GENDER BALANCE FROM CIVIL STRIFE

by

Wyndi Shaffner

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Political Science
Boise State University

December 2018
DEFENSE COMMITTEE AND FINAL READING APPROVALS

of the thesis submitted by

Wyndi Shaffner

Thesis Title: Gender Balance from Civil Strife

Date of Final Oral Examination: 10 October 2018

The following individuals read and discussed the thesis submitted by student Wyndi Shaffner, and they evaluated her presentation and response to questions during the final oral examination. They found that the student passed the final oral examination.

Ross Burkhart, Ph.D.  
Chair, Supervisory Committee

Nisha Mukherjee Bellinger, Ph.D.  
Member, Supervisory Committee

Isaac M. Castellano, Ph.D.  
Member, Supervisory Committee

The final reading approval of the thesis was granted by Ross Burkhart, Ph.D., Chair of the Supervisory Committee. The thesis was approved for the Graduate College.
DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of Darina O’Harran, my sister who I dearly miss.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge all of the professors who helped me with this project, Dr. Ross Burkhart, Dr. Michael Allen, Dr. Nisha Bellinger, and Dr. Isaac Castellano, and my sweet husband Carl Shaffner.
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of conflict on the sociopolitical status of women in several affected countries. The conflicts analyzed within this work are both violent and non-violent. I infer that conflict acts as an impetus to propel gender equity. I utilize the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) dataset to determine which movements in women’s equality have been made over the preceding twelve years and reinforce that data analysis with qualitative information through case analysis to add context and meaning to the quantitative findings.

This work focuses on two of the four primary indicators of the GGGI, political participation and economic equality, versus that of those countries’ male counterparts. The statistics provided by the GGGI are of central focus to this work; where statistics are missing or not available, qualitative sources supplement where data is lacking. The purpose of the data analysis is to show whether conflict is a driving force in empowering women throughout the world, and through conflict that gender equality profits from global political uncertainty. When viewed as a potential naturally occurring rebalance as a result of internal state tension, could civil conflict within the state be the driving force for political change? My analysis reveals that both Nicaragua and Rwanda are reaching new heights of gender equity, both resulting from violent conflicts. My results add to the literature that conflict can be highly beneficial to gender equity post-conflict.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ......................................................................................................................... iv  

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..................................................................................................... v  

ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................... vi  

LIST OF TABLES ................................................................................................................... ix  

LIST OF FIGURES ................................................................................................................ x  

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................................. xi

INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................... 1  

  Women in the 21st Century ................................................................................................. 4  

  Literature Review ............................................................................................................... 6  

  International Norms Pushing Towards Equity ................................................................. 12  

  Theoretical Pathways ......................................................................................................... 14  

  Hypothesis ......................................................................................................................... 15  

  The Global Gender Gap Index .......................................................................................... 16  

  Qualitative Data ................................................................................................................ 18  

  Methods ............................................................................................................................. 19

COUNTRY PROFILES ........................................................................................................... 21  

  France ................................................................................................................................. 21  

  Colombia ............................................................................................................................ 24  

  Nicaragua ............................................................................................................................ 27
Rwanda ..............................................................................................................29
Sri Lanka........................................................................................................32
Tunisia.............................................................................................................36
Turkey ............................................................................................................39
Findings and Conclusion..................................................................................42
REFERENCES ..................................................................................................47
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Colombia’s Time Series Analysis</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rwanda’s Rankings on the GGGI</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sri Lanka’s Rankings on the GGGI</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tunisia’s Rankings on the GGGI</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Turkey’s Rankings on the GGGI</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. France’s score on the GGGI ................................................................. 23
Figure 2. Colombia’s score on the GGGI............................................................. 25
Figure 3. Nicaragua’s score on the GGGI ............................................................ 29
Figure 4. Sri Lanka’s score on the GGGI.............................................................. 34
Figure 5. Tunisia’s score on the GGGI ................................................................. 37
Figure 6. Turkey’s score on the GGGI................................................................. 41
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>Economic Participation Score (Individual Country Score from the GGGI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPR</td>
<td>Economic Participation Rank per the GGGI (for Rwanda only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEP</td>
<td>Global Economic Participation Score Average (from the GGGI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGGI</td>
<td>Global Gender Gap Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPP</td>
<td>Global Political Participation Score Average (from the GGGI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Overall Country Score (from the GGGI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Political Participation Score (from the GGGI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPR</td>
<td>Political Participation Rank per the GGGI (for Rwanda only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WE Forum</td>
<td>World Economic Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR</td>
<td>World Rank per the GGGI (for Rwanda only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

What is the effect of violent conflict on the populations of the countries in question, possibly providing the vehicle by which rights for women can become an issue for change? This research seeks to establish whether political instability could provide a fulcrum for achieving greater gender equity. Through this path of instability, gender equity is used as a leverage for both successful government changes and promoting gender balance within society. This allows gender equality to serve an endogeneity role as both a cause and an effect of political change. Greater disparities of gender equality can be a cause of conflict, and governments seeking to reduce the feasibility of political leadership changes or follow through with pre-revolutionary rhetoric can create an effect of gender equity post-conflict. There has been some scholarly work that has examined whether marginalization of groups in society might be linked to an increased risk of civil conflict (Fearon and Laitin, 2001). To date no research has examined whether gender inequity might benefit from civil conflict. Another mitigating factor is whether propaganda creates a pre-conflict tool, to enlist the marginalized towards the cause of the political group that is trying to take power, with possible promises of equity post-conflict. Conceptually, is gender inequity an aspect of this instability, and is it used as a manipulating tool for unstable governments? Through this instability, is gender equality a culminating result? This paper argues that the trajectory of gender equity should be rising toward greater equality partially due to the increasing norms throughout the international community as IGOs and NGOs push for higher standards of human rights.
The world is now open to gender equity. As of the 21st century, many national organizations and countries have placed gender equality as a high priority (GGGI, 2015). Countries like Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Finland have been inspirational influences for movements towards gender balance in the developing world. These achievements started not by constitutional referendum but by internal pressure by both men and women for a greater say in both politics and economics. Scandinavia started bringing gender issues to the forefront by simply giving women an equal platform to speak within their governments. The changes happened voluntarily before they became law (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2006). There is currently no constitutional clause for inclusion of women in most Scandinavian countries, aside from Iceland (Mosesdottir and Erlingsdottir, 2006), movement towards equality happened in these Nordic states in the 1970’s, before gender quotas began in 1993 (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2006). Sweden introduced the 50/50, no more, no less, law in the Socialist Democratic Party in 1993 instituting the first equal representation law of Scandinavia. This policy change was designed to normalize gender representation in government, creating a parliament that has equal numbers of female and male legislators. This policy change was instituted to reflect an increase in disparity between female and male representation in the 1980’s that had reversed massive progressive change from the two previous decades (Edin and Holmlund, 1993). What occurred in Sweden in the decades after was a shift from personal responsibility in gender normalization in policy, to a government enforcement in law (2017, “Gender Equality in Sweden”). This symbiotic movement from practical balance of gender norms to legal policy implementation has shown greater international pressure for gender neutrality
creating a competitive norm for gender equity globally (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, and Ozbilgin, 2012).

Does national instability create the conditions for greater gender equity? The inference that gender discrimination and marginalization is a factor in increasing the potential for internal conflict or civil war has been correctly identified (Richani, 2013). Second, are female populations benefiting from that pressure (Glock-Malloy, 2013). Finally, are policy changes resulting from that pressure permanent? Through the national profiles detailed in this work we can glimpse the workings of gender equity in real time. We can see some countries, such as Rwanda, and Nicaragua, reaping the benefits of equity by increased sociopolitical status, while other countries are moving their societies away from equity and are suffering economically, such as Sri Lanka, which is currently experiencing a lack of female representation in the workforce which is having a negative effect on the economy (GGGI, 2017) (Newhouse and Silwal, 2018). Qualitative sources are used to support inferences where statistics are lacking, especially in the cases of Nicaragua, Rwanda, and Tunisia where data gaps are present (GGGI, 2017). While statistics show the workings of gender empowerment before, during, and after conflict or societal disruption, it is through qualitative data that we can see the true effects of political change post-conflict on gender empowerment over the long term. Both qualitative and quantitative sources are of equal importance to this work.

It is important to note that when government change is discussed, it refers to a change in political rhetoric by a country, not just a change in leadership when one party gains a majority over another. This can be accomplished by the democratic process, or by revolution, coup, or violent action. It is also important to distinguish the difference
between party change and radical ideological change that can be accomplished for societal upheaval or a more democratic governmental change. Party change happens in France and the United States while regime change has occurred in Rwanda, post-genocide; Tunisia, during the Arab Spring; and there was an attempted, ultimately failed coup in Turkey. Important factors and how they are leveraged through the lens of gender include majority and minority parties vying for control. The use of women as both leverage, and the resulting changes for women in post-change society are essential to this research (De Mesquita and Downs, 2005).

**Women in the 21st Century**

On April 13th 1946 the French Provisional Government passed two laws, one allowing women to vote, and the other, the closure of all brothels. These movements had taken place because of the loss of credibility the Vichy Republic had gained during the Nazi Occupation of France. The end of the war had created an opportunity for French women to exploit political instability and reconstruction mentality and French women became a force for change (Fishman, 1991). World War II had been enormously destructive and had been an ideological war from the eyes of the civilians who struggled under it. Tradition and conservatism had lost out to realistic ideologies of the times. France had been devastated by war, yet from it women had gained the strength and the will to challenge patriarchy for a greater say in their futures. The French Provisional Government under De Gaulle even endorsed equal pay for women (Fishman, 1991), however, today France struggles for gender equality in the workforce despite making upward movements to number 11 on the GGGI. (GGGI, 2017)
Women today are making vast strides towards equity by utilizing the help of mass media to mobilize women’s groups and create awareness, such as in the case of the #MeToo Movement against sexual harassment (Muira 2018). Women routinely organize charity groups as well as advocate for greater equality in the workplace and in government. Today’s women are doctors, lawyers, scientists, astronauts, physicists, and landscapers, professions outside the realm of possibility for women just a century ago (Hakim, 2004). While women have yet to break the barrier to the highest levels of office in the United States, they now occupy positions within almost every workforce demographic.

Still women are paid less for the same work, and are underrepresented in local, state, and federal governments, and in almost every profession (GGGI, 2017). This is not just in the United States but also in almost every country profiled by the GGGI. To date, Iceland is the only country where it is illegal to pay women less than men for the same work and is currently being enforced by government audits (Auth, Hergenhan, and Holland-Cunz, 2017).

Currently, women have more rights in democracies, but are still grossly underrepresented politically (GGGI, 2017). For example, the United States currently ranks 49th out of 144 countries, and its political empowerment rank is 96th. Part of this is due to the fact that after over 200 years, the United States has still not had a female head of state, one of the metrics that drastically effects the score of the GGGI. Another resounding issue is that women only represent 22.4% of legislative seats. Compared with Colombia, now ranked 36th, we can see the mechanisms of change. Colombia has a higher rate of education for women, and greater representation in their nation’s government. It is
interesting that this particular South American government is rising to the challenge of equal rights while the U.S. is faltering (GGGI, 2017).

Literature Review

Only a few academic researchers had made the connection between gender equity and civil strife. Caprioli (2005) discusses the pathway to the causal mechanisms behind gender inequity and conflict. I decided to ask the question about gender equity benefiting from disruptions in society, such as civil war, leadership changes, and genocide, focusing my research on post-conflict changes in society and government, rather than causal mechanisms pre-conflict. These investigations led to the GGGI, where I had access to a wealth of quantitative data and research to assist me in my work.

Zuckerman and Greenberg (2010) provide one of the most compelling and complimentary works in the literature. They discuss how gender rights issues can affect the success of post-conflict reconstruction. They assert that if reconstruction is to be truly successful, it needs to have a strong promotion of women’s rights. They describe gender rights and their growth as necessary to nations during this period, to build a society “with lasting peace and prosperity” (page 1). Their analytical work goes far to ascertain how conflict, if properly leveraged, can favor greater female participation in reconstruction. They focus on female policy making participation, resource allocation, and the ability to benefit from public and private resources and opportunities equally. This focus provides some of the critical qualitative evidence to support the inference that women do benefit from conflict.

Caprioli (2005) draws a direct link between state militarism and gender inequity. She infers that women are more peaceful and therefore less likely to use violence to
resolve both interstate and international issues. She supports the hypothesis that gender inequity increases the likelihood of violence, and through that, government change. This threat of violence based on gender inequity then drives gender neutrality in nations such as Rwanda. Caprioli’s research is instrumental to this work as she had laid the groundwork for providing the gap that gender balance is achieved through conflict. Her work is a quantitative and qualitative source providing both statistics and qualitative data to support the inference that not only is gender balance achieved through conflict, it is steadily increasing the international status quo of gender equity, and that the change is permanent. Caprioli (2005) adds qualitative evidence to support that inference that civil strife can be created by vast degrees of gender inequity.

Also crucial to this work is that of Glock-Malloy (2013). She centers her work around political representation and its effects on culture, economics, and the social health of individual nation societies. It also does not look at regimes that are currently struggling and working to remove pathways towards feasibility by extending rights to women. Her work does however add to the inference that gender is important to both national and government stability and health. Glock-Malloy analyses how gender plays out before, during, and after social revolution, leadership change, and the mitigating factors that perhaps prevented it. Glock-Malloy’s work centers on gender quotas and how important they are to gender policy. It is through this pathway of mandatory gender balance that lasting changes are made institutionally in government and policy.

Fishman’s (1991) work takes an historical look at the changing way women are viewed in society by focusing on women post-World War II, or rather, the wives of French Prisoners of War. This is important because World War II had seen an end to
radical authoritarian rule, and it was the right time for social development and the populations of countries to assert themselves and drive towards change and empowerment. During this period nationalism, radical ideology, and segregation lost legitimacy due to its association with the Nazi party. During this period, women fought for more rights, and won them. Fishman’s work illustrates how war can affect these changes through victory, and struggle. She cites a rural exodus of female peasants in France would not be overcome by Republican traditions after World War II. The radical right lost legitimacy because these women would not return to the way things had been before the war. This ongoing social feminist revolution made waves all across Europe. Today, France is number eleven on the GGGI, showing a post conflict relationship with this states' drive towards a gender balanced society.

Moore (1966) compliments Fishman’s work in that many of the societal shifts that came about in 1946 France are alluded to in his work. Moore writes of the dangers to traditional regimes during transitions of industry as economic challenges to those regimes. As countries shift from agriculture to labor or industry, they upset the balance of social hierarchies where upper, middle, or working class power dynamics shift. These often shift downwards to the working class which has the ability to demand social change. In political systems this greatly increases the risk of revolution when laborers become emboldened by the disproportionate distribution of wealth and power. Moore views economics as one of the driving forces in political system change, and this contributes to female empowerment. Moore also details modernization’s presentation of the issue of democracy being the next needed step towards joining global society. He asks how some agrarian social features have contributed to the rise of modern democracy,
and thus globalization. The idea that pre-industrial bureaucratic rule presents obstacles to democracy in western society permeates this work and shows us an opportunity for female empowerment during the 20th and 21st centuries. He specifically states, “No bourgeoisie, no democracy” (1966, 418), which also supports this notion of true democracy providing equal representation to all of a nation’s population.

Snyder (2000) takes these concepts to another level in support of this theory. He asserts that scapegoating is sometimes used in battles fought over nationalism. A building of a war of ideology, to create unity and a climate of us versus them. These ideas are propagated through media and are always dangerous, especially to the status quo and the stability of regime. He also stipulates that propaganda is used as a tool for legitimacy or de-legitimacy to create a mob mentality that often comes before revolution. This is accomplished through the promise of greater gender equality. This work shows the mechanisms by which female empowerment is used as a tool for both propaganda and nationalistic goals.

When navigating from general political change and revolutionary structural arguments of feminist movements towards the more specific, Hatem’s (1992) work is crucial in tracing parallels to revolution and feminism as they relate to each other. This work draws a direct line from the past to the near present, more specifically 1996. Hatem talks about how Scandinavia leads the charge on gender equity and the legal rights that protect and enhance it. Hatem mentions that state feminism is a “novel” idea to reverse decades of institutional discrimination. This work is also critical to supporting evidence that Egypt, and by extension Tunisia, have some grounding in feminism and the rights
that are sorely needed in these countries during the Arab Spring. It shows that people were hopeful that things would turn around pre-revolution for women’s rights.

In the case of Rwanda, it is difficult to apply any of the hypothetical inferences in this work due to missing data in the GGGI during the Rwanda genocide. In Debusscher’s (2013) article she discusses the drive for gender equity in Rwanda reflecting a nation that is, through policy, committed to gender equity. Her work also applies to the societal norms, economic factors, and labor practices that threaten Rwanda’s target driven policies driving it to be one of the most progressive nations in the world in gender equity. She cites the “invisible labor” of women, and the institutional gender policies as primary causes that are interfering with progression in the state. She is also concerned with the insufficient grassroots effort of women to maintain the pace of equity, as they lack the resources and institutional backing to create powerful organizations dedicated to gender equitable goals and quotas. She does, however, cite the causes, and result of the Rwandan genocide as driving Rwandan commitment to gender equity. A lot has happened in Rwanda since 2013, but Debusscher’s (2013) work reflects a positive direction early on for this fledgling nation towards gender equity, and one that represents a role model for the rest of the world. The representation of the threats that are present in Rwanda towards gender neutrality, reflects a desire to protect its development and isolate the causes that may threaten that evolution.

Peterson (1998) refers to the social construct of gender bias. He poses that it is critical to the establishment of structural hierarchy that elevates a favored group and pushes down those of society deemed less favorable, and that women often occupy the position of the latter. It creates an “us versus them” mentality that is perpetuated by
propaganda. He highlights that the separation of genders is for the purpose of elevating patriarchy over society. This in turn fuels resentment towards governments, not just from women, but for the oppositional forces or parties. This goes a long way to determine how the mechanisms of gender discrimination can work towards creating opportunity for government leadership changes, and in turn positively affect the rights of women, post-change.

While the historical record demonstrates that civil rights are enhanced post regime change, how that applies to gender issues is often muddied by movements towards equality across economic boundaries as opposed to gender ones. Skocpol’s (1979) work falls into the same vein as Fearon and Laitin, discussing changes occurring post change. Skocpol goes back to one of the first gender-specific revolutions, that of the Revolution in France. This is important because it was one of the first times that women had been used in multiple facets of the revolution: from instigation, to combat, even to warfare. Women benefited from their role in the revolution even though Napoleon would later back out some of the social changes that had benefited women in this time.

Not to be overlooked in this work is how law affects equality. It is not always on battlefields, or in propaganda that civil societies make progress towards equity. It is also within the courtroom that change takes place, and that is where ideas become tangible. Mutual empowerment among social advisories brought up within courts of countries is desperately needed to rebalance inalienable rights, is one of the core thoughts explored in Burt’s work (1992). While Burt focuses on the Supreme Court of the United States, his thoughts apply to the international community as well. Human rights and gender are crucial to state rebuilding after conflicts and drastic political changes. If the scales are
always tipped in one group’s advantage, then all groups miss out on their full potential for growth. Burt’s focus on the courts role in enforcing and changing the laws that would turn remedial and temporary changes in society to permanent ones is crucial to post-conflict strategy.

**International Norms Pushing Towards Equity**

International norms are slowly pushing towards a rebalance of equity in gender areas of economic policy, political power and participation. Through cultural avenues and pressure from international organizations like the United Nations and World Bank, feminist movements are promoting equity using micro-lending, and gender quotas, while fostering structural changes in policy and law to implement equal pay for equal work among women and men.

In 1979 the United Nations created the treaty the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women or CEDAW. It is essentially a bill of rights for women on an international scale. CEDAW works to provide a baseline of equity between men and women across international lines. Of the countries of the world, 187 countries took party in the convention, 99 signed the treaty and 20 ratified more than 50% of the provisions in CEDAW (*United Nations Treaty Collection*, 1979). The United States under President Carter signed the treaty but failed to ratify it (Zwingel, 2006).

International institutions generally arrive post conflict and help citizens rebuild government structures that have high standards of human rights and social equity. As these standards are implemented, the rising tide of gender issues raises the gender equity standards in those countries. This positive effect of post-conflict norms might not be entirely permanent, but the upward trend adds pressure to states to adhere to global norms
to remain competitive. Standards are maintained, and in some examples, surpassed, as developing nations look towards the developed world for inspiration and positive lifestyle examples. As these standards are implemented we see a visible positive trajectory in women’s rights issues illustrated by the GGGI with verifiable statistics.

Establishing legitimacy within the political arena for gender equity, is crucial to achieving gender balance. Legitimacy is important in presenting the why in answering portions of this research question. In order to have an equitable society, men and women must be represented equally in proportion to the population of the society (Dahl, 1998). This type of representation is essential to forming legitimacy within the government. Scandinavian countries lead the race towards gender balance by having policies like voluntary gender quotas with political parties.

Sociopolitical norms affecting the transition to a more gender equitable society are different between developed nations, and undeveloped ones. In Rwanda international pressure comes in the form of an incentive, namely positive affirmation for countries recovering from a recent genocidal war. With that positive affirmation comes foreign investment, aid, and status that will assist in its transition to a developed nation. For developed countries, gender equity comes as a carrot at the end of the stick. Countries are learning that a more gender neutral economy, and by its extension political atmosphere, benefits the country’s population. Education through international norms shows national populations that women and men benefit from a more gender neutral society. Developed countries also engage in “public shaming” of nations lagging behind in gender economics and politics, relieving countries of their sociopolitical status.
The 2008 election in the United States saw only 18% of women represented in Congress, while nations such as the United Arab Emirates (22.5%), and Pakistan (22.2%) saw increases in female legislative representation. Political elites see a strategic benefit to backing gender balanced policies and implementing gender quotas within the political system. Disrupting events tip the balance shifting the public eye towards the lack of representation of women. As the international community exerts its influence, pressure builds on the elites to conform to the expectations of the global community. Although international norms are hard to enforce shaming through mass media can be devastating. The argument against gender quotas is weak and falls short of any true democratic society that aspires to proportional representation. Women cannot have legitimacy if they do not have a guaranteed seat in their government. Despite encompassing at least 50% of the population women are still greatly underrepresented in many governments across the globe (Krook, 2006).

Nevertheless, with advances in communication and globalization, international interconnectedness is gradually affecting conditions for women all over the world. Changes at the United Nations, the World Bank, CEDAW, and globalization have all had positive effects on the conditions for women world-wide (Gray, Kittilson, and Sandholtz, 2006).

**Theoretical Pathways**

Determining how the countries were selected for analysis came down to several factors. Countries were excluded or included based on years of conflicts or revolution in relationship to years of existing data from the GGGI. Those selections were then cross referenced with countries within the existing group that had more drastic changes in their
GGGI scores, both positive and negative. Countries such as Saudi Arabia were excluded because conflict is on-going and long-term change is difficult to quantify or existing qualitative research is non-conclusive. Certain countries such as Nicaragua and Rwanda were obvious choices as they have made drastic movements towards gender equality, yet for very different reasons: Nicaragua from a proactive standpoint, and Rwanda from a reactive one.

These profiles were selected in an attempt to discover why certain countries had made such leaps and bounds in gender issues, more importantly can this process be replicated? In this attempt a “most different system” is adopted to show that states can follow different paths after conflict, to flesh out the exception to the rule of gender equity. The path to gender balance is arduous. Many states have begun this path by adding women’s rights into the law and policy. Yet adding legislation cannot bring about much needed strides towards equity without social implementation and adherence to these laws.

**Hypothesis**

Does gender equality benefit from conflict? I believe that it does. In order to provide evidence for that inference this work will endeavor to utilize the GGGI and qualitative data to provide supporting evidence with which to test my hypothesis. To isolate the following hypothesis this research looks at both qualitative and quantitative evidence to support that certain countries are moving towards a more gender balanced society through internal conflict and/or societal upheaval by charting through the GGGI or qualitative measures gender norms before and after the event. Suggestive evidence is used in the form of various scholarly journals regarding gender and its relationship to
socio-political situations in the countries in question and movements extracted from the data collected by the GGGI. This is used in conjunction with an interrupted time series.

**Hypothesis:** Gender equality is moving in a positive direction as a result of political change by external means post conflict.

**The Global Gender Gap Index**

The Global Gender Gap Index or GGGI is a product of the World Economic Forum or (WE Forum). This report has been published every year by the WE Forum since 2006. The WE Forum itself has been around since 1974, and is a meeting that takes place in Davos, Switzerland in the month of January. The purpose and scope of the WE Forum is to map out global economic issues as they pertain to their interconnectivity. The WE Forum uses a wealth of international economic talent, politicians and world leaders, businesses, and NGO’s to gather, collate, and analyze economic and political data to create maps of interconnectivity which show a clearer, more accurate economic systems. The WE Forum publishes numerous reports that deal with international economic systems in order to define, streamline, and enhance international markets. The GGGI is the product of this Forum. As the world discovers that gender equality benefits economic systems, which is accomplished through the GGGI, the push for gender equity increases (GGGI, 2017).

The statistical data that has been gathered for the national profiles comes exclusively from studies performed by the Global Gender Gap Index Report (GGGI). This work focuses on using the GGGI to quantify internal movements of gender equality within the state, focusing on education, health, economic, and political indicators to gauge the gender equality with individual countries on a standardized metric. This is done
through an annual basis examining multiple years, starting in 2006 with complete data, for most countries, into 2017. Because the GGGI is standardized, it provides a ready-made avenue by which comparison is possible both on an international level and an inter-state level. It does have some weaknesses, the primary one being that several years, especially ones with inter-regime, revolution, and drastic political instability are omitted due to the inability to collect verifiable data. In some cases, such as Rwanda, crucial to the development of this work, countries are entirely omitted necessitating qualitative data to fill in the gap. Despite this shortcoming, the GGGI strengths are a built-in ability to chart a country's progression, or regression, of gender equity. These statistics are easily broken down and illustrated in an interrupted time series analysis.

Mixed methods are used in this paper to describe the shift in economic and political empowerment for women pre-conflict and post. The statistical data gathered comes exclusively from the GGGI, and this work did analyze data years before and years after the conflict takes place using the GGGI. In addition, qualitative sources and suggestive evidence will be used in conjunction with the GGGI to fill in gaps, or to support a hypothetical inference.

For the purpose of this paper, I exclude two categories present in the GGGI, health and education. This is not because they are not important, but because where female representation is extremely lacking is through political representation and economic participation throughout the globe. Including these numbers could provide some confusion because overall they are radically improving. By excluding health and education, we can see how women are faring in these critical areas. While education and health are omitted from the country profiles, they are touched on in the conclusion.
Qualitative Data

Aside from the GGGI, qualitative data will be used in some cases where statistical data is unavailable. Some countries, such as Rwanda are making dramatic changes towards the empowerment of women but lack the appropriate statistical data, for most of the years profiled by the GGGI in Rwanda due to international instability and the lack of availability or reliable data (GGGI, 2015). In cases such as Rwanda, qualitative data is used to infer that movement is being made towards gender neutrality (Debusscher, 2013).

Further qualitative data is used to isolate instances where gender politics, propaganda, and rhetoric were used prior to conflict or administrative changes. This required research into the rhetoric used by revolutionary or conflicting parties towards governments prior to conflict, whether or not women’s rights were talking points, or even primary complaints by the population that assisted the potential for conflict. This is especially evident with the revolutionary body FARC. Socialist and Communist countries seem to be more gender neutral in their rhetoric than democratic, monarchical governments, semi-democratic republics, or dictatorships. Religious countries are more open to this feasibility of potential disruption by their nature as most major faiths worldwide are still favoring male patriarchal structure, and therefore are gender biased (Boutron and Gomez, 2017).

By using the GGGI and other qualitative sources concentrating on the countries in question and their administrative leadership changes, we can isolate the year of that change, which will be year zero. The years before will show an increase in gender inequity shown in negative rankings. The following years will have positive rankings, demonstrating progression of gender equity.
Methods

A small pool of six of countries is used to test the hypotheses. Colombia, Nicaragua, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, and Turkey are used for detailed profiles, their leadership changes, and whether or not change has occurred, which should be reflected on data ascertained from the CIA World Fact Book, and Global Security.

It is important to clarify, that while some countries like Nicaragua have made drastic moves towards gender equality, this is not an endorsement of their leaders, or governments, but a statistical and qualitative study to test the hypotheses as they relate to gender equality on economic and political involvement for women in these countries.

With the independent variable being change in government, we chart the dependent variable of gender equity in terms of economic opportunity and political participation, using the movement of gender equity to show whether a positive change is occurring. These statistics are both enhanced and substituted by qualitative data. The inference is that pre-conflict, and post-conflict, should demonstrate inverse effects on gender equity. A positive increase of gender equity ranking (or decreasing gender equity) should point to a change in government, while a negative movement (or increasing gender equity) should occur after a change in government.

In addition to the graphs including a change in government and periods of conflict, I also include an interrupted time series analysis for certain countries exhibiting traits consistent with the hypothesis. An interrupted times series analysis tests for an immediate impact of an event on the dependent variable for long term change. Does this event hold true a constant change for the dependent variable over time using a level dependent variable in an ordinary least square regression analysis (Berry and Lewis-
Beck, 1986)? The analysis is conducted using three independent variables: first, an Event variable that is scored annually at 0 prior to the event and is scored 1 during the year of the event and for each year afterwards. Second, we use a Trend variable that is scored annually at 0 prior to the event and 1 for the year of the event, 2 for the year after the event, 3 for the following year, and so forth until the end of the time series. Third, we use a Counter variable that is scored 1 for the first year of the time series, 2 for the second year of the time series, 3 for the third year of the time series, and so forth until the end of the time series.
COUNTRY PROFILES

France

France is my control country. My interest was first peaked by an undergraduate professor at my junior college while covering the French Revolution, France and gender equity. My professor was fascinated by the historical character of General Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette and relished in his story of the women, many of whom had watched their children die of starvation, march to the Palace of Versailles to demand that King Louis XVI do something to save the French people from their plight. The march took place on the fifth of October 1789. Lafayette had succeeded with his charm in displacing the crowd, but perhaps for the first time in modern history, a significant rebellious event had been organized and carried out primarily by women (Hufton, 1992).

The French Revolution would follow, and women would hold more power, economically, politically, and through education in France for that short period than women had ever held aside from Royalty. Politically speaking, this could have been the spark that led to great empowerment all around the first world, and could have deeply contributed to suffrage movements over one-hundred years later. On a single day in France 10,000 women armed only with pitchforks and shovels proved they could be a political force to be reckoned with (Hufton, 1992).

By the 20th century, women were ardent contributors to a number of revolutions globally. Communism and Socialism understood the marginalization effect of women and used it to their own movements’ profit. Women were promised greater hands in
government, politics, and economics. Women started attending schools for higher education and while government participation has moved slowly, it was something practically impossible for the average women of the 19th century (Fishman, 1991).

Today (2017) France is ranked number 11 on the GGGI. It has made leaps and bounds in gender equity improving in every category. By contract, in 2006, France was ranked 70. Economic participation and opportunity rose almost 15% in eleven years, and political representation rose just over 25% in that same period (GGGI, 2017).

It is important to note that this is the Fifth French Republic, after the Tennis Court Rebellion, Napoleon, Pre-War Government, The Vichy Republic, and the Post-War France which we see now. France has moved its policy regarding women through each republic like the wind, back and forth between disparity and movements towards equity. The Committee for Public Safety gave women unprecedented rights post-revolution in France, while Napoleon I took them away. It wasn’t until the end of the Second World War that women demanded a greater role in economics and politics, and won that right through their perseverance during the war (Hufton, 1992). It is important to note that Fishman, in her book’s appendix, cites that women were able to use anti-conservative sentiments of the times to promote progressive women’s rights issues for war. Conservatism at the time was closely identified with the Vichy Republic and their collaboration with the Axis powers inter-war. Throughout this work it has become apparent that stalls in gender equality generally occur under conservative administrations, and this assertion requires more in depth study (Fishman, 1991).

**Figure 1. France’s score on the GGGI**

The triangle symbolic line indicates democratic leadership changes in France via the GGGI political participation score compared to the x-symbolic line reflecting the global average on the GGGI. From this we can extrapolate the political leadership changes have had an effect on political participation in France, especially after the election of Hollande, where there was a drastic increase in the political representation of women (GGGI, 2017). We can also see that from 2013 on, France’s gender equity has increased drastically, and continues to do so as of 2017. The diamond symbolic line represents economic participation, and it was surprising to see that in 2006, France was below the global average, represented by the square symbolic line. Its movement is less radical than political participation, however it continues to move in an upward trajectory.
indicative of greater equity. The asterisk symbol line represents France’s overall score on the GGGI, showing an upward growth in equity, reflective of total global gender equity which is also on the rise (GGGI, 2017).

**Colombia**

Colombia represents a positive shift in gender equality. For the last several decades, Colombia has been gripped by revolution between the government and the revolutionary forces of FARC (Boutron and Gomez, 2017). FARC is a socialist organization that promoted equal participation of men and women within the revolution. Women held high positions and were often thought of as equal, both in rhetoric and action within its ranks. Recent events have seen a shift in Colombian power that has brought FARC back into the fold of mainstream Colombian politics and with it, a ramping down, and ultimately termination of FARC activities throughout the country (Stanski, 2006).

Statistically Colombia has continued to improve women’s participation in economic opportunity and political opportunity. Despite cultural and religious norms of South American, women in Colombia socially are treated with a high amount of respect. It has been just a year since the peace treaty with FARC and it will be interesting to see if with the finalization of the peace treaty if gender equity continues to rise or makes a reverse (Boutron and Gomez, 2017). Overall, Colombia continues to improve beyond international norms in gender equality.

Colombia is on the rise as one of the leaders in both women’s rights and positive changes since the end of the conflict with FARC in 2016. On the graph below we can see how Colombia’s GGGI score compares to that of global averages. The diamond symbolic
line represents Colombia’s economic participation while the square symbolic line is the global average per the GGGI. The triangle symbolic line represents political participation, and the x-symbolic line is the global average. It is of note, that female political representation is low across the globe, and often throughout these presentations of data the Whole Score (WS) for the countries profiled in this work closely mirror the diamond symbolic line, and the diamond symbolic line further reflects leadership changes occurring in 2010. The line at 2016 reflects the end of the FARC conflict. The GGGI scores illustrate how the country is doing in a vacuum.

Figure 2. Colombia’s score on the GGGI
Table 1. Colombia’s Time Series Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GGI Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>13.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>-17.28*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-3.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter</td>
<td>12.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Squared</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>10.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3 - Colombia Time Series. Where figures in parenthesis = T-ratios, R-Squared statistic, standard error = standard of error estimate, N = number of cases. * = significant at the level of .05 level.

The time series is a way to show how the numbers of the GGGI ranking pertains to a significant movement one way or another for gender equality in a nation in comparison to the rest of the world. A negative number is closer to the top and reflects positive change, such as a country moving from ranking 7 to 5 on the GGGI. A significant change per our time series is a trend of -3.37 showing an increase in global rankings of a statistically significant nature post-conflict.

Colombian constitutional changes began in 1991. The new constitution incorporated new principles of equality from CEDAW, assuring special positive measures, and the prohibition of discrimination in Article 13. Effectively this removed
the “machismo” from the courts, a cited issue of gender disparity in the country, adding clear standards for laws not just on paper, but living legislation. Colombia is implementing these societal changes slowly, but the country is experiencing a cultural awakening. A new Colombia is moving away from gender bias, and discrimination at large, towards a more balanced and prosperous society. This is reflected in the GGGI statistics (Morgan, 1999).

Nicaragua

Nicaragua is currently ranked number six on the Global Gender Gap Report. It is a perfect example of progressive gender participation within a country of questionable political legitimacy. A specific area stands out within the statistics, and that is professional and technical workers in Nicaragua. This particular area could be a late stage of educational empowerment where because women are gaining greater opportunities within education, their abilities within technical and professional economic participation are naturally on the rise and are above that of their male counterparts. What triggered this upward trajectory on the GGGI is the high amount of political participation for women in this state as well as a high amount of female workforce participation.

Another area that stands out is that females have a much higher rate of ministerial position holding within the country. Nicaragua also has had a female head of state for fifteen of the last fifty years. Their participation within the country’s parliament is high as well, ranked number seven when compared with the rest of the world. This political empowerment of women is one of the highest globally, ranked number four. We can look to Nicaragua for support of the fact that as a late stage educational empowerment of
women provides a self-correction mechanism enabling the population to make in-roads towards gender neutrality.

Nicaragua servers as an example of how women can come together and form coalitions to promote gender equity (Metoyer, 2000). It is through coalitions that women collectively can break through the traditional masculine ideal held for the female gender. This act of breaking through the confines of patriarchal social structures through coalitions is one of the cited examples here in Nicaragua as well as in Rwanda (Glock-Malloy, 2013). In Nicaragua, the National Women’s Coalition is a recognized organization that emerged in the country from 1990 to 1994. The Coalition promotes women’s rights, in conjunction with the Women’s Unemployment Project, and has worked effectively to improve women’s rights post revolution. Despite the current political state of Nicaragua it remains at the top of the GGGI, and Nicaragua serves as an example to other developing countries on how to improve and maintain gender equality. Currently Nicaragua is ranked number six on the GGGI, and shows an example of a place where women are forging ahead.

Metoyer discusses in her work (2000) how women’s roles in Nicaragua changed due to the Sandinista movement. Her work closely chronicles the lives of women from the revolution and corroborates some of the more provocative claims of this work. It shows that pre-revolution, propaganda was created to entice women to join. It shows that women joined together in droves to drive out what they saw was oppression. While not entirely gender specific, women were greatly marginalized in this country, which is something the GGGI is unable to reflect accurately because of its data limitations. Metoyer carefully shows the environment that is lacking from this data, and shows the
methods by which Nicaragua has rose the heights of gender equality through revolutionary work. Further supporting this work is also Stevens’s article (1996) which supports much of Metoyer’s work.

![Nicaragua Scores on GGGI](image)

**Nicaragua Scores on GGGI**

- **Key**
  - EP – Nicaragua’s Economic Participation Score
  - GEP – Global Average Economic Participation Score
  - PP – Nicaragua’s Political Participation Score
  - GPP – Global Average Participation Score
  - OS – Nicaragua’s overall GGGI Score.

**Figure 3. Nicaragua’s score on the GGGI**

**Rwanda**

Unfortunately due to Rwanda’s history of political instability the statistical data is lacking to support any hypothesis. There is currently twelve years of statistical data in the GGGI for most countries, Rwanda unfortunately is missing from most of those years due to the inability to collect data during and directly after the genocide, only the last four years is available and that is post many of the changes that are discussed here (GGGI, 2014). In this case, qualitative data will be used to support the hypothesis that gender
neutrality is spurred by conflict. Rwanda experienced several years of revolution that has internationally been described as genocide. The Hutus and Tutsis, while genetically indistinguishable, went to war leading to the deaths of millions. This genocide is thought by the population to have been avoidable and has been categorized as a consequence of patriarchal leadership (Devlin and Elgie, 2008). While there is little supporting statistical data to support that belief, it is held by the population nonetheless (Debusscher, 2013).

Since the cessation of hostilities between the Hutus and Tutsis there has been a quantum shift in almost all areas profiled in this thesis. Labor force participation of women in Rwanda has recently eclipsed men. While data is lacking on previous years and how they have changed over time, this could simply be the result of the deaths of so many of the male population as that occurs in times of prolonged internal or external conflict, such as post World War II Europe. However, political empowerment changes are radical in the country. The vast majority of parliamentary participation is female Rwandans. Rwanda is ranked number one globally in female parliamentary participation, and number six in general government participation. This has occurred even without a female head of state for the past fifty years (Burnet, 2008).

Rwanda is still a politically unstable country and one of the most unstable regions of the world. The Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan are either direct neighbors or very close by geographically. The conflict that had taken place just a few years earlier in this country was spurred on by international interests and conflict minerals present in the area. Rwanda is an anomaly, one that could signal change for women around the world, or simply fade into obscurity. It has the right ingredients to show the world that women in government can do more with less. Rwanda continues to
improve its situation and goes beyond any of the achievements of other countries studied (Burnet, 2008).

The statistics from the GGGI are lacking for Rwanda due to missing data during and shortly after the genocide there. However what we see now for the country is telling. Rwanda far outstrips much of the rest of the world in both Political and Economic Participation for women as shown below in Table 2. For the four years profiled we see a country that is focused on equal representation where economics and politics are between 25% and 30% more equal than that of the world at large. Additionally, in terms of trend lines, both scores are also showing an overwhelming direction upwards as the country moves ever faster towards gender equality. There are roadblocks to that development and according to Glock-Malloy, women need to work together to ensure that the future of Rwanda is as bright as it seems (GGGI, 2016). It is important to note that the wage gap in Rwanda is much lower than the rest of the world, meaning women make closer to what men do in this nation, and political participation for women is above 50% in their parliament making it one of the highest Political Participation scores in the world (GGGI, 2017).

Table 2. Rwanda’s Rankings on the GGGI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EPR</th>
<th>PPR</th>
<th>WR</th>
<th>TTL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rwanda’s Rankings on the GGGI. EPR is their Economic Participation Rank. PPR is their Political Participation Rank. WR – is their Rank on the GGGI including all four sections, Economic, Political, Health, and Education. TTL is the number of countries profiled in those years.

With Rwanda’s rankings we especially can see how NGO’s and targeted legislation have propelled gender equality in the country. One of the areas of focus was property and inheritance law, placing an emphasis away from gender and towards a more balanced society (Ali, Deininger, and Goldstein, 2014) (Grown, Gupta, and Kes, 2005).

**Sri Lanka**

Sri Lanka is profiled in this paper to reflect the potential dangers of reverting to a male gender dominant society. Sri Lanka, in many ways, is a paradox in that it is ruled by a Buddhist ranking class that has shown its ability to be violent against Hindus and Muslims, which is outside the realm of normative Buddhist principles. In recent years, we have seen Sri Lanka remove the rights of women from both economic and political participation, ranking as one of the worst in the world at 125 in parliamentary positions; this is despite having women head of states for six of the last fifty years.

Unlike the majority of the countries profiled in the work, Sri Lankan female participation is shrinking despite having the largest tertiary educated population percentage throughout the world. This along with its history of prolonged internal conflict could be opening the doors to revolution feasibility. The region of the world in which it lies is particularly susceptible to economic, political, and environmental instability. While many countries around the world are recognizing that gender neutrality is a driving factor away from conflict, Sri Lanka appears to be ignoring this to its potential great peril (Newhouse and Silwal, 2018).
It will be interesting to watch the situation in Sri Lanka develop, and how its leaders approach gender neutrality in the future. Gender politics is coming to the forefront of the geopolitical landscape with issues like the #MeToo movement. Women’s rights are currently in the media spotlight as grassroots organizations take on new meaning in the digital era. Perhaps Sri Lanka is one of the first to experience the failure of gender political neutrality first hand.

Sri Lanka has been mired in political dysfunction. Contributing to the stability issues in the country, post-tsunami, the Sri Lankan government misappropriated billions of dollars in relief aid and built a resort on the north side of the island. This kicked off another two years of civil conflict on the island country and delayed efforts in rebuilding post catastrophe. It also has affected its status on the world stage. This can be related to gender in that as the statistics for gender equity fall per the GGGI, Sri Lanka has little interest in international norms as their world view is tainted and this has been a tipping point for loss of political stability in the country (Klein, 2007).

**Figure 4.** Sri Lanka’s score on the GGGI
Table 3. Sri Lanka’s Rankings on the GGGI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GGI Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>-18.67*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-3.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>13.47*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>14.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Squared</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>5.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sri Lankan Time Series. Where figures in parenthesis = T-ratios, R-Squared statistic, standard error standard of error estimate, N = number of cases. * = significant at the level of .05 level.

The time series analysis shows that Sri Lanka is moving away from gender equity. The event shows a sudden significant shift towards greater gender inequity with a statistically significant event variable, while the trend shows a continued downward trajectory showing greater inequity over time. Poverty, literacy and skills are all factors that are contributing to low rates of female workforce participation in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. Interestingly, the wage gap is comparable between men and women over the whole state, although currently women earn three times less than men (GGGI, 2017) (Newhouse, Silwal, 2018).
Tunisia

Tunisia is representative of a number of areas of study for this work. Tunisia represents a religious culture that is primarily patriarchal in structure, and one that has recently been through political change in the form of one of the earliest countries to be affected by the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring represents, in turn, a changing state of the Arab World, one that is not entirely representative of gender equality, but one that could be greatly affected by it. Gender issues could increase the chance of disruption here and in countries that marginalize fully half of their population, this could greatly change the way potential revolutionary bodies look at the role of women in the future of not only the region, but the religion that reigns here.

There is a gap in the data, between 2011 and 2012, where Tunisia was not measured for equality by the Global Gender Gap Report due to the revolution occurring. This is both a disadvantage, and at the same time, an advantage. It is a disadvantage because we cannot see what was happening during the revolutionary, which could have been invaluable data to reflect the perhaps rapid changes in women’s rights in the country. It is advantageous because we can see exactly what happened before and after in the scope of gender equality.

Movements have been small in Tunisia, but there is a wealth of qualitative data supporting the idea that women’s rights are becoming a major issue in the fledgling relatively new revolutionary country. Time will tell whether or not Tunisia will welcome women into the fold. One major indication is movements within the Muslim faith there seem to support a more equal role in religion, economics, and politics.
During the Arab Spring, women like men took to the streets in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia. They experienced violence from authoritarian governments alongside men, and in certain examples, were targeted for violence. Women expected more representation in what types of government followed, but improvements have been small, and in some cases have been met with violence from the new government. More is needed to be done in order to make improvements in Tunisia (Johansson-Nogues, 2013). Making matters worse in 2011, Article 28 of the Tunisian Constitution downgraded women’s status from “equal” to “complimentary” (Charrad and Zarrugh, 2014).

**TUNISIA SCORES ON GGI**

![Tunisia's score on the GGGI in comparison to global averages (GGGI 2006-2017). Key – EP – Tunisia’s Economic Participation Score: GEP – Global Average Economic Participation Score PP – Tunisia’s Political Participation Score: GPP – Global Average Participation Score. OS – Tunisia’s overall GGGI Score. Box – Arab Spring Conflict and 2011 went through three presidential changes. Vertical Line – Missing Data from GGGI for 2012 and 2013, 2013 was also the election of the current Tunisian President.](image)

**Figure 5.** Tunisia’s score on the GGGI
Table 4. Tunisia’s Rankings on the GGGI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GGI Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>-4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter</td>
<td>3.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.48)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>92.07*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Squared</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>5.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tunisian Time Series. Where figures in parenthesis = T-ratios, R-Squared statistic, standard error = standard of error estimate, N = number of cases. * = significant at the level of .05 level.

For Tunisia, like Sri Lanka, we see the opposite of what we would have expected through the interrupted time series. The counter shows a statistically significant movement towards greater inequity. Examining Tunisia we see noteworthy constitutional reform. After the Arab Spring, in January of 2014, equality between genders is emphasized as discrimination in the Tunisian Constitution. It becomes illegal to discriminate between the sexes, and removes emphasis on gender being “complimentary” and replaces that language with “equal”. Here we see a country still wavering in the gap, but placing emphasis on gender as a politically stabilizing force (Daniele, Giulia, 2014).
Turkey

This work postulates that countries with greater degrees of gender inequity are at risk of internal conflict. Turkey is a country on the precipice of conflict. It recently has been through an attempted coup and in reaction President Erdogan has purged the government and its education system of the coup leaders and other supposed dissidents to the current regime (Uddin, 2018). It is suffering under the weight of a still active civil war in Syria that has flooded its borders with refugees. It has had numerous clashes within its own borders with its Kurdish minorities striving for a country of their own (Cornell, 2014).

Turkey is on the lowest end of the spectrum for female empowerment both economically and politically. It is also one of the few countries that was researched that has lower rates of education and positive health ratios for women, defying the current global trends observed. Turkey has also had recent movements of radicalized rhetoric towards gender equality both politically and religiously, even giving rise to sects and interpretations of the Muslim faith regarding women as equals to men (Barlas, 2002).

Turkey, like Sri Lanka could be entering very difficult times, not only for the women living there, but for the governments. The future is very uncertain for this formally close American ally. Potential dissidents could look to their female counterparts as an avenue by which to swing the pendulum towards political leadership change as it is unlikely such an autocratic and outwardly patriarchal administration would want to work towards equality of any kind, especially that of women.

Unfortunately, for Turkey and the women who live there, EU attempts to bring a more gender balanced society into Turkey may have worked against the country and its
people. As the EU embraces gender equity, Turkey has moved away from it in recent years (Dedeoglu, 2012). Turkish cultural beliefs are strong that women are wives and mothers, not valuable assets to the political and economic arenas. This is further shown in the disparity graph below, showing a country moving away from the gender balance and holding onto patriarchal values (GGGI, 2017).

Dedeoglu describes Turkey’s path to gender equity as a “zigzag” in which legislation is passed but not enforced to increase women’s rights. Turkey tends to leave gender at the mercy of market forces, while simultaneously working to secure women’s rights in the political arena. They work to ensure equal opportunity in the workforce while ignoring the wage gap, and there are little or no quotas in place to provide affirmative action to legislative efforts (Dedeoglu, 2012).

Figure 6. Turkey’s score on the GGGI
Table 5. Turkey’s Rankings on the GGGI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GGI Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>115.14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Squared</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>5.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turkey’s interrupted time series analysis shows a high constant, meaning the pattern of gender equity and its change throughout the time period of analysis is inconsistent, with no statistically significant independent variables. This further establishes the zig-zag nature of gender equity in the country.

Findings and Conclusion

The GGGI expresses its purpose as identifying and rectifying essentially marginalizing economic and political theories towards women. It clearly states that the GGGI “highlights the message to policy-makers that countries that want to remain competitive and inclusive will need to make gender equality a critical part of their
country’s human capital development” (Global Gender Gap Index Conclusion, 2017). Which leads us to ask, within the scope of leadership or government change, does the threat or consequence propel gender equity?

While the answer is mixed, there is some quantitative evidence that, especially in the cases of Nicaragua (being the threat of conflict), Rwanda (via qualitative research), and Colombia, conflict does nominally affect the gender status quo. The more important question is, does this change reflect a shifting status quo in gender economics and politics? Qualitatively speaking, the answer appears to be yes. The world is moving rapidly towards gender balance, with some countries leading the way such as Rwanda. Quantitatively, the sample size is too small to draw conclusive evidence as the GGGI only goes back to 2006. More statistical evidence is needed to infer that conflict or government change affects policy decisions, and gender equity fits squarely in the realm of feasibility as it pertains to potential government change. What is so startling, is that some countries, such as Tunisia, are recognizing this positive development and reacting accordingly to accommodate it, while countries with fragile governments, such as Turkey and Sri Lanka, are actively rejecting the potential that gender equity poses for a higher quality of life.

The next few years will offer some clarification to the inference that the threat of conflict can influence gender normalization. Watching the progression of Sri Lankan and Turkish politics and rhetoric could provide the critical evidence that this research lacks at the present time. In addition, the political and societal developments in Saudi Arabia should be influential in determining how much gender equity affects policy change. While the long term statistical data is lacking at present, we can witness change
happening right now for women in almost the entire developed world, and it is positive in its trajectory. Furthermore, several developing countries are following suit. In the case of Nicaragua, women are obtaining levels of equity seen almost nowhere else in the developed world. Rwanda is drastically changing in the political system with massive movements towards feminism.

Gender equity does benefit from conflict; however, more data is needed to infer how much, and how effective the change is. The survival of the GGGI and its continued research is necessary to show governments and corporations that everyone benefits from equality. Equal representation in the workforce and politics appears to be a stabilizing political and societal influence and is beneficial to national and global populations. In some cases, conflict has been used as a motivating factor leading to greater equity.

The GGGI states that gender equity will be achieved worldwide by the 24th century. While this may seem far off, it is a quantum shift from a century ago. Countries like Rwanda and Nicaragua are not just legislating change but enforcing those changes. This pattern can be emulated to create permanent change. Old patriarchal systems are starting to give way to more inclusive ones. We see how these patterns of political instability are contributing to the rise in gender equity across the globe. In addition, governments would do well to think of gender equity as a pathway by which stability can be achieved. This points to a global population that needs and wants a more balanced economic and political environment.

Gender equity has been unbalanced for the majority, if not over the totality, of recorded history. In the past 2000 years women have been treated as less than equal to men. It has been only in the past 100 years that the iron patriarchal grip over societies has
been loosened. Women have slowly begun to attain autonomy, and break the chains of the patriarchy by stepping into men’s shoes to fill their roles, while these roles are left empty due to conflict, war, or death. This is not a new occurrence, but what is new is that we can now chart this progression using gender equity statistical data: for instance, how many women work, what they are paid, and if they are represented proportionally in their governments. Research shows more gender balanced societies are also more stable societies. They are also more productive, globally competitive, and tend to experience more economic growth than societies that are more gender stratified (GGGI, 2017).

The results of this study find that there is a measurable change in gender equity post political change. In most cases, gender equity is increasing, with Sri Lanka and Turkey being exceptions. Much of the driving force towards this changing trajectory is due to international norms, which demand better gender treatment in conjunction with human rights. The global push towards gender equity is firmly aligned with standards of human rights. This seems to be the entry fee, or standard which must be followed before becoming a fully-fledged member of developed global political and economic organizations such as the European Union, with all the benefits that are presented by this status.

IGOs and NGOs who join with states in the process of rebuilding post-conflict have a strong influence on institutional standards as is the case of Rwanda. In the near future, the expectation is that gender equity will continue to rise in a positive trajectory, as it might be difficult to get women to accept less than equal status throughout the globe. The digital age makes public forums easy to access, and as one nation’s gender equity increases, the internet provides an avenue by which all countries can observe progression
in gender equity, showing countries that aspire to gender balance possible pathways towards equity for themselves. No longer is a physical space necessary to rally the masses towards a positive goal. All that is required now are cell phones with internet access.

The findings of this work have been mixed. There are some countries where women are benefiting from conflict, government and leadership changes, such as in Rwanda, Nicaragua, and France, where in other countries they are not benefiting, such as in Sri Lanka, Tunisia and Turkey. What is needed is more research. And with the tools available from the GGGI, and more data points as time goes by, a variety of questions regarding the shifts in gender equity can be answered. With the GGGI we can correlate changes in gender equality statistics with the internal political events of a country. A pathway for future research is found in the GGGI, and with the observation of changing political and economic participation of women, we can correlate that phenomenon with types of regimes, and governments. Future research could help in identifying barriers to progress and improving the quality of life for women throughout the world. What is needed is a longer period of time for observation to see how these events effect gender balance overall.
REFERENCES


2017, July 15. “*Turkey’s Failed Coup Attempt: All You Need to Know*”. Al-Jazeera.


Glock-Malloy, Victoria Anne. 2013, December 10. *Electoral Gender Quotas and Measures of Institutional Gender Inequality*: Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Georgetown University.


Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*: Cambridge University Press.


