

**Women's Tears and International Fears:
Is Discrepant Enforcement of National Laws Protecting
Women and Girls Related to Discrepant Enactment of
International Norms by Nation-States?**

by
Valerie M. Hudson
and
Carl H. Brinton
Brigham Young University

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

Valerie Hudson: valerie_hudson@byu.edu

Carl Brinton: gaokeren@gmail.com

I. Introduction

One of the perennial problems vexing the contemporary international system is the presence of states that are not in compliance with international norms of behavior. Sometimes termed “rogue” states, these not only include states which break treaties and resort to the first use of force in militarized disputes, but also those that commit democide or genocide, those which are non-compliant with international WMD agreements, those which are corrupt, and those which are politically repressive. The agenda of the Security Council of the United Nations centers around just such states, and their lack of norm compliance undermines the trust and cooperation so necessary to a stable international system.

What predisposes nations to become states of concern to the international community? Some have opined that lack of freedom allows dysfunctional leaders to enact their own psychopathologies on a larger stage. Others suggest that extreme nationalism or extreme religious fundamentalism breeds intolerance and ends-means justifications of the most self-serving and amoral variety.

In this paper, we would like to explore an alternative, or perhaps complementary, explanation to those listed above. Does a society’s ill treatment of women create templates of pathologic narcissism in the leaders, nationalist movements, and religious movements that arise within that society—which, in turn, would be manifest in nation-state behavioral norm non-compliance?

The theoretical framework employed in this empirical exercise is what we term the Caprioli-Agacinski theory of gender/state violence. Our means of investigating this theory with reference to those states of concern to the international community is the WomanStats Database. Each element is elucidated below.

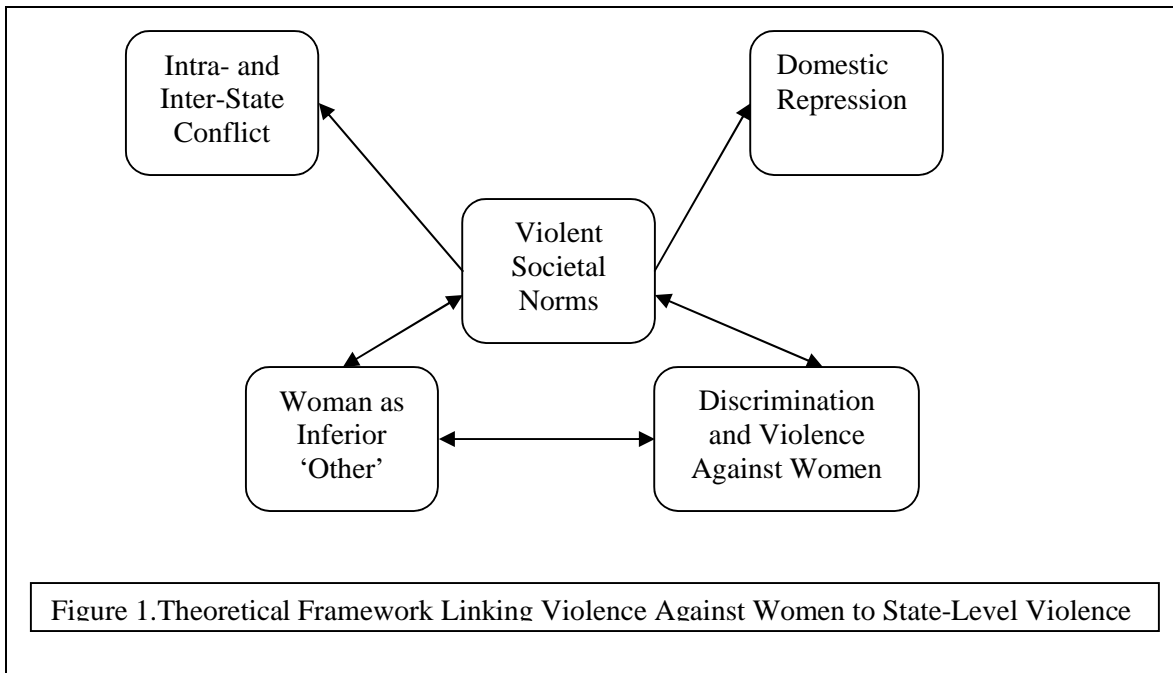
II. The Caprioli-Agacinski Theory of Gender/State Violence

Human society is roughly half male and half female, and human heritage is based on male parentage and female parentage. French philosopher Sylviane Agacinski argues that it is the difference between male and female that is every child’s first observed social difference, and “it is always the difference of the sexes that serves as a model for all other differences, and the male/female hierarchy that is taken as a metaphor for all inter-ethnic hierarchies” (2001, 14). And, we might add, inter-religious hierarchies and international hierarchies.

Caprioli expands on how it could be that differential treatment of men and women cascades out to provide templates for treatment of all “others” the society encounters and for typical means of conflict resolution adopted by the society when in conflict with a group of “others”—whether these groups of “others” are encountered within or without the society’s borders. We quote here extensively from Caprioli (2005:165) for that link:

“Although gender roles change over time and are culturally dependent, gender is used as a benchmark to determine access and power, and is the rubric under which inequality is justified and maintained. Indeed, ‘Gender power is seen to shape the dynamics of every site of human interaction, from the household to the international arena’ (Cockburn, 2001:15). This interaction includes economic, political, and social dynamics. The intrusion of gender inequality throughout all aspects of human interaction thus creates the foundation for structural inequality.”

Caprioli goes on to suggest that “domestic norms of gender inequality result in higher levels of inter- and intrastate violence.” (See Figure 1.) She notes that “scholars have found a correlation between a state’s level of militarism and sexism, manifested by women’s inequality in relation to that of men (Elshtain 1987; Reardon 1985; Ruddick 1983; Brownmiller 1975).” Drawing upon the insights of Bradley and Khor (1993), Caprioli hypothesizes that if the fundamental rules of society are based on gendered structural inequality and violence, then violent international behavior is likely.



Why would this be so? According to Caprioli, the concepts of “structural violence” and “cultural violence” put forward by Johan Galtung (1975, 1990), prove useful in seeing the link between the treatment of the first Other (the other sex) and the treatment of all Others (minorities, other states, other religious groups, etc.). Caprioli explains:

“According to Galtung (1975), structural violence is understood as systematic exploitation that becomes part of the social order. This systematic exploitation renders personal violence unnecessary – “Personal violence is only for the amateur in dominance; structural violence is the tool of the professional. The amateur who wants to dominate uses guns, the professional uses social structure” (Galtung, 1975:80). Although Galtung focused on structural violence in terms of economic inequality, his theory can readily be applied to other forms of structural violence. Structural violence has four basic components: exploitation which is focused on the division of labor with the benefits being asymmetrically distributed, penetration which necessitates the control by the exploiters over the consciousness of the exploited thus resulting in the acquiescence of the oppressed, fragmentation which means that the exploited are separated from each other, and marginalization with the exploiters as a privileged class with their own rules and form of interaction (Galtung, 1975: 264–65). In applying Galtung’s (1975:265)

model of structural violence to women, we find all four components of structural violence.”

How does structural violence arise within a human collective? Through socialization within a culture that validates the subordination of and use of violence against women. According to Caprioli, “structural violence is created and sustained by cultural norms and is a process by which cultural violence is institutionalized. Galtung (1990) highlights the role of cultural violence as part of the social matrix of violence that is used to both justify and legitimize structural violence. Norms of cultural violence can be found in religion, ideology, language, and art, among other aspects of culture. ‘Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong’ (Galtung, 1990:291). Although women have become active agents with notable success in the struggle for equality, violence remains a component of relations between men and women (Sideris, 2001) – and this enduring aspect of cultural violence underscores gendered structural violence. Multiple causes of violence against women exist, yet inequality of power (domination and subordination) is a common denominator in all acts of violence. It is this structural inequality of power that ‘creates the conditions for the social control of women’ (Sideris, 2001:142). Women’s inequality creates a power vacuum that men in authority can and do exploit with repression (Henderson, 2004).”

In line with the arguments of Agacinski, Caprioli asserts that inequality in all its forms is rooted in the first inequality—gender inequality. “Gender is an integral aspect of structural and cultural violence, for gender forms the basis of structural inequality in *all* states. Although the power and role of women vary across states, women have yet to gain full equality in any state. While structural hierarchies may also be based on race, religion, etc., gender is, however, a cross-cultural foundation of structural inequality. When structural violence is minimized, societal tolerance of violence is decreased (Caprioli, 2003), thus leading to fewer international disputes and to fewer instances of intrastate violence (Caprioli, 2005). Conversely, when societal tolerance of violence is supported and legitimized by an environment of structural violence, the incidence of both inter- and intrastate violence is expected to increase, for violence becomes a way of life and a valid tool for settling disputes. . . . A sustainable peace, therefore, is predicated on fostering fundamental societal changes that include gender equality (Hunt & Posa 2001).”

Caprioli argues that societies built upon a foundation of gender inequality by necessity embrace a competitive worldview and are accustomed to behaving in dominating, exploitative, violent ways—which are viewed as entirely legitimate by such societies, for that is how the female half of that society is routinely treated. “Gendered structural hierarchies, which are maintained by norms of violence and oppression, should result in higher levels of inter- and intrastate violence by inuring people to violence and by providing the framework for justifying violence. Gendered hierarchies have an additional role in explaining the violence attendant to nationalism, for the dichotomy between men and women that underscores structural inequality and violence is also an integral aspect of nationalism. Clearly nationalism is not gender neutral. Dichotomizing the sexes becomes one of many ways of creating in- and out-groups both within and between groups. ‘Gender relations are a crucial, not peripheral, dimension of the dynamics of groups identities and intergroup conflicts’ (Peterson, 1998:42-43). There is an inherent nationalist antipathy toward feminist goals, for men are considered the

guardians of culture and tradition and any reforms to the cultural distribution of power are viewed as a threat to nationalist efforts to protect or unify the community (Tickner, 1992, 2001; Papanek, 1994; Tessler and Warriner, 1997; Caprioli and Boyer, 2001). Gendered nationalism, therefore, relies on dichotomous gender roles, thus bolstering structural inequality and violence between and within nations. Conversely, the prior existence of equality hampers the ability to mobilize through demoralizing women. Women's domestic equality thus results in fewer incidences of international and domestic conflict (Tessler and Warriner, 1997; Caprioli, 2000, 2003, 2005). In sum, the higher the level of gender inequality, the greater the likelihood of international and domestic conflict and instability for the nation."

We would comment that Caprioli's analysis applies not only to nationalism, but also to religious fundamentalisms that produce the same malignant hierarchies. This essentially hierarchical viewpoint can come to infect the worldviews of leaders that arise within such a culture, so that even if a single predominant leader controls state behavior, that control will be deeply colored by these original sources within which the leader was socialized.

Furthermore, we believe that additional research has served to corroborate Caprioli's argument. For example, Hudson and Den Boer (2004) find great societal instability and even regional instability in nations where female infanticide and sex-selective abortion are prevalent. Fish (2002) finds that among the set of Islamic nations, sex ratio and the male:female literacy gap are significantly associated with authoritarianism. McDermott (2007) finds that polygyny is significantly related to violent state behavior. Inglehart and Norris (2003) demonstrate through the World Values Survey that beliefs about democracy and other political values are simply not that different across cultures—but that the truly significant difference between cultures is the difference in beliefs about gender.

III. The WomanStats Database

To date, it has been very difficult to pursue a research agenda investigating the linkage between the security of women and the security and behavior of states. This unfortunate state of affairs is due to the paucity of easily accessible information on the status of women in the societies of the world. Most analyses utilize the UNDP's GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure) and GDI (Gender Development Index) measures which, while pioneering, are based on a half-dozen quantitative measures allowing neither richness or nuance of analysis. Other databases, such as GenderStats (World Bank; approximately 20 statistics) and Wistat (UN; approximately 76 statistics), provide some additional raw material, but have not culminated in the types of detailed scales necessary for the analysis we are contemplating. UNECA's AGDI (African Gender and Development Index) comes much closer to our ideal of multi-factorial, qualitative plus quantitative measures used as the foundation for a richer scaling of the cross-national status of women, if only for twelve sub-Saharan African nations (UNECA, 2005).

However, with the development of the online WomanStats Database (<http://www.womanstats.org>), the precise tool we need to explore our hypotheses has at last appeared. The WomanStats Database codes for over 250 variables on the status of women for 172 states (those with >200,000 population). There are currently over 50,000 data points in the database, with more added daily. Several hundred source documents

have been consulted to date, and this number continues to increase. The WomanStats Database is easily the largest compendium of information on the situation of women in the world today.

One of the most helpful features of the WomanStats Database is its coding for variables of practice and law, in addition to data. For example, there are 11 variables related to rape alone; those discussing practices, taboos, customs, support for victims, enforcement of law, the law itself, who can serve as a witness, legal definitions of rape, punishments and incarceration rates, as well as expected statistics on the prevalence of rape—for both marital and non-marital rape. Since data is compiled from a variety of sources, researchers can see any disagreement between sources for any of the various variables.

Furthermore, the principal investigators of the WomanStats Project have been involved in developing scales which can be used in aggregate empirical testing: scales of violence against women, polygyny, trafficking, son preference, etc. The results of these scaling exercises are also freely available online to all who use the database. We have also produced GIS maps that elucidate the spatial dimensions of our scaling efforts, and these maps, too, may be found on our website.

The WomanStats Database also highlights areas which warrant increased attention by statistical bureaux, by pointing out for a given country which variables appear to have no or insufficient data collected. The WomanStats Database features an online system of credentialed, approved data input by users of the website, so that these gaps in the data may be filled by those with the knowledge to do so.

IV. Hypotheses

If the Caprioli-Agacinski theoretical framework is correct, then it should be possible to argue that states which disregard their own laws and rhetorical norms concerning women are likely to also disregard international laws and norms which should govern their behavior as states. To wit, they are more likely to be SOCIC (states of concern to the international community):

H1: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on an overall SOCIC measure.

H2: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the economic dimension of SOCIC.

H3: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the violence dimension of SOCIC.

H4: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the political dimension of SOCIC.

H5: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the Global Peace Index (GPI; somewhat counter-intuitively, a higher GPI score means a less peaceful society).

V. Operationalizations

a. SOCIC (States of Concern to the International Community), version July 2007

We created the SOCIC scale that assesses which countries are states of concern to the international community within the last ten years: 1997-2007, and what level that concern reaches. In cases of major regime change, such as in Afghanistan and Iraq, we have used data from only the years following the change. Specifically, the scale ranges from 0-4, with scale point interpretations as follows:

On measures of the extent to which the state has been non-compliant with international economic, political, and use-of-force norms:

0=Not of concern to the international community

1=Of little concern to the international community

2=Of some concern to the international community

3=Of significant concern to the international community

4=Of greatest concern to the international community

The SOCIC measure is a weighted compilation of three dimensions of possible concern to the international community:

Economic:

- Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International)
- IMF Article VIII non-compliance (Simmons, 2000).

Political:

- Political Pluralism and Participation (Freedom House)
- Functioning of Government (Freedom House)
- Freedom of Expression and Belief (Freedom House)
- Association and Organization Rights (Freedom House)
- WMD non-compliance (U.S. State Department)
- Relations with Neighbors (GPI, CIA World Factbook, BBC World Service)
- Coups d'états (BBC World Service)

Violence:

- Torture (Hathaway, 2002)
- Democide/Genocide/Civil War/Internal Conflict (GPI, White (2005), Rummel (2005))
- First Use of Force/First use of Violent Force (Caprioli and Trumbore, 2006 and forthcoming)

Please see Appendix I for specific coding rules and weights for each of these clusters, as well as full information on sources of information, and Appendix II for final scores for 141 countries. On a scale from 0-4, the mean raw score for 141 countries was 1.61, with a standard deviation of 1.16. Here we provide a mapping of SOCIC for the decade 1997-2007 (Figure 1).

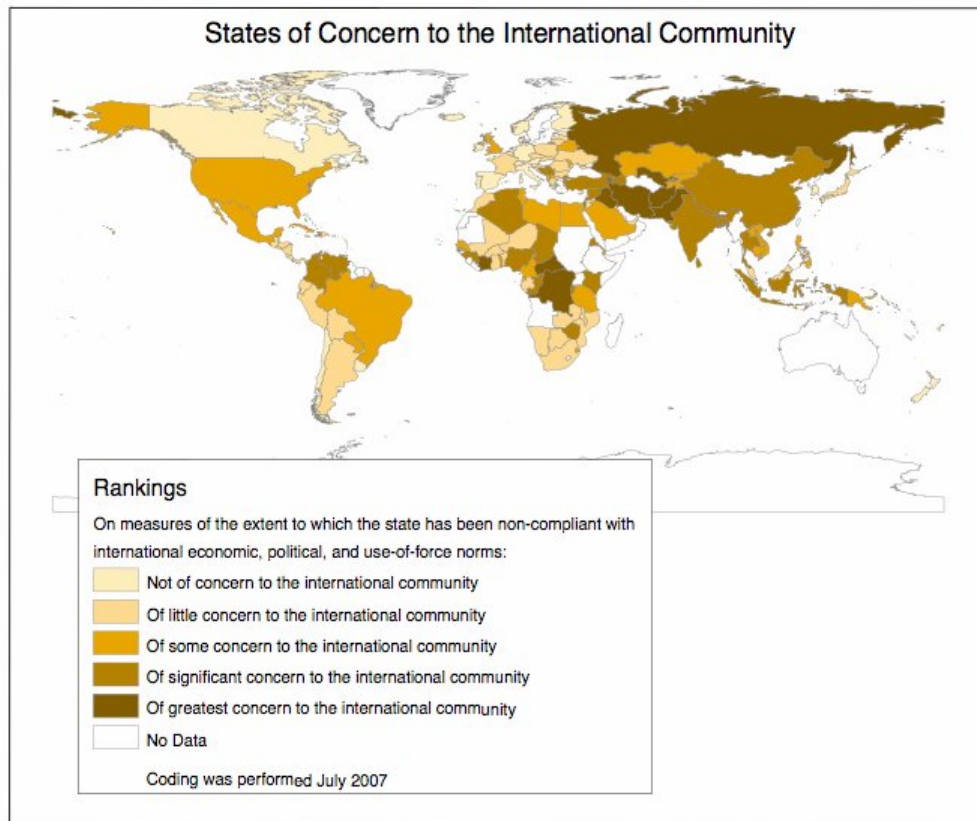


Figure 1: States of Concern to the International Community (SOCIC) for 141 countries; coded July 2007.

b. Discrepancy Between Law and Practice Concerning Women (version July 2007).

The purpose of this scale is to gauge how discrepant a country is concerning its enforcement of laws concerning women, as well as to ask whether the country's laws are discrepant with respect to CEDAW. The scale points are as follows:

Scale points:

- 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 for the most part 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 generally 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.

We code this variable by clusters, and we weight and then combine those three clusters to come up with the overall discrepancy score, which represents the degree of discrepancy for the time period 2000-2007. Because social customs concerning gender are so ingrained and persistent, we would expect, with Eckstein (1988), that these scores are representative of customs stretching back at least one decade. Indeed, in an attempt to discern whether this was a justifiable assumption, we traced change in one of our explanatory cluster, and found it to be only 2.3% per annum in either direction (better *or* worse). As a result of this analysis, we feel that measuring the strength of the association between Discrepancy, representing 2000-2007 data for the most part, and SOCIC, representing 1997-2007, is legitimate. The following WomanStats variables are used in the coding of Discrepancy:

Physical Security/Bodily Integrity Cluster

Infibulation: INFIB-Practice-1, Law-1
 Rape: LRW-Practice-1, Law-1
 Martial Rape: LRCM-Practice-1, Law-1
 Domestic Violence: DV-Practice-1, Law-1, and Data-1
 Trafficking: TRAFF-Practice-1

Education

Access to Formal Education for Women: AFE-Practice-1, Law-1, Data-1
 Area of Study Restrictions Based on Gender: ASR-Practice-1

Family Freedom

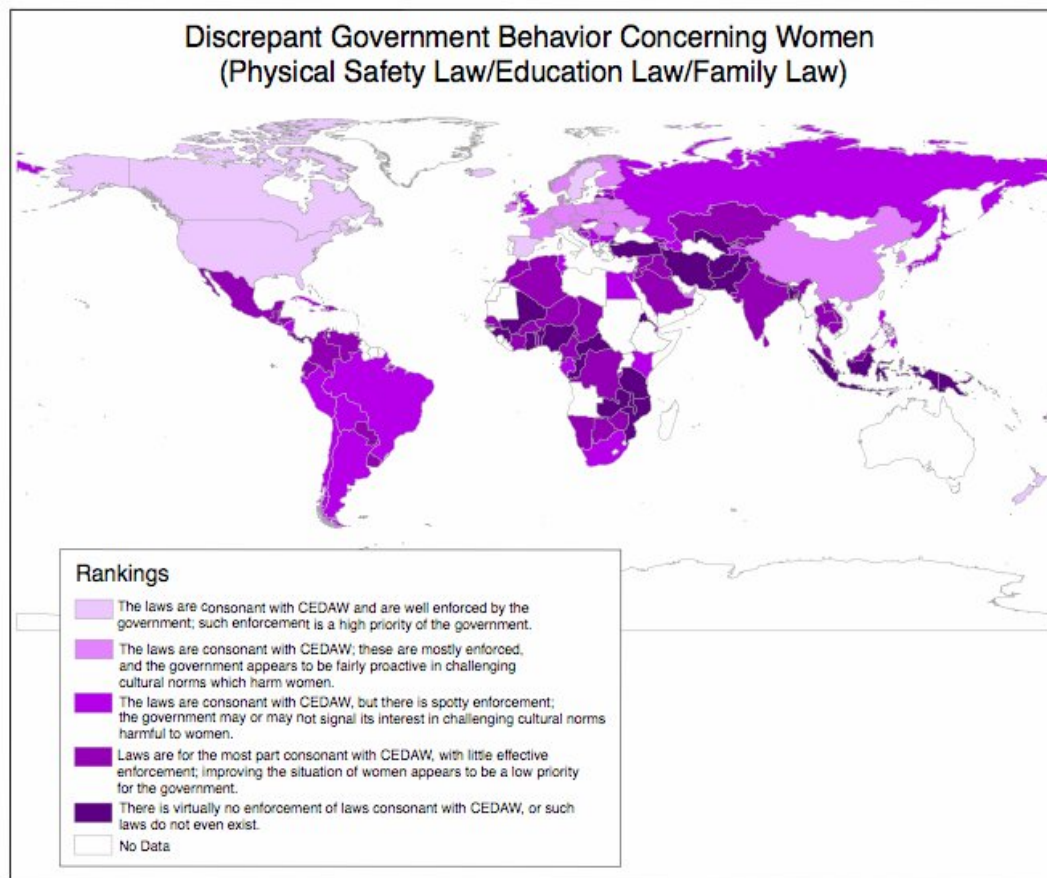
Age of First Marriage: AOM-Practice-1, Law-1, Data-1

Access to Divorce: ATDW-Practice-2, Law-5

Voluntary Marriage: MARR-Practice-1, Law-1

Full coding rules, weighting, and sources of information are found in the online WomanStats Codebook (Hudson et al., 2007). Final scores for 141 countries also appear in the WomanStats Database (variable MULTIVAR-SCALE-2, version July 2007). On a scale from 0-4, the mean raw score for 141 countries was 2.27, and the standard deviation was 1.08. A mapping of Discrepancy Between Law and Practice Concerning Women is presented here in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Mapping of Discrepancy Between law and Practice Concerning Women (version July 2007) for 141 Countries



VI. Results

Since all scales used in this exercise are primarily ordinal in character, standard statistical measures of association such as chi-square were used to assess the significance of the association between the Discrepancy scale, the SOCIC scale and its components, and the GPI. We will examine the results for each hypothesis in turn:

H1: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on an overall SOCIC measure.

The number of cases for this analysis was 141 countries. For all measures of association examined, the significance was $p \leq .000$; see Table 1.

Table 1: SOCIC (overall; rounded) * Discrepancy (rounded)

Measure	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	78.287	16	.000
Somer's d	.450		.000
Spearman Correlation	.531		.000
Pearson's R	.535		.000

H2: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the economic dimension of SOCIC.

The number of cases for this analysis was 141 countries. For all measures of association examined, the significance was $p \leq .000$; see Table 2.

Table 2: Economic SOCIC * Discrepancy (rounded)

Measure	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	94.402	16	.000
Somer's d	.472		.000
Spearman Correlation	.586		.000
Pearson's R	.653		.000

H3: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the violence dimension of SOCIC.

The number of cases for this analysis was 141 countries. For all measures of association examined, the significance was $p \leq .01$; see Table 3.

Table 3: Violence SOCIC*Discrepancy (rounded)

Measure	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	33.211	16	.007
Somer's d	.270		.003
Spearman Correlation	.338		.000
Pearson's R	.341		.000

H4: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the political dimension of SOCIC.

The number of cases for this analysis was 141 countries. For all measures of association examined (in this case, interval-level correlation was examined), the significance was $p \leq .000$; see Table 4.

Table 4: Political SOCIC*Discrepancy (not rounded)

Measure	Value	Significance
Pearson Correlation	.484	.000
Kendall's tau-b	.370	.000
Spearman's rho	.525	.000

H5: States with more highly discrepant behavior concerning women should score higher on the Global Peace Index (GPI; actually and somewhat counter-intuitively, a higher GPI score means a less peaceful society).

GPI comes as both a raw score and also as a rank. Measures of association for both with Discrepancy are given. The number of cases for this analysis is 105 countries. For all measures of association examined (in this case, interval-level correlation was examined), the significance was $p \leq .000$; see Table 5. (For informational purposes, SOCIC and GPI Raw/Rank were correlated with a Pearson's R of .825 with significance of $p \leq .000$.)

Table 5: GPI*Discrepancy (not rounded)

Measure	Value (GPI Raw)	Significance (GPI Raw)	Value (GPI Rank)	Significance (GPI Rank)
Pearson Correlation	.556	.000	.593	.000
Kendall's tau-b	.409	.000	.408	.000
Spearman's rho	.570	.000	.570	.000

In summary, every hypothesis put forward for empirical analysis found strong corroboration. Not only were the associations highly statistically significant, but the values of the computed measures were in most cases quite substantial. Put simply, nations with discrepant enforcement of laws concerning women are at high risk to also be states of great concern to the international community because of their non-compliance with international norms. Using GPI, we can also rephrase the association to say that nations with discrepant enforcement of laws concerning women are at high risk to be less peaceful nations.

VII. Conclusions

No statistical measure of association can prove causality. Are states non-compliant with international norms because they place a low priority on safeguarding women's rights to personal security, access to education, and equity in marriage? Or the reverse? Or are both a consequence of some other factor, such as poverty? Or does

poverty itself arise from problematic treatment of women in society? While all are conceivable speculations, the Caprioli-Agacinski theoretical framework presents a persuasive argument that the chicken (gender inequality) came first, and then the egg (international norm non-compliance) came second. Nations high on the discrepancy score were more likely to be corrupt, to not be free, to have bad relations with their neighbors, to use force first in disputes, and to torture and kill their own people, among other things. Placing a low priority on safeguarding women’s rights is a strong predictor that a state will also be troublesome to the stability of the international system.

In fact, it is a better predictor than the level of democracy of the state. Much has been said about the export of democracy as a means to pursue greater peace in the international system. But is it possible that there is a much more fundamental and powerful means—the export of gender equality? And is it possible that no nation should even be labeled a democracy if it is significantly discrepant regarding key aspects of women’s rights? Table 6 lists those nations that Freedom House views as “free,” but are at discrepancy level of 3 or 4. If our empirical analysis is sound, these nations should not be labeled democracies. They are certainly not to be expected to add to the evidence for the democratic peace theory. Table 7 demonstrates this very point: in a one-way Analysis of Variance differentiating SOCIC scores and GPI raw scores for “free” countries by whether the Discrepancy Score is 3 or 4 (versus “free” countries where the Discrepancy score is less than 3), the result is highly statistically significant¹: that is, *free countries that do not safeguard women’s rights are much more likely to be states of concern to the international community than free countries that do safeguard women’s rights and much less likely to be peaceful.*

Table 6: Countries in Our Sample Labelled “Free” by Freedom House (2007), with Discrepancy Scores of 3 or 4

Country
Costa Rica
Croatia
Dominican Republic
El Salvador
Ghana
India
Indonesia
Israel
Latvia
Mali
Mexico
Namibia
Panama
Senegal

¹ This significance is magnified by the fact that one part of one cluster of SOCIC includes four Freedom House variables. Thus, being deemed as “Free” by Freedom House should, in the first place, reduce one’s SOCIC score. That the ANOVA finds such a significant difference in SOCIC means based on Discrepancy Score, is thus even more noteworthy. (Though computed by EIU (not FH), the same applies to the GPI.)

(Note: “Partially Free” Countries with Discrepancy Scores of 3 or 4 in our sample include Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, CAR, Colombia, Djibouti, Ecuador, Fiji, Gambia, Georgia, Guatemala, Honduras, Jordan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Malaysia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Zambia)

Table 7: One-Way ANOVA for “Free” Countries’ SOCIC Scores and GPI Raw Scores Differentiated by Discrepancy Score (cut-off point is score of 3 or above) (N=63)

	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups (SOCIC)	5.818	9.252	.003
Within Groups (SOCIC)	0.629		
Between Groups (GPI Raw)	1.097	11.111	.002
Within Groups (GPI Raw)	0.099		

In conclusion, we hope these exploratory empirical analyses have provided ample grist for the mills of scholars interested in the linkage between the security of women and the security of states and the international system. We believe our results suggest that the linkage is significant and substantial. Much more in the way of testing must be done before our preliminary conclusions regarding the explanatory power of the Caprioli-Agacinski framework can be confirmed. However, these preliminary results are so uniformly significant that we call upon security researchers to investigate more fully the relationship between the status of women and the security and behavior of states. Previous to the existence of the WomanStats Database, such a call might have been challenging to implement. However, with the WomanStats Database in place, researchers now possess the capability to perform the range of testing we discuss in this paper. We look forward to continued interrogation of the database, with an eye to further delineation of the fundamental relationship between gender and security. We are confident that as this relationship is explored, the critical importance of the situation of women in society will become increasingly visible, and perhaps changes to improve that situation will be give higher priority.

Bibliography

- Agacinski, Sylviane (2001) *Parity of the sexes*. (New York: Colombia University Press)
- Bradley, Karen, and Diana, Khor (1993) 'Toward an Integration of Theory and Research on the Status of Women', *Gender and Society*. 7(3): 347-378.
- Brownmiller, Susan (1975) *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- Caprioli, Mary (2005) "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 161-178
- Caprioli, Mary (2004a) Feminist IR theory and quantitative methodology: A critical analysis. *International Studies Review*. 6: 253-269.
- Caprioli, Mary (2004b) "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?" *Security Dialogue: Special Issue Gender and Security*, 35(4): 411-428.
- Caprioli, Mary. (2003) Gender equality and state aggression: The impact of domestic gender equality on state first use of force. *International Interactions* 29: 195-214.
- Caprioli, Mary. 2000. "Gendered Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 1.
- Caprioli, Mary and M.A. Boyer (2001) Gender, violence and international crisis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45.4: 503 -518.
- Caprioli, Mary and Peter F. Trumbore (2006) "Human Rights Rogues in Interstate Disputes, 1980-2001," *Journal of Peace Research* 43(2): 131-148.
- Caprioli, Mary and Peter Trumbore (2006) "Special Data Feature: First Use of Violent Force in Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1980-2001," *Journal of Peace Research*
- Caprioli, Mary and Peter F. Trumbore (2003a) Hierarchies of dominance: Identifying rogue states and testing their interstate conflict behavior. *European Journal of International Relations*. 9: 377-406.
- Caprioli, Mary and Peter Trumbore (2003b) "Ethnic Discrimination and Interstate Violence: Testing the International Impact of Domestic Behavior," *Journal of Peace Research* 40(1): 5-23.
- CIA World Factbook (2007)
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/> , accessed July 2007
- Cockburn, C. (2001) "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence," in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence*, edited by C.O. N. Moser and F. C. Clark, New York: ZED Books, 13-29
- Eckstein, Harry, 1988. "A Culturalist Theory of Political Change", *American Political Science Review* 82:789-804.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke, (1987) *Women and War*. New York: Basic Books.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke (2003) *Just War Against Terror*. New York: Basic Books
- Fish, Steven M. (2002) Islam and Authoritarianism. *World Politics*. 55.1 (October): 4-37.
- Freedom House (2007) "Freedom in the World",
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2007>, accessed July 2007
- Galtung, Johan (1990) 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research* 27(3):291-305.

- Galtung, Johan (1975) *Peace: Research, Education, Action: Essays in Peace Research Volume One*. Bucuresti, Romania: CIPEXIM.
- Global Peace Index (2007) <http://www.visionofhumanity.com/rankings/> , accessed July 2007
- Hathaway, Oona A. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal*; Jun 2002; 111, 8
- 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> , accessed July 2007
- Hudson, Valerie and Andrea Den Boer (2004) *Bare branches: The security implications of Asia's surplus male population*. (Boston: MIT Press)
- Hunt, Swanee, and Cristina Posa (2001) 'Women Waging Peace', *Foreign Policy*. May/June: 38-47.
- Ingelhart, Ronald and Pippa Norris (2003a) The true clash of civilizations. *Foreign Policy*. (March/April): 63-70.
- Ingelhart, Ronald and Pippa Norris (2003b) *Rising tide: gender equality and cultural change around the world*. (New York: Cambridge University Press)
- McDermott, Rose, Jonathon Cowden, Richard Wrangham, Patrick Endress (2007) "Polygyny and Violence Against Women," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 30 August-2 September
- Papanek, H. (1994) "The Ideal Woman and the Ideal Society: Control and Autonomy and the Construction of Identity," in *Identity Politics and Woman: Cultural Assertions and Feminism in International Perspective*, edited by V.M. Moghadam, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 42-75
- Peterson, V.S. (1998) "Gendered National: Reproducing 'Us' versus 'Them,'" in *The Women and War Reader*, edited by L.A. Lorentzen and J. Turpin, New York: New York University Press, 41-49
- Reardon, Betty (1985). *Sexism and the War System*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ruddick, Sara (1983) 'Pacifying the Forces: Drafting Women in the Interests of Peace', *Signs* 8(3): 470-489.
- Rummel, R.J. (2005) *20th Century Democide*. <http://hawaii.edu/powerkills/20TH.HTM> , accessed July 2007
- Sideris, T. (2001) 'Rape in War and Peace: Social Context, Gender, Power and Identity', *In The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, edited by S. Meintjes, A. Pillay and M. Tursher, pp. 142-158. London, UK: Zed Books Ltd.
- Simmons, Beth A. (2000) "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4. (Dec), pp. 819-835.
- Tessler, M. and I. Warriner (1997) "Gender, Feminism, and Attitudes Toward International Conflict," *World Politics*, 49 (January), 250-281
- Tickner, J. Ann (2001) *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War World*, Columbia University Press
- Tickner, J. Ann (1992) *Gender in international relations: feminist perspectives on achieving global security*. (New York: Columbia University Press)

- Transparency International (2006) “Composite Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI),”
http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi, accessed July 2007
- UNECA (2005) *The African Gender and Development Index*.
http://www.uneca.org/eca_programmes/acgd/publications/agdi_book_final.pdf,
accessed July 2007.
- U.S. State Department (2005) “Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control,
Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments,”
<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/52113.pdf> , accessed July 2007
- WomanStats Database, <http://www.womanstats.org> , accessed July 2007
- White, Matthew (2005) *Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Twentieth Century
Hemoclysm*. <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstat1.htm> , accessed July 2007
- Other sources consulted: BBC World Service

Appendix I : SOCIC Coding Rules

Methodology for the measure “States of Concern to the International Community,”
version July 2007

Abbreviation: SOCIC

Composite SOCIC scale points:

On measures of the extent to which the state has been non-compliant with international economic, political, and use-of-force norms:

0=Not of concern to the international community

1=Of little concern to the international community

2=Of some concern to the international community

3=Of significant concern to the international community

4=Of greatest concern to the international community

Weights of Clusters:

Economic non-compliance with international norms 1/6

Political non-compliance with international norms 1/3

Use-of-force (violence) non-compliance with international norms 1/2

Economic Non-compliance (0-4, 0=very low level of roguery, 4=very high)

Variables:

- Composite Corruption Perceptions Index 2006 (CPI) [source: Transparency International]
- IMF Article VIII Compliance (IMF) [source: Simmons, Beth A. “International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs.” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4. (Dec., 2000), pp. 819-835.]

Variable Explanation:

CPI: Perceived level of corruption in the nation based on surveys of businesspeople and country experts both within and without the nation. (0=worst, 10=best)

IMF: Percent of years (1=100%) where the nation was party to but had restrictions placed on IMF Article VIII (data from 1967-1997)

Methodology:

10-CPI=*Corr* (*ascending*)

Broken into quintiles scored as 0-4 (0=best, 4=worst) with the following *Corr* (*ascending*) cut-offs:

0: 0.4 - 1.9

1: 2.0 - 3.5

2: 3.6 - 5.1

3: 5.2 - 6.7

4: 6.8 - 8.2

The score is called Baseline

If IMF>0.66 then add one point to Baseline (sum not to exceed 4)

Political Non-compliance (0-4, 0=very low level of roguery, 4=very high)

Variables:

- Political Pluralism and Participation (Plu) [source: Freedom House]
- Functioning of Government (Func) [source: Freedom House]
- Freedom of Expression and Belief (Exp) [source: Freedom House]
- Association and Organizational Rights (Assoc) [source: Freedom House]
- Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) [source: State Dept, BBC World Service]
- Relations with Neighboring Countries (Neigh) [source: Global Peace Index, CIA World Factbook 2007, BBC World Service]
- Coup d'etat (Coup) [source: BBC World Service]

Variable Explanation:

Plu: Freedom to organize political parties. Strength of opposition. Political choices free from coercion by a powerful entity (e.g. military, foreign power, religious hierarchy):

Minority political rights. (0=worst, 16=best)

Func: Elected head of government. Government free from corruption. Government transparency and accountability. (0=worst, 12=best)

Exp: Free media. Freedom of religious practice. Academic freedom. Free private discussion. (0=worst, 16=best)

Assoc: Freedom of assembly, demonstration, and public discussion. Freedom of NGOs. Free unions and organizations. (0=worst, 12=best)

WMD: Degree of compliance of the nation with international standards of non-proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and weapon delivery systems (0=fully compliant, 4=fully non-compliant)

Neigh: Degree of harmony between the nation and neighboring nations (0=best, 4=worst)

Coup: Whether one successful or two unsuccessful military or non-popular coups have occurred in the nation since 1997. (dichotomous)

Methodology:

$[(16-Plu)/4+(12-Func)/3+(16-Exp)/4+(12-Assoc)/3]/4 = \text{Baseline}$

If WMD>2 then add one point to Baseline (sum not to exceed 4)

If Neigh>3 then add one point to Baseline (sum not to exceed 4)

If WMD>2 AND Neigh>3 then automatic 4

The sum is called Adjusted

If Coup=1 then add one point to Adjusted (sum not to exceed 4)

Use-of-force (violence) Non-compliance (0-4, 0=very low level of roguery, 4=very high)

Variables:

- Torture (Tort) [source: Hathaway, Oona A. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal*; Jun 2002; 111, 8; ABI/INFORM Global, p 1935]

- Democide/Genocide/Civil War (DGCW) [source: White, Matthew. *Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Twentieth Century Hemoclysm*. <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstat1.htm>. Rummel, R.J. *20th Century Democide*. <http://hawaii.edu/powerkills/20TH.HTM>.]
- Internal Conflict (IC) [source: Global Peace Index (GPI)]
- First Use of Force (FUF) [source: Caprioli, Mary, and Peter F. Trumbore. 2006. "Special Data Feature: First Use of Violent Force (FUVF) in Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1980-2001," *Journal of Peace Research* 43(6): forthcoming.]

Variable Explanation:

Tort: Degree to which the nation has used torture as defined by international human rights law, treaty, and/or convention. (1=best, 5=worst)

DGCW: Whether the nation has had a democide, genocide, or civil war since 1997 in which more than 1000 have died. (dummy)

IC: Combination of GPI internal conflict variables and DGCW. GPI variables are a) Qualitative internal conflict: level of organised conflict (1=very low, 5=very high) as coded by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) and b) Quantitative internal conflict: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset records the number of battle deaths per conflict, defined as: "a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year". EIU analysts, then, have clustered the figures available for 2004 and 2005 in bands:

1: 0 – 24

2: 25 – 999

3: 1000 – 4999

4: 5000 – 9999

5: >10,000

IC is calculated 0-2 (0=best, 2=worst) depending on the DGCW, qualitative, and quantitative scores of each nation.

FUF: How many times the nation has instigated military action or border incursion that led to military action in which a)both sides fired and/or b)there were non-accidental fatalities, which conflicts started or went on during 1997 or afterward (conflicts lasting for more than one year were counted as 3 rather than 1).

Methodology:

If Tort>3 then give one point

If IC=1 then give 2 points

If IC=2 then give 3 points

The sum is called Baseline

Add FUF to Baseline (sum not to exceed 4)

Appendix II; SOCIC Scores for 141 Countries (version July 2007)

<u>Country</u>	<u>SOCIC Raw Score</u>
Afghanistan	3.80
Albania	1.63
Algeria	3.02
Argentina	1.40
Armenia	3.81
Austria	0.00
Azerbaijan	2.94
Bahamas	0.06
Bahrain	1.62
Bangladesh	2.79
Barbados	0.17
Belarus	1.85
Belgium	0.17
Belize	0.65
Benin	0.82
Bolivia	1.00
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2.65
Botswana	0.62
Brazil	2.28
Brunei	1.18
Bulgaria	0.67
Burkina Faso	1.18
Burundi	2.73
Cambodia	2.46
Cameroon	1.58
Canada	0.00
Central African Republic	3.98
Chad	3.00
Chile	0.35
China	3.33
Colombia	2.51
Congo (Brazzaville)	2.76
Congo (Kinshasa)	4.00
Costa Rica	0.58
Cote d'Ivoire	3.50
Croatia	0.67

Cuba	1.74
Cyprus	0.55
Czech Republic	0.55
Denmark	0.00
Djibouti	1.63
Dominican Republic	0.86
Ecuador	1.46
Egypt	2.01
El Salvador	0.94
Equatorial Guinea	2.38
Eritrea	3.00
Estonia	0.19
Fiji	1.35
Finland	0.00
France	1.24
Gabon	1.44
Gambia	1.37
Georgia	2.65
Germany	0.21
Ghana	0.65
Greece*	1.15
Guatemala	1.18
Guinea	3.37
Haiti	2.86
Honduras	1.13
Iceland	0.00
India	3.08
Indonesia	3.10
Iran	4.00
Iraq	4.00
Ireland	0.19
Israel	3.67
Italy*	0.40
Jamaica	0.94
Japan	0.69
Jordan	1.08
Kazakhstan	1.58
Kenya	2.59
Kuwait	1.13
Kyrgyzstan	2.31
Laos	1.87
Latvia	0.60
Libya*	1.96

Lithuania	0.63
Luxembourg	0.00
Macedonia	2.17
Malawi	1.17
Malaysia	1.02
Mali	0.92
Malta*	0.36
Mauritius*	0.40
Mexico	2.22
Moldova	2.26
Morocco	1.35
Mozambique	1.15
Namibia	0.69
Nepal	3.18
Netherlands	0.00
New Zealand	0.05
Nicaragua	1.10
Niger	1.09
Nigeria	2.72
Norway	0.00
Pakistan	4.00
Panama	0.82
Papua New Guinea	2.10
Paraguay	1.69
Peru	1.28
Philippines	2.30
Poland	0.60
Portugal*	0.17
Romania	1.42
Russia	3.50
Rwanda*	2.93
Saudi Arabia	1.72
Senegal	1.72
Serbia	2.94
Singapore	0.74
Slovakia	0.58
Slovenia	0.40
South Africa	0.81
South Korea	0.45
Spain	0.19
Sri Lanka	2.75
Swaziland*	1.70
Sweden	0.00

Switzerland	0.00
Syria	2.50
Tajikistan	2.10
Tanzania	1.70
Thailand	3.22
Togo	1.58
Trinidad & Tobago	0.86
Tunisia	1.58
Turkey	3.28
Ukraine	1.01
United Arab Emirates	1.38
United Kingdom	1.50
United States of America	2.25
Uruguay	0.36
Uzbekistan	3.98
Venezuela	3.30
Vietnam*	2.29
Zambia	1.15
Zimbabwe	3.28