific and relevant content knowledge needed for economic advancement but also integral social knowledge needed for a cohesive society. This curriculum discarded rote learning for a greater focus on analytical thinking and marked a modest shift toward removing materials that glorified war and incited conflict, ensuring greater gender balance, and including references to local culture in textbooks. Critics of the revisions, however, believe that it did not go far enough and that it still projects a biased interpretation of Pakistani culture. (Education Reform in Pakistan)

Within global efforts for development, schooling is considered a foundational element for economic development and nation building. Education has become a common world agenda item, as seen in the "Education for All" (EFA) movement, which has focused on ascertaining demographic trends and examining the overall benefits of, and constraints to, education in the developing world. EFA, led by UNESCO, releases an annual monitoring report and has also developed the Global Partnership for Education, which helps low-income countries achieve free and universal primary education. EFA directly relates to MDGs that emphasize that education is a human right, and it has a positive impact on the economic development of the local and national communities. EFA also endorses increased female empowerment and gender equity. This consensus is solidified by the United Nations' unprecedented emphasis on girls' and women's empowerment and human capital investment as the condition of development in the eight Millennium Development Goals.

The Challenges of Educating Girls

"I believe that female teachers should educate girls ... but first, we need to educate our girls so that they can become teachers!"

(Page 118)

Traditional studies promoting education for girls focus on the positive impact of education for their future well-being. In particular, benefits include higher wages, greater participation in public/political life, later marriages, and fewer, healthier, and better-educated children. These benefits, however, are offset by a broad spectrum of challenges, which need to be addressed by policymakers, donors, and local activists. Many obstacles are rooted in culture and tradition and keep girls in a worldview where education plays no part in their futures. While still in elementary school, Tor Pekai, Malala's mother, stopped going to classes because, simply put, she did not see the value to an education. "There seemed no point in going to school to just end up cooking, cleaning, and bringing up children, so one day, Pekai sold her books for nine annas, spent the money on boiled sweets and never went back. Her father said nothing." (Page 40)

Religious tenets in many parts of the world further define a woman's place as caring for her husband and children and not interacting with men outside of her immediate family, factors which limit a woman's professional opportunities. The lack of female teachers creates an obstacle to educating girls where fears of sexual harassment as well as social taboos in mixing the sexes constrain girls' attendance. And finally, a family's economic status will determine whether resources will be invested in educating sons or daughters. Malala illustrates this boy preference when she describes how school "wasn't the only thing my aunts missed out on. In the morning, when my father was given cream or milk, his sisters were given tea with no milk. If there were eggs, they would be only for the boys. When a chicken was slaughtered for dinner, the girls would get the wings and the neck while the luscious breast meat was enjoyed by my father and my grandfather." (Page 29)

Evidence is now emerging to indicate that not only girls benefit from getting an education. According to a 2011 World Bank study, *Measuring the Economic Gain of Investing in Girls*, "Improving the socio-economic outcomes for girls and young women is of central importance, not only to the beneficiaries themselves but also to their communities and the next generation." This conclusion is at the heart of Malala's message and creates a challenge for all of us as academics, activists, and global citizens.

PART 2

Individual Activities

A. The role of incentives in encouraging school attendance.

Malala's mother stopped going to school because she did not see the relevance of an education for her own future. Her parents did not challenge her decision, and the community offered no incentive to educate girls either through opportunities for employment or increased social status. However, research now indicates that raising a family's income will increase a boy's chance for staying in school by 16 percent, and 41 percent for girls. Many educational initiatives now offer financial compensation to parents to keep their daughters in school. Write a two-page paper arguing for the value of such incentives as a long-term strategy to keep girls in school. Are there environments where financial incentives work better than others?

B. What would Malala say?

Millennium Development Goal 3 focuses on promoting gender equality and empowering women. A target of this goal is to "eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015." (http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals)

Write Malala's next speech to the U.N. General Assembly in the fall of 2015, in which she addresses the status of MDG 3. What recommendations will she make to the U.N. bodies in order to ensure that the aims of the goals will be accomplished? Draw on Malala's efforts and activities as illustrated in her book. Limit: 1,000 words.

Group Activities

C. Debate: Is education a human right?

Malala appeared in front of the United Nations and paid homage to all girls, boys, and women who claimed their right to an education. Primary schooling is specifically cited as a right in international conventions, and states are also encouraged to provide for secondary and higher education. But does educating children beyond primary school carry with it the same duties and obligations as other rights?

Using Malala's experience as a starting point, divide the class into two groups and debate the question, Should states be held accountable for education of their children and youth?

D. Gender analysis on education in Pakistan group project

In small groups of three or four people, you will be conducting a gender analysis of education in Pakistan. Using Malala's memoir as a primary source, you will write a two-page policy brief including recommendations to inform a donor-funded program to support gender-based education development projects in Pakistan.

Your brief should cover USAID's Six Domains of Gender Analysis (see right column), and your recommendations should address the following questions:

- What are key gender issues that might affect the ability of a project to achieve its goals or prevent women and men from benefiting equally?

- Does the gender analysis suggest that without any proactive intervention there will be gender imbalance in projects?

- What types of data should be collected to track the gender-related project impacts?

- What might be some potential unintended consequences?

Your gender analysis should use as your primary source Malala's memoir.

It should also include an investigation of secondary sources related to Pakistan's laws, policies, and institutional, social, and religious practices and/or other research reports and literature.

USAID'S SIX DOMAINS OF GENDER ANALYSIS

Source: USAID Tips for Conducting a
Gender Analysis at the Activity or Project Level
http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1865/201sae.pdf

Access
This domain refers to a person's ability to use the necessary resources to be a fully active and productive participant (socially, economically, and politically) in society. It includes access to resources, income, services, employment, information, and benefits.

Knowledge, Belief, and Perceptions
This domain refers to the types of knowledge that men and women possess, the beliefs that shape gender identities and behavior, and the different perceptions that guide people's understanding of their lives, depending upon their gender identity.

Practices and Participation
This domain refers to people's behaviors and actions in life—what they actually do—and how this varies by gender roles and responsibilities. The questions cover not only current patterns of action but also the ways in which men and women may engage differently in development activities. Types of action include attendance at meetings and training courses, and accepting or seeking out services. Participation can be both active and passive.

Time and Space
This domain recognizes gender differences in the availability and allocation of time and the locations in which time is spent. It considers the division of both productive and reproductive labor; the identification of how time is spent during the day (week, month, or year, and in different seasons); and how men and women each contribute to the welfare of the family, community, and society. The objective of this domain is to determine how men and women spend their time and what implications their time commitments have on their availability for program activities.

Legal Rights and Status
This domain involves assessing how people are regarded and treated by customary legal codes, formal legal codes, and judicial systems. The domain encompasses legal documentation such as identification cards, voter registration, and property titles.

Additionally, the domain includes the right to inheritance, employment, atonement of wrongs, and legal representation.

Power and Decision Making
This domain pertains to the ability of people to decide, influence, control, and enforce personal and governmental power. It refers to one's capacity to make decisions freely and to exercise power over one's body, within a household, community, municipality, and state. This domain also details the capacity of adults to make household and individual economic decisions, including the use of household and individual economic resources, income, and their choice of employment. Additionally, this domain describes the decision to vote, run for office, enter into legal contracts, etc.

PART 4

Resources

Articles and Reports

Ahmad, I., Rauf, M., Rashid, A., Rehman, S. & Salam, M. (2013). Analysis of the Problems of Primary Education System in Pakistan: Critical Review of the Literature. *Academic Research International, 4 (2),* 324-331.

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International Conventions Related to Education

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights
- The Millennium Development Goals

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CULTURAL POLITICS, GENDER, AND HISTORY IN MALALA YOUSAFZAI'S I AM MALALA

BY KAVITA DAIYA

P A R T   1

Introduction

In order to appreciate the cultural issues around female experiences brought forward by Malala Yousafzai's memoir, *I Am Malala*, it is important to situate the memoir historically and read it as a part of a particular cultural and political context in Pakistan. In this essay, I will connect culture and history through the following:

- A discussion of how Malala Yousafzai's narrative illuminates common cultural practices around the place of girls in the family in modern South Asia

- An examination of the connections between cultural practices shaping girls' experiences and the history of secularism in Pakistan

Culture and History

From a Euro-American vantage point, it may be tempting to approach Malala's memoir as evidence of the incompleteness of Pakistan's modernity or of how "women in the Global South" are victims of their own cultures and traditions. In such approaches, readers tend to reductively homogenize whole communities and cultures, erasing the complex diversity in them to produce one simplistic idea about a place; examples would include "exotic India," "underdeveloped Africa," or "repressive China." Historically, many Western feminists have participated in producing stereotypical and ahistorical images of women from the so-called third world as simplistic victims of their "cultures." Many recent feminist critics like Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and bell hooks have criticized these accounts, which not only stereotype and dehistoricize cultures but also ignore how girls and women in non-European contexts criticize, negotiate, and challenge the violence and discrimination they face. Malala's memoir should be read as part of this tradition of critique and

dissent if we do not want to reduce her to this stereotype of third world woman/victim. As Malala also insists, "I don't want to be thought of as the 'girl who was shot by the Taliban' but the 'girl who fought for education. ' " (152-153) If we want to understand Malala, as she herself wishes, as an active, resistant, and political actor in her Pakistani and Muslim community, then we have to attend to the history of Pakistan and secularism, which profoundly shapes her as a political subject.

Pakistan is a relatively young nation: It was formed in August 1947 when the British decolonized the Indian subcontinent. At the same time that the British granted India independence, they also divided it and created two countries, Pakistan and India. Having stoked fears on the part of Muslims that they would be oppressed in a free India, as they were outnumbered by Hindus, the British enacted a partition along religious lines. Many Muslim-majority regions formed "Pakistan," and Hindu-majority areas were named "India." Pakistan became independent on Aug. 14, 1947, and India on Aug. 15, 1947. Thus, from the start, the popular understanding was that Pakistan was created "for Muslims," so that they would not be a minority in what was a Hindu-majority India. Following this partition, approximately 7 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan; called *mohajirs*, or migrants, they faced discrimination as outsiders. As a result, they eventually mobilized themselves and became a political force: the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). Malala also refers to the mohajirs and their political clout: "The MQM is a very organised movement and the mohajir community sticks together." (111) In part, the large scale of Partition migrations was a consequence of religious violence; when the locations of the borders were announced by radio on Aug. 16, Hindus and Sikhs attacked Muslims and vice versa. Approximately 2 million people died in the span of one year, while by official counts, 5

million Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan for India, and 7 million Muslims left India for Pakistan. In this, as in other moments of ethnic conflict, women became targets of terrible sexual violence, mutilation, abduction, and commodification. The experience and enduring impact of this gendered ethnic violence have been the focus of much research, including my first book, *Violent Belongings: Partition, Gender and National Culture in Postcolonial India* ([2008] 2013).

Subsequently, as feminist historians Ritu Menon and Kamala Bhasin detail, from 1948 till 1956, both India and Pakistan agreed to forcibly repatriate and "exchange" the over 100,000 women who had been abducted, regardless of the women's own wishes. They were also forced to leave behind any children they had after their abduction. Enacted at the scale of the nation-state, this dehumanizing action formally cast women as property that "belonged" to both the ethnic community they were born in and the nation. This idea that women are not equal citizens but rather that they "belong" to the nation and community—also operative in other conflict zones from Bosnia to Rwanda—has continued to shape women's experiences during conflict.

Secularism and Gender

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, had originally intended for Pakistan to be a Muslim country but a constitutionally secular state in which all communities— Hindu, Christian, Parsi, Sikh, Muslim—lived peacefully, and women and men had equal rights (21, 49). However, he passed away shortly after independence, and since then, the Pakistani government has had a checkered relationship with institutions of secularism. In Chapter 20, Malala refers to this history when she describes her trip to Jinnah's tomb in Karachi. She asserts how Jinnah had dreamed of a secular and inclusive Pakistan when he had founded the country. After 1947, ethnic minorities including many Hindus, Parsis, Jews, and Sikhs left the country, fleeing religious persecution. After Jinnah, successive political leaders colluded with the Army and religious groups as they jockeyed for political power. As political power shifted back and forth from democratic forces to the military in different decades, the period from 1977 to 1988 under the military dictator Zia ul Haq saw a mass movement sweeping the countryside and the cities of Pakistan that argued for the radical Islamization of both state and civil society. While religious parties were able to consolidate popular support from a largely uneducated and unemployed youth, as there was little industry in the fledgling nation to support the growth of a middle class, the Harvard- and Oxford- educated political elite often made compromises with the Army and the religious parties to preserve their power. Malala observes in her memoir that General Zia argued that the Army's government was "pursuing Islamic principles" and opened many religious schools across the country. He ushered in much repression, from setting up "prayer

committees in every district" and "prayer inspectors" to changing laws so that a woman's word in court counted for "only half that of a man's." (21)

The film *Khamosh Pani* (*Silent Waters, 2003*) by notable Pakistani independent filmmaker Sabiha Sumar captures this transformation poignantly, tracing how it affects the life of a female Partition survivor in rural Pakistan. The film depicts the experience of rape and sexual violence that women experienced during the 1947 Partition, and connects it with how women again became increasingly erased from public life and stripped of equal rights with General Zia's 1979 Islamization of Pakistan. *Khamosh Pani* won critical acclaim at film festivals globally.

Alongside this, any understanding of Pakistan must consider how it was and continues to be affected by the political history of its neighbor Afghanistan; indeed, the rise to power of the Taliban in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa region, formerly known as North West Frontier Province, where Malala is from, is not unrelated to the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan during the Cold War. From 1979 to 1988, the United States covertly funded, trained, and armed mujahideen militants through Pakistan, creating what became the Taliban to resist the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. Malala is keenly aware of and criticizes both Zia's Islamization and the American involvement in Cold War Taliban politics and support of Pakistan's military rulers. As Malala also mentions, in 1979, once Russia invaded Afghanistan and the U.S.-supported shah of Iran was overthrown, the U.S. lost its regional base in Iran and so shifted to Pakistan: "Billions of dollars flowed into our exchequer from the United States … and weapons to help the ISI [Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence Agency] train the Afghans to fight the [Russian] communist Red Army. General Zia was invited to meet President Ronald Reagan at the White House … The US government lavished praise on him." (22)

Girls and Male Privilege

If we approach culture as a historically changing set of learned and shared ideas and practices, then we can understand better how the cultural privileging of boys manifests itself in different ways across the world. Malala's memoir shows how poor families in Pakistan and many other parts of South Asia endeavor to ensure that the boys get some kind of education and often care less if their daughter remains illiterate, because she does not need to be educated to assume the expected role of wife and mother. In an early moment in her narrative, describing the birth of her younger brother, Malala recalls, "My mother had been waiting for a son and could not hide her joy when he was born. To me he seemed very thin and small, like a reed that could snap in the wind, but he was the apple of her eye, her *ladla*. It seemed to me that his every wish was her command." (16) This moment where Malala

recognizes the inequality between her and her brother's treatment signals how, from the moment they are born, male children are prized and privileged over female children in a large majority of families in South Asia. This has terrible implications for girl children. The powerful documentary *It's a Girl* (2012) shows that female infanticide has generated a massive gap in the population ratio of men to women across a large part of Asia, where, according to the United Nations, an estimated 200 million women are missing due to gendercide. The social organization of South Asia's many communities is largely patriarchal. Many believe that the son will eventually care for the parents when they are old, providing a safety net for the future in a society without any state-sponsored social security. The son therefore is to be prized; the daughter, however, will marry and leave for her husband's family. She is thus often seen as an economic burden, even as she performs unrecognized but valuable labor in the fields and the home for her family.

These patriarchal ideas that the son is superior to the daughter prevail in middle-class and wealthy families as well. It is not uncommon therefore to see, as Malala describes, the husband and son in the family getting the choice meats at dinnertime, or more food, more milk or eggs, which is expensive, while the daughter-in-law or daughter gets less or none (21-22). This kind of discrimination is both subtle and deeply unfair, as it inhabits the intimate relations of a family and indelibly will shape the sense of self-worth as well as physical health of the girls and women in the family. Malala is able to cast a critical lens on this, because her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, who is educated, liberated, and fair-minded, rejects this gender-based way of treating girls as less, and she embraces his perspective. Because of his education and support, she is able to challenge gender inequality within her culture. But many others are not so fortunate. In 2009, I investigated the tragic and untimely death of my 34-year-old cousin Kavita, married into a very rich family in Mumbai, India. I learned that in the four years of her marriage, she had been tortured and abused in various ways, including the deprivation of food. Sometimes the house servant would sneak a sandwich into her room out of pity; sometimes she got food through her sister. This family hid bars of gold in their wardrobes and bank lockers, and yet withheld nutritious food from my cousin. This is not an isolated story: Most girls learn early that they can expect to get less food than boys.

Cultural Politics and Women's Struggles

"We talked about how things happen for different reasons, this happened to me, and how education for females not just males is one of our Islamic rights. I was speaking up for my right as a Muslim woman to be able to go to school." (141)

This is a poignant moment, underscoring how at the heart of Malala's story is a vulnerable girl child wanting only to go to school to learn things about her own life and the world. It is also a powerful moment in which Malala is showing us a complex vision of Pakistani culture: one that allows debate and dissent on what actually IS Pakistani and Islamic culture. That secularism is a problematic and contested idea in Pakistan is apparent even in Malala's text. She discovers that the Taliban have named her as a target only when she happens to meet the Pakistani-American journalist Shehla Anjum on a visit to Karachi, and Anjum mentions this to her: "We didn't know what she was talking about so she went on the Internet and showed us that the Taliban had that day issued threats against two women—Shad Begum, an activist in Dir, and me, Malala. 'These two are spreading secularism and should be killed,' it said." (112) In response to the Taliban's claim that education is un-Islamic and "Western," Malala asserts: "Today we all know education is our basic right. Not just in the West; Islam too has given us this right. Islam says every girl and every boy should go to school. In the Quran it is written, God wants us to have knowledge. " (263) Similarly, later in the narrative, she argues, "I love my God. I thank my Allah. I talk to him all day. He is the greatest. By giving me this height to reach people, he has also given me great responsibilities. Peace in every home, every street, every village, every country—this is my dream. Education for every boy and every girl in the world. To sit down on a chair and read my books with all my friends at school is my right." (265)

The Taliban's view of culture, and of women's role as silent property, is thus being challenged by Malala, civil society, and now the government. Toward the end of her memoir, Malala notes how many girls' schools and colleges in Pakistani cities had been attacked and bombed since she left for England. It is very clear that even when segregated in all-girls schools and colleges, where thousands of Pakistani parents are sending their girls to get an education that they hope might lead them to a better life, female education is not acceptable to the Taliban. What is at stake then is both the autonomy and rights of local Pakistanis, as well as the very place and personhood of the girl child—within the family and home, and outside in public life and in the institutions of civil society, like schools.

Individual Activities

1. Investigate the difference between urban and rural women's schools and colleges in Pakistan. How many exist in the major cities like Karachi and Lahore, and how many in rural areas? What challenges do they face?

2. Identify and discuss the textual moments where Malala sets out her political opinions about women, secularism, and culture. What can we glean from this dialogue about how she views modern Islamic identity?

3. A new Pakistani animated series about a female superhero, *Burka Avenger*, also advocates for the value of education as Malala does. Identify and view an episode from this series, and explain how it resonates with or differs from Malala's memoir.

Group Activities

1. Watch Sabiha Sumar's film *Silent Waters*. Discuss how women's lives are depicted in the film. What factors have a negative impact on the different women's lives, in the public sphere and in their private lives, across the generations?

2. Watch the documentary *It's a Girl*, and identify the various factors that generate gendercide according to the film. Then discuss strategies the film identifies that can combat and end gendercide, and how they can be implemented. Discuss how the documentary connects with the memoir: What are the points of congruence and divergence?

3. Study three different feminist activists or women's organizations in Pakistan (some listed below). Identify the focal issue for the activists or organizations—be it education, human rights, rape laws, domestic violence, rural development, etc.—and the method by which they articulate their resistance and projects. Together, discuss the outcome of each one's struggle, and map out their similarities and differences, their strengths and limitations.

Pakistani writing on women:

Nadeem Aslam's poignant novel *Maps for Lost Lovers* takes up the issue of violence against women in Pakistani culture through the representation of love and marriage. We can thus place Malala's memoir in its larger literary context of Pakistani, and more broadly South Asian, literature by reading it alongside works like Aslam's novel, Bapsi Sidhwa's novels *The Bride* and *Cracking India*, Talat Abbasi's short stories in *Bitter Gourd and Other Short Stories*, Kamila Shamsie's novel *Salt and Saffron*, Sara Suleri's memoir *Meatless Days*, and others.

Historical and cultural works:

Irfan Husain, Fatal Faultlines: *Pakistan, Islam, and the West*

Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*

Ayesha Jalal, "The Convenience of Subservience: Women and the State of Pakistan," in *Women, Islam and the State*, edited by Deniz Kandiyoti

Women's organizations:

- The Sarhad Rural Support Program
- Women Media Center
- Aurat Foundation
- All Pakistan Women's Association
- Blue Veins
- Sindhiani Tahreek
- Society for Appraisal and Women Empowerment in Rural Areas
- The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan

Prominent activists:

- Munawar Khan
- Muneeza Shamsie
- Asma Jahangir
- Mukhtar Mai
- Tehmina Durrani
- Samar Minallah
- Shad Begum
- Malalai Joya
- Sakena Yacoobi

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RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

BY KELLY PEMBERTON

PART 1

Introduction

Islam in Its Religious and Cultural Manifestations

Characterized alternately as a religion of peace, ecumenism, and gender egalitarianism, or as a faith predisposed to intolerance, extremism, and misogyny, Islam is arguably the most misunderstood religion of the 21st century. Discussions of Islam are rarely informed by a grounded understanding of its foundations or of its varied manifestations in different cultural, political, and religious contexts. While Islam is often cited in the mass media as the cause of the oppression of women in Muslim-majority nations, it is much less explored as a force for progressive change in the world. Yet when examined critically, both in its foundational context and in light of major developments taking place among religiously observant Muslims today, it is clear that Islam can, and does, operate as such a force. The theme "Religion and Religious Extremism" addresses the challenges of assessing Islam in its religious, sociocultural, and political manifestations. By religion we mean the faith-based beliefs and practices that Muslims observe. By sociocultural we mean the variety of social relationships and customary practices that are associated with Muslim communities. These practices are controversial among Muslims because some, such as pilgrimage to the tombs of deceased holy men and women other than the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad,[1] festive celebrations of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday *(milad)*, or hiring a female dancer to perform at a wedding, are considered to be outside the pale of Islamic faith and within the realm of extra-Islamic regional or local cultural observations.

Operating from the assumption that it is impossible to speak of a single, monolithic Islam, yet that there is something about Islam as a religion (belief, practice) and culture (moral guide, way of living) that has the power to unite the majority of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims as a community of believers, we will discuss

- the problematics of defining Islam
- the varied forms that Islam takes in different social and cultural contexts,
- the question of extremism in Islam
- how Muslim girls and women (and the men who support them) have been transforming Islam into a force for progressive change in the world today

These themes are all evident in Malala Yousafzai's memoir, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*. Through Malala's story we learn about the ways in which Islam is expressed, lived, interpreted, and manipulated.

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[1] The salawat, "salah allahu alaihi wa sallam," is a phrase that Muslims use to pronounce blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad. Sometimes the phrase is abbreviated as SAW or PBUH for "peace be upon him," but these abbreviations are controversial and, to some, suggest a lack of respect. With this in mind, we have used the full salawat in Arabic, as a superscript, in line with contemporary literary conventions seen in texts about Islam.

The Challenges of Defining Islam as it Relates to Gender

Many of the problematics of defining Islam's views on gender stem from some of the foundational teachings in the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's sunna (teaching and practice), including the rights and obligations of women and girls, and male-female relationships. For example, women have the right to attach conditions to their marriage contract, such as the right to continue pursuing their education after marriage. As wives, women are obliged to care for and show respect to their husbands. This is a mutual obligation: The husband, who is required to spend his income to take care of his family (while his wife is not obliged to spend her income on the family), is commanded in the Qur'an to respect his wife and to treat her with kindness and love. While it is commonly assumed that there is a readily identifiable core of Islam, the evidence in these two sources suggests that there were multiple understandings of orthopraxy (correct practice) and "authentic" beliefs even among the first few generations of Muslims. Malala's story illustrates some of these problematics. For example, her father's commitment to the education of girls, a passion shared by his young daughter, is atypical of men and women in his Pashtun community yet wholly in conformity with the foundational teachings of the Qur'an and the sunna of the Prophet. These teachings emphasize that knowledge is to be sought after by both men and women, boys and girls. The history of Islam, from its earliest origins, is filled with examples of Muslim girls and women who were renowned as scholars, including and especially the Prophet's young wife Aishah, who transmitted a large number of hadith (reports) about the Prophet Muhammad. These hadith, which are also considered part of the sunna of the Prophet, are one of the two most important textual sources of the faith for Muslims, second only to the Qur'an. As a famous hadith of Prophet Muhammad says, Muslims should "seek knowledge even as far as China."

The Varied Forms of Islam

The early forms of Islam reflect multiple understandings and beliefs among Muslims. These include 1) the split between Sunni and Shia Muslims, which began in the late seventh century, 2) the appearance of alternative communities (such as the Qarmatians and the mystics of Islam, or the Sufis), and 3) the impact of pre-Islamic (and non-Muslim) cultures on the development of Islam and Islamic texts and institutions. An evaluation of these divisions will serve as a departure point for understanding how cultural and social contexts as well as key historical and political developments over time have shaped the multiple forms that Islam has taken around the world. It is commonplace to hear that the forms of Islam practiced by Muslims in countries like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia, India, and Nigeria look very different from each other. Likewise, the forms of

Islam practiced by communities within these countries can look very different, too. For example, celebrations of major Islamic holidays are often combined with observances of locally significant commemorative events, and the significance of ethnic identity distinguishes Pashtun Muslims like Malala and her family from other Muslims in South Asia and the rest of the world. Still, there are key elements that unite Muslims across these countries and cultural contexts. Some of the elements include the reverence that is accorded the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad, and the ideal of Islamic sharia as a moral guiding force for Muslims (the latter differs from Islamic sharia as applied to the law, or *fiqh*). Malala's story illustrates how sectarian and ethnic divisions can trump adherence to the foundational teachings of Islam, yet it also demonstrates how Pashtuns participate in a community of shared identities with other Muslims globally. For instance, Malala's struggle is a continuation of the nonviolence philosophy of Bacha Khan (Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan), a prominent Pashtun activist who struggled with Mahatma Gandhi for India's independence from the British. As a spiritual leader, Bacha Khan also practiced and taught the ethics of Islamic "sageness" and enlightenment—the basic moral principles of Pashtunwali and the indigenous, egalitarian-minded Pashtun society that are fully aligned with universal humanism and bonding. As Malala pointed out at the UN, "Pashtuns want education for their daughters and sons. " Malala's narrative identifies the root causes of conflicts and how diverse perspectives and divisions have led to the development of extremist beliefs and practices among some Muslims, including those concerning gender roles and the complex relationships and agendas created in war and peace. One of the most notorious groups promoting these extremist beliefs and practices in Afghanistan and Pakistan as "true" Islam is the Taliban. Ultimately, Malala's arguments provide a venue to study and analyze the lives and struggle of Pashtuns and Muslims and to address the root causes of conflict and war being played out in her land.

Radical Islamic Extremism

In Malala's story we see how the rise of the Taliban and their supporters in Swat and other areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan was fueled by transformational political and cultural factors, such as the Islamization policies pursued by the regime of Pakistan's General Zia ul-Haq in the 1980s; the U.S.-sponsored curriculum (published with support of the University of Nebraska), which taught schoolchildren the basics of counting with illustrations featuring Kalashnikovs, tanks, and land mines and glorified Jihadi culture; the impact of Westernization and wars of aggression waged by Western nations in South Asia and the Middle East, and the growth of development and other schemes focused on increasing women's rights in Muslim-majority nations. Some Muslims became radicalized as a result of the direct support and encouragement by the West, and some understood this to be a war on their religion and culture(s), and/or their

governments' pandering to the agendas of Western nations. The third aspect of this thematic study explores the issue of religious extremism in light of factors like these in order to answer key questions that have been posed since the rise of religious extremism among groups claiming to represent Islam. Some of these questions include the following: If Islam is not predisposed to extremism, as so many Muslims and non-Muslims alike have tried to show, then how should we understand the rise of extremist groups like the Taliban? And why have such groups attacked the rights of women and girls in particular as a key part of their (mis) interpretation of Islam in the 20th and 21st centuries?

Islam: A Progressive Force for Change

Malala's advocacy and activism exemplify a growing trend across the Muslim world: how women and girls have been contributing to the transformation of Islam as a force for peace and progressive change. This trend began in the early 1990s, when scholars and activists began speaking of a specifically "Islamic" feminism that espoused gender equity (or equality) and that focused on defining women's rights issues through the lens of Islamic frameworks of understanding. Some call this the "gender jihad" after scholar-activist Amina Wadud's book. The idea of a "gender jihad," or battle waged for women's full human rights, has taken place over the past three decades through a number of different and often crosscutting frameworks, such as legal rights, political participation, and greater representation in educational institutions and the formal labor market.

Indonesia provides one of the most striking examples: With the overthrow of the Suharto regime in the late 1990s, the new government of Abdurrahman Wahid committed itself to fostering gender equality. Seeking to bring more women into the mainstream of public space, the state encouraged women to enroll in the *pesantren*, or Islamic schools (which constitute about 35 percent of all schools in Indonesia). Afterward, many of these graduates not only became professors in Islamic universities, they also became successful advocates for women's rights issues, including marriage and divorce rights, and anti-domestic violence campaigns. In Egypt, Morocco, and India, Muslim feminists and grassroots activists from across the political and ideological spectrum have waged similar battles for changes to "family law" (marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance, all governed by Islamic sharia in these countries), using textual exegesis of the Qur'an and hadith to argue for women's rights. Recently, the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan have sought to increase state control of the religious schools (*dini madaris* in Urdu) to combat gender stereotypes and encourage girls' greater participation in these institutions. With increased access to the type of religious education that promotes the tolerant, gender-egalitarian, and humanistic aspects of Islam, women and girls and their male supporters alike are increasingly using the foundational texts and teachings of the religion (such as the Qur'an and hadith) to advocate for gender equity, in particular the right to equal educational opportunities for Muslim girls and women.

PART 2

Individual Activities

Analytical research paper(s)

The(se) research paper(s) will engage one of the following themes:

- the forms that Islam can take in different cultural contexts (including and especially in Pakistan)

- compare and contrast Islam and forms of religious extremism in light of past and current debates about women and gender (e.g., that women should not be too highly educated, since their primary role is to become wives and mothers; that the mixing of the genders in public spaces leads to the moral corruption of women; that gender segregation is a way of "protecting" women from the vices of men in public spaces; that women are a temptation and a vice to be avoided by men; that a man should never be "ruled"

by a woman; that Islam gives men the right to beat their wives; that a woman's body and hair are *awra* [sexually arousing] and thus should be completely covered from the eyes of unrelated men). Relate one or more of these issues to events that take place in the book. What is the range of attitudes you can discern about "Islamic propriety" regarding the relationships between men and women (in private, domestic, and wider/common public spaces)?

- how are women and girls contributing to the transformation of Islam as a force for progressive change? What concurrent factors (e.g., political, economic, cultural, social) have helped bring about these transformations? Which of these factors stood out as germane to Malala's story (and the evolving story of girls' education in Pakistan and around the world)?

Individual PowerPoint presentation (narrated in class, or with recorded narration)

The presentation should touch upon one of the themes explored in this lesson: similarities and differences in the practice of Islam ("lived Islam") in various cultural contexts, Islam vs. religious extremism, or Islam and gender activism. The presentation may be narrated in person in class, or designed as a pre-recorded narration.

In-class narration

The PowerPoint presentation should touch on one of the following themes in a single country or cultural (e.g., Pakistani, Pashtun, Swati) context. The presentation must consist of at least 12 slides (including title slide), all of which are directly relevant to your chosen subject and theme. You should create slides using both images and words, but you may choose how many of each to use. Present this slide show in class, with explanation of the content you have included on the slides.

Recorded narration

You must narrate the slides in addition to providing citations and notes to support your data. Narrations need not be extensive, though they should be detailed and specific. Keep the entire narrated presentation between 7 and 10 minutes long.

PART 3

Group Activities

Roundtable debate

For this assignment, each participant chooses a position to defend with three pieces of evidence. The debate can be designed to take up an entire class session, Alternatively, each participant may be given five to seven minutes to speak, with classwide discussion taking place at the end of each roundtable.

Joint PowerPoint presentation

This presentation would be similar to the one described above, and would similarly touch on one of the themes outlined for the analytical research paper, but in multiple country/cultural contexts (with each panelist taking on a single country). This could be presented in class, with responses/questions from the entire class coming at the end of the presentation, or online, with pre-recorded narrations from each panelist. Responses to the presentation from other class members may also be included as part of this assignment: Responses will be posted to online class discussion boards, chat rooms, or other collaborative venues (such as Blackboard Collaborate).

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*For more information about the resource guide, visit **malala.gwu.edu** or **www.malala.org**.*

MALALA AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

BY MARY ELLSBERG

PART 1

Introduction

The attempted murder of Malala Yousafzai by the Taliban for speaking out for girls' education and peace can be viewed as an isolated act by religious extremists. But it is also emblematic of the discrimination and violence that women and girls throughout the world are subjected to because of their gender. This narrative will explore the global phenomenon of violence against women and girls through the lens of Malala's story by addressing the following topics:

1. One girl's story: Malala's story as an act of violence against women and girls

2. The world as we know it: Violence against women today

3. Taking action: Standing up to violence against women and girls

One Girl's Story: Malala's Story as an Act of Violence Against Women and Girls

In the first pages of her memoir, Malala points out how poorly girls are valued in her community and in the Muslim world, as compared with boys. "When I was born, people in our village commiserated with my mother and nobody congratulated my father… I was a girl in a land where rifles are fired in celebration of a son, while daughters are hidden away behind a curtain, their role in life simply to prepare food and give birth to children" (Page 13) Malala's upbringing was unusual for her setting: Her father encouraged her to excel academically, to speak up, and to dream of a future where she could participate actively in society, as a doctor, a politician, or whatever else she desired. These aspirations led her to reject the growing restrictions on her education and mobility by the Taliban and to speak out publicly to defend her own rights and those of her schoolmates.

The Taliban's violent response was an attempt not only to silence Malala's voice as a human rights defender and peace activist but also to reinforce patriarchal and extremist values that keep women and girls in the shadows of society. Sadly, Malala's story is not unique. Throughout the world, girls are neglected, denied education, physically mistreated, sexually abused, sold into slavery, mutilated, and married against their will in the name of tradition, religion, honor, and male entitlement. Women's human rights defenders are threatened, beaten, raped, and murdered in order to keep them from speaking out. There is not a country in the world devoid of abuse, violence, and discrimination against women. However, thanks to the courage of girls like Malala and men like Ziauddin Yousafzai, Malala's father, international efforts to end all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls have become increasingly visible.

The World as We Know It: Violence Against Women and Girls Today

"It's not just the Taliban killing children… Sometimes it's drone attacks, sometimes it's wars, sometimes it's hunger. And sometimes it's their own family. In June two girls my age were murdered in Gilgit … for posting a video online showing themselves dancing in the rain wearing traditional dress and headscarves. Apparently their own stepbrother shot them." (*I am Malala*, Page 312)

Violence against women and girls, also referred to as gender-based violence, is one of the most pervasive and underreported human rights violations in the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that approximately one in three women in the world will experience physical or sexual violence at some point in their lives.[1] This violence takes many forms, from physical and sexual assault by intimate partners and family members to child marriage, trafficking, female genital mutilation, femicide, and violence in the name of "honor," tradition, or religion. The types of violence that women and girls face vary according to their social, ethnic, cultural, and religious background, their economic circumstances, and their age. What links all these acts is that they are overwhelmingly more likely to be committed by men against women and that the main purpose of the violence is to maintain a system of women's subordination to men.

According to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), violence against women "…refers to any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." This definition includes but is not limited to:

- physical violence, such as slapping, kicking, hitting, or use of weapons

- emotional abuse, such as systematic humiliation, controlling behavior, degrading treatment, insults, and threats

- sexual violence, including coerced sex or being forced into sexual activities considered degrading or humiliating

- denial of resources, services, and opportunities also known as economic abuse, such as restricting access to financial, health, educational, or other resources with the purpose of controlling or subjugating a person

Violence against women and girls can take place within the family and the community; it can be perpetrated or condoned by governments or social structures. Both men and women can be victims or agents of violence, but the characteristics of violence commonly committed against women and men differ. Women and girls are much more likely than men to be physically assaulted or murdered by someone they know—often a family member or intimate partner. They are also at much greater risk of being sexually assaulted or exploited, in childhood, adolescence, or adulthood. Men are the main perpetrators of violence against men as well as against women.[2]

The costs of violence against women and girls are enormous, for women themselves, their families, and for society as a whole. The impact of violence on women's health and well-being has been documented in serious health problems ranging from injuries, chronic pain, and gastrointestinal disorders to mental health problems such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder as well as pregnancy complications, and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS. Intimate partner violence is a major cause of death among women, due to femicide as well as suicide. Women who are physically abused in pregnancy are more likely to have a low-birth-weight baby, and to have a child die before the age of 5. The effects of violence extend to future generations; boys who witness their father's violence against their mothers are more likely to abuse their own partners, and girls who witness violence are more likely to experience violence as adolescents and adults.[3]

The economic and social costs of violence are also significant. The World Bank estimates that the costs of intimate partner violence, in terms of lost productivity and public expenditures, are as much as 2 percent of GDP, which is more than many countries spend on primary education. Violence is also a major barrier to girls' education. Several studies in Africa and South Asia have found that sexual violence in schools is common, and many girls drop out of school because of violence, unintended pregnancy, or being married by their families, often to much older men.[4]

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[1] WHO, LSTHM, and MRC. *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-partner Sexual Violence*. 2013 pg. 2.

[2] Morrison, A, Ellsberg, M, Bott, S. Addressing Gender-Based Violence: A Critical Review of Interventions. *The World Bank Research Observer* 2007; 22, 25-51.

[3] Ellsberg, M., H. A. Jansen, et al. Intimate partner violence and women's physical and mental health in the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence: an observational study. *The Lancet* 2008; 371(9619): 1165-72.

[4] World Bank Group (2014). *Voice and agency: Empowering women and girls for shared prosperity*. Washington, D.C.

Despite the high costs of violence against women and girls, laws and social norms in nearly every society in the world legitimize, obscure, and deny abuse. The same acts that would be punished if directed at an employer, a neighbor, or an acquaintance often go unchallenged when men direct them at women, especially within the family.

The causes of violence against women and girls are complex and shaped by forces operating at the levels of individuals, relationships, communities, and societies. Key risk factors include exposure to violence as a child, low educational levels of men and women, male alcohol abuse, male control of household decision making and wealth, cultural norms supporting violence as a way of resolving conflicts, male dominance over women, and policies and laws that discriminate against women, for example, by restricting their mobility, ability to get divorce, and rights to property and assets. In many countries some forms of violence (for example, marital rape) are not criminalized, and women often suffer additional stigma and abuse when they try to report violence committed against them to their families, police, and other authorities.[5]

Taking Action: Standing Up to Violence Against Women and Girls

For over three decades, women's advocacy groups around the world have focused attention on the physical, psychological, and sexual abuse of women and called for political action. They have provided abused women with shelter, lobbied for legal reforms, and challenged the widespread attitudes and beliefs that support violence against women and girls. Increasingly, these efforts are having an effect, and now policies and laws to address violence against women and girls figure prominently on the international development agenda. Numerous international documents, including the Beijing Platform for Action and the United Nations Resolution on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, commit governments to take necessary

measures to eliminate violence against women and girls, and establish indicators for monitoring governments' progress. According to a recent World Bank report,[6] 75 out of 100 countries studied have enacted laws to criminalize domestic violence and sexual violence against women. Even the U.N. Security Council has passed several landmark resolutions addressing sexual violence in conflict settings[7] and recognizing the necessity of including women's voices in peace and security issues. To date, most efforts have focused on increasing women's access to justice, through better laws to protect women and girls and to increase sanctions on offenders, as well as providing safe haven and compassionate care for survivors of violence. Although these constitute important first steps, experience has shown that laws and services by themselves are not sufficient to effectively improve the lives of women and girls, as evidenced by Malala's struggle for girls' education. Prevention of violence is equally important, and the cornerstone of prevention is ensuring that women have access to the information, education, resources, and ability to make decisions regarding their lives.

A key component of violence prevention involves challenging social norms regarding appropriate roles and responsibilities for men and women. According to the World Health Organization's Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women[8], women in many countries believed that a husband would be justified in beating his wife for reasons such as disobedience, impertinence, failure to prepare food on time or adequately care for the children, questions about money or girlfriends, ventures outside the home without permission, refusing sex, or suspicions of infidelity. All of these represent transgressions of dominant gender norms in many societies. Malala's courage in challenging traditional views of appropriate behavior for girls in her community is an inspiration for women and girls everywhere who are standing up for their right to education, to work, to marry when and whom they choose, and to live free from violence of any kind.

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[5] Heise, L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. Violence Against Women, 4(3), 262-290.

[6] World Bank and International Finance Corporation, *Women, Business and the Law 2014*.

[7] See U.N. Resolution 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122   http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/index.shtml

[8] World Health Organization. *The WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women; Preliminary Findings*. Geneva, 2005.

Individual Activities

"Other Malalas": There are many other Malalas around the world, such as Fahma Mohamed, who spearheaded a campaign to provide education on female genital mutilation (FGM) in British schools, or Laxmi, the young woman in India who nearly died from having acid thrown in her face, and who now leads efforts to end acid assaults against women.

Research and write a short biography about these or other "Malalas," who can be either international or local figures. In your essay, consider the following:

- The form of violence she is protesting, notably its links to culture and tradition

- Her efforts to eliminate violence

- The challenges she has faced

- The progress she is making

- What will it take for this form of violence to be eliminated?

Different forms of violence: Violence against women takes many forms. Students will research and present to the class some of the many forms of violence against women that exist in the world today. These may include:

- Acid burning

- Female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C)

- Human trafficking

- Violence committed in the name of honor

- Child marriage

- Intimate partner violence

- Rape

- Violence against special groups of women (immigrants, women with disabilities, indigenous women)

- Other

In their projects, students will research where the form of violence is prevalent, what is its prevalence, and what measures are being taken to eliminate this form of violence. Measures may include national legislation, including enforcement, as well as civil society initiatives such as media campaigns, hotlines, shelters, and citizen activism. The essay will conclude by examining the effectiveness of these measures and raising questions as to what needs to happen next.

Standing up to violence against women and girls: Organizations and activists in every country and community advocate for women's rights and an end to violence against women and girls. Other campaigns, such as the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence, the White Ribbon Campaign, One Man Can, One Billion Rising, and Girls Not Brides, are global campaigns to raise awareness and encourage communities to stand up to violence. Students will research a group or campaign in their own country or community that is working to end violence against women and write a short essay about the organization/campaign. The essay should consider the following:

- How did the program start?

- What kind of violence does it address?

- What kind of approach does the program use? Is it trying to strengthen women's access to justice? To provide support for survivors of violence? To change social norms that support violence? To improve national laws and polices?

- What have been the program's most important achievements and challenges?

Group Activities

Film: Students will watch one of the suggested films addressing violence against women today. These can include *Girl Rising*, *Half the Sky*, *Very Young Girls*, *Maria en Tierra de Nadie*, among others.

Bring in guest speakers from a community program for battered women or from groups that work to prevent violence against women and girls to talk about their work.

Students read out loud in small groups the biography they wrote (in Individual Activity 1) and compare/contrast their lives with those of their chosen "Malala." This would include reflecting on their upbringing and the elements they may have taken for granted, and how this has led to their current situation of privilege (or not). Elements could include education, health, social norms, social support networks, broader legal system/protection, etc., that have enabled them to be where they are today.

Resources

Films:

Girl Rising, Half the Sky, Very Young Girls, Maria en Tierra de Nadie

Publications:

Heise, L. L. (2011). *What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview*. London, U.K., STRIVE Research Consortium, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine: xvii+108 pp.

Kristof, N & WuDunn, S. (2009). *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity Worldwide*.

Morrison, A, Ellsberg, M, Bott, S. Addressing Gender-Based Violence: A Critical Review of Interventions. *The World Bank Research Observer* 2007; 22, 25-51.

Solotaroff, Jennifer L., and Rohini Prabha Pande. 2014. *Violence Against Women and Girls: Lessons From South Asia. South Asia Development Forum*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank Group (2014). *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*. Washington, D.C.

World Health Organization. *The WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women; Preliminary Findings*. Geneva, 2005.

Websites:

(Organizations that work to end violence against women)

Breakthrough:
http://breakthrough.tv

Futures without Violence:
www.Futureswithoutviolence.org

GBV Prevention Network:
www.preventGBVAfrica.org

Half the Sky Movement:
www.halfthesky.org

International Center for Research on Women (ICRW):
www.icrw.org

Women Thrive:
www.womenthrive.org

Equality Now:
www.equalitynow.org

Vital Voices:
www.vitalvoices.org

Women for Women:
www.womenforwomen.org

UN Women:
www.unwomen.org

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MALALA LEADERSHIP ESSAY

BY MARY BUCKLEY

Introduction

"You must be the change you wish to see in the world."

~ Mahatma Gandhi

Malala Yousafzai, a young social change leader in Pakistan's Swat Valley, works on the basic human right of equal access to education for children around the world. Her vision stems from childhood experiences, and her political actions address needs she first identified within her local community. With strong support from her father, and a newly established foundation, Malala engages local participants, government administrators, and world leaders to advocate for policies that will effectively provide education to all citizens. This essay will examine Malala's leadership work, recognized internationally, through the following learning objectives:

- Leadership theories
- Malala's leadership style
- Leadership goals and strategies
- Collective action

Background

While Malala was in primary school, Taliban forces took control in the Swat Valley of Pakistan, and they issued a decree that all girls' schools be closed. Parents and teachers were threatened if they refused to comply. Malala's daily walk to school became dangerous when the Taliban patrols exerted power over the community's institutions and directed the local women to cover themselves, stay indoors, and travel with a male protector. Because these directives

were framed as deriving from religious teachings and were filtered through the valley in print and radio broadcasts, some community members sympathized with the edicts and joined the Taliban ranks and many chose to be silent. Ziauddin Yousafzai, Malala's father, was one of the few who spoke on national and international media resisting the Taliban's decree while promoting the rights of children to an education. He opposed the mandate and continued to keep his school open. In her memoir, Malala wrote of her father's actions and of the challenges Swat Valley social institutions encountered from political and religious factions. Eventually her actions gained outside community support and contributed to shaping a larger platform for universal access to education.

Leadership Overview

The concept of leadership is conditioned by cultural, religious, economic, political, and social conditions, and it is informed by historical and contemporary stories. Leadership topics can be traced throughout history; both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reference effective leadership qualities, and philosophers from Plato to Confucius, wrestled with the subject. For Muslims, Prophet Muhammad's ﷺ[1] life and actions serve as a model of good leadership. Legends, folk tales, adventure stories, and religious narratives detail individual feats or events that inspire a community to action and instill values.

An important historical figure for Pakistani and Afghan schoolchildren in the Pashtun culture is Malalai of Maiwand, for whom Malala Yousafzai is named. In 1880, Malalai,

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[1]The salawat, "salah allahu alaihi wa sallam", is a phrase that Muslims use to pronounce blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad. Sometimes the phrase is abbreviated as SAW or PBUH for "peace be upon him," but these abbreviations are controversial and to some, suggest a lack of respect. With this in mind, we have used the full salawat in Arabic, as a superscript, in line with contemporary literary conventions seen in texts about Islam.

a young Afghanistan heroine, rallied Pashtun people to continue their battle against British invaders. Malalai's story inspires Pashtun identity and core values, while connecting succeeding generations to Pashtunwali, the code of the Pashtuns, which includes centuries-old traditional principles of courage and generosity. In her text, Malala claims this leader as "our very own Joan of Arc." (Yousafzai 15)

Though no universally accepted definition of leadership exists, many contemporary writers identify leadership as a complex process that involves the engagement of a community working toward a shared goal, vision, or interest. Leaders act as a catalyst within an organization or community: initiating collective action around a common interest, accepting responsibility for completion of stated goals, communicating the community's position with outside partners, and exhibiting courage in the face of conflict.

The essential characteristics for a successful leader include vision, self-knowledge, critical thinking and problem-solving capacity, adept communication skills, personal integrity, and responsibility. At the outset of the text, Malala reveals her vision: a concept of equal access to education. Speaking at public events, first as an apprentice to her father and later as a featured guest, she has developed language skills and reasoning ability to effectively communicate her vision. When an opportunity opens for more dialogue or action, Malala seizes the invitation. She writes about her fear of public speaking and the greater responsibility to carry out the mission of access to education. In interviews, she responds insightfully to questions about the actions and decisions that affect education rights globally.

Charismatic leaders motivate and inspire others to take action. Malala identifies Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's former prime minister, as a powerful role model who embodied leadership qualities of charisma, political astuteness, and tough opposition to rivals. Prime Minister Bhutto received the 2008 United Nations Prize for Human Rights; following in her role model's footsteps, Malala Yousafzai was a 2013 recipient of the same prize. Recognizing the importance of community participation to effect significant policy change, Malala does not present herself as a heroic leader but as a humble and responsible member of a working group. In a 2013 U.N. speech to other young education advocates, Malala identified herself as "one girl among many," and she spoke of the philosophy of nonviolence learned from the work of Bacha Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, and Mother Teresa.

Integrity is viewed as an essential trait for effective leaders. Participants are willing to invest when they can rely on the leader's core values; trust inspires confidence. Malala accepts responsibility for working within existing community structures to implement change, and she speaks for those without a public platform. Writing about the U.N. speech she delivered in 2013, she states: "Deep in my heart I hoped to reach every child who could take courage from my words and stand up for his or her rights." (Yousafzai 310) She intended her speech to reach beyond the delegates in the room, to travel deep into the fault lines of poverty and give others hope and support.

Theories on Leadership: Western and Islamic Perspectives

Historically, stories of leaders who have inspired group actions often emphasize three elements: distinct traits, aspects of a leader's engagement with committed followers working to achieve end goals, and the situational environment or landscape that influences group actions. Current leadership literature combines the identified elements and points toward a nuanced interpretation of leadership as a process, recognizing the fluid interplay among constituent parts of individual, community, and situation. James MacGregor Burns adds to leadership literature with a discussion of the ethical/moral dimension of leadership. Writing about the collective responsibility of citizens to work toward alleviating human rights needs worldwide, he states: "The task of leadership is to accomplish some change in the world…. Its actions and achievements are measured by the supreme public values that themselves are the profoundest expressions of human wants: liberty and equality, justice and opportunity, the pursuit of happiness." (Burns, Transforming Leadership 4)

A. Leadercentric Theories - Traits, Skills, and Style

Traditional Western leadership theory first identified specific leader traits or characteristics derived from great man stories. Professional skills or knowledge competencies and behavior actions or style were identified, mid 20th century, as integral components providing additional tools for assessing successful leaders.

1. **Trait leadership theory,** first identified in the early 20th century, recognized characteristics attributed to the leader. Research on leadership traits "points to six key traits: intelligence, confidence, charisma, determination, sociability and integrity." (Northouse, Introduction to Leadership 27) Today, leadership scholars acknowledge these leadership traits as a valuable component in the scope of leadership theory, while also recognizing the limits of a leadercentric perspective. Traits analysis focuses on the leader, without acknowledging the important exchange between leader and follower; and it does not account for different situational needs. Additionally, the demands of working with one group may require traits not appropriate or necessary in other settings.

2. **Skills leadership theory,** first explored by Robert Katz in 1955, identified "skills and abilities that can be learned and developed." (Northouse, Leadership Theory and Practice 35) Katz positioned management leadership capacity to include technical proficiency skills, human or people skills, and conceptual/idea skills. In the past 20 years researchers have greatly expanded the skills leadership theory and identified a skills-based leadership model that speaks to the potential of individuals to develop leadership competencies in problem solving, social judgment abilities, and knowledge competencies. (Northouse, Leadership Theory and Practice 39)

3. **Style leadership theory** analyzes leaders' actions as they "facilitate goal accomplishment … and nurture the community participants." (Northouse, Leadership Theory and Practice 65) Both actions are joined to accommodate successful goal achievement. How the leader communicates and works with followers and facilitates interactions with outside community actors is studied to frame an analysis of the leader's style.

B. Leader/Follower Leadership Theories – Transactional, Transformational, and Social Change

Early Western leadership literature focused on the leader or the follower, but it did not investigate vital relationships between leader and follower. In 1978 James MacGregor Burns identified transactional and transformational leadership styles that examined the role of leader/follower relationships. Another addition to leadership theory, the social change leadership model, developed as a collegiate training program defining a "purposeful, collaborative, values-based process that results in positive social change." (Komives and Wagner xii)

1. The **transactional leader** engages in an exchange with followers, based on a system of rewards and benefits.

2. The **transformational leader** gets the community to invest in the common goal and transcend individual rewards for greater community needs.

3. The two core elements of the **Social Change Model** state that leadership is tied to social responsibility and the common good, and that leadership functions as a collaborative process. Every participant is a stakeholder in SCM, and the leader role may shift in response to the organization's needs.

C. Islamic Leadership Values

In Muslim countries, the life and work of Prophet Muhammad[ﷺ] has had a profound influence on leadership models. The Prophet's words, actions, and life choices serve as a role model for thoughtful leadership. John Adair in a treatise on the leadership of Prophet Muhammad[ﷺ] writes: "Islam today is both an inheritor of the world's body of knowledge about leadership and … a great contributor to it." (Adair 110)

Muslim leaders' actions are influenced by Islamic religious values of honesty, integrity, equality, truthfulness, and sincerity. (Khan and Varshney). Self-awareness is considered one key leadership trait, and it "involves thankfulness and respect for Allah and His creation (the Quaranic concept of at-taqwá)… Additional qualities a leader exhibits are "purity (taharat), patient perseverance, and steadfastness (sabr)." (Danielewicz-Betz 140)

In Islam, "leadership is based on trust (amanah)" and "the focus is on doing good." (Danielewicz-Betz 140) These deeply rooted spiritual ideas drive Malala's understanding of effective community participation and inspire her work and active citizenship. In her memoir, Malala references core values from religion, family, and teachers as significant guiding principles that inform her understanding and perception of community. She proudly locates herself within a specific cultural and religious community, identifying the basic values and needs of the group through a generous description of family and community lives.

Conclusion

Writing with passion and conviction, Malala reveals personal stories and insightful observations across the intersections of everyday life and the existing power structures of Pakistan's Swat Valley. She acknowledges support from both community and world leaders, evaluating the progress of the journey thus far. She works within the community to invest in the common good and develop capacity in followers working toward equal access to education. She speaks to authority figures as an advocate and community action driver, representing the group's needs. Within this dialogue, she reveals her charisma as she channels hope through an optimistic attitude that change is possible. Her story reveals the active process of engaging others to join the cause for equal access to education and accept social responsibility for change.

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PART 2

Individual Activities

Maintain a reflective leadership journal, using the prompts below:

1. Malala and Leadership

Evaluate Malala in terms of leadership theories. Find examples from the text that pair with the leadership traits and styles found in the leadership narrative. Pair one trait or style with each quote, and then elaborate on why this excerpt fits with the leadership discussion.

2. Leadership Role Models

Malala references Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Malalai of Maiwand as role models. Develop and articulate your view of leadership through a paper that includes examples of four leaders, two from your life experiences and two nationally or internationally recognized. What are their individual styles, actions, and traits? How did they gain their leadership position? Did the leader emerge from an existing community or organization? Did they start a community around a shared goal? Were they appointed or elected to the position? How successful were they in achieving their goal?

In the text, Malala defines the importance of role models. Why were you drawn to the leaders you identify? Are they role models for you? Do you see yourself working in one of these fields? What can you do now to position yourself for this work?

3. Vision

Malala clearly defines her vision for equal access to education throughout the text. Her work develops incrementally as she explores the issue. Can you outline the steps that led her from a local to a national platform? Where did she begin to define the issue? How did she communicate the ideas? Who were her different audiences?

For you, what are three to five things that you want to accomplish by the end of this year? For each goal, what are the two or three tasks that will help you reach that goal? How will you measure your progress toward those goals: weekly, bi-weekly, monthly? Will these goals engage others? How will you establish a consistent group action plan?

4. **Community Engagement**

   List community organizations within your locale, connect with one of these organizations, and volunteer 10 hours or more with the group. Keep a journal about the experience. Note the leadership structure within the volunteer group. How do you interact with others who are not close friends? Who takes responsibility? How is that manifested? Is there a group dynamic? How do you build trust with others? Are you taking any risks, moving outside your comfort zone?

5. **Self-Knowledge**

   Take the Myers-Briggs Test at http://www humanmetrics.com/cgi-win/jtypes2. asp#questionnaire. Score the test to identify your strengths.

PART 3

Group Activities

Share group results online. Use charts, visuals, and video to enhance the findings.

1. **Presentation of a leadership topic or quote**

   Each student is responsible for introducing a leadership quote, thought, or exercise into one class meeting for group discussion.

2. **Leadership characteristics identified**

   Create a list of leaders from different fields and different nationalities: arts, politics, government, entertainment, sports, human rights, community action forums, education, finance, or other.

   Brainstorm together for Nos. 1–3; work alone for No. 4, dividing up the leaders among the group members; collaborate for No. 5 to create a leadership packet and identify individual skill and knowledge competencies to assign roles of editor, publisher, online manuscript designer, and any other tasks involved.

   1. Next to each leader list one to three characteristics, qualities, or traits the leader has exhibited that are essential for effective leadership in that field.

   2. List the main accomplishment of that leader.

   3. In what situation has the leader developed: community structure, hierarchal, government? And what is the leadership structure within that specific field: authoritative, collaborative, elective, transformational, transactional?

   4. Write up a short leadership briefing on each leader; include media or printed resource materials for background information.

   5. Complete an online composite leadership packet.

3. **Vision–Work together to identify community need and create an action plan**

   1. Identify a community need. Why is change needed? What are the barriers to change?

   2. Create an action plan or agenda that will address the issue. What are the real and hidden costs? What are the expected benefits?

   3. Establish a list of outside partners that need to be engaged for support.

   4. Identify subcommittees that will work on specific items to support the change.

   5. How often and when will the group access progress?

4. **Role Playing–Leader/Follower**

   Each group member develops an action item. Communicates the idea/concept to the group. Motivates others to engage in the plan. Facilitates a group meeting that will work to design and implement the suggested agenda item. Evaluates progress and makes changes to move forward.

Resources

Ted Talks on Leadership:
http://www.ted.com/topics/leadership

Malala on YouTube:
https://www.youtube.com/user/MalalaFund

Mary Robinson Foundation: http://www.mrfcj.org

University of Maryland, National Clearinghouse for Leadership Programs: https://nclp.umd.edu

Sheryl WuDunn & Nicolas Kristof – Half the Sky Movement:
http://www.halftheskymovement.org/pages/nicholas-and-sheryl

Komives, Susan, Nance Lucas and Timothy R. McMahon. *Exploring Leadership: For College Students Who Want to Make a Change.* San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2013.

Shankman, Marcy L. and Scott J. Allen. *Emotionally Intelligent Leadership: A Guide for College Students.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008.

*For more information about the resource guide, visit **malala.gwu.edu** or **www.malala.org**.*

MALALA AND THE MEDIA

BY SEAN ADAY & SILVIO WAISBORD

PART 1

Introduction

This discussion of Malala and the media seeks to make students aware of the complex yet patterned, way in which the press tends to cover social movements around gender and women's rights, especially in the context of foreign policy issues. This narrative includes the following topics:

- Understanding Malala and the media
- Media influence: agenda setting and framing
- Background: media coverage of social movements
- Background: media coverage of foreign affairs
- Intersection: framing the Malala story

Understanding Malala and the Media

In the West, news coverage of Malala addresses several questions of interest to media scholars in various disciplines. Some key questions are: When and why did Malala become a subject of news attention? For how long? What is newsworthy about the story? What stories are told about Malala in the Western media? What aspects of Malala's story and the issues and communities she represents get different amount of coverage? Addressing these questions helps us to understand the characteristics, strengths, and limitations of news about Malala. These questions matter because Malala is essentially a "news story" and a matter of media coverage for Western audiences. Their knowledge and their understanding about Malala as well as the multiple issues that she evokes are essentially mediated—that is, they are based on news and images provided by the media.

From this perspective, then, Malala can be reasonably considered a "news icon"—a point of attention of the media, which can be individuals, events, and places. A news icon functions as a gravitational center that holds media attention. Malala, then, became a news icon about various issues in the contemporary global world, including children's education in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and around the world; violence, conflict, war, and terrorism; the conditions of girls in patriarchal societies; gender identity; and children's rights.

Media Influence: Agenda Setting and Framing

There are two key concepts for understanding new media and its effects on public opinion and policymaking: agenda setting and framing. Agenda setting refers to the well-established power of the press to influence "what people think about," even if it doesn't seem to dictate what people think. In other words, media don't appear to make people violent, but when the press runs a lot of stories over time about crime, people who read those stories are likely to say crime is an important problem, whether actual crime rates would suggest it is or isn't. Scholars have found this connection between the media agenda and the public agenda in numerous studies over the past 40 years.

As opposed to agenda setting, which is about the quantity of coverage of an issue, framing is about how that issue is covered. Virtually every story has many different sides and potential storylines a journalist could choose to emphasize. Yet journalists often make patterned decisions to cover certain types of stories in one way rather than another. In the same way that looking out a window shows you only part of the picture, media frames similarly represent only one way of understanding a story. Political campaigns, for example, are typically framed in terms of their tactics, strategies, and personalities—who's winning and who's losing?—rather than in terms of issues. Research shows that how stories are framed often influences how audiences understand and think about the issues and topics being covered.

Agenda setting and framing are powerful concepts for understanding the nature of news coverage of Malala's story, why it was covered the way it was (and why alternative frames were downplayed or ignored), and what influence this might have on shaping public and policy discourse.

For example, we would expect that when media covered Malala a lot, the public and policymakers might be more likely to prioritize the issues raised in those stories. But here is where framing comes in. What aspect of the Malala story ended up being covered? The answer has implications for what type of information was conveyed and, at its essence, what "the story" really was.

The following research strategies could be adopted in order to study the Malala story from agenda setting and framing perspectives. First, to get at the agenda-setting question, one would want to literally count the number of stories about Malala that ran in the media. Here, however, some choices must be made. Which media are we interested in? TV, radio, newspaper, or digital? U.S., Western, Pakistani? How we answer those and other questions depends mostly on what audiences interest us. For instance, if we are interested in whether Malala made a difference in shaping Pakistani public opinion, we'd look at Pakistani media.

Framing works a little differently. Framing is about figuring out what aspects of the story were selected and prioritized in stories (e.g., by putting them in story leads, or headlines, or at the top of the newscast). It also often requires the researcher to categorize the frames. For instance, we may be interested in whether some media covered the story more substantively (or thematically, as it is sometimes referred to in communication research) or more superficially (or episodically). Perhaps even more important with a story like Malala's, we may be interested in knowing whether media were more likely to frame her story in terms of conflict in Pakistan and the local or global gender-based violence and women's equality, or in terms of terrorism.

Background: Media Coverage of Social Movements

Malala's story as a media story can be analyzed in terms of the opportunities and challenges it brings for social movements to get media coverage. It is not simply or only a story about a girl who was a victim of senseless violence after she defied the Taliban. Her remarkable story has multiple layers that speak to the interests of many social movements promoting women and children's rights, educational opportunities, gender roles, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts in South Asia and the world. The issues that Malala represents suffer a "double invisibility": They rank low among top priorities across countries, and they are generally ignored by the media. These are the twofold challenges for most social movements: How do they get attention from the public and policymakers and become important in political/policy debates? How do they attract media attention to remedy the absence in the public sphere? Since the attack, Malala triumphantly became a global spokesperson for these issues. She is a news icon—a news peg for the Western and the global media to cover various issues.

Given her profile and the issues that Malala represents, it is worth considering arguments about how social movements are typically covered in the media. In contrast to political and economic elites, social movements generally lack institutional power to make news. What they say and do is less likely to make news compared with official and corporate sources who count on well-established newsmaking mechanisms to churn out information regularly and enjoy legitimacy as "legitimate" newsmakers in the media. Therefore, social movements need to rely on strategies to overcome their disadvantages and gain media attention. Put differently, unlike elites, movements are in asymmetrical relations vis-à-vis the media. They need the media more than the media need them.

Whereas some movements refuse to engage with the rules of the mainstream media, and prefer to rely on their own media platforms, others pragmatically try to obtain coverage to publicize their causes. Aside from conventional newsmaking strategies (e.g., press releases, planned events), social movements resort to protest and other forms of public theater as steps to get media attention. In opting for these actions, they consistently confront well-documented challenges that are remarkably similar across movements and countries. They are more likely to attract news attention when their actions offer elements of drama, conflict, and media-appealing personalities. Therefore, social movements are caught in a bind: They may get news attention if they offer visible elements that fit the news media's appetite for such content. If they lack those elements, they are less likely to get news attention. Coverage focuses on dramatic and conflictive elements and on leaders who have media charisma and other characteristics, thereby distorting the goals, practices, and organizations of social movements. Also, movements are more likely to get news attention when their actions fit typical news values such as geographical and cultural proximity, large size, and ongoing media narratives. These biases flatten the complexities of social movements and the issues they represent. Consequently, media coverage generally offers a simplistic view that reduces collective mobilization and social issues to a few images and stories.

Given these well-documented biases, it is worth asking whether news coverage of Malala confirms such conclusions or, instead, suggests important differences.

Background: Media Coverage of Foreign Affairs

Over the years mass communication researchers have consistently found that mainstream media tend to reinforce dominant sociocultural norms and values, confer status upon that which is covered (and thus relegate to "nonevents" that which is not), and make decisions about coverage that are heavily routinized and source driven. These conclusions are, if anything, even truer when it comes to media coverage of foreign affairs. In addition, severe budget cutbacks in U.S. news divisions since the early 1980s have led to a drastic reduction in the amount of international news available to American and Western audiences via the mainstream media.

In general, foreign policy coverage tends to be (a) ethnocentric, (b) elite driven, (c) uncritical of official and military claims, and (d) episodic (e.g., usually covering other countries when senior White House officials travel to or otherwise prioritize them). What does this tell us about media coverage of the Malala story? First, it suggests that international media, especially in the U.S. and other Western countries, are likely to frame her story through the prism of the foreign policy priorities and perspectives of the country where the media originate. In this case, that means that Malala's story becomes fused with the overarching story of the global war on terrorism. Second, it means that the broader social movement that has arisen around Malala, like other social movements before it, faces challenges in transmitting its agenda through the international mainstream media. That's because the media are likely to reinterpret the story for an international audience through the lens of their own ethnocentrically driven frames and perspectives. The questions then become: How did the Malala movement frame itself? How was the Malala movement framed in the press? And how did that framing differ based on the country's media we're studying?

Intersection: Framing the Malala Story

Previous research suggests that social movements have difficulty transferring their frames to mainstream media coverage of them and their issues. The question is, did this happen with the Malala movement, too? If so, in what way(s) and why? If not, why the exception in this case?

Based on what we know about coverage of social movements, gender-related issues, and international affairs, we might venture some hypotheses about media attention to Malala that are worth testing. For instance, we might expect that in the international media, Malala's story is likely to be only somewhat about gender-based violence and women's empowerment and a lot more about fighting terrorism. Why? Because those topics are the priorities of Western powers. Similarly, Malala's attacker is likely to be mainly understood as Taliban—an enemy of the West—more than as part of a larger, globalized patriarchal culture—an enemy of women and, ultimately, everyone. This would not only change the way international audiences understand why Malala's story is important and what lessons we can draw from it; it also has important implications for the movement itself. In particular, it creates an incentive to accept the war on terrorism framed as an entrée to the media coverage necessary to get one's broader message out. The challenge for the Malala movement, as with other movements, is to find a way to educate the world about that larger message about conflict, peace, access to education, and gender equality given these obstacles.

Individual and Group Activities

These activities could be conducted as group projects or as individual research papers. Group projects make it easier to conduct cross-media and cross-cultural research, while individual papers develop skills necessary for academic/think tank writing and publishing.

Students will refer to the narrative in order to address the following tasks and questions:

- Develop research questions and hypotheses to test the agenda-setting and framing questions related to the Malala story.

- Develop a research design to test these research questions and hypotheses.

- Content analysis: Which media? TV, radio, newspaper, or digital? U.S., Western, Pakistani?

- Agenda-setting study: Count the number of stories about Malala that ran in the media.

- Framing study: Framing is about figuring out what aspects of the story were selected and prioritized in stories (e.g., by putting them in story ledes, or headlines, or at the top of the newscast).

- Did some media cover the story more substantively (or thematically, as it is sometimes referred to in communication research) or more superficially (or episodically)?

- Were some media more likely to frame her story in terms of gender-based violence and women's equality, or in terms of terrorism? And did this vary by the foreign policy priorities of the media organization's home country?

PART 3

Resources

The following supplemental reading materials are suggested:

Aday S., Livingston, S. & Hebert, M. (2005b). "Embedding the Truth: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Objectivity and Television Coverage of the Iraq War." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 10 (1)*, 3-21.

Baum, M.A., & Groeling, T. (2010). *War Stories: How Strategic Journalists, Citizens, and Politicians Shape the News About War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bennett, W.L. (1994). "The News About Foreign Policy." In Bennett, W.L. and Paletz, D.L. (eds.). *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (12-42). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Carter, Cynthia; Steiner, Linda; & McLaughlin, Lisa (eds.). *The Routledge Companion to Media & Gender*.

Entman, R.M. (2004). *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World Is Watching*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Iyengar and Simon. "News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion" (in Bennett and Paletz), (167-185).

Jacky Repila. *The Politics of Our Lives: The Raising Her Voice in Pakistan Experience*, OXFAM GB.

Robinson, P. (1999). "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Political Communication* (25), pp. 301-309.

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*For more information about the resource guide, visit **malala.gwu.edu** or **www.malala.org**.*

GLOBAL FEMINISMS: SPEAKING AND ACTING ABOUT WOMEN AND GIRLS

BY RACHEL RIEDNER

PART 1

Introduction

My discussion of Malala Yousafzai's powerful book, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*, begins with a simple question: Why and in what circumstances is it necessary for a young woman make a call for "peace in every home, every street, every village, every country… [and] education for every boy and every girl in the world"? (313) The lack of peace, the inability of girls (and boys) to attend school, and the vulnerability of young women to gendered violence are not inevitable. As feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe suggests, the events that Malala describes are the result of choices that are made by communities, by nations, by individuals, by families, by supranational organizations, and by global political institutions.

This essay will address the following points:

- The role of global feminism in responding to acts of violence
- Local and global gendered violence
- The violence of representation
- Generating a feminist response

The Role of Feminism in Responding to Acts of Violence

As feminists look at the world, we have learned to ask difficult questions about how choices are made. As Enloe says, we ask "whether anything that passes for inevitable, inherent, 'traditional,' or biological has in fact been made." Asking how things are made or why events happen, suggests they are made by someone. By looking at Malala's story as the shooting of a young girl who wanted to attend school, we can begin to examine the conditions under which gendered violence became visible and about the motives of those who give gendered violence attention. Global feminists ask questions and conduct research in order to find clues about how to create activist responses. Ultimately we ask, how can we create change in our own communities, and create alliances and collaborations with women and girls across global borders?

Local and Global Gendered Violence

How do we understand violence against Malala and her two friends Kainat and Shazia by members of the Taliban through a global feminist framework? The answer to this question is not simple: It involves both an understanding of the contemporary history of Malala's community in the Swat Valley of Pakistan, with the emerging of radical religious views, and an understanding of international forces at work. As Malala details in her book, her childhood and education coincided with events that have global and local resonance. In the aftermath of 9/11, the Swat Valley, where Malala lived, was caught up in events closely tied to colonial histories and contemporary struggles over the reach and influence of U.S. and NATO power as well as the situation of the Pashtun people. Taliban insurgents entered the Swat Valley and were able to establish social and political influence. The Taliban introduced public violence against people who were perceived as not fitting into their version of Islamic social practice. As Malala recounts, the Taliban targeted women who danced in public, shopkeepers who sold items considered to represent vulgarity or obscenity (e.g., TV shows, CDs), and others who spoke or behaved in ways that opposed the Taliban's authority. In this fraught context, struggle over social and political control coalesced around gendered behavior and girls' school attendance. Girls were prohibited from attending school, and women were prohibited from appearing in public without a veil.

The gendered violence that Malala describes is not unusual or out of the ordinary. In many local and global contexts, violence used to control women is a commonplace event. For example, anthropologist Patty Kelly documents how police target and harass women whose livelihoods have been destroyed and who, because they lack other economic opportunities, enter sex work to support their families and children. This gendered violence is normalized and built into the felt experiences of daily life. It is difficult to recognize as violence because restrictions on women's lives and limited economic opportunities for women are not seen as out of the ordinary.

Organizing against gendered violence requires understanding local conditions in which women and girls live, act, and speak, as well as understanding how gendered symbols and gendered ideologies operate and how they are tied to global practices and discourses. As Malala shows us, challenging gendered violence builds from understanding how and why it occurs. Just as important, challenging gendered violence entails speaking out, organizing, creating alliances, and changing normal, everyday behavior—as Malala, her father, and her friends did—when faced with efforts to control and restrict women and girl's activities. This twofold focus—attention to real, material conditions of women and girl's lives and, concurrently, acting and speaking—is at the core of the global feminist movement. When we approach gendered violence, we always ask, How do women and girls, "as historically situated actors, cop[e] with, and seek to transform the conditions of their lives"? (Kabeer 54)

Violence of Representation

As we ask questions about gendered violence, global feminists are attentive to the ways in which gendered violence is understood by differently situated people and communities. Feminist scholars of language argue that ideas about gender are formed through political discourses: interpretations and particular ways of seeing that are tied to powerful ways of viewing women and girls (Dingo, Scott). For example, the violence against Malala is often discussed in the U.S. media and other Western institutions through pre-established ideas about Islam and gender. In this discourse, the violence that Malala faced is seen through an established view of Islam as inherently patriarchal and violent toward women.

As feminists work to create political responses, we take into account how events are perceived, particularly events that are tied up in established beliefs about gender and religion. In a global feminist analysis, the worldwide attention that Malala received after she was shot by the Taliban is filtered through common-sense ideologies held by the Western world about Islam, Muslims, and women. Post 9/11, women and girls in Pakistan and Afghanistan are viewed through gendered rescue narratives, in which women and girls are considered to be victims of religious-based patriarchy who

are in need of saving (Hesford). Rescue narratives have been promoted and circulated by prominent political figures such as Laura Bush, by global economic institutions such as the World Bank, and by NGOs and other prominent international actors. In gendered rescue narratives, Islam is seen as patriarchal, and, therefore, violence against women is seen as systemic to Islam. As global feminists have pointed out, Western discourse does not adequately acknowledge a nuanced understanding of the many practices of Islam. Like other major religions and in other communities, some of these religious and community practices are patriarchal and some are not.

Building from a feminist analysis of discourses about Islam, global feminists are concerned with *how* Malala's story is understood through pre-established ideas about women and Islam. In a context in which Islam is perceived as inherently patriarchal, global feminists ask what happens when Malala's story circulates in contexts where people read it through preconceived notions of Muslim women. Our role in this situation is to ask provocative questions: When global institutions such as the U.N. invite Malala to speak, is a claim being made that gendered violence as a whole is being addressed? Is there a danger that, by focusing on individual women's experience, attention is diverted from the systemic gendered violence that exists in multiple locations, including Western nations? Does recognizing violence by extremist and religious-based groups in Pakistan mean that violence experienced by women in other locations is not addressed? Does drawing attention to violence experienced by one young woman, as Malala emphasizes, divert attention from other important political discussions, including the invasion of Afghanistan, drone strikes in Pakistan, or demonizing the Muslim world?

Generating Feminist Responses

The public responses to the events of Malala's life remind us to carefully navigate how the image of a young, brave Muslim woman may be complicated by a wider analysis of other forms of violence, i.e., U.S.-ordered drone strikes, poverty, war, social and political conflicts, and violence that takes place privately, often within families or communities. Malala herself suggests this nuanced approach to women's and girls' empowerment. As she points out in her discussion of drones and poverty, the conflict situation that women and girls face in Pakistan extends beyond a critique of extremist religious Islamic use of violence against women. She notes that imperial violence and gendered violence have a detrimental impact on women and girls and inhibit their capacities to live safe and fulfilling lives.

In fact, Malala's book does the important work of creating a complex, multifaceted analysis of and response to gendered violence and social and material conditions in which women and girls live. In addition to analyzing gendered violence, Malala asks us to pay attention to the social and material conditions in which women and girls live in Pakistan,

Afghanistan, and elsewhere. Malala points to the economic constraints that factor into women's and girls' lack of agency. In a short passage in the book, Malala observes a young girl selling fruit by the side of the road. This young girl is not in school, and therefore, the possibilities for her advancement are limited. Malala's analysis shows that poverty, as well as multiple forms of violence and conflicts, limits women's freedom and voice. Her ambition to get an education that would enable her to be economically independent suggests women's participation in formal economy can create context for autonomy and independence. Economic opportunities, as Malala shows, are an important aspect of women's empowerment.

In sum, Malala's memoir shows us that the situation of women and girls must be informed by a multifaceted analysis of women in relation to *local* economic conditions, political situations, ideologies of gender (not to mention other social categories) *as well as* analysis of women in relation to *global* economic arrangements, political alliances and histories, and ideologies. It is within the recognition and analysis of how these local and global forces intersect that we, like Malala, are compelled to speak and act (Dingo). With a robust and responsive understanding of the world

in which we live, gendered violence can be made visible, experiences that create social exclusions can be recognized, and the material conditions that prohibit individuals and communities from reaching their full capacities, such as poverty, can be addressed.

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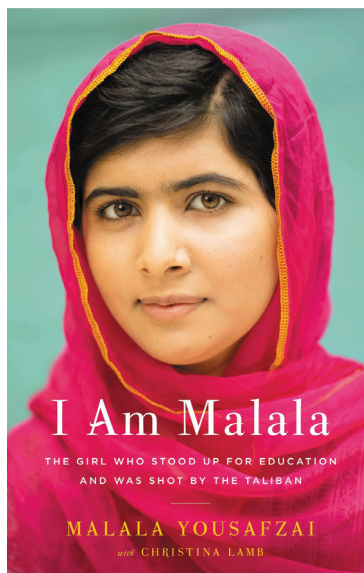
PART 2

Individual and Group Activities

1. Discuss the following points about global feminism. Why and how do global feminists (like Malala):

   - Ask questions and tell stories about gender and gendered violence, and the material conditions in which women and girls live?

   - Advocate for realization of the full human potential of women and girls, including their political and economic enfranchisement?

   - Emphasize education for women and girls as a means to create independence and social voice?

   - Work for the economic participation and empowerment of women and girls as a means of securing independence?

   - Work within their own communities, and with feminist organizations, to share information, strategies, and ideas that translate into action?

2. How might we need to understand multiple categories that work together to construct Malala's experiences of gendered violence, including but not limited to gender, race, community, nation, state, religion, culture, tradition, ability, age, and sexuality? What other categories might we need to consider?

3. What is the difference between Malala Yousafzai the singular example and historical figure who has spoken so eloquently and passionately about her own experience for education and Malala who is held up as a symbol of globalized political system that claims to offer recognition and support to women in the Global South? Why, for feminists, is it important to distinguish between Malala Yousafzai the person and Malala Yousafzai the symbol? Is Malala including the global agenda or vice versa? How is Malala influencing the global agenda for the rights of girls (and boys) to an education and the feminist movement?

4. How might we expand our analysis of gendered violence that women and girls face in local communities to consider wider systems of violence that Malala discusses? For example, how do drone strikes by the U.S. military destabilize political, social, and community life, creating openings for extremist views and groups such as the Taliban? How might poverty that is produced, in part, by global economic structures contribute to the restrictions placed on women's lives?

5. Given differences among women and girls across global and local borders, how might these differences be negotiated to create networks of support, alliance, and activism? Along these lines, what mutualities, tensions, and co-responsibilities do we have with and for each other? How do the historical experiences of girls in the United States, for example, or in other locations, illuminate the historical experiences of girls in Pakistan, and vice versa? How are our interests intertwined? In terms of women's and girls' activism, how are movements in both countries connected or disconnected? How might cross-cultural solidarities be imagined for women and girls globally? Where do we find mutuality and common interests across borders?

6. How might you work with local communities and organizations to address violence against women and girls in your own community? As you do this work, how might you connect with feminist organizations in other communities to share strategies, experiences, and information and to collaborate around issues that are both similar and different?

7. How might you conduct feminist research that could inform feminist activism? What would this research look like? Who would benefit from it?

*For more information about the resource guide, visit **malala.gwu.edu** or **www.malala.org**.*

I Am Malala

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AND WAS SHOT BY THE TALIBAN

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