

**The Great Divide: Revealing Differences in the Islamic World Regarding the Status  
of Women and its Impact on International Peace**

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Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 29-September 1, 2007.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In 2006 UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stated “The world is starting to grasp that there is no policy more effective in promoting development, health, and education than the empowerment of women and girls. And I would venture that no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after a conflict has ended” (Firth, 2006).

Similar views have also been espoused regionally within both the Arab and Islamic worlds. Among Arab states, an understanding of the linkage between improving women and improving society is adeptly described in the 2005 Arab Human Development Report which is subtitled “Towards the Rise of Women in the Arab World.” The report “maintains that the rise of women, in both intellectual and practical terms remains an essential axis of the Arab project for a human renaissance” and that the “advancement of women...is part of the construction of a renaissance that will bring about freedom, pride and [vigor] for all Arabs, men and women on an equal footing” (6). The report (written by Arabs) then goes on to note that at “a time when the Arab world needs to build and tap the capabilities of all its peoples, fully half its human potential [i.e. women] is often stilted or neglected” (24). In its concluding recommendations for an improved Arab world, the report recommends that efforts be made to eliminate the region's three deficits: “freedom, knowledge and the empowerment of women” (231).

Linkages between women and society within the Islamic world are noted by Inglehart and Norris and Fish. In a challenge to Huntington’s clash of civilizations, Inglehart and Norris (2003, 65), suggest that the clash is not between competing political values, but instead a clash defined along lines of gender equality. This “sexual clash of civilizations” as they call it, “taps into far deeper issues than how Muslim countries treat women” for how women are treated “proves time and again to be the most reliable indicator of how strongly that society supports principles of tolerance and egalitarianism.” Fish (2002, 29) suggests that the inferior status and treatment of women and girls “appears to account for part of the link between Islam and authoritarianism.”

## **THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT**

Academicians are increasingly interested in, and discovering the linkages that exist between the status of women and the status of states. How that linkage works is still not clear, but there is a growing body of evidence suggesting that such a linkage does indeed exist. Even more perplexing is how to help nations adopt changes that would require change in longstanding cultural norms.

To begin to understand the role women play in making society a better place, we need to better understand how women are treated, both in law and practice, and we need to better comprehend where and how progress is being made. Rachael Mayanja (2006), UN Assistant Secretary-General for Gender Issues suggested that there was a great need for regional studies that could give similar societies examples to follow. Focusing on successful neighbors might alleviate some of the animosity that develops over following

the “West”, or frustration with the perception that a culture is leaving its traditions behind.

In this paper, we wish to examine the group of Islamic countries with reference to each other—not with reference to the Western world. It is hoped that this approach will yield a new understanding of the differences within that group of states, and may yield greater perspective on best practices within the Islamic world with may serve as objects of emulation.

The world’s perception of the status of women in Islamic nations may differ considerably from reality. Recent events in Afghanistan, for example, substantiate this view. Following the US ouster of the Taliban, a 2004 White House communiqué reporting “progress on the war on terror” noted that “Afghan women are experiencing freedom for the first time.” In a critique of that pronouncement, Jamine Zine (2006, 8) notes that it “locates Afghan women in a de-contextualized, ahistorical space where they seem to begin and end within the current crisis having been provided ‘freedom for the first time’ by U.S. forces.” Zine (2004, 9) goes on to state:

“As deplorable as the conditions face by Afghan women were under the ...Taliban regime, the fact that their plight became strategically positioned as being ‘prime-time worthy’ only during the violent campaigns of the war on terror, reinforces their role as a political guise activated to engender sympathy for the military campaign as a act of ‘liberating’ oppressed Muslim women from fanatical Muslim men.... Through this process Afghan women’s plights were reduced to a war against fundamentalism, erasing other important factors affecting their lives such as poverty, internal displacement and lack of healthcare and ability to meet even the most basic needs, which the military campaigns were exacerbating. Their ability throughout decades of war and hardship to survive adversity with tenacious resistance was lost in the attempt to cast them as voiceless victims. As Peters (2002) notes ‘[p]reviously not on the West’s radar screen, Afghan women are now showing up as ‘pregnant’, ‘fleeing’, ‘starving’ and ‘widowed’. All true, I suppose but such adjectives reduce afghan women to the sum of their most desperate parts’ (pp. 122-3).”

Reducing women to the “sum of their most desperate parts” fails to recognize that not all aspects of their lives are desperate, nor are all Islamic nations “desperate” in the same fashion. However in a ‘clash of civilization’ view of the world, researchers, policy makers and bystanders often equate shortcomings in one sector to the whole body, which can lead to failed policies and defunct programs. Additionally it also fails to acknowledge the deeper underlying problem and instead focuses on a few of the symptoms. What you see as the problem on the network news channels is seldom the “real” problem, but only an indication thereof. We need to have a more nuanced analysis of the status of women, with perhaps fewer “sound bites” or “video clips.”

Consider this example. In Afghanistan one of the positive benefits of the U.S. ousting of the Taliban is that Afghan girls are now once again able to go to school. This makes good

material for congratulatory speeches and gives a comforting sense of success, but it does not provide a complete story. While increased attendance is laudable, there are still cultural mores that limit the educational opportunities for girls, which in turn impacts others factors such as infant mortality (Bowen, 2007). The 2003 US State Department Country Report for Afghanistan on Human Rights states:

“Government regulations prohibit women who are married from attending high school classes and during the year, the education ministry ordered all regions to enforce this rule. During the year, thousands of young women were expelled from school because they were married. Deputy education minister Sayed Ahmad Sarwari was quoted as estimating more than 2 or 3 thousand married women were expelled during the year. Supporters of the legislation say it protected unmarried girls in school from hearing ‘tales of marriage’ from their wedded classmates” (US State Department Country Report on Human Rights for Afghanistan 2003).

In Afghanistan, 14 is considered by many to be an acceptable marriage age (AP 2005), and 18 is the average age of marriage (UN Press Release, 2000). With such a young average age of marriage, and other factors such as the location of the schools, a perception that an educated girl is not as marriageable, and associated costs of education (WomanStats 2007), it should therefore not come as a surprise that the education rate of women is one of the lowest in the Islamic world and that the infant mortality rate is among the highest in the Islamic cohort and in the world at large with 165 deaths per every 1000 live births (UNICEF 2002).

Thus, because educational policies are built on the simple principle that ‘if you build it, [they] will come’, it unintentionally excludes the women who possibly need it most desperately. It fails to recognize that more schools are only part of the battle. It also fails to see the greater connections. You do not reduce the infant mortality rate just by just adding more hospitals, although that would help. You still have to educate women so that they can staff the hospitals and so that they know how to feed and take care of their own children In sum you have to turn the tide on tradition so that the doors are opened more completely.

While it is true that the situation of women in Afghanistan is not one the Arab Development Report authors would see as a model for emulation, it is also true that this is a scenario not typical of every Islamic country. Contrast Afghanistan with Tunisia and Morocco, where there is an emphasis on the education of women and female children. The average age of marriage for both of these nations is 25 and 23 respectively (UN Woman Watch 2000). With their emphasis on girls’ education, the infant mortality rate is one of the lowest in the region with just 21 deaths per 1000 live births for Tunisia (UNICEF 2002), and 27 deaths per 1,000 live births for Morocco (Save the Children 2006, 12). The vast divide between the education of girls between nations such as Afghanistan on the one hand, and Tunisia and Morocco on the other, clearly has far reaching implications. It is clear through these examples that an emphasis on education has a direct impact on rates of infant mortality and the overall health and wellbeing of society.

Thus a desire to improve the health of the family, which is accepted by all cultures as a positive advancement (even if boys take precedence over girls), is constrained by cultural attitudes on the role of women in society. This attitude removes them from schooling before they are able to learn enough to contribute to the health of the family, let alone the larger community or nation.

Education and health are not the only examples where national goals for improvement are impeded by underlying beliefs about the status of women and their roles in society. Peace negotiations, for example, have been shown to be enhanced by the presence of women at the negotiating table, yet most peace negotiations have taken place without women. In 2000 the UN Security Council passed a resolution to try and overcome that barrier (Potter 2005 and UN Resolution 1325). Additionally the perception of women as property, or second-class citizens, leads to inequitable marriage and divorce laws and likely leads to increased levels of prostitution and trafficking. Such high levels of vulnerability for women do not strengthen the nation, we would contend, but undermine its security. Furthermore, if a country does not provide for one half of its population in a fair and equitable manner, how might that country then be trusted in dealing with other states.

This analysis of the crucial impact of the status of women on the situation of states leads us to ask, have we been looking at less important matters when there were more weightier matters to consider? For example, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace held a workshop on improving the progress of economic reform in Egypt. Some of the concerns that came out of the meeting revolved around how economic reforms such as the deregulation of the labor market have simultaneously decreased the unemployment rate while at the same time increasing job risk/instability. One of the implications was that the poorest of the poor (those living on \$1 a day) were increasing in number. Since single women in most nations tend to also make up a majority of the poorest in the society (WomanStats 2007 – see variables concerning the status of single mothers) their suggestions for improvement were interesting. Possibly because of their shared perspectives in economics, one of the major suggestions was to concentrate on increasing the social safety net to ensure that the poorest are making more than \$1 a day. No mention was made that if the status of women were improved so that they could obtain more education, or if they were permitted to advance in their careers more easily then the problem could potentially take care of itself by empowering the most poverty stricken group to perform better in the economy. Economic reform means nothing if half the population is disenfranchised or limited in the political-economic decision-making process and the benefits derived thereof. What would we see if we used a gender lens? It is to that issue that we now turn.

### **EXAMINING THE DIVIDE: Setting up the scales**

One of the purposes of this paper is to probe differences in the status of women among Islamic nations. To accomplish this, we have made use of the WomanStats Database, containing over 243 variables on the status of women for 172 nations

(<http://www.womanstats.org> ). The database currently contains more than 50,000 data points and is easily the largest compendium on the status of women in the world. We will focus on the 51 countries that have either a Muslim majority or where the largest cultural group is Muslim.

We have used the WomanStats data on these 51 countries to develop ordinal single-variable and multi-variable scales that will allow us to engage in exploratory and confirmatory statistical testing. Scales are created by the principal investigators and the actual scaling is done by the coders under close scrutiny to insure inter-coder reliability. All of the scales used here are available online at [www.womanstats.org](http://www.womanstats.org) where you can see the scales as well as the data that was used to create them. Specifically, we will use WomanStats scales on Murder/Femicide, Domestic Violence, Son Preference and Sex Ratios, Trafficking and Polygyny in our analysis, each of which will be explained and analyzed in the remainder of the paper. We will also probe correlations between these scales and the Global Peace Index created by the Economist Intelligence Unit (<http://visionofhumanity.com/rankings/>), to examine if there is a relationship between the status of women and the peacefulness of states.

## I. Femicide

Our first map is on Femicide (see figure 1). Please see appendix 1 on the details of the scale. This scale was created to track the existence of violence against women resulting in death. The deaths may have been the result of domestic violence, but domestic violence by itself is not examined in this scale. Later we will present a different scale for domestic violence. The femicide scale also does not include deaths before birth due to abortion, or after birth (infanticide). These are also tracked in a different scale, which we will examine momentarily.

Looking at the map, we can easily see that there are obvious differences among them. Some are a little surprising. Turkey, which is commonly thought of as one of the more progressive Islamic countries and more like the West than other Islamic states actually exhibits a high rate of extreme violence against women, whereas nations like Mali and Niger which are typically thought of as more violent culture due to female genital mutilation (FGM) practices are shown here to not be as violent when just looking at evidence of Femicide. If, as Inglehart and Norris (2003) claim, the real divide between civilizations is gender-based, then it is not surprising that the European Union struggles over the possible inclusion of Turkey.

Although the map intervals are not particularly sophisticated, they do demonstrate that there are significant differences in the Islamic world, and that these differences are not unique to a few of the nations being “Westernized”. In fact there are some variables we will examine where the more “Westernized” nations actually perform worse than their more “conservative” counterparts, as Turkey does on femicide.

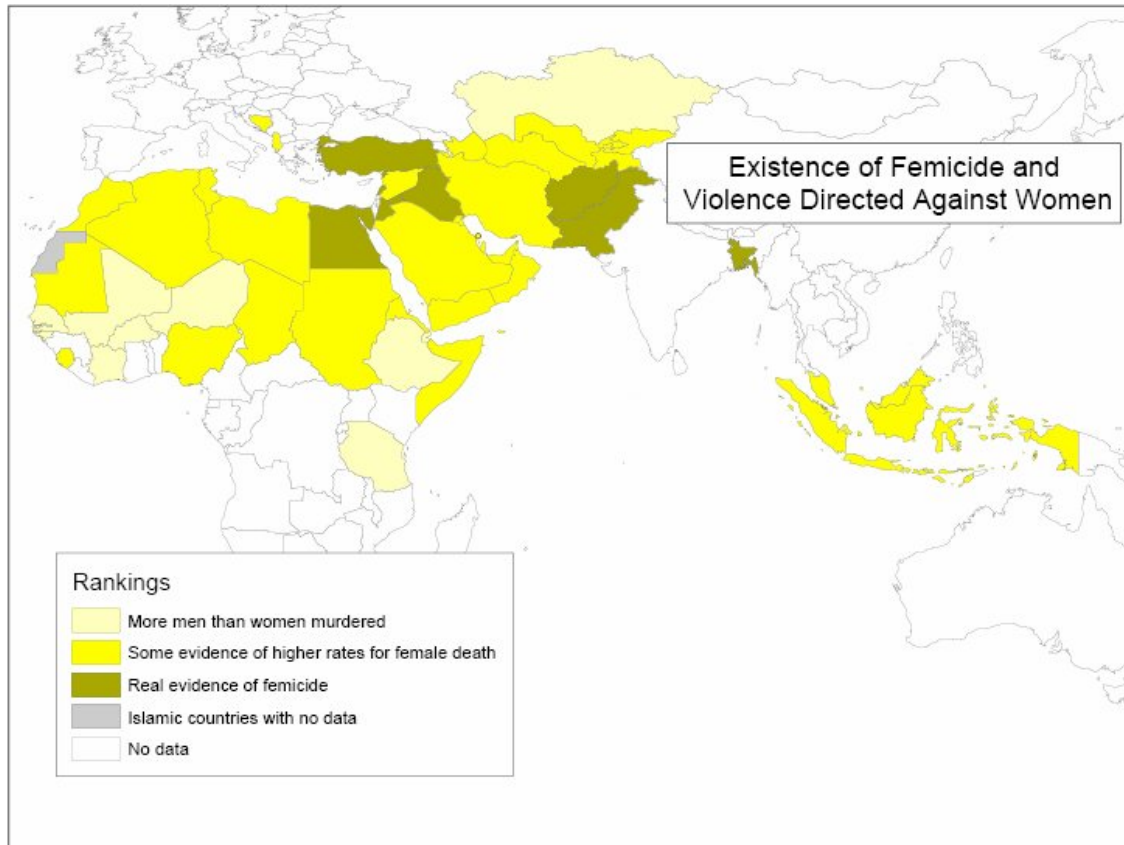


Figure 1: Existence of femicide and violence directed against women in the Islamic world

## II. Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is a horrendous social phenomenon that can often result in death. The level of abuse varies by country, but a few examples will be sufficient to demonstrate the extent of the problem. In Albania a household survey estimates that upwards of 40% of women will be abused in their lifetime and about 30% will be abused at least once each year (Albania RHS 2002). Surveys in Turkey reveal that 58% of women will be abused in their lifetime (UN WomenWatch 2000). UN surveys in Indonesia suggest that only 11% of women (rural areas) will be abused in their lifetimes (Online Women in Politics, 2000, 2) which is a marked improvement over much of the Islamic world where the rates tend to reside in the 30% range (WomanStats 2007 – see variables DV-Data-1) Any amount of abuse is too much. The only consolation in these figures is that nations in any culture, including the Islamic culture, can reduce their rates of violence against women, as the map clearly shows.

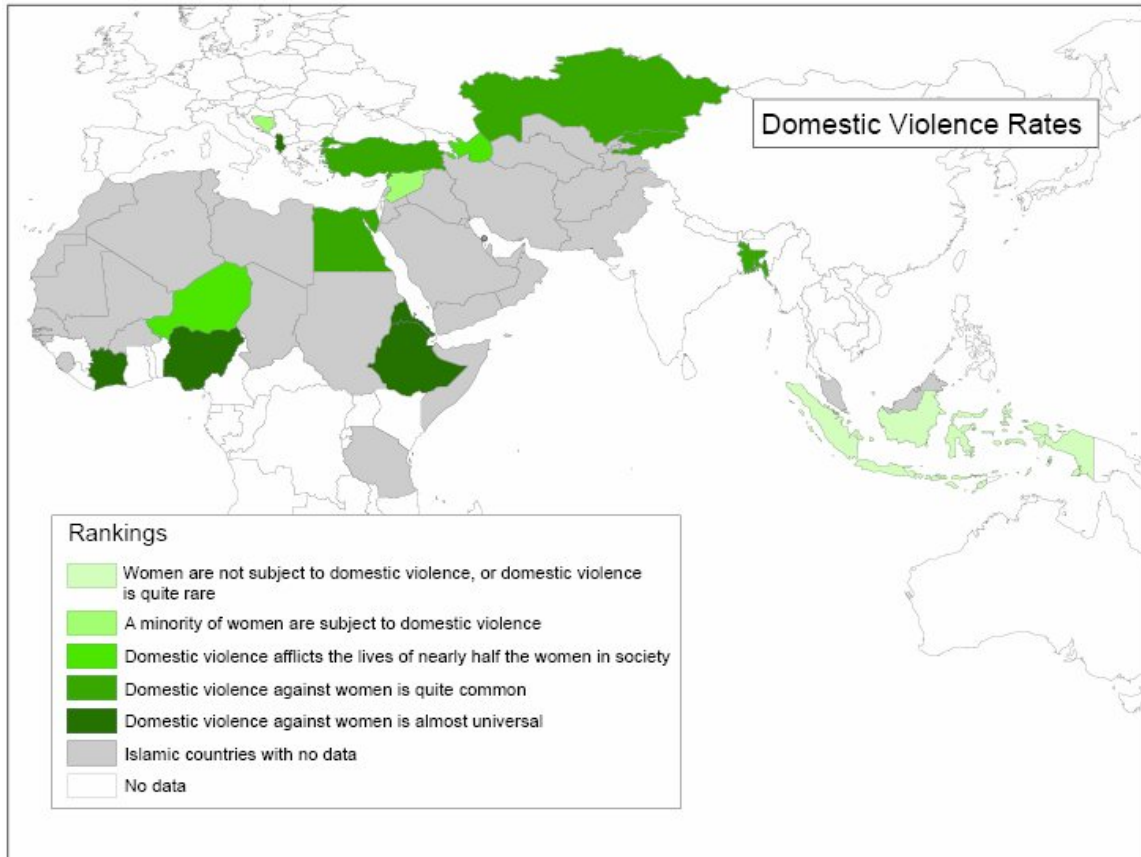


Figure 2: Relative domestic violence rates in the Islamic world

### III. Son Preference/Sex Ratio

The next map (see figure 3) is on son preference leading to abnormal sex ratios. Skewed sex ratios are commonly known to exist in countries like India and China; however, they are not the only countries that exhibit strong son preferences. Ideally, no child should be valued more than another on the basis of sex. Recognizing that ideal, this scale seeks to understand son preference as it influences sex selective abortions and female infanticide. These acts can be surmised by the presence or absence of abnormal sex-ratios. At the top of the scale are those countries that value a girl child as much as a boy child. Next lower on the scale is where there is son preference but said preference does not lead to sex selective abortions or female infanticide. The scale continues its downward descent to its lowest level where there is both an intense son preference and significantly abnormal sex ratios.

Again there are some interesting differences to note. An easy relationship to pick out is the cultural influence that Hindu India has likely had on the nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Or the Chinese influence on Malaysia. With that noted, however, it becomes harder to understand what is happening in Azerbaijan and Albania. They score worse than Pakistan and Bangladesh, where we would have expected a strong influence from India. Also in the same ranking as Pakistan and Bangladesh are Syria and Tunisia. Tunisia is especially perplexing since it prides itself as being one of the most progressive Islamic states (see their official website at [www.tunisiaonline.com](http://www.tunisiaonline.com), para 17). More



information will be necessary for us to understand why some of these nations are showing evidences of sex-selection/infanticide. Nations that strive to limit births also unknowingly promote sex-selection, which may explain cases such as Tunisia which place an emphasis on limiting the number of children born (WomanStats 2007).

It is also possible that simple statistical measuring errors have caused some nations to be ranked lower than they otherwise might have been. Take Azerbaijan and Tunisia as examples. Depending on the source of the data you will see a sex ratio range of 1.13 to 1.15 for Azerbaijan (CIA Azerbaijan World Factbook 2007). This is clearly on the abnormal side of 1.07 as the cut off for abnormal sex ratios (See Scale in Appendix 1 developed by Dr. Valerie Hudson). Tunisia is a different story. The at birth sex ratios range from 1.05 to 1.07 depending on the source (CIA Tunisia World Factbook, 2007 and US Census, 2006). This suggests that some of the countries on the cusp of normal sex ratios might be scaled somewhat higher than necessary depending on the source of the sex ratio data, and need to be reexamined in the light of other evidence and expert on the ground research. For example, Dr. Donna Lee Bowen noted in an interview for the WomanStats project that in her years of research on women in the Maghreb region of North Africa she never once heard of a sex selective abortion or case of female infanticide (Bowen 2006).

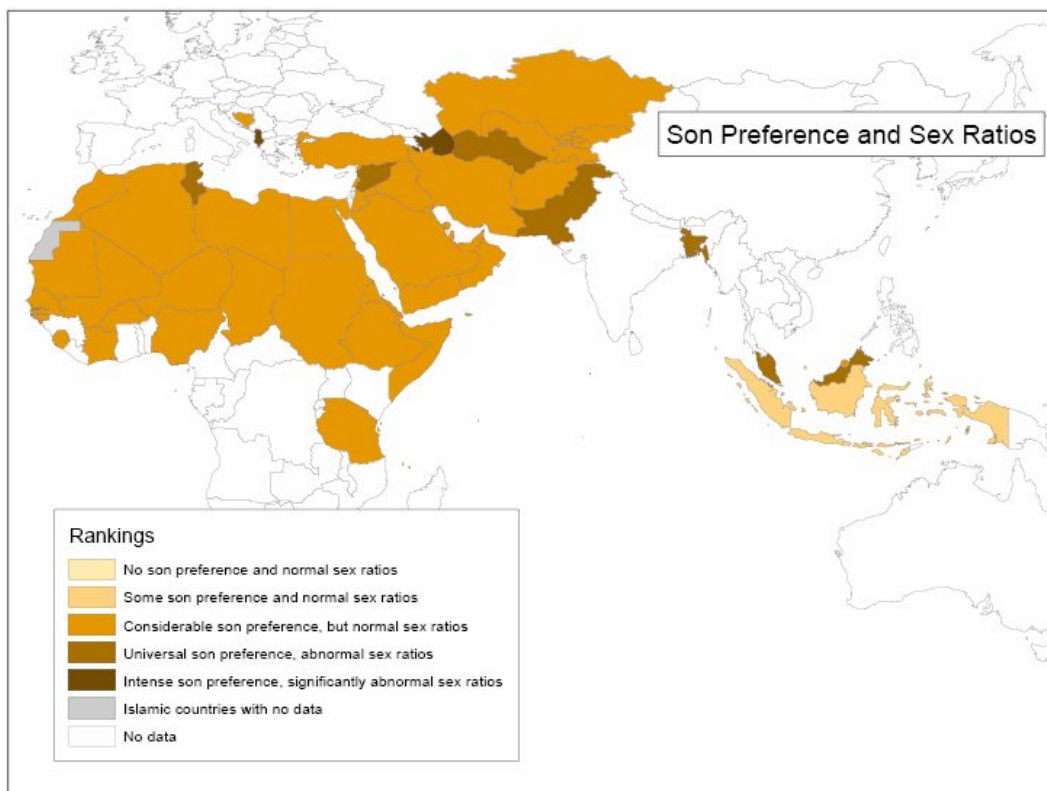


Figure 3: Son preference and sex ratios in the Islamic world

#### IV. Trafficking of Women

Trafficking of women is a modern scourge. Examining the trafficking map in Figure 4, Morocco is highlighted. With the same ranking as most of Western Europe and North

America, it stands out as the one Islamic country with stronger laws and practices in regard to trafficking of women. The Arab core, from Egypt to Iran, are the worst offenders in the Islamic world, but they are not the only nations of concern. Countries like Tunisia, Turkey and Indonesia stand out as nations that tend to be more liberal towards women overall, but in the instance of trafficking are some of the greater offenders.

One disturbing note on trafficking is the status of Iraq where trafficking is exploding in a nation where it was virtually unheard of before the collapse of the Saddam regime (IWRAW, Iraq Shadow Report 1998, Article 6). Some women’s advocate groups estimate that there have been some 2000 trafficking cases in Iraq since the beginning of the Iraq War in 2003 (Bennett, 2006).

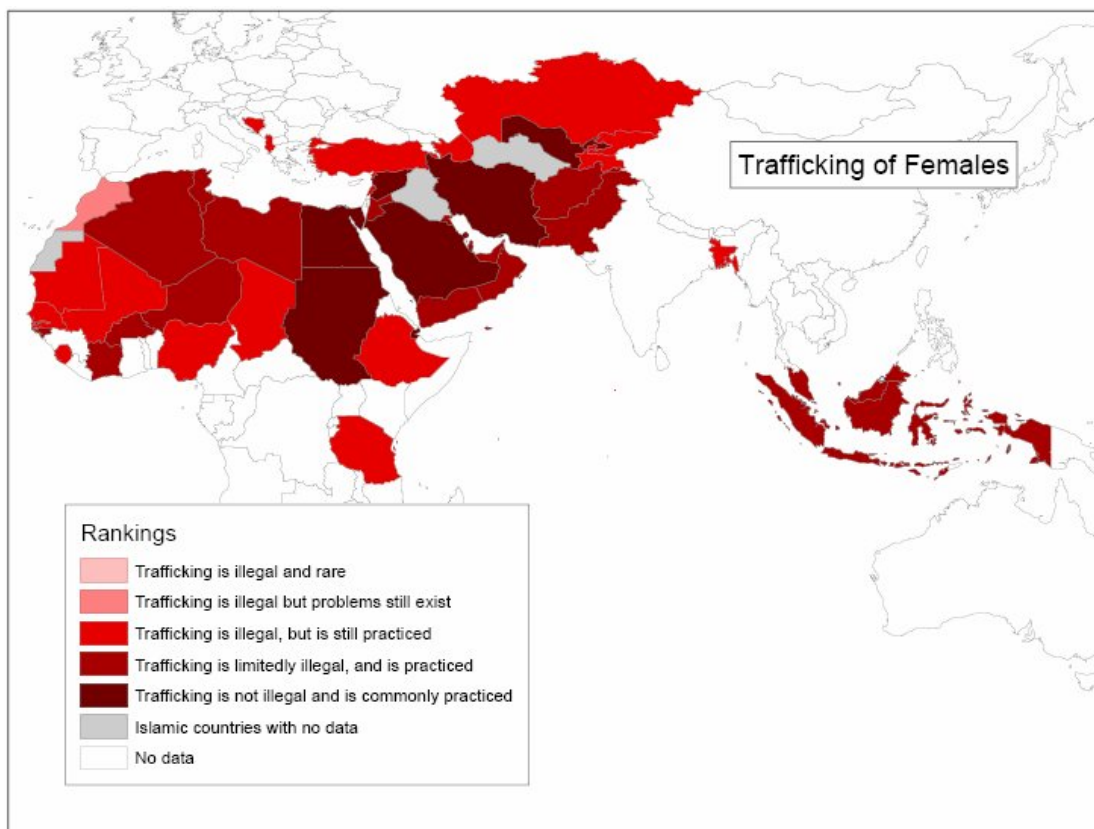


Figure 4: Trafficking of females in the Islamic world

### V. Polygyny

Contradicting conventional wisdom on polygynous marriage in Islamic nations, fully 20% of all Islamic nations outlaw polygyny (figure 5) and if it is practiced at all it is extremely uncommon. These nations include a smattering from practically every Islamic culture including European (Albania and Bosnia), Arab (Tunisia), African (Cote De Ivoire) former USSR (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan) and Southeast Asia (Brunei and Bangladesh). If you include nations where polygyny is practiced by less than 5% of the population then the total surges to 68% of the Islamic nations and includes counties right in the heart of Islam, such as Saudi Arabia.

From these examples we learn that not only is polygyny uncommon in the Islamic world, but according to the Levinson Anthropological Files the practice is gradually dying out even in strongholds such as Saudi Arabia, even though it may be considered a cultural standard (Levinson 1991 vol 9). Cultural and economic pressures as well as empowerment of the women have all contributed to this general decline (US State Department 2003). It is in Saharan Africa that we find the greatest prevalence of polygyny, in addition to Afghanistan, a nation torn by decades of war.

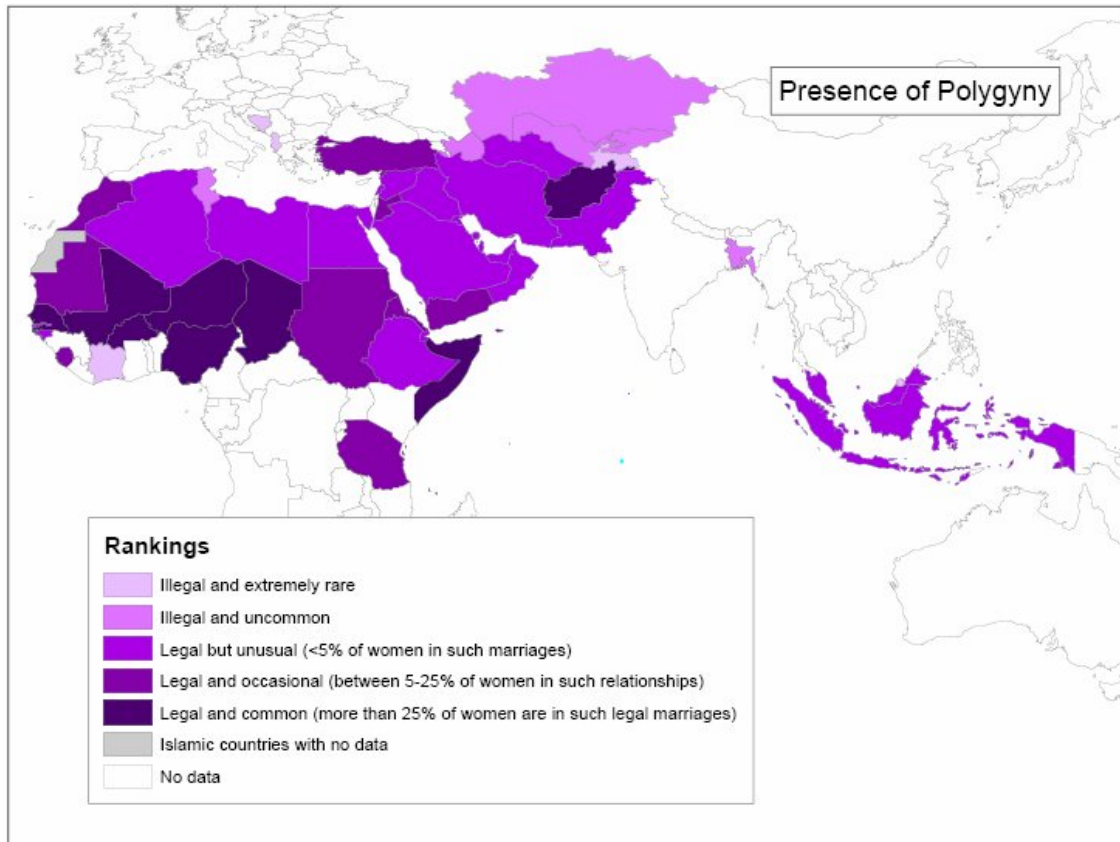


Figure 5: Prevalence of polygamy within the Islamic world

#### Commentary

Each map (figures 1-5) illustrates the diversity of practices concerning women in the Islamic world. It also underscores that there is not one Islamic country that ranks high on all five indicators, although some are clearly better than others. Most countries are somewhat schizophrenic. Because their policies towards women are not consistent, they may excel in some areas and fall short in others. But the positive news from this examination is that any Islamic country looking to improve in these areas can easily find another Islamic nation to emulate. Perhaps models for progress might best be found internally among other Islamic states rather than trying to mimic what counties with other cultural foundations have tried.

#### **Correlations: Women and States: Law Enforcement and Peace**

Now that we have seen that there are significant differences in how women are treated in various aspects of their lives in the Islamic states, we want to explore how those differences impact the situation of the state. To examine the impact on state peacefulness, we will look at how adequately these nations enforce CEDAW-consonant laws concerning women. This WomanStats scale is called the Discrepancy Scale and looks at how laws differ from practice in these nations across several variables (MULTIVAR-SCALE-2). Then we will use correlation analysis to determine if Islamic states that score better on this scale score better on the Global Peace Index. The Global Peace Index is a scale created by the Economist Intelligence Unit to measure the “peacefulness” of states (Global Peace Index, 2007).

**The Discrepancy Scale.** There are three clusters to this variable. The first examines the physical security of women looking at data such as FGM, rape, domestic violence and trafficking. The second cluster of variables look at a woman’s access to formal education. The final cluster examines an area called family freedom, which explores the age of marriage, access to divorce and equality in the marriage law. The scales, as well as the weights for each variable, are included in appendix 1. A detail listing of all the variables that are collected for this scale are outlined in the codebook on the WomanStats website ([www.womanstats.org](http://www.womanstats.org)). For each level the map should be interpreted as follows.

Scale points:

Missing Data (there are a few countries which did not have enough data to scale)

0 The laws are consonant with CEDAW and are well enforced by the government; such enforcement is a high priority of the government.

1 The laws are consonant with CEDAW; these are mostly enforced, and the government appears to be fairly proactive in challenging cultural norms which harm women.

2 The laws are consonant with CEDAW, but there is spotty enforcement; the government may or may not signal its interest in challenging cultural norms harmful to women.

3 Laws are for the most part consonant with CEDAW, with little effective enforcement; improving the situation of women appears to be a low priority for the government.

4 There is virtually no enforcement of laws consonant with CEDAW, or such laws do not even exist.

No Islamic country scored a perfect 0. But it is interesting to note that of all the maps, this one on discrepancy was the most diverse, and it also highlights some of the most interesting divides in the Islamic world. States as diverse as The United Arab Emirates,

Tunisia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Albania illustrate that within Islam there are countries that are promoting the status of women through both law and practice. None of these countries were perfect but all of them generally excelled, compared to other Islamic nations, in enforcement of the laws. This should come as some consolation to those who wish to see improvements in the Islamic world concerning the status of women. Seventy percent of the Islamic countries for which we have data show that laws have been passed that protect women. However, laws mean very little when it comes to improvement on the ground for women. Still, the existence of laws protecting women provides a beginning point that then allows women and bold prosecutors to test the limits and interpretations of the law. We know from scholarly work that there are many cases, in nations as diverse as Chile and Japan, where laws on the books, or cases pending in the courts by pioneering women, were used to promote the status of women in ways that would not have been possible had not the laws existed when the case came to court (Ross, 2007). It is at least a start, and does show that Islam is moving forward even if the progress is generally slow. Puzzlingly, Indonesia, Turkey and Bangladesh stand out as non-Arab countries that initially we would have expected to do better at enacting and enforcing laws promoting women--especially Turkey, with all its EU pressure to reform and its long history as a secular and progressive state. Given their low rankings, Turkey and Indonesia serve as evidence that democracies do not necessarily do very well at protecting the marginalized citizens of their nation.

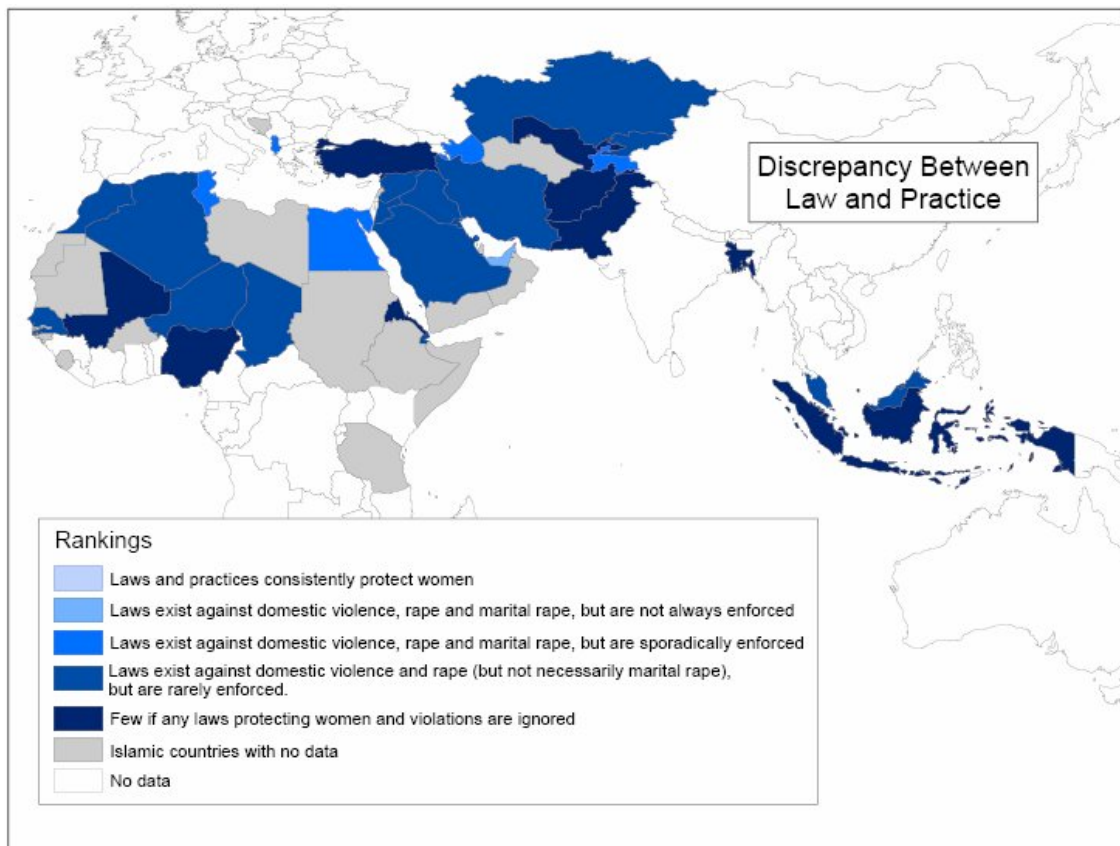


Figure 6: Map showing discrepancies between law and practice in the Islamic world

Visually testing the data and seeing that there are differences is a wonderful way to explore the data, but eventually we need to ask the question – do the differences matter? To help with this question we are going to compare the Discrepancy Rank with the World Peace Index rankings to see if there is a statistical correlation between nations that legally empower and judiciously protect their women and how peaceful that nation is.

The World Peace Index identifies itself by the following abstract on their website at [www.visionofhumanity.com](http://www.visionofhumanity.com). “[The Global Peace Index (GPI)] ranks 121 nations according to their relative peacefulness. The Global Peace Index is composed of 24 indicators, ranging from a nation’s level of military expenditure to its relations with neighboring countries and the level of respect for human rights.” This last section of our paper will examine the statistical correlation between the GPI and WomanStats Discrepancy Scale, looking specifically at the group of Islamic nations in our analysis.

The nature of the data and the reduced scope of this paper require the use of nonparametric statistical tools. Both the GPI and the WomanStats Discrepancy Scale contain a set of only 32 Islamic nations where there is enough data from both scales.

Looking at the relationship between the two variables we find that there is a significant relationship ( $p < .05$ ) when comparing the WomanStats Discrepancy Scale to the GPI raw scores on a variety of statistical measures.

### Nonparametric Correlations

			Discrepancy Exact	GPI RAW
Kendall's tau_b	Discrepancy Exact	Correlation	1.000	.367(*)
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.013
	GPI RAW	N	39	25
		Correlation	.367(*)	1.000
		Coefficient		
Spearman's rho	Discrepancy Exact	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.
		N	25	25
		Correlation	1.000	.495(*)
	GPI RAW	Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.
		N	39	25
Spearman's rho	Discrepancy Exact	Correlation	1.000	.495(*)
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.012
	GPI RAW	N	39	25
		Correlation	.495(*)	1.000
		Coefficient		
Spearman's rho	GPI RAW	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.
		N	25	25
		Correlation	1.000	.495(*)

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

## **Conclusion**

Our statistical tests seem to be indicating that there is, indeed, a significant correlation between the status of women in an Islamic nation and the resulting peacefulness of that nation. Of course, statistics cannot establish a causal relationship where increased levels of security for women will generate increased security for the state, however it demonstrates that the status of women is at least a significant indicator of peace within Islamic countries. It raises the question of whether reform concerning the status of women is not at least, if not more, important than economic and political reform in advancing the wellbeing of the Islamic community of states.

Nations and advocates have practiced “trickle down” empowerment measure for decades now, operating under the belief that if the economy improved, or if democracy were pursued then all of society would benefit as well as the nation itself. It is now becoming evident that not only has economic prosperity failed to protect nations like Saudi Arabia, or Nigeria from deteriorating peace, but democracy has also thus far failed nations like Afghanistan and Iraq, and religious reform has not severed Turkey and Indonesia as well as it might have.

We believe that it is now time to look further at the divides in the Islamic world and concentrate on removing the discrepancy between law and practice concerning women. As countries do this we believe that we will witness these nations not only becoming more peaceful internally but that their level of peace in relationship to other nations will improve as well. The evidence laid out at least gives an indication that there is some reason to adopt this position.

## Appendix 1

For figure 1 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

**MURDER SCALE 1: Title: Existents of Femicide and Violence Directed Against Women:** Coded July 2007. Professor Rose McDermott's Murder scale: Designed to code the prevalence of murder of women in a given state. This data was derived from Womanstats variable Murder Data 1

**0 More men than women murdered**, or no information on gender differences in murder despite absolute murder rates being given or available

**1 Some evidence of higher rates for female death**, especially as a result of domestic violence

**2 Real evidence of femicide**

For figure 2 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

**DV SCALE 1:** Coded July 2007. Professor Rose McDermott's Domestic Violence scale: Designed to provide quantitative data, where available, of the percentage of women who have had lifetime experience of physical, sexual, psychological, verbal or financial abuse. If that data was not available, we used the quantitative percentage of women who had suffered such abuse in last year, which typically raises the number somewhat over the lifetime percentage. Where discrepancies existed, we used the most recent data. Please note that there may be high rates of regional differences in likelihood of violence within some states. This may mean, for example, that women are at differential risk if they live in an urban versus rural setting, or if they are part of a particular ethnic or minority enclave. Most women appear to be at greater risk if they have less education, for example. Some data did not include psychological abuse, while others did, so some data may not be commensurate across states. We used the broadest definition of abuse possible for available data (i.e., we included psychological abuse as part of domestic violence where such data was available). Please note that the data is much richer than these numbers indicate, and there are specific numbers, percentage of crime, etc, by state within the larger database. This data was derived from Womanstats variable DV Data 1.

For Figure 3 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

**ISSA SCALE 1: Title = "Son Preference and Sex Ratios"**



**0 No Son Preference and Normal Sex Ratios:** There is no son preference, and no abnormality in sex ratios, whether those be birth, childhood, or overall sex ratios.

**1 Some Son Preference and Normal Sex Ratios:** Though a minority of the population expresses son preference, there is no enactment of that preference, so sex ratios are normal.

**2 Considerable Son Preference, but Normal Sex Ratios:** Though a majority expresses son preference, there is no enactment of that preference, so sex ratios are normal.

**3 Universal Son Preference, Abnormal Sex Ratio:** There is almost universal son preference in the society, and one sees abnormal sex ratios (Definition: birth 107-109; childhood 105.1-107; (childhood 0-9) OR operator).

**4 Intense Son Preference, Significantly Abnormal Sex Ratios:** There is intense son preference, and there are significant abnormalities in sex ratios, whether those be birth, childhood, or overall sex ratios. (Definition: birth >109, childhood >107; (childhood 0-9) OR operator.)

For figure 4 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

TRAFF SCALE 1: Coded January 2007. Professor Valerie Hudson's Scale of Trafficking, based on all WomanStats TRAFF variables (practice, law data)  
General notes:

1. There are laws against trafficking in the country and into or from other countries. These laws are enforced. The country is in full compliance (ranking of 1) with the Trafficking Persons act of 2000. Trafficking appears to be rare. You cannot move from a Tier 2 ranking to a Tier 1 ranking over consecutive State Department reports and be scored as a 0 immediately after the assignment of the Tier 1 ranking. Some time must elapse to see how the situation evolves, and so the country should be coded as a 1.

2. There are laws against trafficking in the country and into or from other countries. These laws are enforced, but either enforcement is becoming more lax over time or reports of significant trafficking undetected by authorities is increasing. In other words, though a Tier 1 country, there appear to be growing problems. The country is in full compliance (ranking of 1) with the Trafficking Persons act of 2000. For countries in which prostitution is legal, the country can still be scored as a 1 if they have taken strong measures to insure that the prostitution is not entangled with trafficking.

3. There are laws against trafficking in the country. (If the country only has laws about prostitution, slavery, etc., but no laws against trafficking per se, they cannot be coded as a 2.) These laws are not always enforced. The country is in non compliance (ranking of 2) with the Trafficking Persons act of 2000 but efforts are being made to comply.

4. There are limited laws against trafficking in the country. The country is in non compliance (ranking of 2) with the Trafficking Persons act of 2000 and only limited/marginal efforts are not being made to comply.

5. There are no laws against trafficking in the country, or from or into the country. The country is not in compliance (ranking of 3) with the Trafficking Persons act of 2000. Victims are not supported in any way. The government may even benefit from and therefore facilitate trafficking.

For Figure 5 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

PW SCALE 1: Coded July 2007. Polygyny scale by Professor Rose McDermott: Designed to code the prevalence and legal status of polygyny in a given state. (This is from Womanstats variables PW Practice 2 and 3; PW Law 1 and PW Data 1).

0 Illegal and extremely rare

1 Illegal and common

2 Legal but unusual (<5% of women in such marriages). In practice, this often means the practice is common in particularly minority ethnic or religious enclaves

3 Legal and occasional (between 5-25% of women in such relationships). This is also coded if informal cohabitations involving multiple partners commonly exist in cultural practice, although the marriage is not formally sanctioned as such.

4. Legal and common (more than 25% of women are in such legal marriages).

For Figure 6 (Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Chad Emmett, Rose McDermott, S. Matthew Stearmer, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, "WomanStats Codebook," <http://www.womanstats.org/Codebook7.30.07.htm>, [8-28-07])

Multivariate Scale #2 (Discrepancy Between Law and Practice Concerning Women): Coded July 2007. Professor Valerie Hudson's Scale of the Degree of Discrepancy Between Law and Practice on Issues Concerning Women in Society. This scale has three sub-clusters: Physical Security/Bodily Integrity, which examines WomanStats variables INFIB (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Infibulation)), LRW (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Rape and Sexual Assault)); LRCM (Practice 1, Law 2, Data 1 (Marital Rape)), DV (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Domestic

Violence)), TRAFF (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Trafficking)), and which sub-cluster is weighted by three. The second sub-cluster is Education, which examines WomanStats variables AFE (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Access to Formal Education), ASR (Practice 1 and Law 1 (Area of Study Restrictions), and is unweighted. The third sub-cluster is Family Freedom, which examines WomanStats variables AOM (Practice 1, Law 1, Data 1 (Age at First Marriage)), ATDW (Practice 2, Law 5 (Access to Divorce)), and MARR (Practice 1 and Law 1 (Volition in Marriage)), and is weighted by two.

Scale points:

Missing Data (there are a few countries which did not have enough data to scale)

0 The laws are consonant with CEDAW and are well enforced by the government; such enforcement is a high priority of the government.

1 The laws are consonant with CEDAW; these are mostly enforced, and the government appears to be fairly proactive in challenging cultural norms which harm women.

2 The laws are consonant with CEDAW, but there is spotty enforcement; the government may or may not signal its interest in challenging cultural norms harmful to women.

3 Laws are for the most part consonant with CEDAW, with little effective enforcement; improving the situation of women appears to be a low priority for the government.

4 There is virtually no enforcement of laws consonant with CEDAW, or such laws do not even exist .

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