Journal of
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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EDITOR'S NOTE

I am proud to present to you the seventeenth edition of the Sigma Iota Rho Journal of International Relations. From an impressive submission pool representing a diverse array of higher education institutions in the United States and abroad, the outstanding articles selected for this year's Journal exemplify the most innovative and insightful international relations research now being conducted by undergraduate students. Accordingly, this edition continues the Journal's longstanding tradition of serving as a premier publication for undergraduate research in the field of international studies. This reputation also extends to our online presence, as we have redesigned our website (sirjournal.org) to provide even more access to articles, blogs, and other online features. These changes will allow the Journal to provide high-quality content to a greater number of readers.

This year, the Journal is incredibly honored to feature Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize who served as National Security Advisor and also Secretary of State for two Presidents. Dr. Kissinger negotiated the Paris Peace Accords to end the Vietnam War, led the opening of diplomatic relations with China, and helped achieve détente with the Soviet Union. Dr. Kissinger deftly crafted American foreign policy in a world of great upheaval and crises. As the U.S. currently grapples with a newer set of challenges abroad, Dr. Kissinger's views and insights remain very influential for today's policymakers and scholars. In his article, Dr. Kissinger reflects on a variety of foreign crises and how they represent a manifestation of an increasingly shifting international order. He argues that a strong American role is necessary to confront regional upheaval around the world because "…the consequence of American disengagement is greater turmoil."

Following Dr. Kissinger, the ten student authors featured in this edition provide some of the most promising research out of the rising generation of young scholars. For example, Brooke Tenison studies how gender relations may influence the revival of civil wars, an intriguing association that has not received much prior scholarly attention. Eduardo Gonzalez's timely article identifies the factors which increase an individual's inclination to participate in a form of protest within a democratizing country like Turkey. Lastly, the Journal is debuting the Culture & Society Corner in which we aim to highlight the interdisciplinary nature of international studies. Overall, this edition crisscrosses geographic regions, thematic areas, and theories to highlight the wide range of study by students in international relations.

I would like to recognize the important contributions of numerous individuals to this year's Journal. I would like to thank Dr. Walter McDougall, Director of the International Relations program at the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Frank Plantan, National President of SIR; Ms. Donna Shuler, Administrative Director of SIR; Mr. Mark Castillo, the Senior Liaison Officer of SIR; and Ms. Arielle Klepach, the Journal's Editor-in-Chief last year, for their consistent support and advice throughout the production cycle. I also want to thank my fellow Executive Board members and the entire Journal staff for devoting countless hours to ensuring the highest quality Journal possible - congratulations on a job well-done.

Sincerely,

Matt Rublin
Editor-in-Chief, *Journal of International Relations*

One of my favorite teaching anecdotes concerns a former student of mine, Noah Rosenkrantz, who was required to do a comparative abstract of three authors representing a school of thought or a theoretical perspective in international relations as part of the requirements for a course on IR Theory and Practice. He chose realism and in the course of his studies he became enamored with George Kennan. When he was asked to report out in class on his work he enthusiastically declared "Kennan is the Jedi Master of IR!" In conversations since (as an alumnus he would be a successful entrepreneur working with allied navies and the Department of Homeland Security to track and interdict rogue state arms shipments) when things turned to geopolitics invariably we would talk about "What would Henry do?" rather than "What would Kennan think?" The moniker in time seemed more appropriate to Kissinger than to Kennan, but to make the Hollywood analogy complete we must think of Kennan more as Yoda: an aloof recluse, but when called upon, a teacher and a philosopher with the ability to see beyond the immediate threat to the big picture and the generational consequences of the actions and reactions of interstate politics and conflict. Likewise, Kissinger was equally wise and attuned to the larger systemic order but understood that maintenance of that order and the requirements of peace would require the exercise of power; and while negotiation is preferred to conflict, at times there is no choice but to fight. I suspect that while he might differ on the details and strategy, Dr. Kissinger would approve of the negotiations with Iran over its nuclear program and the effort to bring the Iranians back into the international community as a normal power rather than to continue to consign them to the margins as a rogue state. At the time of President Nixon's bold move at rapprochement with the People's Republic of China, it was Kissinger's guidance and strategic conception of the need to draw China into a "constructive relationship with the world community" that drove the process.[1] His framing of this policy was classic Kissinger, arguing, "an international order cannot be secure if one of the major powers remains largely outside it and hostile toward it."[2]

It was this characteristic of his writing—the offering of maxims of foreign policy or of how to understand and make sense of (and bring order to) an anarchic international system—that first attracted me to his work as a young student of international relations. Flipping through my collection of his works I find margin notes throughout the books labeling a passage or a quotable vignette as a "maxim" or "principle." One could do worse in designing a training program for diplomats than to have them internalize these prescriptions for creating and maintaining a stable world order offered by Kissinger in all his works throughout his career. Consider these excerpts from three of his more notable works:

> "To rely on the efficacy of diplomacy during a revolutionary period is to invite disaster; but to rely on power with insufficient means is suicide."[3]

> "…perfect flexibility in negotiations is the illusion of amateurs. To plan policy on the assumption of the equal possibility of all contingencies is to confuse statesmanship with mathematics."[4]

> "Moderation in an hour of triumph is only appreciated by posterity, rarely

1   Henry Kissinger, *United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's: Building for Peace*, 1971, 106.
2   Ibid., 104. Cited by David Landau, *Kissinger: The Uses of Power* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972), 105.
3   Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company Sentry Edition, 1954), 65.
4   Ibid., 74.

by contemporaries to whom it tends to appear as a meaningless surrender."[5]

"A revolution cannot be mastered until it is understood. The temptation is always to seek to integrate it into familiar doctrine: to deny that a revolution is taking place."[6]

"…even the wisest military policy will prove sterile, if our diplomacy cannot elaborate a concept of aggression which is directed to the most likely dangers."[7]

"Confused leaders have a tendency to substitute public relations maneuvers for a sense of direction."[8]

"Statesmen always face the dilemma that, when their scope for action is greatest, they have a minimum of knowledge."[9]

The academic and diplomatic worlds in which Kissinger has operated throughout his career are realms of endeavor where ideology, politics and envy color interpretations of scholarship and policy. There is a sense to which he is happy to let history be the judge, but he has never avoided debate of his ideas or his policies, or his interpretation of foreign policy across centuries.[10]

I want to thank Dr. Kissinger for agreeing to serve as this year's headliner for the Journal of International Relations. His support helps us advance Sigma Iota Rho's mission of promoting the study of international affairs on campuses throughout the world, as well as fostering a better understanding of the complexities of international politics and their impact the day-to-day lives of all. Despite the empirically compelling arguments made in Steven Pinker's *The Better Angels of Our Nature* that the world is becoming more peaceful when measured by the number of casualties and conflicts we see today (as compared historically), the need for world order today is as great as it has ever been. There is certainly less confidence in the structures and organizations that have evolved since World War II and the founding of the United Nations in managing international transactions, international peace and security and the eradication of the political, economic and social conditions that give rise to the forms of radicalism, revolution, ethnic and religious conflict, and other threats to peace and stability and order afflicting our planet today. This alone makes *World Order* a must read today.[11]

I want to thank this year's editorial board, staff, and Editor-in-Chief Matthew Rublin for the excellent job they have done in maintaining and extending the high standards we demand for a journal representing Sigma Iota Rho. And as always, a special thanks goes out to all the faculty advisors on our member campuses for their support of SIR and for the leadership they provide to their students throughout the year. On May 28-29, 2015 we will be holding our first

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5   Ibid., 111.
6   Henry Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations and Harper Bros., 1957), 61.
7   Ibid., 267.
8   Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 280.
9   Ibid., 294.
10   For a comprehensive review of the range of opinions, pro and con, about Kissinger's life and work see, Walter A. McDougall, "Oh Henry! Kissinger and His Critics," *ORBIS: A Journal of World Affairs* 38.4 (Fall 1994): 257-672.
11   Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014).

National Student Research Conference at North Park University in Chicago and I am hoping for widespread participation in this event that I know will become a new tradition within the honor society. Finally, we will begin recruiting a new editorial board soon and issuing a call for papers for next year's edition of the Journal and for SIR's Online Journal that I hope will attract interest in participation across the entire country. Thank you.

Frank Plantan, Jr.
President, Sigma Iota Rho

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International Studies graduate student Alyssa Kaelin during her case study research in a commercialized homestay village in Nepal

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In Search of World Order

BY DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States finds itself in a paradoxical situation. By any standard of national capacity, we are in a position to achieve our basic objectives and to shape international affairs.

Yet around the world, we encounter upheaval and conflict. The United States has not faced a more diverse and complex array of crises since the end of the Second World War.

One reason is that the existing international order itself is being redefined. The concept of order within every region of the world is being challenged or revised. The relationships between the different regions of the world are being redefined. For the first time in history, every region now interacts in real time and affects each other simultaneously.

As these shifts occur, the nature of security threats is expanding and becoming more fluid. The problem of peace was historically posed by the accumulation of power—the emergence of a potentially dominant country threatening the security of its neighbors. In our period, peace is often threatened by the disintegration of power—the collapse of authority into "non-governed spaces" spreading violence beyond their borders and their region. This has led to the broadening of the challenge of terrorism—from a threat organized essentially from beyond borders, to a threat with domestic networks and origins. The nature of strategy has shifted as well—from an emphasis on objective strength, to include a major component defined by psychological contests and asymmetric war.

The current international order—based on respect for sovereignty, rejection of territorial conquest, open trade, and encouragement of human rights—is primarily a creation of the West. It originated as a mechanism to end Europe's religious wars over three centuries ago. It spread as European states advanced technologically and territorially. And it evolved in the decades since World War II, as the United States became its guarantor and indispensable component.

Yet for most of history, the other regions of the world were ordered by different patterns. Their experience was central empire (such as classical China), or universal theocracy (as in the Islamic caliphate), or a hybrid system of authoritarianism (for example, czarist Russia).

In key regions of the world, the present order is in the process of change. In Europe, after two cataclysmic wars the leading states reconceived their objective. They set out to pool their sovereignty and turned to tasks of internal construction, reorienting their foreign policy toward soft power and the elaboration of a pan-European consensus. Now crises cast the question of Europe's identity and world role into sharper relief. Europe is suspended between a past it is determined to overcome and a future still in the process of being designed. And the transatlantic partnership—which has been the keystone of American foreign policy throughout the post-World War II period—awaits redefinition in line with new realities and responsibilities. It faces the challenge of adapting from an essentially regional grouping to an alliance based on congruent global views.

Russia meanwhile is challenging the strategic orientation of states once constrained in its satellite orbit. The West has an interest in vindicating their independence and vitality. Still, Russia is challenging the borders on which, paradoxically, it is least inherently threatened. On many other issues—for example, Islamist extremism—American and Russian interests may prove compatible. We need to overcome the immediate challenges Russia poses while also defining a context for its long-term role in the international equilibrium, in which it remains a key component.

Our objectives should include Ukraine as a free and independent state within its existing borders, able to develop its own path and relationships with its neighbors. The way to do this is for both sides to treat Ukraine as a bridge, rather than an outpost.

In Asia, many economies and societies are flourishing. Meanwhile a number of these countries are contesting with each other over historical or territorial claims, so far without clear limits or arrangements to constrain their rivalries. This introduces a measure of volatility to even seemingly local disputes.

A special aspect of any Asian system will be the relationship between the United States and China. It is often described as one between a rising power and an established power, analogous to Germany and Britain before the First World War. Two successive American and Chinese presidents have announced their joint aim to deal with this matter on the basis of cooperation.

Significant spokesmen in both countries have stressed the adversarial aspect. Care must be taken not to slide into a step-by-step confrontation on the model of the First World War. The path taken will play a defining role in our period.

Now India is entering this equation. With vast economic potential, a vibrant democracy, and cultural links to Asia, the Middle East, and the West, India plays a growing role that the United States will naturally welcome. The emphasis should be on social and political alignments, not strategic groupings.

In the Middle East, multiple upheavals are unfolding simultaneously. There is a struggle for power within states; a contest between states; a conflict between ethnic and sectarian groups crossing state boundaries; and an assault on the international state system. One result is that significant geographic regions have become ungovernable, or at least ungoverned—such as Libya, Yemen, Syria and Somalia.

These various conflicts have produced the phenomenon of ISIS, which challenges all established institutions and which, in the name of a declared caliphate, is consolidating a territorial base designed to terrorize and undermine all surrounding states. The existence of a territory under control of a terrorist group that avows as its aim the destruction of all modern patterns of legitimacy is a threat to international peace. The conflict with ISIS must be viewed in that context, and not only as a series of local episodes to be overcome. ISIS must be defeated, not contained.

Iran has exploited this turmoil to pursue positions of power within other countries beyond the control of national authorities—effectively a "state within a state"—such as in Lebanon via Hezbollah and in Iraq through various Shia militias commanded by Iranians. Iran does so while developing a nuclear program of potentially global consequences.

Nuclear talks with Iran began as an international effort, buttressed by six UN resolutions, to deny Iran the capability to develop a military nuclear option. They are now an essentially bilateral negotiation over the scope of that capability through an agreement that sets a hypothetical limit of one year on an assumed breakout. The impact of this approach will be to move from preventing proliferation to managing it. If other regional powers conclude that the world has approved a nuclear program within one year of a weapon and they seek to build the same capability, we will live in a "proliferated" world in which multiple Middle Eastern states will be close to the trigger point, each in fear of the others. The result will be a substantially different world from the one in which the negotiations began.

In the face of regional upheaval, some learned voices have counseled cooperation with Tehran. Having served in government during a period of American-Iranian strategic alignment and seen its benefits for both countries, I would welcome such a result in principle. It will depend on how the ayatollahs' regime defines Iran's role—whether as a significant state respecting the sovereignty of its neighbors (as Iran has been in previous eras), or as a vanguard of religious revolution in quest of dominance.

In each of these critical regions, the old order is in flux while the shape of the replacement is uncertain.

A strong and purposeful American role is essential in upholding a favorable international balance, restraining destabilizing rivalries, and providing a shield for economic growth and international trade to flourish. Especially in a time of global upheaval, the consequence of American disengagement is greater turmoil. This tends to require intervention later, but as an emergency measure and at heavier cost.

At the same time, we can draw lessons from the experiences of recent decades. In the period since World War II, the United States has entered five wars, each initially with great enthusiasm. One, the first Gulf War, ended with the accomplishment of our declared objectives. In the other four, we had great difficulty ending our military involvement in line with a defined political outcome. And in several, the national debate shifted to the point that withdrawal became the only definition of strategy. This must not be a pattern followed in future conflicts. When America uses force, it must do so on behalf of clearly defined objectives and with a determination to sustain the conflict until these objectives are reached.

All this calls for a long-term, bipartisan definition of the American national interest and world role. So we should ask ourselves:

What do we seek to prevent, no matter how it happens, and if necessary alone?

What do we seek to achieve, even if not supported by any multilateral effort?

What do we seek to achieve, or prevent, only if supported by an alliance?

What should we not engage in, even if urged by a multilateral group or an alliance?

And what is the nature of the values we seek to advance? Which applications of them are absolute, and which depend in part on circumstance?

The answers require a process of public debate and education. But we must recognize that the answers will be determined by the quality of the questions we ask.

In our national history America, secure behind two great oceans, has been fortunate to be able to approach most of our foreign policy problems sequentially—as a series of individual issues, each with its own pragmatic solution leading to a definitive outcome. In the coming era, there is a need for a continuing concept of national strategy operating across multiple and sometimes contradictory imperatives. If we meet this conceptual challenge—and I am confident that we can—our greatest contributions to a humane and peaceful world order will still be ahead of us.

The Dragon's Curse?: Examining the Relationship between China's Participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and its Economic Ties in Africa, 2000-2013

By Yunmo Wang
Tufts University

Abstract

Two major trends occurred in China's relationship with Africa since the beginning of the 21st century. First, China forged strong economic ties with African countries, replacing the United States as the continent's number one trading partner in 2009. Second, China participated actively in UN Peacekeeping Operations, 80% of which are located in Africa, becoming the number one troop contributor among the P-5 countries. This paper examines whether there is a correlation between China's contributions to African UN peacekeeping missions and its economic interests in Africa, from 2000 to 2013. The first section provides a theoretical and historical background of Chinese peacekeeping in Africa. The second section is a quantitative analysis of the relationship between Chinese peacekeeping and economic interests in Africa, while the third section offers context with three case studies of countries where China has contributed a significant number of peacekeeping personnel. The paper finds that improving trade and increased access to markets correlates to Chinese peacekeeping in Africa, but it is a consequence of rather than the cause behind China's decision to participate.

Introduction

Through the opening decade of the 21st century, China's relationship with nation-states on the African continent was increasingly colored by two salient aspects. First, China dramatically strengthened extant economic relationships, overtaking the United States as the continent's number one trading partner in 2009. Much of this was affected through the offering of more concessional loans to developing African countries than were made available by the World Bank. Second, China significantly increased troop levels on the continent through its involvement in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO), becoming the 13th largest contributor and the first-ranked among the Security Council's five permanent members. Over 80 percent of these active Chinese peacekeepers were deployed to missions in Africa.

With China's growing involvement in Africa has come criticism that Beijing is not motivated by statesmanship and altruism, but is instead focused on the growth of Chinese commerce and the effective exploitation of Africa's natural resources. In these regards, Chinese peacekeepers in Africa are seen as a vanguard intending to safeguard Chinese assets and labor, and as tools for the opening of vast, new markets.

This paper examines the apparent nexus between China's contributions to African UN peacekeeping missions and its economic interests in Africa. The first section provides a theoretical and historical background to Chinese peacekeeping in Africa. It begins by reviewing current literature that seeks to explain China's motivations for participating in peacekeeping, variously examining its expansion of soft power and 'peaceful rise,' the nation's acquisition of operational, field experience, and of its related diplomatic subversion of Taiwan. The second section of the paper more directly analyzes the relationship between Chinese peacekeeping and economic interests in Africa. First, it demonstrates that China's deployment of peacekeepers in Africa is indeed selective. However, there is little evidence of any correlation between China's decision and the host country's trade relationship and economic status *prior to* troop deployment. Next, it reveals that the deployment of Chinese peacekeepers does have a positive effect on trade relations with the host country *after* troop deployment has taken place. As evidence, the paper discusses three case studies – involving Sudan (and South Sudan), the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia.

This paper argues that while improvement of trade and access to markets are offshoots of Chinese peacekeeping in Africa these two are not foremost strategic objectives, but are instead the results of Beijing's engagement on that continent. That is, China does not seem to be deploying peacekeepers merely to protect investment assets or existent trade interests in the host nation. Rather, Beijing is deploying peacekeepers to serve a combination of legitimate, case-specific political reasons, as well as overarching strategic and operational objectives. The corollary is that Chinese deployments have contributed to the improving of relations with host governments and populations, thereby yielding secure environments for business investments and transactions. These conditions have, in turn, facilitated the signing of export contracts for natural resources and the import of Chinese manufactured goods.

CURRENT EXPLANATIONS FOR CHINESE PEACEKEEPING

Academics have identified four primary motivations to explain China's decision to increasingly contribute to United Nations peacekeeping in the 1990s: to expand soft power, to demonstrate peaceful intentions as a rising power, to gain practical experience for military operations, and to vie for influence against Taiwan. While the research explains China's decision at a strategic level, it does not always examine motivations behind deployment on a case-by-case basis. This section offers an overview of the literature to lay ground for an alternative explanation. Later sections will demonstrate that China's missions in Africa are much more selective and targeted for specific economic or diplomatic goals.

Soft power and the "charm offensive"

China's massive involvement in peacekeeping is closely associated with Beijing's campaign to project a benign national image overseas, which effort began around the same time in the early 2000s. China's "charm offensive," as journalist Joshua Kurlantzick famously called it, is a systematic and strategic national campaign which started "[f]rom the top, [where] the Beijing leadership set out its goals."[1] Whether the "charm offensive" is a soft power campaign, however, is open to debate, since China uses state instruments not traditionally considered part of soft power to promote its influence abroad, such as Confucius Institutes or participating in military peace operations. Kurlantzick observes that China embraces "a broader idea of soft power…including not only popular culture and public diplomacy but also more coercive economic and diplomatic levers like aid and investment and participation in multilateral organizations."[2] On the other hand, Joseph Nye criticizes China for failing to understand that soft power, the power of political and cultural attraction, cannot be obtained through a top-down state campaign.[3]

Regardless of how the campaign is defined, the "charm offensive" frames China's peacekeeping policy as a deeply political issue. As Watson argues, peacekeeping "engagements are more appropriately understood as a renewed appreciation in Beijing for the political uses of non-traditional military missions."[4] In particular, peacekeeping allows China to demonstrate its commitment for south-south cooperation and incorporate a security dimension. In this regard, Wu Miaofa, a researcher at the China Institute of International Studies, writes that Beijing "reevaluate[d] its policy toward peacekeeping affairs" when it realized that peacekeeping operations from 1948 to 2000 "mostly involved developing nations," and a policy of active participation would reaffirm "China's support of other developing nations' demands over security issues."[5]

In Africa, Chinese peacekeepers, primarily comprising engineers and medical staff, provide basic infrastructure and healthcare services to civilians. According to the Peacekeeping Affairs Office at the Ministry of Defense, "Chinese peacekeepers have built more than 7,300 kilometers of roads and 200 bridges, treated more than 28,000 patients, performed more than 230 surgical operations, transported materials more than 3 million kilometers and cleared more than 7,500 explosives."[6] These projects generate goodwill with locals, but also the host government. As Hirono observes, "Chinese officials and analysts" view peace-building projects

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1   Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale Univers Press, 2007), 37.
2   Ibid., 6.
3   Joseph Nye, "What China and Russia Don't Get About Soft Power," *Foreign Policy.*
4   Cynthia Watson, "The Chinese Armed Forces and Non-Traditional Missions: A Growing Tool of Statecraft," *The Jamestown Foundation*, February 20, 2009.
5   Miaofa Wu, "China's come a long way as a UN Peacekeeper," *China Daily*, May 29, 2007.
6   Qiang Su and Tian Le, "Peacekeeping – A Rising Role for China's PLA," *China Daily*, July 24, 2007.

carried out by Chinese peacekeepers "as an important component of its 'charm offensive'."[7]

China's policy of peacekeeping diplomacy is overwhelmingly an African policy. The increased significance of Africa for Chinese trade interests means that the need to continentally expand soft power is particularly critical. As a part of the "charm offensive," the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is held every three years in Beijing or an African city, where heads of state from China and Africa convene to review and further their cooperation. In addition, Chinese and African leaders repeatedly assert that, "China and Africa are good friends, good brothers, and good partners."[8] Since the vast majority of UN peacekeeping missions are in Africa, the positive image that Chinese peacekeepers project becomes a part of China's African public diplomacy. However, this effort does not always shield other negative aspects of the China-Africa relationship. As Bonnie Ling notes, "[d]espite China's use of its peacekeeping commitments as a lead-up to its public strategy for Africa, this aspect has garnered less media attention than fears over the emergence of China as another colonial power on the continent."[9]

Finally, positive effects of participation in peacekeeping can also have an inward impact, improving the image of the PLA within China. In early 2012, the Ministry of National Defense's Peacekeeping Office, along with the PLA General Political Department's Propaganda Department and the state-backed August First Film Studio collectively produced a major documentary titled *China Peacekeeping Operations* its opening ceremony for the documentary, PLA Deputy Chief of the General Staff Xiaotian Ma declared that the film series "is extremely meaningful for promoting mainstream values and advocating our idea of the Harmonious World."[10]

'Peaceful development'

Peace operations demonstrate China's dedication to 'peaceful development' as a 'responsible power'. The term 'peaceful development' or 'peaceful rise' has been incorporated into official rhetoric since first mentioned by Prime Minister Wen Jiabao in 2003. It is, in part, an official response to the "China threat theory" and a promise by China to the world that it will not abuse its rising power.[11] Peacekeeping activities fulfill China's commitment to the UN and multilateral organizations, while tangible achievements on the ground can provide rhetorical evidence to explain away concerns about China's military expansion. When explaining China's

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7   Miwa Hirono, "China's Charm Offensive and Peacekeeping: The Lessons of Cambodia – What now for Sudan?," in *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono (New York: Routledge, 2012), 96.

8   Teril Yue Jones and Ben Blanchard, "China's Xi to Visit Africa as US Frets over Beijing Influence," *Reuters*, March 9, 2013.

9   Bonnie Ling, "China's Peacekeeping Diplomacy," *China Rights Forum* (2007), 47.

10   Yunbi Zhang, "Major Documentary 'China Peacekeeping Operations' has Grand Opening in Beijing," *China Daily*, January 13, 2012.

11   Xuetong Yan, "Peaceful Rise and Keeping Peace – Discussing the Strategy and Tactics of China's Rise," *International Studies* 3 (2004), 13.

2013 plans to increase defense spending by 10.7 percent, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokeswoman cited China's growing peacekeeping and anti-piracy commitments, informing that "overseas military missions are often several times, or even dozens of times, more costly than domestic ones."[12]

While both the "charm offensive" and "peaceful rise" are about improving China's image abroad, they are distinct objectives. The "charm offensive" involves actively creating a feel-good factor to procure soft power with allies and diplomatic leverage in the developing world, the "peaceful rise" is a reactive strategy designed to dissolve uneasiness from foreign nations, particularly developed nations, regarding China's rising influence. Similar to "peaceful rise," the term "responsible power" is also aimed at developed nations, but has a slightly different connotation.

Although often attributed to a speech by United States Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, the idea of China becoming a "responsible power" or "responsible stakeholder" is not an American conception. Richardson argues that it had been incorporated in the Party's rhetoric well before Zoellick's remark. Similar to "peaceful rise," the term "responsible power" frames China's peacekeeping deployments as an act of multilateral cooperation rather than unilateral expansion.[13] However, "responsible power" allows China "to proactively frame the discourse regarding its role in peacekeeping, instead of having conceptions of peacekeeping and China's role dictated to it."[14] In other words, whereas "peaceful rise" means China will be a passive norm-taker, "responsible power" suggests that it will be a norm-maker as well. Gill and Huang of SIPRI, for example, report that the involvement of China, both a permanent member of the Security Council and a non-Western developing country, "lends credibility to UN missions…[and] helps to temper the host governments' suspicions that the missions are really Western-led military interventions."[15] Ling points out that being the only member of the Permanent Five that is willing to physically deploy large numbers of peacekeepers has "undoubtedly enhanced China's strategic positioning at the UN, especially since peacekeeping is the single most high-profile element of any UN activities on the ground"[16] Chinese think-tank researcher Wu puts this point most poignantly, explaining that China "reassessed its position in the international system" and decided that it should participate in order to "push… the international political and economic order in a more sensible direction."[17] Therefore, Chinese involvement in peacekeeping does not merely demonstrate Beijing's commitment to follow international institutions, but also its intention to shape the game.

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12   Erjie Zhou, "China's Defense Budget to Grow 10.7% in 2013: Report," *Xinhua*, March 5, 2013.

13   Courtney J. Richardson, "A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime," in *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 46.

14   Ibid.

15   Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang, "China's Expanding Presence in UN Peacekeeping Operations and Implications for the US," *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan* 4 (2009), 48.

16   Ling, "China's Peacekeeping Diplomacy," 48.

17   Ibid.

Operational experience

Participation in peace operations also offers rare practical operational experience in conflict zones and crisis situations for the People's Liberation Army. In 2007, President Hu Jintao had the PLA take on "new historic missions" which included four main objectives: 1) protecting and strengthening the Party's ruling position, 2) providing security for strategic opportunities in the country's development, 3) supporting national interests, and 4) protecting world peace and fostering joint development.[18] The fourth objective, in particular, is designed to encourage China's military to expand abroad.

The term "Military Operations Other Than War" (MOOTW), first coined in a 2008 Chinese Defense White Paper, represents a new field of operation for the PLA which "covers a wide variety of activities, including counter-terrorism operations, participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations, non-combatant evacuation operations, emergency disaster relief operations, international humanitarian assistance, and counter-piracy patrols."[19] While secondary in importance to actual combat preparation, obtaining these experiences and capabilities remains at the core of the PLA's interests. Conducting MOOTW overseas through UN peacekeeping missions brings the practical benefits of "allowing PLA personnel to amass strong operational knowledge of different local operating environments, an advantage that few counterparts have."[20] In 2004, a peacekeeping institute was established near Beijing.

It is important to note, however, that using peace operations to gain military experience is a motivation not unique to China. Other major troop contributing countries such as India and Bangladesh also view the relatively low-risk conflict environments sanctioned by the UN as an ideal setting to up-and-coming officers to practice and learn in the field, and it serves as a major motivation for participation in peacekeeping.

One-China Policy

Recognition of the Republic of China (ROC) government in Taiwan was once the most important factor in Beijing's decision to participate in UN peacekeeping. In 1971, after replacing the ROC at the United Nations, the People's Republic sought to assert its position as the only legitimate representative of the Chinese population. At the time, China staunchly objected to all peacekeeping involvements because it viewed it the same as infringing upon national sovereignty. However, after joining the peacekeeping special committee in 1988, China was able to veto peacekeeping missions in the Security Council to advance their anti-Taiwan agenda. Throughout the 1990s, Beijing effectively blocked new missions planned in countries that maintained diplomatic relations with Taiwan, including Haiti in 1996, Guatemala in 1997

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18   Junhong Chen, "Military Must Take on the Historical Mission of 'Siwei'," *People China*, October 28, 2012.
19   Michael S. Chase and Kristen Gunness, "The PLA's Multiple Military Tasks: Prioritizing Combat Operations and Developing MOOTW Capabilities," The Jamestown Foundation, January 21, 2010.
20   Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang, "China's Expanding Presence in UN Peacekeeping Operations and Implications for the US," *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan* 4 (2009), 16.

(until it changed its stance), and Macedonia in 1999.[21]

Analysts argue that in recent years China has become more flexible on the Taiwan issue, at least in the context of peacekeeping.[22] This attitude change comes in line with improving cross-strait relations with the election of the more moderate ROC President Ma Ying-jeou. As Lanteigne describes, despite "China's concerns about the status of Taiwan have made it wary about the development of a precedent for secessionist territories in UN operations…[it] nonetheless supported a 1999 Security Council resolution to send peacekeepers to East Timor, and provided its own contingent."[23] Although Haiti continued to recognize Taiwan, China did not veto and even participated in the 2004 mission in Haiti, MINUSTAH. China's presence led to an interesting, if unintended episode of cross-strait cooperation when "Taiwanese delegations…received protection from Chinese members of the United Nations forces in Haiti without any side trying to gain political capital."[24]

While the power competition between Beijing and Taiwan is far from over, particularly in Africa, Gill and Huang point out that since approving MINUSTAH, Beijing has persisted in seeking "to bring Haiti into China's diplomatic camp."[25] Zhao Lei, a researcher at China's Central Party School, wrote that China's participation in peacekeeping will "help restrain Taiwan's plans to find 'breathing room' in Africa," where five countries continued to recognize the ROC 35.[26] The 2003 case of Liberia, which was coerced into switching its recognition in order to receive a peacekeeping mission, provides strong evidence that subversion of Taiwan remains a strong strategic imperative. Finally, some believe that participation in peacekeeping will provide important lessons for the PLA, to be used in military policy against Taiwan. The US Department of Defense claims, in its 2012 Annual Report to Congress, that although the PLA has expanded toward wider missions farther from China, "preparing for contingencies in the Taiwan Strait remains the principal focus and driver of much of China's military investment."[27] Kamphausen and Liang argue that the use of "military force to respond to *external crises*," such as peacekeeping missions, is a form of power projection and intended to equip the PLA with crisis response capabilities that can then be useful in disputes with its closer neighbors, including Taiwan.[28]

21   International Crisis Group, "China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping," *International Crisis Group*, April 17, 2009, 17-18
22   Ibid.
23   Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono, *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 72-73.
24   "Taiwan Wins Respect through Cooperation with China and Haiti: Ma," *Taiwan News*, January 21, 2010.
25   Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang, "China's Expanding Presence in UN Peacekeeping Operations and Implications for the US," *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan* 4 (2009), 14.
26   Lei Zhao, "Come for Peace – Analysis of China's Peacekeeping Operations in Africa," *Foreign Affairs Review*, 2007.
27   Department of Defense, "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2012," *Department of Defence*, 2012.
28   Roy D. Kamphausen and Justin Liang, "PLA Power Projection: Current Realities and Emerging Trends," in *Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security,* ed. Michael D. Swaine et al. (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2007), 119.

EXPLAINING CHINA'S SELECTIVE PARTICIPATION

Although China has been actively involved in UNPKOs since 2000, its participation is selective, and when it does participate there is often a large variance in the number of peacekeepers deployed to each mission. While the current literature explains Beijing's rationale for making the strategic decision to participate in peacekeeping, it fails to explain China's selective process toward each mission. Table 1 in the appendix lists every UNPKO in Africa since 1990, when China began its participation. Two sets of data for troop deployment have been included, the first counted 6 months and the second counted 18 months after the mission's initiation date (date when the mandate was approved by the UN Security Council). These time buffers account for the fact that troops and mission observers generally require some time to assemble, train, and deploy. They should not skew the data, as the decision to deploy is often made around the initiation date or months before actual deployment.

Although China's overall participation in missions is seen to have increased over time, China clearly chooses the missions in which to participate. In particular, large contributions have been made to missions in Liberia, Sudan/South Sudan, the DR Congo, and Mali, while missions in Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi, and Chad/CAR have been absent of Chinese presence.

The apparent selectivity of China's participation is sometimes regarded with suspicion, meaning that peacekeepers may be motivated to serve China's economic interests in specific countries. Critics are often influenced by the widespread notion that China is expanding in Africa solely for the exploitation of natural resources. David Shinn, a former US ambassador to Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, points out that, "China has sent peacekeepers where they have interest in natural resources."[29] The aforementioned 2012 Pentagon Annual Report warns that PLA's expansion beyond its borders is part of Chinese leaders' plan to "expand their diplomatic influence to facilitate access to markets, capital, and resources."[30] China's growing bilateral ties and interests in African countries conflates with its peacekeepers, who are supposed to represent a neutral multilateral organization. UN officials expressed "frustration at their lack of access to details of extensive bilateral military ties between China and African countries where Chinese peacekeepers are also deployed," making it "unclear whether those arrangements complement China's peacekeeping activities."[31] Zhao Lei of China's Central Party School documents that "[i]n the country of residence, Chinese peacekeepers collaborate with Chinese institutions and organizations to protect the interests of Chinese people and enterprises."[32]

Others reject the conclusion that Chinese peacekeeping in Africa is intended solely to protect

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29   David Shinn, interview by Ben Yunmo Wang, March 12, 2013.
30   Department of Defense, "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2012," *Department of Defence*, 2012.
31   Chin-hao Huang, "Principles and Praxis of China's Peacekeeping," in *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono (New York: Routledge, 2012), 23.
32   Lei Zhao, "Two Pillars of China's Global Peace Engagement Strategy: UN Peacekeeping and International Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping 18*, no. 3 (2011), 348.

its trade and investments. As Richardson points out, this link "is more nuanced than might appear."[33] According to Yun Sun, UNPKOs each operate within their own mandates, and there is little room for the PLA to maneuver and promote China's national agenda from within.[34] Indeed, the presence of Chinese peacekeepers in Africa may simply be due to the fact that UN missions overall are primarily concentrated in Africa. A report by the International Crisis Group points out that it is too simplistic to assume China's uniformity in decision-making, when in fact it is difficult for Beijing to coordinate such calculated strategic pivots when the "economic and peacekeeping tracks operate separately," fragmenting China's economic and security engagements in Africa.[35] Whereas the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) oversees investments abroad, peacekeeping is managed by the Central Military Commission (CMC) the Ministry of Public Security, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[36] More specifically, according to intelligence collected by sinodefence.com, the CMC's management of peacekeeping affairs involves a veiled two-level process. In public, the government organ in charge of peacekeeping affairs is the PRC Ministry of National Defence's Peacekeeping Office, when in fact the office is used as a public alias for the PLA General Staff Department's Intelligence Department (also known as the 2nd GSD Department). However, it is worthwhile to note that this intelligence department's main responsibilities center on "the collection and analysis of military and political intelligence at the strategic-level by means of human intelligence."[37] The prominent role that this strategic intelligence organization plays in China's multilateral peacekeeping efforts does merit further scrutiny.

To distinguish whether peacekeeping actually serves China's economic interests requires two separate tests. The first test examines whether existing trade relations or trade potential determines China's decision to deploy peacekeepers. If true, peacekeepers would be selectively deployed to protect China's existing investments or to gain access to new markets, by introducing security and stability and extending diplomatic influence. In this case, trade relation and trade potential is the independent variable, while Chinese troops deployed is the dependent variable. The second test examines whether deployed peacekeepers lead to an improvement in trade relations and investments in the nation where the mission is located. If true, the security and stability introduced by the peacekeepers, as well as the diplomatic leverage China gains by supporting the missions, would provide China access to said markets. The number of Chinese troops deployed is the independent variable, while trade relations and Chinese FDI becomes the dependent variable.

PRE-DEPLOYMENT CORRELATION

Four independent variables were selected to measure whether trade ties and economic conditions in a host country impacted China's decision to deploy peacekeepers. Trade relations

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33   Courtney J. Richardson, A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime," in *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 49.
34   Yun Sun, interview by Ben Yunmo Wang, February 26, 2013.
35   International Crisis Group, "China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping," *International Crisis Group*, 2009, 16.
36   Ibid.
37   "PLA General Staff Department," Sinodefense.com.

are measured by export and import on the year when the mission was declared, whereby export indicates China's export to the partner country, while import indicates China's import from the partner country. A country's economic strength is measured by GDP as well as GDP per capital, also on the mission initiation year. Finally, several missions were omitted from the dataset. Two missions in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) were not included because Somalia's trade and GDP were unavailable for the initiation year. For the same reason, UNAVEM II of Angola was included in the analysis of GDP and GDP per capita, but excluded for trade. UNOMUR, UNASOG, and UNOMSIL were excluded for being either too small (less than 100 troops) or too short in duration (less than 6 months). The UN mission in Abyei, Sudan (UNISFA) was excluded, because it was staffed overwhelmingly by Ethiopian troops. Presumably, China had little discretion in choosing not to send troops for this mission. The data is presented in Table 2 in the appendix.

Using this data, three regressions were performed to analyze the relationship between troop deployments and the aforementioned indicators. Two dependent variables were measured - the number of troops deployed after 6 months, and those after 18 months, with data taken from official UN sources. In addition, the year of troop deployment was also included as an additional independent variable for the third regression. This is intended to cross-check whether the number of troops deployed increased with time, as China became more confident and experienced in participating in UNPKOs. The results are presented below:

Table 3: Regression Model for Trade Relations

Variable	6 months		18 months	
	B	SE B	B	SE B
Export	$-2.89E^{-07}$	$1.71E^{-07}$	$2.80E^{-07}$	$3.00E^{-07}$
Import	$1.23E^{-07}$*	$5.59E^{-08}$	$-4.10E^{-08}$	$9.82E^{-08}$
R2		0.41		0.33

$p < 0.05 =$ * $p<0.005=$**

Table 4: Regression Model for Size of Economy

Variable	6 months		18 months	
	B	SE B	B	SE B
GDP	$9.05E^{-10}$	$1.36E^{-09}$	$5.01E^{-09}$*	$1.93E^{-09}$
GDP per capita	0.03	0.08	-0.07	0.11
R2		0.078		0.32

$p < 0.05 =$ * $p<0.005=$**

Table 5: Regression Model for Year

	6 months		18 months	
Variable	B	SE B	B	SE B
Year	8.16*	3.14	17.4**	4.64
R2		0.25		0.41

p < 0.05 = *   p<0.005=**

Regressions using indicators of trade relations (Table 3) and size of economy (Table 4) as independent variables suggest that they have little to no effect on the number of troops China deployed. Only two, China's imports compared to deployment after 6 months and GDP compared to deployment after 18 months, yielded statistically significant results. However, the magnitude of the coefficient is so small that the impact of the two can be considered negligible. In comparison, the independent variable year (Table 5) clearly has a positive correlation with troops deployed, whether measured for 6 months or 18 months after the mission's initiation. Taken together, the analysis reveals that China contributed more personnel to UNPKOs over time, and generally without regard to trade relations with the host countries and the sizes of their economies.

Figure 3: Liberia (UNOMIL/UNMIL)
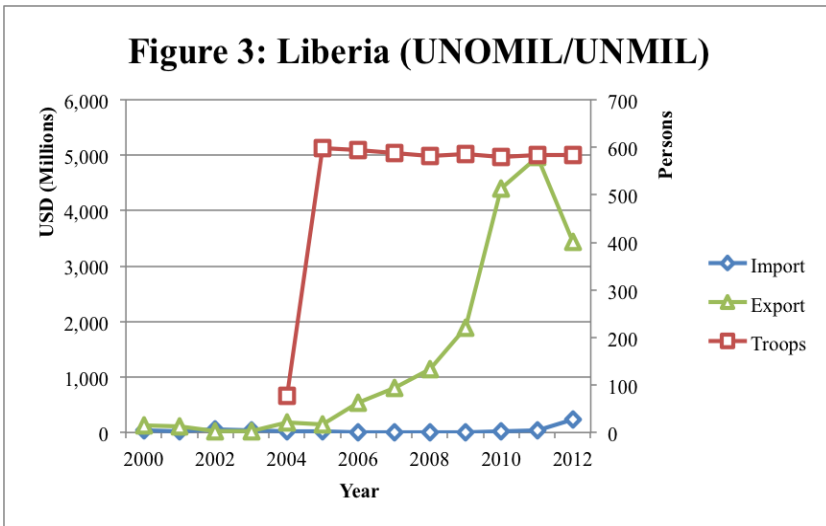
POST-DEPLOYMENT CORRELATION

This section will test for whether Chinese peacekeeper contributions affect trade relations with their host countries in Africa *after* deployment. It involves a case study method with

seven missions in seven countries deployed after 2000, four of which saw significant Chinese participation and three others saw very little. The three host countries of Sudan (UNAMID and UNMIS), Liberia (UNOMIL/UNMIL) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC/MONUSCO) each received hundreds of Chinese peacekeeper contingents, which regularly rotated and stationed in the respective missions. Their presence and participation are usually well documented and commented upon by top local and UN officials. The host countries of Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI), Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), and Burundi (ONUB) also hosted significant peacekeeping missions in the 2000s with thousands of uniformed personnel, but

Figure 4: DR Congo (MONUC/MONUSCO)
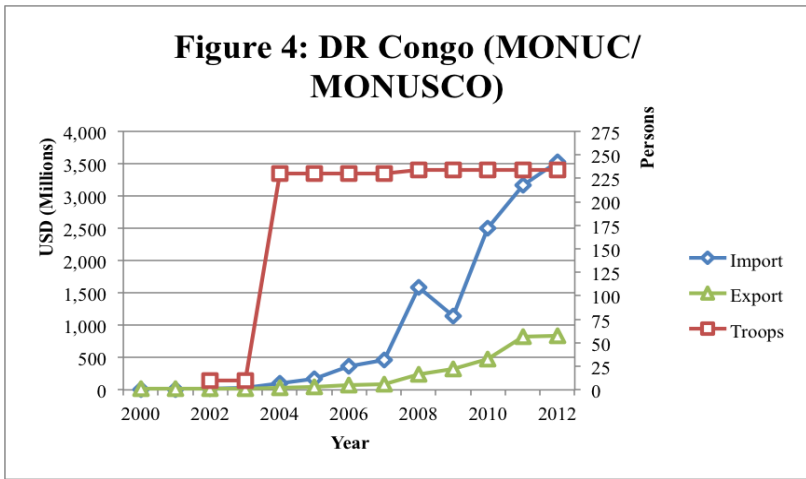
China only sent a small symbolic group of observers.

For each case, the number of troops deployed (with data taken from January of each year) and plotted against China's export and import statistics to the mission's host country. Each case uses data from UN Comtrade as reported by China, except for the case of Sudan. If peacekeepers were sent to gain China access to new markets, there should be a correlation between troop contributions and the volume of trade. The timeframe for each case is set from 2000 to 2012, which matches the period when China's overall trade with Africa increased.[38]

Major Participation Cases

First examined were the three countries in which China has contributed significant peacekeeping personnel: Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan.

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38   Except for Sudan, where official trade data before 2004 was not published.

Figure 5: Sudan (UNAMID and UNMIS)
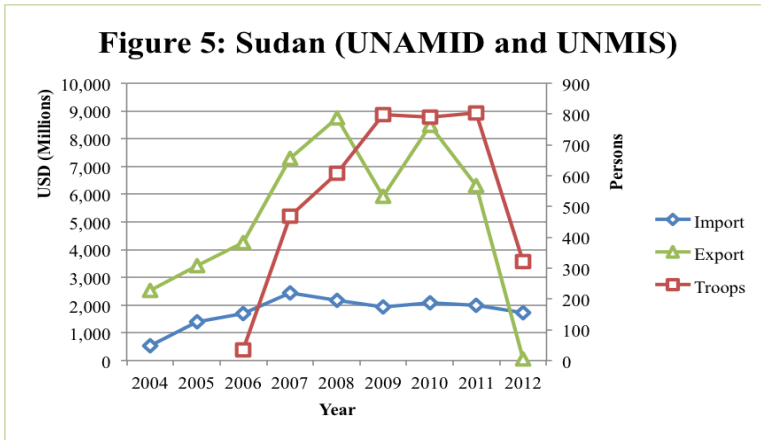
In Liberia's case, trade with China was low before China began contributing to the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) in 2003. The trend of trade increase afterwards is quite dramatic. After Chinese peacekeepers entered in Liberia in 2003 and grew to a full force of nearly 600 troops by 2005, Chinese exports to Liberia accelerated. The acceleration of Chinese exports began right around 2005, when large contingents of troops were deployed to Liberia. Whereas the export was $26 million USD in 2003, by 2011 this volume had reached $5 billion USD, representing a 191-fold increase. Admittedly, this rate did drop back to around $3.4 billion USD in 2012. China's imports from Liberia actually decreased from $55 million USD in 2002 to a mere $1.9 million USD in 2006, and then steadily increased again to around $230 million USD by 2012. Nevertheless, import from Liberia is almost negligible compared to the huge exports.

The graph of DR Congo appears similar to that of Liberia, although the increase of trade occurred in China's imports rather than exports. In 2003 before Chinese participation in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), Chinese imports from DR Congo was at a mere $26 million USD. However, after China sent over 200 soldiers to the UN stabilization mission, import began to accelerate. By 2012, this volume had reached over $3.5 billion USD, a more than 134-fold increase. Chinese exports to DR Congo increased at a slower, but nevertheless impressive rate. From the $25 million USD exports of 2003, China was exporting $837 million USD to DR Congo by 2011, a nearly 33-fold growth.

As the graph demonstrates, Sudan appears different from both Liberia and DR Congo. China

sent its first troops and observers to UNMIS in 2005, and then to the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) in 2008. In 2005, Sudan's exports to China were already at over $3.4 billion USD, or 71% of the country's total of $4.8 billion USD exports. Import

of Chinese goods, too, was quite significant at almost $1.4 billion USD. However, the year of 2006 saw a surge of Chinese peacekeepers at UNMIS, while large amounds of Chinese peacekeepers were deployed to UNAMID in 2008. From 2006 to 2009, total Chinese personnel in Sudan increased from 35 to 798 persons. Alongside this, Sudanese exports to China saw a 4-fold increase of an astounding $6 billion USD from 2005-2008. In the next three years, export fluctuated between $6 billion to $8 billion USD, before the independence of South Sudan halted oil production and almost entirely wiped out Sudanese exports. At this point the number of Chinese peacekeepers decreased as well, because UNMIS gained a new mandate as UNMISS, which is now located in South Sudan. Sudanese imports from China increased slightly but generally remained around $2 billion USD.[39]

Overall Assessment

With the exception of Sudan, all five other case studies showed upward trends in their trade with China. This is reflective of the overall stronger economic ties China has forged with Africa since 2000. However, as Figure 9 shows, trade growth in Liberia and DR Congo were clearly more aggressive than the three cases where no major Chinese troop deployments were observed. Sudan, on the other hand, had massive trade volumes with China before the independence of South Sudan. These evidences suggest that there is a positive correlation between deployment of Chinese peacekeepers leads and increasing trade volumes with China *after* deployment.

However, it is important to note that the sample size of this study is relatively limited: China only participated significantly in four missions (two in Sudan). Moreover, many complex domestic and international factors could have affected these trade rates, and correlation does not mean causation. Finally, even if there is a causal relationship, it is unclear whether the potential for increased trade led to more personnel commitment, or that increased personnel commitment built trust and promoted business relations.

The final part of this paper includes case studies of China's roles in UNOMIL/UNMIL in Liberia, MONUC/MONUSCO in the DR Congo, and both UNAMID and UNMIS in Sudan. Each case will retrace the diplomatic and political processes behind which peacekeepers were deployed from China, and if and how their actions may have facilitated Chinese trade. They will review major trade and investment decisions made around or immediately after troops were

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39   Accounting for Sudan's trade data was difficult, as China did not report their data to the UN Comtrade database and information was acquired from the Central Bank of Sudan (CBOS). CBOS did not offer trade data before 2004. Moreover, using data reported by the African partner rather than China means that trade volumes may be calculated in different ways, undermining its comparison value with the other cases. For the sake of consistency, export and import labels on the graph are still relative to China. However, "exports" actually indicate Sudan's imports from China whereas "imports" indicate Sudan's exports to China.

deployed. Furthermore, they will consider how the key principles and motivations of Chinese peacekeeping played out, and if those motivations provide more reasonable explanations of why Beijing chose to participate in peacekeeping rather than the desire to facilitate trade. To support the empirical evidence above that prove a correlation, the next section will discuss the issue of causation with three qualitative case studies.

LIBERIA: UNOMIL/UNMIL

The tumultuous relationship between the People's Republic of China and Liberia has been dictated by the PRC's competition for diplomatic recognition with the Republic of China (ROC), or Taiwan. Following its inception on February 17 1977, Liberia twice severed ties with the PRC and switched diplomatic recognition to Taiwan. This first occurred in 1989 under President Samuel Doe, and again in 1997 with the coming to power of Charles Taylor. Both were products of the ROC's 'dollar diplomacy,' which inundated developing countries with aid in exchange for the establishment of official relations. In 1989, Taiwan promised Doe's government large sums of aid in return for recognition, and the PRC responded by breaking off relations. The three parties seemed to be approaching a middle ground by 1993, as Liberia established relations with both the PRC and ROC. However, Charles Taylor's "National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government…[, which] was doing business with Taiwan," toppled the regime, and Taylor promptly adopted a "two China" policy in 1997.[40] This contradicted Beijing's "One China Policy", and again led to the severance of relations. Although money from Taiwan was delivered in the name of development aid, the ROC's foreign ministry spokesman openly admitted after the fall of Taylor's regime that "[f]rankly speaking, nobody can tell you where it [the aid money] went."[41]

Policy in Liberia is often amended to please donors and acquire funding. As a former high-level Liberian official admits, this trend is not limited to foreign, but also domestic policy: "Liberia and other African countries, in general, put out economic plans and requests for assistance on the basis of the priorities of the donors."[42] Understanding this historical context is integral to interpreting the reestablishment of PRC-Liberia relations in 2003. In a similar vein to Taiwan's "dollar diplomacy", the deployment of peacekeepers to UNMIL was used by the PRC as political capital to regain recognition. The PRC "threat[ened]…to veto a US$250 million budget for peace-keeping forces" in UN Resolution 1059, and Monrovia again switched its allegiance to the PRC in October 2003 to ensure the Resolution's passing.[43] As a reward, Beijing dispatched 5 peacekeepers to Liberia the next month.[44] Since the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, China-Liberia bilateral ties improved dramatically. In 2005, Beijing increased the number of Chinese peacekeepers at UNMIL to nearly 600 strong.

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40   African Center for Economic Transformation, "Looking East: China-Africa Engagements – Liberia Case Study," *African Center for Economic Transformation,* 2009.
41   Michael J. Cole, "Taiwanese Funds Financed Liberian Dictator, 'NYT' Says," *Taipei Times*, June 2, 2010.
42   Togba-Nah Tipoteh, "Commentary – China-Liberia Relations at the 63rd Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic," *The Inquirer*, September 28, 2012.
43   Amber Wang, "Chien Tenders Resignation Over Liberia," *The China Post*, October 14, 2003.
44   "Chinese Peacekeepers sent to Liberia," *China Daily*, November 27, 2003.

Therefore, the primary reason for China's deployment of peacekeepers in Liberia is a political one: to co-opt Monrovia into once again switching its allegiance from Taipei to Beijing. As mentioned in Section I, the "One China" policy is a key principle for engaging in peacekeeping, in this case peacekeeping has actually become a tool to reinforce this policy. This explains why Liberia appeared an outlier in the pre-deployment analysis, as a country that received significant numbers of Chinese peacekeepers despite having a relatively small economy and below 100 million USD of trade with China (see Table 2). After deployment, however, trade between the two countries flourished, reaching $5 billion by 2011.[45] This came after the resumption of relationships between Beijing and Monrovia. Chinese peacekeepers were not deployed to protect pre-existing Chinese interests in Liberia, although their deployment played an important factor in repairing China's broken relationship with the West African country, which enabled the subsequent surge in trade.

The Chinese peacekeeping forces in Liberia contributed to both local security and economy, as well as to the UNMIL mission itself. Chinese peacekeepers made significant contributions to building Liberia's infrastructure, providing logistical support, and donating medical supplies. For example, observers noted that UNMIL "currently depends entirely on the Chinese transport company to transport personnel, fuel, water and other essential goods around Liberia."[46] On March 2010, Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf paid a special visit to commend Chinese peacekeepers at UNMIL. Later in the same month, the 558 Chinese peacekeepers were decorated with UN medals by Deputy Envoy Henrietta Mensa-Bonsu, who claimed that Liberians can attest to "the systematic hard work and dedicated services that the Chinese people make daily to the Country's development."[47]

To this end, the participation of China in UNMIL has thus been successful in winning the hearts and minds in Liberia, forging trust and generating goodwill between two countries that are connected by only a short, intermittent and tumultuous history. This emerging relationship is reflected not only in trade numbers or the kilometers of roads which Chinese peacekeepers have paved, but also through less tangible signs of increasing soft power. As some scholars have noticed, one such sign occurred when, "[t]o honor Chinese peacekeepers' contributions, many roads and bridges have been named after the nation in Liberia and even in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."[48] At a well-received Mandarin language school in Monrovia, set up by the Chinese embassy, teacher Li Peng tells his class "If you all want to go to China - because China is a beautiful place - you have to learn Chinese."[49]

However, some evidence suggests that the diplomatic and symbolic purpose of peacekeeping

45   United Nations Statistics Division, *Commodity Trade Statistics Database*.
46   Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang, "China's Expanding Presence in UN Peacekeeping Operations and Implications for the US," *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan* 4, (2009): 26.
47   UNMIL, "UN Deputy Decorates 558 Chinese Peacekeepers in Liberia," *The Liberian Journal*, March 15, 2010.
48   Kossi Ayenagbo et al., "China's Peacekeeping Operations in Africa: From Unwilling Participation to Responsible Contribution," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 6, no 2. (2012), 28.
49   Jonathan Paye-Layleh, "Learn Chinese for free…in Liberia," *BBC*, October 13, 2009.

sometimes superseded actual development goals in Liberia. In a classified cable released by WikiLeaks, the United States Embassy in Monrovia reported to the State Department that "Chinese assistance to Liberia tends to be well-publicized one-off contributions of goods, technical assistance, infrastructure, and exchanges, rather than sustained donor engagement in strengthening specific institutions or sectors," specifically citing UNMIL as an example.[50]

Lastly, on the security dimension it is possible that UNOMIL could have facilitated China's trade with Liberia. Prior to the outbreak of violence, China had fairly strong interests in the resources of timbre, and the fighting made the collection and sale of timber much more difficult. Logically, it is conceivable that Beijing sanctioned UN peacekeeping and dispatched troops to maintain security and reinstate state institutions for the timber relationship.[51] However, the volume of timber traded between China and Liberia actually decreased after UNOMIL's deployment, likely due to deteriorating security situations (United Nations Statistics Division). If securing timber exports were the motivation for dispatching Chinese peacekeepers in Liberia, the tactic had proven a failure.

Democratic Republic Of Congo: MONUC/MONUSCO

China has contributed to two UN missions in the DRC: the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC, 1999-2010) and its reduced successor, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO, 2010-present). MONUC was established in November 1999 to oversee the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement that ended hostilities between the Kabila government and rebel forces in the Kivu regions, before evolving into a more complex mission that sought to "implement multiple political, military, rule of law and capacity-building tasks."[52] China sent its first contingent, including 175 engineering troops and 43 medical staff, in December 2002. Since then, a similar sized squadron has been dispatched to MONUC, and then MONUSCO, on 8-month rotations.[53]

The first 217-strong team that China dispatched to the DRC was carved out of a contingent "peacekeeping reserve engineering battalion" that had only been formed two months ago in October 2002, out of the engineering battalions that were dispatched to UNTAC in 1992.[54] At the time, incumbent president Joseph Kabila was only in his second year of presidency, and had visited Beijing in March of that year. During the meeting with Kabila, Chinese President Jiang Zemin expressed "heart-felt sympathy for the suffering and loss brought about by the ongoing conflict in the DRC" and said that China "will continue to keep close consultation and coordination with Congo and make efforts in rendering an early resolution of the conflicts

50   Monrovian Embassy, "Liberia: US/China Dialogue on Africa," *Cablegate*, March 2, 2007.
51   David H. Shinn, "China and Africa in the Xi Jinping Era," *The Diplomat*, March 25, 2013.
52   "MONUSCO Background," United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo.
53   Zhang et al. "Approaching China's First Engineering Battalion for the DR Congo," *PLA Daily*, December 23, 2003.
54   Cao et al. "Fighting for World Peace, China's DR Congo Peacekeeping Force Departs," *Xinhua*, April 4, 2003.

in Congo."[55] Kabila himself spent half a year studying at the PLA National Defense University in Beijing, and left with highly positive feelings about the country.[56] Dispatching peacekeeping troops at such a pivotal time probably served as political signaling for China's support for an ally, and setting the foundations for an improved relationship.

As demonstrated earlier in this section, China's 2003 participation on MONUC preceded a dramatic surge in trade relations with the DRC. During this period China also began investing heavily in the country. The most significant deal thus far was struck in September 2007 between the DRC government, China Railways, and Sinohydro. In exchange for $9 billion financing for nationwide construction of infrastructure and development aid, the DRC government will provide copper and cobalt that could generate revenues of anywhere between $40 billion to $120 billion, which "amounts to roughly four to eleven times Congo's GDP."[57] Whereas there is little evidence to suggest that contributing to MONUC directly triggered these deals, Chinese peacekeepers have participated and supported relations with the DRC government throughout the period during which China began to invest dramatically in the DRC.

However, accounts of dramatic Chinese business deals in Africa are sometimes overblown. Also in 2007, reports surfaced that Chinese telecom company ZTE would invest in a 3 million hectare oil palm biofuels venture.[58] This led to several reports in Western media about Chinese "land grabbing" in the DRC, with CBS going as far as claiming that "China recently purchased half the farm land under cultivation in the Congo"[59] Yet, subsequent reports about the deal suggested that the approved land is actually around 100,000 hectares, with one source claiming that the offer went as low as 250 hectares.[60] Speculation and uncertainty around this case highlights the overall ambiguity of Chinese involvement in the DRC and the media's temptation to exaggerate stories to fit a narrative.

Some speculative evidence suggests that the operations of Chinese peacekeepers in the DRC have helped create and improve a security environment that benefitted Chinese business interests. Operation of mines is not only good business, but strategically critical in the DR Congo, and the two UN missions there have made repeated attempts to wrestle for their control from insurgent groups. For example, a report released in November 2009 by the UN Group of Experts on the DRC revealed that "MONUC-backed Kimia II had shifted the control of almost all mining sites in the Kivu from FDLR and Mayi-Mayi groups to FARDC units."[61] These officers, themselves former members of the National Congress for the Defense

55   "President Jiang Zemin Met with DRC President Joseph Kabila," Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
56   Jixiang Zhu, "Mature and Astute, DR Congo President Kabila had Studied in China," *Xinhua*, April 27, 2006.
57   Global Witness, "China and Congo: Friend in Need," *Global Witness,* 2011, 4.
58   Freddy Kilubi, "Un Millard USD de Pékin pour des Palmeraies à Huile en Republic République Démocratique du Congo," *DigitalCongo.net*, May 30, 2007.
59   Robert O'Brien, "China's Africa Play," *CBS News*.
60   Deborah Brautigam, "China and the African 'Land Grab': The DRC Oil Palm Deal," *China in Africa: The Real Story*, March 15, 2010.
61   Thierry Vircoulon, "After MONUC, Should MONUSCO Continue to Support Congolese Military Campaigns?," *International Crisis Group*, July 19, 2010.

of the People (CNDP) rebel group, began to profit from their newly attained benefits. The report "includes evidence…showing direct involvement of [former] CNDP military officials in the supply of minerals to a number of exporting houses in North and South Kivu, some of which also supply the international companies," including ones that have been traced back to China.[62] By 2011, a Global Witness report noted that "Chinese mineral trading houses are increasingly active in the eastern provinces of North and South Kivu. For example, Chinese 'TTT mining' was the largest exporter of cassiterite in North Kivu in the first two months of 2010."[63] In May 2012, TTT Mining and Huaying Trading Company, companies implicated in multiple Group of Experts reports, were both suspended by the DRC government for failing to conduct "due diligence – to make sure that their purchases did not benefit armed groups or units of the Congolese national army."[64]

Some argue that Chinese peacekeepers played a direct role in facilitating China-DRC relations. According to Jonathan Holslag, China launched "a military charm offensive to protect its newly gained assets" in the DRC, and Chinese peacekeepers contribute to this strategy by fomenting relations with the FARDC:

> Engineers of the MONUC peacekeeping operation refurbished the FARDC's barracks in Camp Saio near Bukavu. They also built two FARDC camps in Luberizi, near to the border with Burundi. Chinese and Congolese military officers in the region have fraternized and have their own regular bilateral meetings to discuss the security situation. PLA and FARDC soldiers reportedly also appeared together around sites of the Chinese Bukavu-Kasongo road construction project.[65]

Indeed, Chinese mining companies that have significant interests in the Kivu region have benefitted from UN-backed anti-rebel operations. However, other than Holslag's speculation, there is little evidence to suggest *deliberate* Chinese peacekeeper involvement in facilitating these benefits.

Finally, analysts have noted that the entire company of foreign states involved in the DRC's transition was more or less holding selfish interests. China, alongside the US, France, the UK, Belgium, South Africa, Angola, Canada, Russia, the AU and the European Union formed an International Committee in Support of the Transition (CIAT) under a special representative of the UN Secretary-General. The International Crisis Group alleges that "With the improving investment climate, CIAT members became even more cautious, as they promoted their economic interests, allegedly helping companies obtain mining contracts and lucrative state tenders directly from the presidency. The U.S., Canada, South Africa and Belgium took the

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62   Apakan et al. "Final Report of the Group of Experts on the DRC Submitted in Accordance with Paragraph 8 of Security Council Resolution 1857," *United Nations*, November 23, 2009.
63   Global Witness, "China and Congo: Friend in Need," *Global Witness,* 2011, 13.
64   "Congo Government Enforces Law to Curb Conflict Mineral Trade," *Global Witness*, 2012.
65   Jonathan Holslag, "China's True Intentions in Congo," *Harvard International Review,* April 19, 2010.

lead, seeking to control strategic reserves of copper, cobalt and other minerals and restrict China's access."[66] Corruption and the sharing of spoils through official UN capacity likely happened to some degree, but was not a phenomenon unique to China. If China did in fact benefit from this practice, it would explain the observed increase in trade activity between China and the DRC after peacekeeper deployment.

SUDAN: **UNAMID/UNMIS**

China's participation in UNAMID and UNMIS in Sudan is, when combined, the largest deployment of Chinese peacekeepers in a single country. They are also possibly the most significant and most controversial. In 2007, when the resolution for deploying an UN-AU peacekeeping mission to Darfur was presented to the UN Security Council, China was entering the final stage of preparations for its Beijing Olympic Games. Members of the international civil society had been boycotting the Olympics for China's complicity in Darfur, hoping to pressure Beijing into exerting diplomatic influence on Khartoum.[67] Eager to subdue the international campaign, Beijing's attitude changed, and it played a significant role in facilitating UN peacekeeping operations and negotiating for peace in Sudan.

As mentioned earlier, China's participation in peacekeeping adds a level of legitimacy to the missions through its status as a developing country and a non-Western power. From 2006 to 2007, various high-level Chinese officials including President Hu Jintao himself traveled to Khartoum and lobbied Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir into allowing the deployment of UNAMID in Sudan.[68] Beijing contributed an initial 143 troops to a massive 26,000 personnel mission in October 2007.[69] China's positive relations with Sudan helped quash Khartoum's fears that UNAMID would be used as a tool for Western intervention, and in this sense China's involvement seemed to have attained its purpose and facilitated the deployment of peacekeepers. Throughout the operational phase of UNAMID, the UN continued to defer to the Beijing-Khartoum relationship for additional leverage in Sudan. According to a cable released by WikiLeaks, Under Secretary General for the DPKO Alain Le Roy told US Ambassador Susan Rice in December 2009 that "the best hope for securing release of the hostages and for ensuring safety of UNAMID workers would be for member states to pressure China into convincing Bashir to stop fomenting violence in Darfur and to get serious about implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement."[70] Therefore, although China had existent and significant trade relations with Sudan, its choice to deploy peacekeepers to UNAMID was primarily motivated by the desire to demonstrate commitment to multilateral cooperation and dismiss some of the anti-Olympics protests.

More than leveraging its diplomatic weight, China has also made tangible contributions on the

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66   "Congo: Consolidating the Peace," *International Crisis Group,* July 5, 2007.
67   Helene Cooper, "Darfur Collides with Olympics, and China Yields," *New York Times*, April 13, 2007.
68   "China's Thirst for Oil," *International Crisis Group*, 2008.
69   United Nations Statistics Division, *Commodity Trade Statistics Database.*
70   USUN New York, "UN Believes GoS Behind Attack on UNAMID Peacekeepers," *Cablegate,* September 1, 2011.

ground through its peacekeepers. Chinese peacekeepers have engaged in "large-scale economic and social reconstruction work" including "basic infrastructure such as roads, bridges, water supply facilities," and healthcare facilities.[71] In addition to military engineers and medical staff, China has also contributed police forces to help build local police capacities and government institutions.[72] These projects adhere strictly to China's non-violence principle, and are capable of building goodwill while avoiding risk and the generation of controversy. The UN has commended and rewarded each rotation of Chinese peacekeepers with Peace Medals for their positive influence, the latest of which occurred in January 2013.[73] Meanwhile, compared to their associates, Chinese peacekeepers remain disproportionally risk-averse. As of March 2013, UNAMID and UNMIS have suffered a combined 207 fatalities since the beginning of their mandates.[74] However, as a major troop contributing country (TCC) and police contributing country (PCC), China has only suffered a single casualty when a peacekeeper unfortunately succumbed to cerebral hemorrhage in 2010.[75]

However, for the proper execution of UN peacekeeping mandates, China's friendship with Sudan has become a double-edge sword. Whereas China upholds its mantle of non-meddling in domestic politics elsewhere in Africa, in the case of Sudan Beijing's participation is not perceived to be neutral. Throughout the Darfur and Sudanese civil wars, China maintained significant economic stakes in the country. Its business contracts in the oil sector hinged upon positive relations with the Sudanese government, which led "[p]eople in southern Sudan regard China as being too closely linked to the al-Bashir government…[and as] focused on obtaining access to oil, and by extension on supporting the Khartoum government."[76]

Moreover, China's investments and trade in Sudan have brought troubles for Chinese peacekeeping operations at two levels. At the operational level, this relationship has threatened the security of Chinese peacekeepers as Beijing's appeasement of al-Bashir alienates local militia groups. According to a UNAMID peacekeeper, "the Chinese were particularly concerned about being targeted by 'rebels' in acts of retribution against the Sudanese government. Chinese oil investment supported the Khartoum government, and therefore striking at the Chinese contingent could have been a way of attacking the government."[77] China's alleged arms trade with Khartoum, in particular, fuels discontent from the rebels, as these weapons are in turn used to wage wars in Darfur and against the south.[78] In November 2007, Darfur-based rebels the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) demanded Beijing to

71   Xue, Lei, "China's Role in Sudan and South Sudan Peacekeeping Operations," *Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.*
72   Ibid.
73   Hongsheng Ji and Wentao Feng, "Chinese Peacekeeping Officers and Men to Darfur win Peace Medal of Honor," *China Military Online*, January 25, 2013.
74   "Fatalities," *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2013.
75   Qian Wang, "Chinese Peacekeeper Died While Helping Others in Sudan," *China Daily*, September 23, 2010.
76   Miwa Hirono, "China's Charm Offensive and Peacekeeping: The Lessons of Cambodia – What now for Sudan?," in *China's Evolving Approach to Peacekeeping*, Marc Lanteigne and Miwa Hirono (New York: Routledge, 2012), 95.
77   Ibid.
78   William D. Hartung, "Deadly Traffic: China's Arms Trade with Sudan," *New America,* 2008.

withdraw its peacekeepers. Khalil Ibrahim, the militia leader of JEM, told reporters: "We oppose them coming because China is not interested in human rights. It is just interested in Sudan's resources. We are calling on them to quit Sudan, especially the petroleum areas."[79] At the strategic level, China's intentions have also come into question. Beijing's perceived bias toward Khartoum damages its credibility and leads some to suspect that China is manipulating the multilateral process to advance bilateral interests. Dan Large, for instance, argues that "in enabling UNAMID, China's diplomacy supported Khartoum," whereby Beijing's diplomatic approach of "private arm-twisting…is not conflict resolution, but in practice amounts to establishing the framework for enhancing political process."[80] Aning goes one step further to assert that multilaterally approaching "the AU was exploited [by China] to provide a veneer of authenticity to its policy in Sudan and to deflect attention and criticism."[81]

On the security dimension, the presence of UNMIS, whose mandate is to monitor the ceasefire between Sudan and South Sudan, contributes to maintaining peace in the region, which is critical to the flow of oil from the oil fields of South Sudan through Sudan's Chinese-operated pipelines, and then exported to China. Unlike the case of UNAMID, far less information is available on the specific rationale behind Beijing's decision to participate in UNMIS. However, several significant oil infrastructures within UNMIS' mandate area belong to Chinese national oil companies. For example, in March and April 2012, the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) fought over control of Heglig. Heglig is known as the location of a crucial oil pipeline "operated by the oil firm Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), a joint venture between China, India, and Malaysia."[82] These attacks eventually led to a complete shutdown of oil and diplomatic deadlock between the north and south.

Beijing was left with a major dilemma after South Sudan gained its independence in July 2011, carrying along with it an overwhelming proportion of Sudan's oil. China has continued to honor its commitment to UNAMID in the north despite a dramatic decrease of exports from Khartoum, but sends more troops to UNMISS, the successor of UNMIS with an adapted mandate for South Sudan.[83] China has also moved to fix its relationship with the SPLM, which has become the South Sudanese government. The SPLM had been neglected by China because it was a non-state rebel group pre-secession, and negotiating with it would have violated China's own principle concerning sovereignty and state consent. Dan Large expressed concern that increasing entanglement in Sudan was forcing China to "attempt to influence Sudanese politics in ways that strain the limits of [China's own principle of] noninterference."[84]

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79   Andrew Heavens, "Darfur Rebels Reject New Chinese Peacekeepers," *Reuters*, November 25, 2007.
80   Dan Large, "China & Contradictions of 'Non-Interference' in Sudan," *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no 115. (2008), 39.
81   Kwesi Aning, "China and Africa: towards a new security relationship," in *The Rise of China & India in Africa*, by Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi (New York: Zed Books, 2010), 148.
82   "Sudan's Air Forces Bomb Oilfields in Unity States," *Sudan Tribune*, March 26, 2012.
83   "Fatalities," *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2013.
84   Dan Large, "China & Contradictions of 'Non-Interference' in Sudan," *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no 115, (2008), 104.

Now that South Sudan has become an internationally recognized government, Beijing is free to establish a relationship without worrying about its legitimacy. On the other hand, the fact that its natural resource interests have shifted to Juba must have also impacted its decision-making process. To resolve the oil deadlock, Chinese diplomats were no longer compelled to label the south as rebels, and were able to defer to bilateral mediation and pressuring on both two parties.[85]

Evaluation

The case studies of Chinese peacekeeping involvement in Sudan, the DR Congo, and Liberia reveal three overlapping themes. First, the original purposes for dispatching Chinese peacekeepers in all three cases seem to be primarily political rather than for economic interests. In Liberia, China wanted diplomatic recognition over Taiwan. In Sudan, China wanted to dispel increasing criticism from activists in the lead-up to the Beijing Olympics. The motivations in DR Congo are more complex, but the historical relationship of the Kabila family with China was likely a factor. Economic considerations, including the oil trade with Sudan, the timber trade in Liberia, and the mineral trade in the DR Congo could have played part, but no evidence was found to suggest that they were the primary motivators. However, in each case, sending peacekeepers was effective as an agent of positive diplomatic signaling, and built on China's reputation and soft power on the ground. Although China already maintained strong ties to Khartoum, its relationship with both Kinshasa and Monrovia improved and major trade and investment deals were signed afterwards.

Secondly, the presence of UN peacekeepers contributed to improving local security environments, possibly facilitating conditions for improved trade. This includes UNMIS's monitoring of the north-south ceasefire necessary for Sudan's oil outflow, UNOMIL's contribution to development in the bush tribes of Liberia where insurgencies resided and where timbre is exported, as well as MONUC-sponsored military surges into rebel controlled North Kivu mines. However, the mandate of traditional UN peacekeeping missions does not include active combat and counterinsurgency, and are usually focused more on political rather than security issues. China has, in all three cases, provided military assistance to local security forces that could probably better address those concerns. Moreover, all four of the missions examined are ongoing and the disputes have not been resolved. Finally, the composition of the teams of Chinese peacekeepers themselves also brings the validity of this argument into question. Since China does not send combat troops, the contribution its engineering and medical sections can make to regional security is also probably limited. However, as highlighted in the Sudan and DRC case studies, recently China has added security aspects into its peacekeeping deployments. In July 2010, a senior officer from the Ministry of Defense's peacekeeping affairs office said that, if required by the UN, the sending of combat troops is possible after taking into consideration "our national defense policy, which is defensive in

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85   Beth Walker, "China's Uncomfortable Diplomacy Keeps South Sudan's Oil Flowing," *China Dialogue*, November 26, 2012.

nature, the international community's response, as well as our troops' capability."[86]

In light of the above, the third observation from the case studies is that several of China's peacekeeping principles are transforming as it has become increasingly involved in complex situations on the ground. The most significant aspect is its attitude to sovereignty, which created difficulties for China in Sudan, and has evolved and become more open-ended in the DRC. Also in the DRC and in South Sudan, China has recently deployed UN peacekeeping combat forces with permission to engage militarily. However, as mentioned earlier in this paper, China's positive relationship with many African countries due to China's strong adherence of non-intervention principles which lessened fear and doubt from the host government. This characteristic is also one of the main appeals of Chinese involvement to the UN and the international community. Therefore evidence suggesting that China is changing these principles could have real implications on whether Chinese peacekeeping would continue to be welcomed in their host countries. If the hosts feel that their sovereignty has come under threat from a peacekeeping contingency that includes troops from China, the grievance produced could easily negate the soft power and positive signaling that Chinese peacekeepers generate. In that case, China's involvement in UN peacekeeping may prove to be a detriment rather than a catalyst to trade.

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86   "Chinese Combat Troops 'Can be Part of UN Peacekeeping'," *China Daily*, July 7, 2010.

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Table 1: UN Peacekeeping Missions in Africa, 1990-2014

Mission	Country		Chinese/Total Peacekeepers (6 months)[1]	As % (6 months)	Chinese/Total Peacekeepers (18 months)	As % (18 months)
UNAVEM II*[2]	Angola	1991.5	0/359	0.00%	0/298	0.00%
MINURSO	Morocco (Western Sahara)	1991.9	18/353	5.10%	18/353	5.10%
UNOSOM I	Somalia	1992.4	0/553	0.00%	0/28980	0.00%
ONUMOZ	Mozambique	1992.12	0/6268	0.00%	10/5413	0.18%
UNOSOM II*	Somalia	1993.3	0/26112	0.00%	0/18525	0.00%
UNOMUR	Uganda/ Rwanda	1993.6	0/78	0.00%	n/a[3]	n/a
UNOMIL	Liberia	1993.9	15/374	4.01%	5/86	5.81%
UNAMIR	Rwanda	1993.10	0/640	0.00%	0/5154	0.00%
UNASOG	Chad	1994.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
UNAVEM III*	Angola	1995.2	0/4109	0.00%	0/7263	0.00%
MONUA*	Angola	1997.6	0/2083	0.00%	0/1017[4]	0.00%
MINURCA	Central African Republic	1998.4	0/1369	0.00%	0/1232	0.00%
UNOMSIL	Sierra Leone	1998.7	0/8	0.00%	n/a	n/a
UNAMSIL*	Sierra Leone	1999.10	6/8437	0.07%	0/12216	0.00%
MONUC	Democratic Republic of Congo	1999.11	0/225	0.00%	10/2199	0.45%
UNMEE	Ethiopia/ Eritrea	2000.7	5/2843	0.18%	5/4004	0.12%
UNMIL	Liberia	2003.9	364/14496	2.51%	598/15952	3.75%
UNOCI	Cote d'Ivoire	2004.4	3/6218	0.05%	7/7558	0.09%
ONUB	Burundi	2004.6	3/5454	0.06%	3/5439	0.06%

UNMIS	Sudan	2005.3	16/2759	0.58%	473/10284	4.60%
UNAMID	Sudan (Darfur)	2007.7	143/9080	1.57%	324/15179	2.13%
MINURCAT	Chad/Central African Republic	2007.9	0/85	0.00%	0/2303	0.00%
MONUSCO*	Democratic Republic of Congo	2010.7	234/19105	1.22%	234/19070	1.23%
UNISFA	Sudan (Abyei)	2011.6	0/3798	0.00%	0/3979	0.00%
UNMISS	South Sudan	2011.7	354/5322	6.65%	361/7161	5.04%
MINUSMA	Mali	2013.4	7/5872	0.12%	395/6439[5]	6.13%

TABLE 2: CHINESE TROOP DEPLOYMENTS, TRADE RELATIONS, AND GDP OF UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION HOST COUNTRIES, 1990-2014

	Country							
	Angola	0	0		n/a	n/a		
	Morocco (Western Sahara)	18	18					
		0	10					137
	Liberia	15	5					80
	Rwanda	0	0					325
	Angola	0	0					416
	Angola	0	0					598
	Central African Republic	0	0					277

Sierra Leone	6	0			0		166
	0	10					103
Ethiopia/ Eritrea	5	5					151
Liberia	364	598					131
Cote d'Ivoire	3	7					903
Burundi	3	3					122
Sudan	16	473					669
Sudan (Darfur)	143	324					
Chad/ Central African Republic	0	0					611
	234	234					211
South Sudan	354	361					
Mali	7	395					694

Appendix Footnotes

1   Source: UN Peacekeeping Statistics
2   Missions marked with an asterisk (*) indicate that it is directly replacing a previous UN mission in the region. Although the new mission has a revised mandate, often many of the troops deployed on the previous mission are carried over. i.e. UNAVEM II and UNAVEM III.
3   Data is not available if the mission has ended by the time period.
4   November 1998 data was used instead as December data was unavailable.
5   As MINUSMA is less than 18 months old at the time of writing, the data here is taken from January, 2014.
6   Source: UN Comtrade
7   Source: World Bank

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Changes in State Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization: The Paradox between the Movement of Capital and Human Migration at the U.S.-Mexico Border

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ABSTRACT

This paper challenges the notion that state borders are rendered more fluid in the age of globalization and posits that they are instead changing in complex ways. In critically examining the ways in which state sovereignty functions under globalization, this paper analyzes the effects of neoliberal economic policies on state sovereignty as exerted at national borders. As a result of these policies, state borders are becoming more fluid when it comes to the movement of capital, but more rigid when it comes to human migration. These trends are particularly visible at the United States-Mexico border. The increased militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border has created a panopticon, used in attempt to control all transborder movement. A close examination of economics, state sovereignty, immigration trends, and border reinforcement at the U.S.-Mexico border demonstrates how globalization creates conditions that encourage state resistance to particular human migration, and perpetuates regimes of inequality.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is generally defined as the increased flow of information, capital, people, and ideas—"the intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange."[1] Some argue that globalization has contributed to a disintegration of nation-state sovereignty, and national borders are assumed to be rendered less salient as a result of this increased global "interconnectedness." However, a closer look at how national borders actually function in today's globalized world reveals a very different reality. Rather than disappearing altogether, state sovereignty is being reorganized in different ways, and many nations are selectively strengthening their national borders, reasserting rather than diminishing sovereignty. Borders

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1   Hilary Cunningham, "Nations Rebound? Crossing Borders in a Gated Globe," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11, no. 3 (2004): 329.

are becoming "reconstituted along the lines of selective border reinforcement that [take] into account different categories of global traffic."[2]

While capital and goods flow freely and uninhibited across national borders, the case is not the same for specific groups of people. In contrast to capital, migrants deemed "undesirable" by receiving nations increasingly meet militarization, surveillance, and hostility at national borders. As stated by Cunningham, "The individuals and groups most marginalized in the global economy [have] found themselves demobilized in a globe that [has] largely become 'gated' for them."[3] By analyzing the juxtaposition between the free movement of capital and the restricted trans-border movement of certain groups of people, this article contests the notion of the dissolution of state sovereignty and national borders under globalization. Instead, it argues that rather than disappearing, state sovereignty is actually being reorganized under globalization, and, as a result, nation-states are reinforcing their national borders in selective ways as an exertion of sovereignty. This article will first examine how states are engaged in a type of "sovereignty bargain," how neoliberal economics have created changes within state sovereignty, and how these changes have resulted in the increasing fortification of national borders. It will then look specifically at how these theories function at the United States-Mexico border.

THE SOVEREIGNTY BARGAIN

State sovereignty is changing in much more complex ways than simply weakening or strengthening. Rudolph argues that a more accurate way to describe the ways in which sovereignty is changing under globalization is as a "sovereignty bargain."[4] Following Krasner, he breaks sovereignty down into four different types.[5] The first type is Westphalian Sovereignty, which ensures the state's authority over its own affairs without interference from external actors. The second type is known as Domestic Sovereignty, and is defined as a state's internal governmental authority. The third type, Interdependence Sovereignty, involves the state's management of trans-border affairs. The fourth and final type is International Legal Sovereignty, and is defined as the state's recognized legitimacy within international relationships.[6] Rudolph states that these "dimensions of sovereignty can be 'bargained' to promote overall grand strategy and to maximize other dimensions of sovereignty."[7] In this sense, states are actively engaged in these changes in sovereignty; it is not something that happens *to* them as passive agents under globalization. Rather they are instrumental actors behind these changes.[8]

The sovereignty bargain functions in often conflicting and contradictory ways. In terms of

2   Hilary Cunningham, "Mobilities and Enclosures After Seattle: Politicizing Borders in a 'Borderless' World," *Dialect Anthropology* 33, no. 2 (2009): 147.
3   Ibid., 146.
4   Christopher Rudolph, "Sovereignty and Territorial Borders in a Global Age," *International Studies Review* 7, no. 1 (2005).
5   Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
6   Rudolph, "Sovereignty and Territorial Borders in a Global Age."
7   Ibid.
8   Ibid.

economics, states have *ceded* Interdependence Sovereignty (control over trans-border flows) in order to amplify economic benefits through the implementation of neoliberal economic policies such as free trade, deregulation, and privatization (discussed more below).[9] In terms of immigration, states have *reasserted* Interdependence Sovereignty in order to gain more control of the trans-border flows of people, thereby also reasserting Domestic Sovereignty (control over the people by the government). Embodied within these two conflicting types of sovereignty bargains is one of the major paradoxes developing under globalization: as states cede sovereignty over economic flows—opening their doors to the free movement of capital and goods—they are simultaneously reasserting sovereignty over migration flows, closing their doors to the movement of people.

How does this contradiction develop, and how are states motivated to engage in this contradictory bargain? It arises essentially in a cause and effect manner: states reassert sovereignty over migration flows as a *reaction* to the effects of ceding sovereignty over economic flows. In order to understand this cause and effect relationship, it is essential to look at how exactly state economic sovereignty is weakening, and how these changes motivate the reassertion of state sovereignty over migration flows.

DECREASING STATE SOVEREIGNTY OVER TRANS-BORDER ECONOMIC FLOWS

Neoliberal economic theory—defined simplistically here as laissez-faire capitalism favoring free trade, deregulation, and privatization—essentially acts as the major facilitator of the globalization of the world economy, and is therefore a central force that has worked to decrease state sovereignty over economic flows.[10] Since the 1980s, nations have increasingly opened their doors to international trade, foreign investment, and free trade agreements in order to benefit in growing international markets. Many developing states were coerced into conforming to neoliberal models of development through conditions placed on foreign aid from organizations like the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization.[11] Neoliberalism soon became the dominant global economic model, creating an "interconnectedness" of economic markets that has come to define globalization, as "commodities drift briskly from one locality to another, becoming primary mediators in the encounter between culturally distant others."[12] In order to accommodate this rapid flow of capital and goods, nations have loosened their control over economic flows at national borders to allow for the uninhibited flow of money and products by creating free trade agreements that eliminate tariffs and prevent the construction of obstacles to trade.

States are also ceding sovereignty over economics in other important ways. Sassen argues that four major changes in economics brought on by neoliberalism have resulted in the displacement of economic control from the state. First, the "valorization" of finance and corporate services

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9   Ibid.
10   Richard Robbins, *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2008).
11   Ibid.
12   Cunningham, "Nations Rebound?" 330.

that "[depend] on global telecommunications, government deregulation, and the opening of more and more countries to the flow of capital"; second, the displacement of "public functions formerly in the government's domain … onto non-governmental institutions" such as the World Trade Organization; third, "the rise of 'international commercial arbitration' as the leading institutional, contractual mechanism for the resolution of transnational commercial disputes," and fourth, the increasing importance of "debt security or bond-rating agencies that have come to play an increasingly important role in the global economy."[13] These changes indicate a shift in economic control from the state to private or non-state regulatory and advisory systems, thus compromising state sovereignty over economic flows.

Although state-centered control over economic flows is weakening, it is important to note that it is not disappearing completely. States still play an essential role in international markets as "the ultimate guarantor[s] of the rights of capital," in other words, "the guarantee of property rights and contracts."[14] Sassen argues that in this sense, deregulation is a negotiation between the reality of participating in international markets and the necessity of some sort of guarantee of capital.[15] This reinforces the notion that state sovereignty is not simply weakening, but that it is shifting and changing in profound way and that the state itself is actively engaged as a force behind these changes.

EFFECTS OF INCREASING ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON MIGRATION

In addition to creating an increased interconnectedness in economic markets and a weakening of state sovereignty over economic flows, neoliberal economic policies have also affected the migration of peoples, which motivates the increase in state sovereignty over transborder migrations. A central effect of neoliberalism on migration has been an increase in motivations for migration. Though free trade, deregulation, and privatization have created environments that stimulate migration, in reality, for many nations, "the results have been deepening class divisions, growing differences in access to basic amenities, and increasing stratification within employment."[16] As a result, many individuals are compelled to seek employment outside of their country of birth. Neoliberal policies, specifically free trade, also influence the nation to which individuals migrate. Sassen states that "major receiving countries tend to acquire immigrants from their zones of influence"[17] and further claims:

> [T]he emergence of a global economy – and central military, political, and economic role played by the United States in this process – contributed both to the creation abroad of pools of potential emigrants and to the formation of linkages between industrialized and developing countries that subsequently were to serve as bridges for

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13   Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents* (New York City: The New Press, 1999), 16-17.
14   Ibid., 16-17.
15   Ibid.
16   Gregory Gullette, "Development Economics, Developing Migration: Targeted Economic Development Initia-tives as Drivers in International Migration," *Human Organization* 66, no. 4 (2007): 376.
17   Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents,* 13.

international migration.[18]

Industrialized and developing nations that are deeply linked economically through neoliberal policies also become linked in terms of migration. In developing nations, neoliberal policies "can produce conditions under which poverty, unemployment, or lack of opportunities for advancement can act as 'push factors'" for migration.[19] At the same time, high demands for a large supply of cheap labor in industrialized nations can 'pull' more individuals away from their countries of birth. In this sense, in response to the push/pull factors created under neoliberal economic policies, migrants tend to follow the "bridges" between industrialized and developing nations that are created by these same policies.

Reactions to Weakened Economic Sovereignty and Increased Migration

How migrant-receiving nations react to both increased motivations for migration under neoliberal economic policies and a weakening of sovereignty over economic flows is where the paradox of state sovereignty at national borders develops. Although states still play a central role as guarantors of capital in the international economic system, the importance of the state in the management of global capital flows has decreased under globalization.[20] This has transformed the way in which the state views and asserts its sovereignty: "Under globalization, state capacities have been 'questioned' in ways that have required states to (re)act in order to reassert authority."[21] This "questioning of state capacity" has created anxieties within the state regarding its power and sovereignty. Appadurai argues that "the speed and intensity with which both material and ideological elements now circulate across national boundaries have created a new order of uncertainty in social life."[22] As a result of the weakening of state sovereignty over economic flows, the state is experiencing uncertainties over its authority.

Additionally, increased trans-border migration from developing nations threatens the sovereignty of industrialized states over their social composition as well. As Rudolph explains, migration is not simply the movement of laborers as economic resources, but also the movement people who bring with them a culture and identity that influence the composition of the communities to which they relocate.[23] States feel threatened that their control over the national ethos, in addition to their economic sovereignty, is being compromised as a result of increasing undesirable migration. In contrast to its willingness to cede its economic sovereignty, states have aggressively reasserted their sovereignty over the national ethos. Globalization encourages the state to focus on increasing its authority over its cultural identity as a way to

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18   Ibid., 34.
19   Ibid., 9.
20   Ibid., 7.
21   Nancy Wonders, "Globalization, Border Reconstruction Projects, and Transnational Crime," *Social Justice* 34, no. 2 (2007): 33.
22   Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 5.
23   Rudolph, "Sovereignty and Territorial Borders in a Global Age."

compensate for its loss of authority over national economics.[24] States view maintenance of national social composition as a way to reassert the state sovereignty challenged by economic integration and increasing migration of peoples. As a result of globalization, "the nation state has steadily been reduced to the fiction of its ethos as the last cultural resource over which it may exercise full dominion."[25] Refortifying national borders against migrants that the state deems "undesirable" is a central way in which states reassert their sovereignty and attempt to maintain control over the social composition of the nation. While the loosening of economic regulations has in some ways 'denationalized' geographic territories, the reassertion of borders is an attempt by the state to renationalize territory through the maintenance of the national ethos.[26]

THEORY AS PRACTICE: HOW THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN STATE SOVEREIGNTY OVER ECONOMICS AND MIGRATION FUNCTIONS AT THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER

As discussed in the previous section, neoliberal economic policies such as free trade and deregulation can negatively impact a significant portion of a population. Such was the case in Mexico for many years after the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. NAFTA linked the economies of Mexico, the United States, and Canada, creating a free trade zone that deregulated the movement of capital and goods between the three countries, by eliminating tariffs and ensuring trade preferences.[27] Although the agreement was projected to greatly benefit all three nations, in Mexico, limited and unequal growth caused by neoliberalism, resulted in "impoverishment of large sections of the [Mexican] population, and to increased insecurity of employment."[28] [29] Additionally, "market-based reforms in the agricultural sector [in Mexico] have led to the displacement of millions of peasant farmers."[30] As farmers consequentially lost their ability to provide for themselves through subsistence farming, "the real incomes of Mexican wage earners lost 20 percent of their purchasing power as the labor market deteriorated and the national minimum wage fell by nearly 50 percent."[31] The combined effects of impoverishment, unemployment, displacement, and income de-valorization created forceful push factors for Mexican laborers to migrate.

Furthermore, bridges created by economic linkages as well as pull factors within the U.S. influenced vast numbers of Mexicans to migrate north. While higher wages and a higher standard of living acted as pull factors within the U.S., high demands within the U.S. labor market for vast amounts of cheap labor were a central force pulling Mexican migrants into

24   Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers.*
25   Ibid., 23.
26   Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents.*
27   Robbins, *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism.*
28   Gullette, "Development Economics, Developing Migration," 376.
29   Alejandro Canales, "Mexican Labour Migration to the United States in the Age of Globalisation," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29, no. 4 (2003): 757.
30   Peter Andreas, "The Escalation of U.S. Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," *Political Science Quarterly* 113, no. 4 (1999): 609.
31   Cunningham, "Nations Rebound," 337.

the U.S. as well. American employers "depend on the cheap labor provided by illegal Mexican workers,"[32] particularly "in the areas of agriculture, construction, domestic service, small industry, and food services."[33][34] According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Mexican immigration to the U.S. increased by roughly over 100,000 entries from 1994 to 1995, and immigration rates did not reach pre-NAFTA levels again until around 2006 (see Figure 1). According to 1998 data from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (now the Department of Homeland Security), apprehensions of immigrants crossing into the U.S. illegally grew by 43% between 1994 and 1995, from 965,144 apprehensions to an estimated 1,381,465 apprehensions. Although immigration data is difficult to measure, it is clear even from these rough numbers that immigration rates of Mexicans coming into the U.S. jumped dramatically immediately after the signing of NAFTA and remained high throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.

Figure 1: Annual Rates of Immigration from Mexico to U.S., 1991-2010.[35]
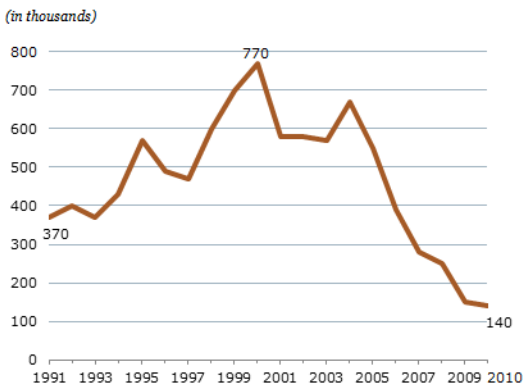
The weakening of U.S. sovereignty over economic flows caused by economic integration under NAFTA and the increase in Mexican migration also caused by NAFTA created motivations for the U.S. to close the border to Mexican migration. Already uncertain about compromising its economic sovereignty, the U.S. felt further threatened by increasing Mexican migration, and therefore reinforced the border as an act of reassertion of sovereignty over land and national ethos.

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32   Andreas, "The Escalation of U.S. Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," 610.
33   Hilary Cunningham, "Nations Rebound? Crossing Borders in a Gated Globe," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11, no. 3 (2004): 337.
34   It is essential to note that it is particularly undocumented labor that is in high demand, largely because it is cheapest and expendable. The importance of the legality of migrants is discussed in more detail later on.
35   Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Anna Gonzalez-Barrera, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero – And Perhaps Less," *Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project*.

THE WALL

Throughout the 1990s, spending on immigration enforcement increased dramatically; from 1985 to 2002, spending nearly quintupled from $1 billion to $4.9 billion.[36] Much of this increased spending has been geared towards stationing more security personnel at the border, increased technological tools, and especially the reinforcing of old sections of physical barriers and the construction of new sections of physical walls demarcating the border between the U.S. and Mexico. In 1994 the U.S. government initiated *Operation Hold the Line* in El Paso Texas, deploying border agents at every quarter mile, followed by *Operation Gatekeeper* in California and *Operation Safeguard* in Arizona—both of which included building a wall along the border.[37] The U.S. government began to focus heavily on continuing construction of the wall following September 11, and in 2005 Congress gave the head of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)[38] power to supersede federal law that may impede construction of the fence, and declared that the border wall project was immune from judicial review.[39] Essentially, the DHS had full jurisdiction over the border. In total, the U.S. has constructed almost 700 miles of fencing along the U.S.-Mexico border,[40] mainly in areas that have historically been high traffic crossing points for illegal migration (see Figure 2). In some sections, the wall serves to stop cars while pedestrians are able to cross. In other places, 20-foot steel walls prevent all traffic, where migrants resort to climbing over or tunneling beneath them.

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36   Philip Kretsedemas, "What Does an Undocumented Immigrant Look Like? Local Enforcement and New Immigrant Profiling." In *Keeping Out the Other,* ed. Philip Kretsedemas and David Brotherton (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2008), 346.

37   Tony Payan, *The Three U.S. - Mexico Border Wars* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2006).

38   The absorption of the various departments overseeing immigration into the DHS post 9/11 is another indication of the militarization of immigration strategy, and of how 9/11 affected immigration policy. Immigration became synonymous with national security.

39   Hans Schattle, *Globalization and Citizenship* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012).

40   Edward Alden, "Immigration and Border Control," *Cato Journal* 32, no.1 (2012).

Figure 2: Map of Location of Border Fence.[41]

It is incredibly difficult to determine whether the walls alone have actually reduced the number of attempted illegal crossings. However, the walls have effectively shifted migration routes along the border.[42] Instead of attempting to cross the border at traditionally high traffic points where walls have been constructed, migrants are now moving further into the remote sections of the Sonoran Desert (see Figure 3). As border wall construction has extended east from California and west from Texas through much of New Mexico and Arizona, migrant traffic is funneled into the Sonoran Desert where small open sections of border still remain.[43] These changes in migration routes have created new dangers for migrants, as summer temperatures in the Sonoran can reach 140 degrees Fahrenheit and water is incredibly scarce. When *Operation Gatekeeper* began in California in 1994, 115 deaths were reported along the border, and in 2000, the Immigration and Naturalization Service reported 356 deaths along the border.[44] While these numbers are difficult to pin down exactly, the sharp increase in reported deaths indicates that the border wall has pushed migrants deeper into the desert, as the primary causes of migrant deaths are "sunstroke, freezing, dehydration, and asphyxiation."[45] Although scholars and analysts disagree on whether the border wall itself has resulted in a decrease in attempted illegal border crossings, it is apparent that these changes have resulted in an increase in migrant deaths.

41   Chuck McCutcheon, "Securing Our Borders: Doing What Works to Ensure Immigration Reform is Complete and Comprehensive." *Center for American Progress.*
42   Cunningham, "Nations Rebound?"
43   Ibid.
44   Ibid.
45   Ibid.

Figure 3: Map of the Sonoran Desert[46]

The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border is another way in which the U.S. has sought to seal the border off to undesirable immigrant flows. Payan argues that the U.S. has heightened the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border in two major ways. First, "the bureaucracies that work on the border are trained increasingly like a military body," as evinced by their uniforms, visible firearms, and hi-tech gadgets such as infrared goggles, spray, and batons.[47] Second, Congress has required that the Pentagon provide "'support' to law enforcement agencies operating along the border," mainly in the form of training missions.[48]

Another way the border has been militarized is through the increasingly advanced technological tools now in use.[49] Such tools have in effect created "smart borders," where technology, primarily surveillance and tracking systems, are heavily relied upon as mechanisms of control. Border control units use drones to monitor movement around the border, seismic sensors to detect foot traffic, radar blimps for aircraft, various forms of remote cameras complete with infrared technology, backscatter X-rays at ports of entry to examine vehicles, and 'military-grade' surveillance systems.[50] Some of these technologies, such as remote camera systems, seismic sensors, and Predator drones, are targeted at monitoring illegal border crossings and activity. Such tools have also been instituted at legal ports of entry. In addition to monitoring general traffic through legal border crossings, surveillance systems are also focused on "the bodies of the individual people presenting themselves for entry: their facial expressions,

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46   Michelli Murphy, "Freeze – Free Desert," *Southwest Climate Change Network*.
47   Payan, *The Three U.S. - Mexico Border Wars*, 78.
48   Ibid., 79.
49   Ibid.
50   Roger Hodge, "Borderworld: How the U.S. is Reengineering Homeland Security," *Popular Science*, January 17, 2012.

postures, affect, clothing and emotional dispositions."[51] Hodge describes the facility at the Del Rio border crossing in Texas:

> Every move was registered, recorded, observed, and controlled. No one could leave without permission … Few would ever realize the degree to which their liberty had been constrained. All incoming and outgoing license plates are photographed, and all drivers too. All recently issued passports, green cards and day-entry cards contain radio-frequency ID chips that broadcast the identity of a traveler at the primary checkpoint … Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents armed with M-4 rifles loitered near the secondary station. Supervisory agents, in a glass-encased control room overlooking the traffic lanes, kept watch over the whole proceeding, monitored the video feeds, and maintained radio contact with personnel all over the port.[52]

The border crossing facility at Del Rio and the various remotely deployed surveillance tools scattered along the border represent how the U.S. government has turned the U.S.-Mexico border into a functioning panopticon. "Panopticon" refers to the intensely surveyed prison design defined in the works of philosophers Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century and Michel Foucault in 1977.[53] Payan describes the U.S.-Mexico border as "the panopticon border of the 21st century, where everyone is under surveillance at all times, where everyone is tracked in every move, where everyone can be brought under the swift control of the government. Surveillance alone is supposed to deter any potential law-breaking border crossers."[54] The advanced surveillance systems and sophisticated tracking tools used at the border to control migratory flows together make up the panopticon at the border. Furthermore, the information is compiled in massive databases that border security agents can access from remote locations. These tracking systems and technologies in effect extend the reach of border control; security is not limited to the immediate border itself, but actually extends within the interior of the U.S.

Beyond simply increased surveillance, the panopticon represents how the U.S. exerts power over individual human bodies. As described by Hodge, surveillance tools and border personnel are focusing increasingly on physical movements and facial expressions of border crossers, seeking to control even the physical actions of individuals through the reality and threat of surveillance.[55] The security apparatus determines which individuals can move where and when, and tracking systems monitor and record the individual movements of border crossers. In this sense, the panopticon at the border is a mechanism through which the state exerts intimate power over physical bodies. Thus it is a facilitator of biopower wherein the political order exerts violence upon the body itself as a mode of control. Homeland security has become

51   Ibid., 65.
52   Ibid.
53   Michel Foucault, *Pyschiatric Power*, ed. J. Lagrange, trans. G Burchell (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).
54   Payan, *The Three U.S. - Mexico Border Wars*, 114.
55   Hodge, "Borderworld: How the U.S. is Reengineering Homeland Security."

a justification for the state to exert ever more biopower particularly upon individuals at the border. Increasing biopower can be interpreted as one of the most intimate, invasive, and perhaps the ultimate exertion of state power. Here the state not only attempts to control the people through laws or regulations, but also seeks to control the actual physical movement of individuals, down to the slightest facial twitch.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ILLEGALITY

The construction of the image of the 'illegal Mexican immigrant' is another example of a way in which the exertion of power at the border has seeped further into the interior United States. The legal status of Mexican migrants has been essential in justifying racialized domestic policies and the suspension of the rights of migrants, an attempt to de-problematize the paradox of the U.S.'s economic reliance on migrants and its rejection of them as part of the American social body. The state itself has constructed the category of the "illegal migrant," and although this construction can be traced back to early immigration policies, it has been increasingly invoked in recent years in order to rationalize the brutal reinforcement of the border and the project to maintain the "purity" of the national ethos. As Wonders states, "Because of the latent racism and classism that underlie border reconstruction projects, it has been important for nations to foster rhetorical strategies that can help to legitimate selective border enforcement. The use of the term 'illegal' to refer to migrants is one such strategy."[56]

Ngai argues that the U.S. constructed the category of the illegal alien through early immigration restriction projects, such as the national census and the Immigration Act of 1924.[57] Ngai states that as a result of immigration concerns in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the census became an increasingly important tool that the state uses to quantify and qualify people living in the United States.[58] Before immigration quotas and restrictions could be set, the state first "had to conceptualize the categories that comprised the national origins quota system."[59] These categories were not natural, but "constructed according to certain social values and political judgments."[60] In 1899 the "Immigration Service began designating immigrants by 'race or people,'"[61] and in the 1920 census all non-white, non-European peoples were excluded from the population, despite their citizenship status. Notions of what types of people should be parts of the national polity have historically been deeply imbued by racialized ideologies – ideologies surrounding the national ethos that are racially motivated.

According to Ngai immigration policy created a new class of peoples, illegal aliens, through its preoccupation with nationality, race, assimilation, and republican concepts of citizenship.[62]

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56   Wonders, "Globalization, Border Reconstruction Projects, and Transnational Crime," 38.
57   Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
58   Ibid.
59   Ibid.
60   Ibid.
61   Ibid.
62   Ibid.

Specifically, the Immigration Act of 1924 "excised all non-white, non-European peoples from [the population], erasing them from the American nationality. … 'Colored races' were imagined as having *no country of origin*. They lay outside the concept of nationality and, therefore, citizenship."[63] In this way, the Immigration Act created an underclass of 'illegal' immigrants that are "marginalized by their position in the lower strata of the workforce and even more so by their exclusion from the polity, [they] might be understood as a caste, unambiguously situated outside the boundaries of formal membership and social legitimacy."[64]

Ngai also states that while 1920s immigration laws did not proscribe "numerical quotas to Mexicans … Enforcement provisions of restriction – notably visa requirements and border-control policies – profoundly affected Mexicans, making them the single largest group of illegal aliens by the late 1920s."[65] This dynamic still functions today. In 2008, Mexicans still represented the largest group of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Region of Birth for Unauthorized Immigrant Population, 2008.[66]

Figure 30
Region of Birth for
Unauthorized Immigrant Population, 2008
(thousands)

Mexico	7,000
Central America	1,350
Caribbean	500
South America	775
Europe & Canada	525
Middle East	190
Asia (South & East)	1,300
All other	300

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from augmented March 2008 Current Population Survey. See text for details.
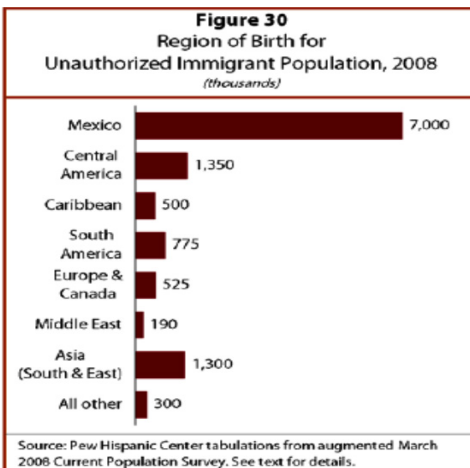
Because undocumented immigrants are considered outside the realm of citizenship or legitimacy, they are particularly vulnerable to suspensions of legal and human rights. Undocumented border crossers are rendered 'illegal' and illegitimate simply by crossing a border; their new illegal status is not necessarily tied to any other form of crime. In this sense, "transit itself becomes an a-national space, without legal protection. Illegal border crossers are typically exempt from the laws of the land; this absence of legal protection effectively constructs illegal migrants as non-persons."[67] Therefore, as non-persons, they have no legal

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63   Ibid.
64   Ibid.
65   Ibid.
66   "Tabulations from Augmented March 2008 Current Population Survey." *Pew Hispanic Center*.
67   Wonders, "Globalization, Border Reconstruction Projects, and Transnational Crime," 41.

claims to rights. "The United States Border Patrol has established a framework that is far removed from the world of international human rights and the internationally recognized protocols on migrants and asylum seekers,"[68] and migrants have no legal recourse against this framework. Fassin states that "from surveillance to detention to deportation, the spectrum of repressive activities is remarkably rich and dense"[69] for in its (re)assertion of sovereignty over trans-border migration flows, the state has "[imposed] a surveillance apparatus of the frontiers and the territories, regimes of exception for the detention and deportation of illegal aliens, and a dramatic decline in the right to asylum."[70]

The state-constructed regime of illegality, like biopower facilitated through the panopticon at the border, is in many ways a form of ultimate exertion of state sovereignty over the border and the national ethos. Through the construction of the "illegal alien" the state is able to strip individuals of legal rights simply because they crossed the national border illegally. Under the U.S. reassertion of sovereignty over migratory flows at the border, "'mobility'—particularly by the poor or those from 'suspect' racial or ethnic categories—provides occasion for a suspension of rights."[71] As in the original version of Arizona's SB 1070, for example, illegality has been used to justify racial profiling and the apprehension and detention of virtually anyone that looks like an illegal immigrant. Mere physical appearance, particularly race, is frequently used as 'probable cause;' illegality is being used as a rationalization of racism.

CONCLUSION

By critically looking at the nature of state sovereignty under globalization, it is possible to identify two major contradictions occurring at the U.S.-Mexico border. While neoliberal economic policies allow capital and goods to flow freely across the border, border reinforcement projects attempt to prevent the flow of particular people across the border. As neoliberal economic policies force the state to question its sovereignty and compel it to reassert its power over the national polity, such policies also create conditions that lead to increased immigration. As these policies encourage the state to push its doors shut against migrants, they simultaneously push migrants up against the gates.

The consequences of these contradictions are extensive and stretch far beyond the U.S.-Mexico border itself. The reassertion of state sovereignty over the U.S.- Mexico border and the national polity has essentially created "sites of exception," where "regimes of police prevail over regimes of rights."[72] The surveillance and military apparatus at the border has created a panopticon that stretches further into the interior of the nation as xenophobic anxieties increase. In its strategy to control migratory flows at the border and the composition of the polity, the state has created a regime of illegality in order to strip individuals of their

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68   Cunningham, "Nations Rebound?," 341.
69   Didier Fassin, "Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40, (2011): 220.
70   Ibid., 213.
71   Wonders, "Globalization, Border Reconstruction Projects, and Transnational Crime," 41.
72   Fassin, "Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries," 219.

legal rights. This regime has "produced the illegal alien as a *new legal and political subject* whose inclusion within the nation [is] simultaneously a social reality and a legal impossibility – a subject barred from citizenship and without rights … The illegal alien is thus an 'impossible subject,' a person who cannot be and a problem that cannot be solved."[73]

Inherent in this regime of illegality is the complex question of inequality. It is essential to critically examine the context of globalization in which immigration occurs in order to meaningfully address issues of inequality. The popular definition of globalization as a herald of a borderless world in which state sovereignty has been rendered obsolete must be reexamined. As this paper demonstrates, state sovereignty under globalization is far more complex, and it is changing in contradictory and intricate ways. In order to more completely understand globalization and the way in which it is reshaping the world, definitions of globalization must acknowledge that rather than disappearing, state sovereignty is undergoing major changes at the active hands of the nation-state that shift the ways in which sovereignty is exerted. Rather than rendering national borders meaningless, these changes in state sovereignty have actually rendered them more salient in important ways. While the state actively cedes sovereignty over cross-border economic flows, it reasserts sovereignty over cross-border migration flows. This intricate web of cause and effect plays a major role in perpetuating inequality under globalization. Borders are not disappearing under globalization, but have rather become a primary site for the reassertion of state sovereignty and are an integral part of how globalization actually functions.

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73   Ngai, *Impossible Subjects,* 4-5.

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Nuclear Proliferation Realities: Iran, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia

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Abstract

The fear of horizontal nuclear proliferation has been present since the creation of nuclear weapons. The controversy over Iran's nuclear program has intensified this fear in that if Iran were to become a nuclear-armed state, a nuclear arms race might ensue in the Middle East. Among the potential dangers of a nuclear-armed Iran, this is the least likely to occur. Egypt and Saudi Arabia are the two states in the Middle East most likely to pursue nuclear weapons should Iran ever become a nuclear-armed state. However, analysis of statements made by government officials shows that these two powers currently do not perceive Iran's nuclear program as enough of a threat to pursue nuclear weapons of their own. Even if they did, their nuclear infrastructure is not developed enough to produce an arsenal of nuclear weapons in the near future, let alone participate in a nuclear arms race.

Introduction

One of the primary reasons Western leaders are so opposed to Iran procuring a nuclear arsenal is that a nuclear-armed Iran would destabilize the region. More specifically, a nuclear-armed Iran could be the catalyst for a regional nuclear arms race, which could increase the possibility of nuclear war between these states or a terrorist organization obtaining nuclear materials. However, these are unfounded speculations.

To determine whether Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons would be regionally destabilizing, the following questions must be answered: How serious of a security threat do Egypt and Saudi Arabia consider Iran's nuclear program to be, and how capable are they of competing in a nuclear arms race? The answers will demonstrate whether such strong actions against Iran and its nuclear program, such as the imposition of economic sanctions and the threat of military force, are justifiable reactions or are rendering the Middle East more unstable and insecure. The answers will point towards a better way of handling Iran's current nuclear

program and of dealing with the potential problems that could arise from Iran becoming a nuclear-armed state.

Western countries, especially the United States, typically examine the issue of nuclear weapons in the Middle East from Israel's perspective. Since this study is concerned with the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the region, Israel's response is not applicable because Israel is known to already have a nuclear arsenal.[1] However, if Iran does develop nuclear weapons, it is certainly possible these two states could and would engage in a nuclear arms race, and this is a subject that requires further research. Nevertheless, this paper investigates the issue of nuclear weapons in the Middle East from the perspective of the two most populous Arab states in the region in order to more broadly understand the implications of Iran's nuclear program.

This study analyzes Egypt and Saudi Arabia because, given their statuses within Middle Eastern politics in relation to Iran, they are the two states that would be most inclined to pursue nuclear weapons in response to Iran. Of course, in consideration of how consequential Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons would be and how much its nuclear program has already impacted the world, it would be worthwhile to research each Middle Eastern state's position and response to Iran's nuclear program. However, this study exclusively examines Egypt and Saudi Arabia for several reasons.

Primarily, Egypt and Saudi Arabia are the two most populous Arab countries in the region and are the leaders of the Arab world. In addition, they are natural rivals with Iran for political and religious reasons, and in Saudi Arabia's case, for economic reasons as well. Third, Egypt has had a nuclear program for decades and is therefore technically capable of acquiring nuclear weapons. Saudi Arabia does not have and has never had a nuclear program, but it is one of the wealthiest countries in the world and is financially capable of building a nuclear weapons program. Lastly, given the circumstances of every other state in the region, none is likely to seek or acquire nuclear weapons before Egypt or Saudi Arabia if Iran does indeed develop a nuclear arsenal.[2] Consequently, in order to determine whether Iran could trigger a nuclear arms race in the region, studying Egypt and Saudi Arabia would be the most worthwhile.

This study employs a qualitative research design, analyzing statements made by Egypt's and Saudi Arabia's state leaders as well as the status of their relations with Iran and their energy infrastructures. Qualitative analysis proved particularly useful for understanding threat perceptions, which primarily receives the focus of this study. The data is evaluated from a realist theoretical worldview by beginning with the assumptions that states are the primary

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1   "Profile for Israel," *NTI: Nuclear Threat Initiative.*
2   Israel already has a nuclear arsenal and has made its threat perceptions well known. Turkey is a NATO ally and currently holds American tactical nuclear weapons at its airbases. Iraq certainly feels threatened by the possibility of a nuclear-armed Iran, but it is currently experiencing too much internal strife to do much about it, as are Syria and Yemen. The other smaller Arab states in the region, such as Jordan and the Gulf States, would also be impacted by a nuclear-armed Iran. However, their responses would be largely influenced by Egypt and Saudi Arabia—the two largest Arab nations in the region.

actors in the international system, they desire power to ensure their security, their security concerns outweigh international obligations, and that security is a zero sum game, so one state satisfying its security interests renders surrounding states insecure. This study also focuses on the importance of regional power balancing—a central theme of realism. Using a realist perspective proves useful for better understanding the implications of Iran's nuclear program for Egypt and Saudi Arabia's security interests.

This study begins with a review of the literature on the topic that leads to the thesis statement. Then, I provide a summation of Iran's nuclear program, including a brief timeline of its history, the known and unknown information about the program, and the factors that surround it with suspicion. Next follows an analysis of both the spoken and unspoken responses to Iran's nuclear program by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Their responses will be considered within the context of their political and economic relations with Iran. This analysis will reveal whether these states consider Iran's nuclear program a legitimate security threat and their plans for dealing with this potential threat. Lastly, the conclusion summarizes the findings and provides a policy recommendation.

Literature Review

Much of the literature on the topic of the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons in general and Iran's nuclear program in particular is focused on whether such proliferation is good or bad for international security.[3] On one side of the debate stand the structural realists who promote the idea that the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, specifically paired proliferation, creates a stable balance of power and minimizes violent inter-state conflict. Kenneth Waltz championed this idea in his piece, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better."[4] Waltz believed basing international security on nuclear deterrence would lead to a more stable system because nuclear weapons escalate the costs of war beyond a level any state would ever risk incurring, making states exceedingly cautious towards one another and reducing the need for conquering territory to ensure security. Thus, they eliminate the point of arms races. Waltz supported this hypothesis by citing history. He observed that, since World War II ended and the acquisition of nuclear arsenals by all of the world's major powers, no conventional wars occurred between any major powers, coinciding with a decrease in wars in general. Waltz's idea that "power begs to be balanced," which he developed in his 2012 article "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb," acts as his justification for permitting Iran to acquire a nuclear weapon. [5] Israel is the only nuclear-armed state in the Middle East and has been so for decades. This has led to an imbalance of power, and Waltz argues that a nuclear-armed Iran should rebalance the system.

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3   The horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons means nuclear weapons are spread from one actor to another. This is distinct from vertical proliferation, which is the increase in the arsenal size of a single actor.

4   Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," *Adelphi Papers* 171 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981).

5   Kenneth Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs,* July/August 2012.

On the opposing side of the debate are those who believe horizontal nuclear proliferation directly threatens international security. Scott Sagan, an organizational theorist, challenged Waltz's hypothesis that "more may be better." Sagan argued that international security should not be based upon the principle of deterrence because it is not as infallible as its historical record.[6] While the realists consider deterrence strong enough to devalue the purpose of examining a state's internal decision-making processes, Sagan believed analyzing a state's internal decision-making processes are crucial because they determine whether a nuclear weapon will be used or not. Although nuclear deterrence has never failed, since the only direct violence between two nuclear-armed states has been very rare and limited, nuclear catastrophe has nearly occurred numerous times, either from accidents or inadequate civilian control over the nuclear weapons. If nuclear proliferation continues, particularly with states like Iran, Sagan believed the chances of nuclear catastrophe will rise beyond a tolerable level.

In his study, Gawdat Bahgat discussed the typical motives for states to acquire nuclear weapons and to give up their pursuit of nuclear weapons.[7] He then applies these motives to the case of Iran to reveal the best way to lessen or eliminate Iran's alleged demand for nuclear weapons. Bahgat explains that states seek nuclear weapons to defend vital national interests, to increase their prestige or status, or to acquire more political leverage. Correspondingly, Bahgat observes that the best way to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons is to convince states that owning or pursuing nuclear weapons does not serve national interests. This occurs through "diminishing the values of NW [nuclear weapons] or making the price of pursuing them too high," lessening states' perceptions of insecurity, and by "preventing nuclear proliferators from acquiring the necessary raw materials and know-how."[8] Bahgat then applies this knowledge to Iran. He concludes that U.S. influence in the region, particularly its alliances with Arab states and Turkey, the U.S. history of hostile rhetoric and aggressive foreign policy, Israel's ownership of a nuclear arsenal, and the Middle East's vulnerability to conflict and violence are all reasons why Iran might find assurance in nuclear weapons. The solution, therefore, is to alleviate Iran's security concerns and to provide incentives for curbing further development of its nuclear program.

The still elusive nuclear deal with Iran, combined with the suspicions that it is trying to develop a nuclear arsenal, has led to the widespread belief that regional nuclear proliferation is inevitable.[9] Christopher Hobbs and Matthew Moran challenge this perception in their 2012 article "Looking Beyond a Nuclear-Armed Iran: Is Regional Proliferation Inevitable?"[10] They initially break down the security concerns that a nuclear-armed Iran would create for other

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6   Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 18.4 (1994).

7   Gawdat Bahgat, "Nuclear Proliferation: The Islamic Republic of Iran," *International Studies Perspectives* (2006).

8   Ibid., 126.

9   The nuclear negotiations between Iran and the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and Germany have been ongoing since 2006. Kelsey Davenport, "Timeline of Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran," *Arms Control Association*, December 2014.

10   Christopher Hobbs and Matthew Moran, "Looking Beyond a Nuclear-Armed Iran: Is Regional Proliferation Inevitable?" *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs* 47.4 (December 12, 2012).

states in the region. These include the possibility of a regional nuclear cascade, Iran using its nuclear arsenal to support an emboldened foreign policy and more aggressive paramilitary action, and Iran dispersing nuclear material to terrorist groups. Hobbs and Moran then analyze how Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey would respond to these security implications. For each of these states, Hobbs and Moran conclude that they "would have little to gain and much to lose by embarking on nuclear weapons programs."[11] They also explain that, "Tehran would gain no real tactical or strategic advantage by proliferating to terrorists, an act which would most likely invite massive retaliation against Iran by the West."[12] The triggering of an immediate nuclear cascade by Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons is therefore preventable.

While Hobbs and Moran show that the security implications of a nuclear-armed Iran are not great enough to convince the other major powers of the Middle East to pursue their own nuclear weapons, Dalia Dassa Kaye and Frederic M. Wehrey argue in their article that a nuclear-armed Iran still has the potential to undermine the current balance of power in the region.[13] They accomplish this by detailing the answers from their interviews with scholars, diplomats, military officers, and journalists throughout the region about their perceptions of Iran's nuclear program. Their findings show that states in the Middle East are less worried about receiving a direct nuclear strike from Iran; rather, they are more concerned about the secondary consequences: a regional nuclear arms race, a nuclear accident, a more aggressive Iran, and a preventive military strike led by the U.S. or Israel. Kaye and Wehrey conclude that a nuclear-armed Iran "under the current regime is a dangerous and destabilizing force in the Middle East, fully capable of undermining stability in a variety of spheres."[14] While Hobbs and Moran's conclusions downplay the fear of a nuclear-armed Iran, Kaye and Wehrey are much more pessimistic.

This study contributes to the literature by comparing recent statements made by Egypt's and Saudi Arabia's state officials with each country's nuclear capabilities. It puts these observations in the context of their economic and diplomatic relations with Iran to determine whether a nuclear-armed Iran would or could create a regional nuclear arms race. This study proves that a nuclear-armed Iran would not be as destabilizing as suspected for two reasons. First, Egypt and Saudi Arabia's national interests do not conflict with Iran's national interests enough to be concerned about receiving a direct nuclear strike should Iran acquire nuclear weapons. Yet a nuclear-armed Iran would threaten their national security interests in other ways—Iran could develop a more aggressive foreign policy and could diminish their statuses as regional powers. Egypt and Saudi Arabia might pursue nuclear weapons in response to these threats, but engaging in a nuclear arms race with Iran would be unnecessary. Second, Egypt and Saudi Arabia currently lack the capabilities to compete in a nuclear arms race, let alone develop nuclear weapons.

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11   Ibid., 132.
12   Ibid.
13   Dalia Dassa Kaye and Frederic M. Wehrey, "A Nuclear Iran: The Reactions of Neighbors," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* (June 2007).
14   Ibid., 123.

IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

Iran's history with nuclear energy began in 1957 under the Shah's regime with the construction of the Tehran Research Reactor, which was completed a decade later and was used to generate electricity. The United States provided Iran with highly enriched uranium to fuel the reactor. Iran became a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) upon its creation in 1968 and ever since has remained a member state.[15]

Semira Nikou from the U.S. Institute of Peace notes that when the Iranian Revolution succeeded in overthrowing the Shah and establishing an Islamic Republic in 1979, the U.S. stopped supplying the Tehran Research Reactor with highly enriched uranium. Yet before the Revolution, with the help of a West German company named Kraftwerk Union, Iran constructed two light water reactors at Bushehr for generating electricity in 1974. In 1984, China helped Iran build another nuclear research center at Isfahan. In 1987, Iran paid Argentina $5.5 million to provide the Tehran Research Reactor with a new core that can only operate with 20 percent enriched uranium, along with a hefty supply of low enriched uranium. Tehran then made an agreement with the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy in 1995 to rebuild the reactors at Bushehr, which had been badly damaged during the Iran-Iraq war. Two years later, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) added the Additional Protocol to its Safeguards Agreement, which is a voluntary agreement designed to help the IAEA ensure non-nuclear weapon state parties to the NPT do not pursue nuclear weapons. Iran signed the Additional Protocol in 1997 but still has not ratified it.[16]

The real controversy over Iran's nuclear program began in 2002 when an exiled opposition group called the National Council of Resistance of Iran exposed two nuclear sites Iran had been keeping a secret from the IAEA: the Natanz uranium enrichment plant and research lab and the Arak heavy water production plant. Iran was secretly enriching uranium.[17] In 2003, President Khatami proclaimed Iran's legal right to enrich uranium for civilian use, provided the United Nations with information on the nuclear sites at Arak and Natanz, and opened these sites to IAEA investigation. The investigations persisted through 2004, during which time Iran temporarily suspended all uranium enrichment. The IAEA discovered small traces of highly enriched uranium (above 20 percent enrichment) and some plutonium production but found no evidence that Iran's programs were devoted towards creating nuclear weapons.[18] However, it is unknown whether Iran declared all of its nuclear materials. Suspicions that Iran was hiding some of its nuclear materials grew in January 2005 when Iran limited the IAEA's inspections to specific areas of a military base near Tehran called Parchin. Later that year, Iran notified the IAEA it was resuming its enrichment of uranium at its Isfahan uranium conversion center, and the IAEA installed cameras to monitor the facility.[19]

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15   Semira N. Nikou, "Timeline of Iran's Nuclear Activities," *United States Institute of Peace: The Iran Primer* (October 2014).
16   Ibid.
17   Ibid.
18   Ibid.
19   Ibid.

Soon afterwards, the IAEA issued a report claiming Iran was not in compliance with the NPT Safeguards Agreement. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) convened and issued its first set of economic sanctions against Iran in 2006. The UNSC went on to impose five more sets of sanctions with the intention of dissuading Iran from continuing its enrichment of uranium. Iran has consistently refused this demand because it interprets the NPT to mean enriching uranium stands as its sovereign right. Negotiations between the permanent members of the UNSC along with Germany (the P5+1) and Iran have continued until this day but have not satisfied either side. Iran's stalwart defense of its right to enrich uranium conflicts with the determination of the Western powers to end Iran's enrichment activities. While these activities are necessary for the development of nuclear energy, they are also a major step towards developing nuclear weapons.

Iran claims to need nuclear energy because although it "holds the world's fourth-largest proved crude oil reserves and the world's second-largest natural gas reserves…Iran's oil production has substantially declined over the past few years, and natural gas production has slowed."[20] This has coincided with a more than 50 percent increase in energy consumption in the last decade.[21] Using highly enriched uranium to fuel the country would free up more of its oil and natural gas reserves for export, therefore making the possession of a nuclear program economically advantageous. Then again, Iran secretly enriched uranium for 18 years before the world discovered its activities, allegedly purchased nuclear weapons designs from A.Q. Khan in the 1980s, received a grade of non-compliance with the NPT Safeguards Agreement, and now has a nuclear program consisting of around 20 known facilities, a number larger than needed to produce nuclear energy for civilian purposes.[22] No definite evidence exists that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons. While Iran has good reasons for developing nuclear energy for civilian use, these factors give credence to the suspicion that Iran seeks nuclear weapons.

EGYPT

Relations between Egypt and Iran have been strained since Iran's Islamic Revolution in 1979, but ties are steadily improving. Iran and Egypt are on opposite sides of the region from each other, and they are also on opposing sides of some important issues. According to the United Nations' country data, Egypt and Iran have comparable population sizes, with Egypt numbering nearly 81 million people and Iran having over 76 million people in 2012. Egypt contains the highest number of Sunni Muslims in the region, and Iran is the bastion of Shia Islam. Egypt has a peace treaty with Israel and Iran supports two militant groups—Hamas and Hezbollah—in their fight against Israel. Egypt is currently ruled by President al-Sisi, a former military general who favors the secularization of politics and receives the military support of the U.S. Iran, on the other hand, has a theocratic government and strongly opposes American influence in the Middle East.

20   "U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA)," EIA...
21   Ibid.
22   "Profile for Iran," *NTI: Nuclear Threat Initiative.*

Despite these conflicting interests, Iran and Egypt are taking steps to renew a diplomatic relationship for the sake of regional stability and security. Diplomatic relations ended in 1979 with the Iranian Revolution. According to Egypt's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they resumed in 1991 at the level of "Interests Sections." In 2011, Iranian foreign minister Ali Akbar Salehi told the Islamic Republic News Agency, "The expansion of diplomatic ties between Iran and Egypt to ambassadorial level will be beneficial to regional peace and security, as both sides desire stability and tranquility in the region."[23] This has coincided with increased bilateral trade, which rose from $10 million in 2011 to $51 million in 2012.[24] The West's concern over Iran's nuclear program is evidently not shared by Egypt. If it is shared, Egypt apparently thinks the best way to handle a nuclear weapons-ambitious Iran is to engage with it rather than to isolate it.

Egypt and Iran are both parties to the NPT and favor creating a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East. At the UN General Assembly in 1974, Iran and Egypt both supported a resolution calling "for establishing a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free-zone in the Middle East, submitting all the nuclear facilities in the region under the comprehensive IAEA Safeguards System, and declaring the abandonment of developing or industrializing nuclear weapons."[25] Since Israel is the only nuclear-armed state in the region, this resolution was clearly aimed at Israel, revealing both Egypt's and Iran's older concerns over Israel's nuclear capabilities. Both states repeatedly point out the unfairness of the nonproliferation regime's acquiescence of Israel developing nuclear weapons and its harsh crackdown on Iran for merely doing what is legally permitted as a party to the NPT. Even after regime changes in both countries, as well as the ending and restarting of diplomatic relations, Iran and Egypt maintain this common conviction today.

Egypt made its nuclear security concerns clear at the meetings for the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2010 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in May 2009.[26] First, Egypt stated that parties to the NPT are legally permitted "to make use of the developmental benefits of nuclear energy," thereby supporting Iran's "sovereign decision" to enrich uranium.[27] Egypt then drew attention to how the NPT's verification system is implemented selectively, with Iran being subject to extensive investigations while hardly any pressure is put on Israel to join the NPT.[28] From Egypt's perspective, Iran's nuclear program is not as much of a threat as "the lack of the universality of the Treaty," which is not ensuring the security of its parties.[29] In other words, Egypt thinks a nuclear cascade in the Middle East would undermine the value of the NPT and seriously threaten the security of the region.

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23   "Iran-Egypt Ties Serve Regional Security," *Press TV*, July 22, 2011.
24   Islam Serour, "Egyptian-Iranian Trade Exchange Quadruples," *Daily News Egypt*, August 7, 2012..
25   "Arab Republic of Egypt - Ministry of Foreign Affairs."
26   The next NPT Review Conference will take place from April 27th to May 22nd in 2015.
27   Ahmed Aboul Gheit, *The Eighth Review Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons* (New York: The Permanent Mission of Egypt to the United Nations, May 5, 2010).
28   Ibid.
29   Ibid.

Egypt is convinced that if a nuclear cascade occurs, it would result from Israel's initial development of nuclear weapons rather than Iran's secondary development of nuclear weapons, which would simply be a response to the insecure situation created by Israel. As Egypt stated at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee to the 2015 NPT Review in 2013: "Indeed, history has shown us that as long as nuclear weapons exist for some countries, others will stop at nothing to acquire them, and that the only true guarantee that nuclear weapons are never used is their total elimination."[30] In addition, Egypt explained that it signed the NPT along with other Arab states "with the understanding that this would lead to a Middle East completely free of nuclear weapons. However, more than 35 years later, one country in the Middle East—namely Israel—remains outside the NPT."[31] In this statement, and as a leader of the Arab world, Egypt condemns Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons as a threat to regional stability and shows its dissatisfaction with the NPT.

Although Egypt is concerned about Israel's nuclear arsenal, Egypt also perceives Iran's nuclear program as a potential threat to its own national security and to regional security, even if it is in response to Israel. At the 2009 conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Egypt's foreign minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit explained that "the Egyptian perception of the perils in the region does not differentiate between the threat of the Israeli nuclear capabilities, and the potential threat the Iranian nuclear dossier poses to national security."[32] This sentiment is not unique to Iran—Egypt would feel threatened by the acquisition of nuclear weapons by any state in the region to the same degree that it feels threatened by Israel. Egypt's statement at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee to the 2015 NPT Review Conference further explains this sentiment: "…there is no such thing as a nuclear weapon in good hands versus nuclear weapons in bad hands. It is a bad weapon in any hand. It has to be eliminated from all hands."[33] Therefore, it is not necessarily Israel or Iran that Egypt perceives as a threat to its national security; rather, it is the possibility of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Middle East.

Despite its long and loyal commitment to nonproliferation in the region, Egypt understands that a failure to prevent proliferation in the Middle East would compromise Egypt's national security, and so would drive it to pursue nuclear weapons for itself. WikiLeaks revealed a cable from 2009 in which Egypt's former president, Hosni Mubarak, told U.S. officials that Egypt might begin its own nuclear weapons program if Iran became a nuclear-armed state. [34] In addition, Egypt's ambassador to the UN, Maged Abdel Aziz, stated on the last day of the 2010 NPT review conference:

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30   Hesham Badr, *Statement by H.E. Ambassador Hesham Badr Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for International Organizations and Multilateral Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt Before the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee to the 2015 NPT Review Conference* (Geneva: Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, April 23, 2013).
31   Ibid.
32   "Arab Republic of Egypt - Ministry of Foreign Affairs.".
33   Badr, *Statement by H.E. Ambassador.*
34   Marwa Awad and Alexander Dziadosz, "Egypt says may seek atomic arms if Iran does: WikiLeaks cables," *Reuters*, December 2, 2011.

> We in Egypt are against even the presence of nuclear weapons in our
> region. But if others will acquire nuclear weapons—and if others are going
> to use these nuclear weapons to acquire status in the region of the Middle
> East—let me tell you, we are not going to accept to be second-class citizens
> in the region of the Middle East.[35]

Egypt sees itself as a major player in Middle Eastern politics, and if maintaining its status
and national security requires either leaving or violating the NPT in order to pursue nuclear
weapons, then it will attempt to do so.

If Iran does acquire nuclear weapons, Egypt would have a difficult time accomplishing the
same feat and certainly will not become a nuclear-armed state in a short amount of time, at
least not without significant foreign aid. According to Nuclear Threat Initiative's country
profile, Egypt's nuclear program began in 1955 under President Nasser with the creation of
the Egyptian Atomic Energy Commission, which is currently the Egyptian Atomic Energy
Authority.[36] Egypt pursued nuclear weapons in the 1960s, but this pursuit ended after Egypt's
defeat in the Six Day War of 1967. In 1968, Egypt signed the NPT. Sadat became president
in 1970, and Egypt ratified the NPT and its Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the
IAEA in 1981.

Since then, Egypt has maintained two small research reactors near Cairo. Egypt has "a pool of
universities capable of training scientists in fields related to nuclear physics and engineering,"
and it "possesses one of the most advanced nuclear infrastructures in the Middle East," so
Egypt is technically capable of developing a robust nuclear program.[37] However, Egypt "does
not have nuclear power reactors or large-scale enrichment or reprocessing capabilities," and
its inability to fund further development itself or "secure sufficient external loans" blocks
progress.[38] Consequently, competing in a nuclear arms race "will require help from foreign
investors and financial institutions."[39] The high costs Egypt would incur for developing a
nuclear arsenal, including the strains on its economy and the possible deterrence of much-
needed foreign investment, explain why Egypt chose to work towards creating a Middle East
free of weapons of mass destruction rather than developing a nuclear arsenal in response to
Israel.

Does Egypt consider Iran's nuclear program a threat to its national security? Yes, Egypt is
worried about having to compete in a regional nuclear arms race to maintain its status in the
region. The possibility of receiving a direct nuclear attack from Iran is not a concern because
of their expanding diplomatic and trade relations, and since "Egypt has never faced Iran in a

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35   Elaine M. Grossman, "Egypt Plays Key Nonproliferation Role, But Keeps Nuclear Options Open," *NTI:
Nuclear Threat Initiative*, June 10, 2010.
36   "Profile for Egypt," *NTI: Nuclear Threat Initiative*.
37   Ibid.
38   Ibid.
39   Ibid.

major military conflict, nor is Cairo involved in any territorial disputes with Tehran."[40] For this reason, Egypt does not believe putting pressure on Iran is the best way to ensure its national interests and regional security. Instead, Egypt believes the only way to ensure the security and stability of the Middle East is to force Israel to denuclearize and to join the NPT as a non-nuclear-weapons state, thereby terminating any possibility of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East. If Iran acquires nuclear weapons, Egypt has made clear that it will attempt to become nuclear-armed as well, but its limited finances would seriously constrain this endeavor. Knowledge of its inability to compete in a nuclear arms race is a primary motivation for Egypt to doggedly pursue the establishment of a regional nuclear weapons free zone.

SAUDI ARABIA

Iran and Saudi Arabia are historic rivals due to their comparable sizes, close proximity, and competition in the energy market in which they are both major exporters of oil and natural gas. Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 has only intensified their rivalry. Their differences are clear: Saudi Arabia is Arab and Iran is Persian; Saudi Arabia is a Sunni monarchical theocracy and Iran is a Shiite republican theocracy; Saudi Arabia is an American ally and Iran opposes American influence in the region; Saudi Arabia favors the status quo of the region while Iran is a revisionist power. Both share the Persian Gulf, which is a crucial outlet to the rest of the world, and both have rentier economies based on exporting oil, so influence in the Gulf has great significance for both. Despite this rivalry, "neither is likely to confront the other on the conventional battlefield" and both "have maintained an outward tone of cooperation in the interest of threat management."[41] The two states prefer to battle through proxies, particularly in Iraq now that U.S. troops have withdrawn and left behind a power vacuum. They are also backing opposite sides in the Syrian civil war. The idea that the Middle East is currently in a Cold War-like period largely stems from the current relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Saudi Arabia's geopolitical location forces it to perform "a delicate balancing act" in regards to Iran's nuclear program.[42] Due to their rivalry, the possibility of Iran owning an arsenal of nuclear weapons threatens Saudi Arabia's national interests. Indeed, this would grant Iran more political leverage in the region and could embolden it to push for more influence in Iraq, which historically has been necessary for balancing Saudi-Iranian relations but is now vulnerable to influence since the U.S. withdrawal. Saudi Arabia is less afraid of receiving a direct nuclear strike from Iran. Rather, Saudi Arabia perceives a more aggressive Iran as a greater threat to its national security interests.[43]

Yet even more than this, Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states fear Iranian retaliation in the aftermath of an American or an Israeli military strike intended to destroy or set back Iran's

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40   Hobbs and Moran, "Looking Beyond a Nuclear-Armed Iran," 133.
41   Frederic M. Wehrey et al., *Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam: Rivalry, Cooperation, and Implications for U.S. Policy* (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 2009), xii, 71.
42   Ibid., 67.
43   Ibid., ix.

nuclear program.[44] This is because the U.S. has 15 military bases throughout the Persian Gulf, including in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.[45] If the U.S. or Israel attacked Iran to damage its nuclear program, and if Iran thought Saudi Arabia or the Gulf states supported this attack, Iran could respond by launching a ballistic missile at one of these bases.[46] Iran has not publicly stated what its retaliation would be after an American or an Israeli attack, but Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States do not want to risk suffering this retaliation. Since these countries' economies have flourished thanks to foreign investment, receiving a ballistic missile strike from Iran could have a calamitous economic impact.

Based on these perceived threats to national security, Saudi Arabia decided to handle Iran's nuclear program "through accommodation rather than confrontation, publicly voicing their disapproval of a U.S. strike, [and] making calls for a WMD-free zone in the Gulf and the Middle East."[47] In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly's 69th Regular Session, Ambassador Abdallah Al-Mouallimi, Saudi Arabia's permanent representative to the UN, stated, "all types of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction…pose a primary threat to international peace and security."[48] He continued by saying the only way to minimize this threat is through the "political will and strong determinations from all countries, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, to dispose of the reliance on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction as instruments of national security."[49] Saudi Arabia is clearly concerned about nuclear weapon proliferation in its region and thinks the best way to prevent this is to implore the international community, especially the major powers, to minimize the generally perceived importance of nuclear weapons for national security.

Like Egypt, Saudi Arabia thinks the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Middle East would be a response to Israel's initial acquisition of nuclear weapons. In his same speech to the UN General Assembly, Al-Mouallimi stated, "It is really unfortunate that the available international consensus, and a regional urgent desire to make the Middle East a zone free of nuclear weapons, are barred by Israel who prevents the desire for the people of the region to live in a zone free of nuclear terror."[50] This statement demonstrates Saudi Arabia's perception that Israel's refusal to join the NPT and to denuclearize directly threatens regional stability.

In consideration of the Iranian nuclear program, Saudi Arabia takes a middle-of-the-road stance, which makes its real concerns about Iran's program difficult to determine. The purpose of this moderate approach is to avoid backlash either from the U.S. or from Iran.

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44   Ibid., 115.
45   Ben Piven, "Map: US bases encircle Iran," *Al Jazeera*, May 1, 2012.
46   Iran has "the largest and most diverse ballistic missile arsenal in the Middle East." Michael Elleman, "Iran's Ballistic Missile Program," *United States Institute of Peace: The Iran Primer* (2011), 86.
47   Wehrey et al., *Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam*, 67.
48   Abdallah Y. Al-Mouallimi, *Statement of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Before The First Committee During the works of The United Nations General Assembly 69th Regular Session* (New York: The Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations, October 2014).
49   Ibid.
50   Ibid.

At the UN General Assembly's 68th Regular Session in 2014, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained, "…the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia still attaches importance to address this crisis by peaceful means through negotiations between group P5+1 and Iran, in a manner to ensure Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy in accordance with the standards and procedures of the International Atomic Energy Agency."[51] He follows this statement by saying, "Moreover, we stress the necessity of enforcing these procedures and controls on all countries in the region," once again referencing Israel and pointing out that the controversy over Iran's nuclear program is inseparable from Israel's arsenal of nuclear weapons.[52]

Saudi Arabia does not want to antagonize Iran, so it "reaffirms the inherent right of all states to obtain nuclear technology for peaceful purposes" and advocates a peaceful solution to the issue.[53] Saudi Arabia does not want to anger its American allies, so it also "stresses the importance of continuing the negotiations between the P5+1 over Iran's nuclear program."[54] Lastly, Saudi Arabia addresses its national security concerns and the security concerns of the wider region by pressuring Iran to "reassure the countries in the region and the international community that its nuclear program is peaceful, and to ensure the program's safety and security by allowing the inspectors from the IAEA to carry out their mandates during their visits."[55] Being allied to the U.S. and being across the Persian Gulf from Iran puts Saudi Arabia in a tricky position. This justifies its use of official statements to demonstrate that it is sympathetic to the concerns of all the stakeholders in the matter.

Looking beyond the rhetoric reveals Saudi Arabia's perception that a nuclear-armed Iran would shift the region's balance of power and is therefore a future that must be anticipated. Due to Israel's nuclear-armed status and refusal to join the NPT, the Saudis also do not entirely trust the international community, specifically the nonproliferation regime, enough to rely on and ensure their national security interests.

In 2003, very soon after the discovery of Iran's clandestine nuclear program, an article published in *The Guardian* revealed that Saudi Arabia's top policymakers discussed three possible ways to handle Iran's nuclear enrichment program and its potential ambitions for developing nuclear weapons. These three options included: "to acquire a nuclear capability as a deterrent; to maintain or enter into an alliance with an existing nuclear power that would offer protection; [and] to try to reach a regional agreement on having a nuclear-free Middle East."[56] As previously demonstrated, Israel has stonewalled any attempt to create a nuclear weapons free Middle East. Regardless, Saudi Arabia has maintained the pressure on Israel.

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51   Prince Saud Al-Faisal, *Statement of His Royal Highness Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Delegation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Before the United Nations General Assembly 68th Regular Session* (New York: The Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations, September 27, 2014).
52   Ibid.
53   Al-Mouallimi, *Statement of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.*
54   Ibid.
55   Ibid.
56   Ewen MacAskill and Ian Traynor, "Saudis Consider Nuclear Bomb," *The Guardian*, September 18, 2003.

Saudi Arabia is already allied with the U.S., which is the premier military power in the world and provides the Saudis with conventional weapons in exchange for oil. However, since the perceived threat of receiving a direct nuclear strike from Iran is very low, the U.S. has no reason to place nuclear weapons in Saudi Arabia as a deterrent. Additionally, no known deal has been made between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia officially putting Saudi Arabia under the U.S. nuclear umbrella—this has only been assumed since the two states are allies.

Yet this apparently is not enough of a guarantee for Saudi Arabia. In 2009, King Abdullah told former U.S. diplomat Dennis Ross during a meeting that, "If they get nuclear weapons, we will get nuclear weapons," in reference to the Iranians.[57] The likelihood of Saudi Arabia creating an indigenous nuclear program to develop nuclear weapons in the near future is unlikely. First, Saudi Arabia is a member of the NPT and has a Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA. Although Saudi Arabia is one of the wealthiest countries in the region, defying the NPT and trying to develop nuclear weapons would certainly come with numerous unwanted economic costs imposed by the international community, such as economic sanctions. Additionally, Saudi Arabia has the opposite problem as Egypt. Whereas Egypt has the building blocks of a robust nuclear program but lacks the funding, Saudi Arabia has adequate funding but "lacks the natural resources, technological capability, and scientific community necessary to develop an advanced nuclear weapons program."[58] To simply build a civilian nuclear energy program, Saudi Arabia would have to start from scratch. If Saudi Arabia wanted to acquire nuclear weapons in a relatively short amount of time to counterbalance Iran, it would require the aid of a state that already owns nuclear weapons.

This state could be Pakistan, but no reliable evidence supports this suspicion. Even if Saudi Arabia and Pakistan did set up a deal that would provide Saudi Arabia with nuclear weapons if Iran became a nuclear-armed state, Pakistan would not be able to supply Saudi Arabia with enough nuclear warheads to compete in a nuclear arms race. In addition, knowledge of this deal could threaten Saudi Arabia's relations with the U.S. and would invite retaliation from the international community. Regardless of whether or not Saudi Arabia wants to acquire nuclear weapons, the country would not be capable of competing in a nuclear arms race in the near future.

Conclusion

How serious of a security threat do Egypt and Saudi Arabia consider Iran's nuclear program to be, and how capable are they of competing in a nuclear arms race? Since Egypt and Saudi Arabia side with Iran on the fact that the enrichment of uranium is a sovereign right according to the NPT, and because they believe the international community should respect this right for all states, Egypt and Saudi Arabia do not perceive Iran's nuclear program to be as much of a threat as the international community has voiced. They have not assumed that the main

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57   Chemi Shalev, "Dennis Ross: Saudi king vowed to obtain nuclear bomb after Iran," *Haaretz*, May 30, 2012.
58   "Profile for Saudi Arabia," *NTI: Nuclear Threat Initiative*.

purpose of Iran's nuclear enrichment program is to develop nuclear weapons.

However, Egypt and Saudi Arabia have noted that if this is Iran's intention, then their state interests would certainly be threatened. The possibility of Iran launching a nuclear weapon at Egypt or Saudi Arabia is not high on either's security concerns. Instead, as previously articulated, they are more worried about Iran developing a more aggressive foreign policy and having a higher status as a regional power. Since Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea proved the nonproliferation regime as incapable of preventing states from acquiring nuclear weapons, Egypt and Saudi Arabia are aware of the possibility that Iran could become a nuclear-armed state. In response, certain state leaders have made it clear they will take initiative and acquire nuclear weapons of their own if Iran does.

These statements, combined with the perceived necessity of counterbalancing a nuclear-armed Iran with their own nuclear arsenal, have given rise to fears that a nuclear-armed Iran could trigger a nuclear arms race in the Middle East. While it is true Egypt and Saudi Arabia claimed they would pursue nuclear weapons if Iran develops a nuclear arsenal, their current capabilities could not support a nuclear arms race, let alone the indigenous development of a nuclear weapon. Moreover, their interests with Iran do not conflict enough to warrant engaging in a nuclear arms race, even if Iran became nuclear-armed. Power does indeed "beg to be balanced" as Waltz claims, but as the saying goes, "beggars cannot be choosers," so power sometimes remains unbalanced.

Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and likely the rest of the world prefer limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and keeping this proliferation out of the Middle East—a region infamous for its vulnerability to instability. However, it also appears that having a multipolar balance of power where one state owns nuclear weapons and the others do not is an imbalanced system because it creates perceptions of insecurity in the other regional powers, thereby resulting in a security dilemma. This is evident in statements made by Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iran in response to Israel's nuclear arsenal. These perceptions of insecurity are likely to persist, and as they persist, these states will lose more confidence in the international community to help make the Middle East a balanced and stable system. They will rely on themselves to ensure their own security and will do so by seeking a deterrent against the perceived threat of a nuclear-armed Israel.

Thus far, it was been widely assumed that Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons would trigger a regional nuclear cascade. The effort of the international community, in the form of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and Germany, has been focused on stopping Iran's nuclear program in its tracks. Very little effort, if any, has been placed on mitigating the security concerns of Iran, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. They have clearly stated their security concerns originate with Israel's nuclear weapons and policy of opacity. For these reasons, and based on the conclusions of this study, the international community must pressure Israel to end its policy of nuclear opacity, to open its nuclear facilities to IAEA investigations, to work towards denuclearization, and to sign the NPT as a non-nuclear weapons state. This will

significantly mitigate the perceived insecurities of the other states in the region and diminish the need to find a deterrent.

If Israel still resists these demands even with additional pressure from the international community, and if Iran does develop nuclear weapons, the U.S. must strengthen its military and economic relations with the other states in the region, particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Augmenting economic relations, possibly through expanding trade and investment, will reassure Egypt and Saudi Arabia that the U.S. is committed to their overall well-being. The U.S. should be willing to offer extended nuclear and conventional deterrence if these states confirm that doing so would indeed satisfy their need for a deterrent. This would also dissuade them from breaking away from the international community to guarantee their own national security interests. Lastly, and most importantly, neither the U.S. nor Israel should attempt to destroy Iran's nuclear program. While doing so might temporarily prevent Iran from developing a nuclear arsenal, this will only provide Iran with an even greater incentive to become a nuclear-armed state in the long-term.

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A Reluctant Agreement: Increased Military Cooperation between the U.S. and Nigeria after the Chibok School Kidnapping

By Michael S. Miller
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Abstract

This paper examines competing arguments for why the United States decided to increase its military assistance to the Nigerian government in its fight against Boko Haram after the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping. After analyzing alternative motives, which include a loss of policy control due to the CNN Effect, a security cooperation market with France, and economic interests, this paper concludes that military cooperation between the U.S. and Nigeria was grounded in genuine preference convergence on the threat of Boko Haram.

Introduction

Three weeks after the militant group Boko Haram kidnapped more than 200 girls from a school in Chibok, Nigeria, President Obama declared that this "may be the event that helps to mobilize the entire international community to finally do something against this horrendous organization that's perpetrated such a terrible crime."[1] The next day the Nigerian #BringBackOurGirls hashtag campaign reached one million tweets with United States First Lady Michelle Obama and Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai contributing to the publicity. Two days later, an inter-agency team from the United States arrived at the U.S. Embassy in Abuja to assist with the search for the missing girls.[2]

Over the following weeks, the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and the Nigerian government rapidly increased their military cooperation, deviating from the longstanding Nigerian policy of rebuffing AFRICOM's presence in the country. General David Rodriguez,

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1   Darlene Superville, "Obama: US to help Nigeria find kidnapped girls," *Yahoo News*, May 6, 2014.
2   "Nigeria abductions: Timeline of events," *BBC News,* May 12, 2014.

the commander of AFRICOM, confirmed that the U.S. was flying manned surveillance aircraft over the country from its drone base in Niamey, Niger, and that a multi-agency team of 30 specialists, including 16 military personnel, were operating out of Nigeria.[3] Soon after, 80 additional service members were deployed to the neighboring nation of Chad to operate, maintain, and protect a Predator drone that would provide unmanned aerial surveillance of northern Nigeria.[4] Despite initial reluctance from the Nigerian government, the two countries quickly reached an agreement to share intelligence following a Pentagon facilitated meeting in Paris between senior West African officials to increase collaboration in dealing with Boko Haram.[5]

The rapid mobilization of U.S. military operations to support the Nigerian government's efforts to locate the Chibok girls raises questions about U.S. motives for involvement. Alternatives to preference convergence—mutual security interest—on the threat of Boko Haram were among the answers proposed. One such argument is rooted in the CNN effect, a phenomenon which posits that the #BringBackOurGirls global media campaign applied enough pressure on the Obama administration to force action. Another argument is centered around the existence of a potential international security cooperation market between the United States and France. This argument stems from Professor Marina Henke's scholarly work, which posits that rather than following a *preference convergence* model where states share common and equally intense interests in intervening in a country, multilateral security cooperation often results from an *exchange* between countries with different interests.[6] Thus, the United States' increased military presence and support over the last five years for the French military campaign in the Sahel, with the recent support to Nigeria as further evidence of this commitment, has been transacted for French support for U.S. interests elsewhere, most notably the September 2014 campaign against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Finally, there is an argument that states that the U.S. is capitalizing on the fragility of the Nigerian domestic environment to expand its economic relationship with Africa's leading economy. The growing threat of Boko Haram is compounded by the imminent February 2015 Nigerian national election, which is projected to be the first truly contested election since the transition to civilian rule in 1999. [7] If President Goodluck Jonathan cannot control the threat of Boko Haram, he will appear weak, especially in comparison to the opposition candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari, who commands a fierce military background. This argument thus maintains that the United States is offering assistance to President Jonathan's regime to strengthen its legitimacy for the election in exchange for secure access to key commodity exports from Nigeria.

This paper argues that neither economic interests nor the CNN effect had a decisive influence on the United States' decision to cooperate with Nigeria. While a security cooperation market with France is conceptually possible, given the evidence that currently exists, it is impossible to

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3   Agence France-Presse, "AFRICOM Chief to Aid Search for Nigerian Schoolgirls," *Defense News*, May 13, 2014..
4   "U.S. Deploys 80-Man Drone Force to Help Find Nigerian Girls," *NBC News*, May 21, 2014.
5   "U.S. reaches agreement with Nigeria on intelligence sharing," *Reuters,* May 19, 2014.
6   Marina Henke, "Chapter 1: Theorizing International Security Cooperation," in *Security Cooperation for Sale*, under review.
7   "Nigeria: All eyes on 2015," *Africa Practice*.

accept this hypothesis at the present moment. Instead, it is more cogent that the predominant motivation for cooperation is the realist consideration of security threats posed by Boko Haram and militant Islam in Northern Nigeria.

Derailing the CNN Effect—Again

Before further analysis of viable counterarguments to preference convergence between the U.S. and Nigeria over the threat of Boko Haram, it is important to examine liberalist explanations rooted in the CNN Effect. The CNN Effect, as described by Professor Steven Livingston of George Washington University, is "a loss of policy control on the part of policy makers because of the power of the media, a power that they can do nothing about."[8] Often cited examples include images of American soldiers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, Somalia in October 1993, and the image of the aftermath of a mortar attack on a Sarajevo market in February 1994, that left 68 dead, which were believed to have incited U.S. intervention in both cases.[9] Proponents of the CNN Effect argue that these images galvanize constituents to demand action from elected officials who are forced to respond to these rapid shifts in public preference.

While there are no images of the Boko Haram abduction that are as jarring as those from Somalia or Sarajevo, the substantial public outcry over social media generated by the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign acts as a substitute for the images mentioned above. Thus, the argument to be made here is that media coverage of the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls and the subsequent social media campaign forced the Obama administration to increase military cooperation with Nigeria to placate the demands of liberal humanitarianist constituents. This argument proves to be deficient because it fails to grasp the context of the military relations between the U.S. and Nigeria, and it inappropriately discounts the agency of the Obama administration to capitalize on public demands for increased U.S. intervention in Nigeria.

For much of the last decade, the United States has attempted to strengthen its military relationship with Nigeria, despite frequent rebuffs from the Nigerian government. Early in its second term, the Bush administration made a serious attempt to convince President Yar'Adua to allow the new AFRICOM force to be based in Nigeria but Yar'Adua definitively refused in November 2007.[10] Nigeria has also been reluctant to accept U.S. military training services offered through the International Military Education and Training Account (IMET), which is one of the key avenues for bilateral military cooperation.[11] Still seeking increased regional military presence amidst reports of the growing transnational operational capacity of Boko Haram, President Obama decided to deploy 100 military personnel to Niger in early 2013

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8   Warren Strobel, "The CNN Effect," *American Journalism Review*, May 1996.
9   Steven Livingston, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of the Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," May 1997.
10   "Nigeria Rejects Hosting AFRICOM," November 20, 2007, U.S. Military.
11   "Nigeria: USA/Nigeria - Uneasy Alliance," December 1, 2014.

on an "intelligence collection mission," which consisted mainly of operationalizing the U.S. drone base in Niamey.[12] In early 2014, the Obama administration reached an agreement with the Niger government to open another drone base in Agadez, due to the increasing threat of regional militant Islamic groups.[13]

Based on this evidence, it is apparent that claims that the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign resulted in a "loss of policy control" within the Obama administration cannot be fully substantiated. Rather, the demands for increased U.S. involvement from liberal humanitarians aligned with the Obama administration's desire to build on its military relationship with Nigeria. The Obama administration immediately recognized the value of the social media campaign to generate popular support for U.S. interests in Nigeria, evidenced by Michelle Obama's decision to tweet an image of herself holding up a #BringBackOurGirls sign. This further challenges the CNN Effect argument as it shows the ability of policymakers to manipulate the media, rather than being helpless bystanders in issues that ignite national dialogue. It is evident that the CNN Effect cannot be used to explain military cooperation between Nigeria and the U.S. because the Obama administration maintained a consistent interest in Nigerian military affairs before, during, and after the media coverage. In fact, this only provides additional evidence for critics who state that mainstream media provides policymakers many chances to shape public perception—in this case, the Obama administration used the rising public pressure on this issue to facilitate cooperation with Nigeria.[14]

Exchanging the Sahel for ISIS—A Bargain with France?

Professor Henke's recent work shifts international security cooperation from a paradigm of preference convergence to one of marketplace-based exchange. Thus, it is important to assess whether U.S. military cooperation with Nigeria is a result of genuine security threats from the region or simply a bargaining chip in the security relationship between the U.S. and France. Henke argues that security coalitions are composed of states with different interests at stake in the issue being addressed. Henke goes on to argue that, in order to get "laggard" nations with lower preference intensities to participate, "leader" nations with strong interests in the affair must strike deals with these "laggard" nations to ensure multilateral coalition building.[15] This argument diverges from conventional understandings of international security cooperation, which hinge on *preference convergence* between coalition members who share homogenous interests with comparable preference intensities or on *coercion models* where "leader" nations force "laggard" nations into participation.[16] Regarding cooperation between the U.S. and France, Henke's argument would extend to an exchange in which the U.S. assists France with its campaigns in the Sahel for France to take an active role in the U.S.-led ISIS bombing

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12   Craig Whitlock, "Drone Base in Niger gives U.S. a strategic foothold in West Africa," *Washington Post*, March 21, 2013.
13   "U.S. opens a second drone base in Niger," September 3, 2014, *Homeland Security News Wire*.
14   Strobel, "The CNN Effect."
15   Marina Henke, "Chapter 1," *Security Cooperation for Sale*.
16   Ibid.

campaign in return.[17]

At the surface, this argument appears valid as it pertains to Nigeria. France, due to a combination of realist and constructivist concerns, has greater preference intensity for the Sahel than the United States does. The Sahel represents both the center of French colonial power and the heart of Charles de Gaulle's wartime forces *France Libre* and the *Forces Francaises Libres*, which together tie regional stability to France's concerns about its diminishing claims to global power.[18] In a time of pervasive budget cuts, France has elected to keep its military budget fairly static to ensure its ability to counter global terrorist threats, many of which originate from the Sahel.[19] As of January 2014, 3,565 of the 8,150 French military personnel deployed overseas were based in the Sahel. This, together with recent interventions in Mali and the Central African Republic, as well as new "specialized" posts in Chad, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger, reflects France's strong preference intensity in the Sahel.[20] Due to geographic proximity (which increases the threat of terrorist organizations and also allows for greater unrest through migration and drug trafficking) and greater economic interdependence resulting from lasting French hegemony in extractive industries in its former colonies, France's interests in the Sahel and its demonstrated commitment to the region surpass the interests of the United States.

An additional component that adds weight to Henke's argument is evidence of France requesting greater U.S. support in the Sahel. Following requests by the Hollande administration early in France's 2013 campaign in Mali, the Obama administration agreed to expand its assistance to France by providing aerial refueling and soldier transportation.[21] Similarly, when France intervened in the Central African Republic in late 2013, the U.S. agreed to more than $100 million in financial support, the majority going to French forces.[22] France's recruitment of the U.S. did not stop after the interventions. In 2014, both French President Hollande and Defense Minister Le Drian visited Washington to further the partnership and to request greater U.S. support in collecting intelligence.[23] The Obama administration has largely acquiesced to this request, evidenced by the creation of the new drone base in Niamey, Niger, which will be a regional hub for intelligence collection.

The combination of elevated French interests in the Sahel, evidence of requests for greater U.S. support, and a reversed situation in Iraq creates an ideal marketplace model for security cooperation. The United States clearly has intense constructivist interests in Iraq, as ISIS presents further evidence of the United States' failed intervention and state-building efforts.

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17   The parameters of this exchange are based on France's decision to be the first coalition member in the U.S. campaign against ISIS and to start bombing in Iraq on September 19, 2014.
18   Marina Henke, discussion with the author, November 18, 2014.
19   John Irish, "French military prepares 2014 cuts, far-right seeks to benefit," *Reuters,* October 3, 2013.
20   Stephanie Sanok Kostro, "French Counterterrorism in the Sahel: Implications for U.S. Policy," *Center for Strategic and International Studies,* February 4, 2014.
21   Ernesto Londono, "U.S. expands aid to French mission in Mali," *Washington Post,* January 26, 2013.
22   "Fact Sheet: U.S. Assistance to the Central African Republic," December 19, 2013, White House, Office of the Press Secretary.
23   "France will support its military presence in four Sahel countries" *La Croix,* January 25, 2014.

The instability caused by ISIS also poses a realist threat to U.S. interests, as the proliferation of terrorist organizations threatens U.S. oil interests in Iraq and, due to high access to western passports, threatens U.S. regional and homeland security.[24] With France becoming the first coalition member in the U.S.-led campaign against ISIS, there is the possibility of a direct *leader-laggard exchange* where the U.S. agrees to support French efforts in the Sahel in exchange for France's support in the ISIS campaign.

Despite the logical validity of this argument, empirical evidence to support it is yet to be presented. Based on interviews with Colonel Peltier (formerly of AFRICOM), a U.S. lieutenant colonel with expertise on African security issues, and Professor Will Reno, a leading expert on African security issues, it is clear that senior military leaders were not aware of any explicit exchange. While it is plausible that the military was not briefed on this exchange, it is not likely that the Ph.D. research that both colonels conducted on security cooperation in the region, plus Professor Reno's regional expertise and research, would have left them all ignorant of this relationship. Additionally, as it pertains to the specific parameters of this paper on security cooperation between Nigeria and the U.S., it can be argued that the U.S. has committed resources proportionate to its preference intensity in the country, thus defying a market model explanation for Nigeria.

As demonstrated above, marketplace security exchanges rely on differing preference intensities between leader and laggard nations, where the laggard nation agrees to commit resources disproportionate to its level of interest in exchange for some service from the leader nation. While this may be broadly applicable to cooperation between the U.S. and France in the Sahel region, it seems much less likely to be the case for U.S. assistance to Nigeria specifically, where U.S. involvement is proportionate to its interests. Based on Professor Henke's -10 to +10 scaling of preference intensities, she indicated U.S. interests in Nigeria to be +4. Professor Reno's indication was comparable, aligning U.S. preference intensity in Nigeria with its preference intensity in Kenya. An unclassified cable from the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi disproves this because it details U.S. involvement in the country as follows:

> They [the Government of Kenya] have allowed a continuous DoD presence in Manda Bay that allows for training and combined operations in support of counter-terrorism operation and anti-piracy actions. They have maintained one of the only long-term access agreements that allows unparalleled cooperation for U.S. military aircraft, permits DoD personnel to enter and exit the country by simply presenting an ID card, provides a safe location for hub operations throughout the HOA region, and provides a Status of Forces Agreement that safeguards US DoD personnel. Kenya is among our strongest supporters in the region and a key friend in the regional war on terror.[25]

24   "What, Exactly, Are U.S. Interests in Iraq's Turmoil?" *National Public Radio,* June 17, 2014.
25   U.S. Embassy, Nairobi, "COUNTRY TEAM ASSESSMENT FOR SMALL ARMS FOREIGN MILITARY SALE TO KENYAN ARMY FOR FY 2008," August 26, 2011, *Cable Drum.*

The implications of this cable reveal that recent military cooperation with Nigeria is actually less expansive than U.S. cooperation with Kenya, despite comparable preference intensities. This is most likely due to Nigerian reluctance to accept a pronounced U.S. military presence in the country. Regardless, this demonstrates that the U.S. is not contributing more resources to Nigeria than its perceived level of interest; therefore, it is unlikely that U.S. involvement in Nigeria is market-based. Thus, the market-based exchange hypothesis can be conditionally rejected.

ANOTHER CASE OF OIL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

As of 2013, Nigeria produced more oil than any other African country and contributed an estimated 2.62 percent of total world oil production.[26] In early April 2014, the BBC announced that Nigeria had surpassed South Africa as Africa's largest economy, with a GDP of more than $500 billion.[27] With just under 20 percent of the total population of Africa and a large natural resource endowment, it is no surprise that, in a post—9/11 world, Nigeria has become a major trade partner of the United States. After the Boko Haram kidnapping in April 2014, many reports noted the extent of the trade relationship between the two countries and Nigeria's standing as a major oil exporter, implying that this economic linkage was an incentive for the U.S. to assist Nigeria in combatting Boko Haram.

The soundness of this argument is greatly compromised by the American shale oil boom, which contributed to rapidly decreasing trade between the U.S. and Nigeria in 2014. For the first time since the United States Census Bureau began keeping track of foreign trade with Nigeria in 1985, the U.S. is on track to have a positive trade balance, meaning that it will export more goods to Nigeria than it imports.[28] With oil prices falling nearly 40 percent in the last six months due to a marked rise in domestic supply, American dependence on Nigerian crude oil is at a record low.[29] While some economists are now reporting that the days of the shale oil boom may be numbered due to a fear of oil prices falling too low, at the time of the Chibok kidnapping, industry prospects were soaring.[30] That month, the U.S. imported only 4.5 million barrels of Nigerian oil, down from a record high of 40 million barrels seven years before. For six weeks, from the beginning of July 2014 through mid-August, the U.S. Department of Energy reported that Nigeria did not export a single barrel of crude oil to U.S.-based refineries for the first time since 1973.[31] Any former dependence on Nigerian oil exports has been replaced by domestic supply from North Dakota and Texas. Based on the rapid American independence from Nigerian oil exports, which constituted the basis of the trade relationship, there is no valid reasoning for the United States to offer military assistance in exchange for greater security of its regional economic interests. It is therefore possible to reject this hypothesis.

26   "Key World Energy Statistics 2014," International Energy Agency.
27   "Nigeria becomes Africa's biggest economy," *BBC News,* April 6, 2014.
28   "Trade in Goods with Nigeria," *BBC News.*
29   Michael Casey, "Could the shale oil boom be ending? It all depends on oil prices," *Fortune*, October 10, 2014.
30   "Petroleum & Other Liquids," U.S. Energy Information Administration.
31   Robert Windrem, "Needle on Zero: Nigeria's Economy Tanking as U.S. Oil Exports Dry Up," *NBC News.*

Genuine Preference Convergence: Cooperation Based On Mutual Security Interests

This paper argues that the United States' decision to increase its military cooperation with Nigeria stems from a genuine interest in combatting the growing security threat posed by Boko Haram to Nigeria and other regional allies. This threat, in turn, compromises American security and interests on the continent. The danger results from Boko Haram's growing operational capacity, particularly in the months prior to the Chibok kidnapping, and increasing opportunities for linkage with other regional terrorist organizations.

Boko Haram's Growing Operational Capacity and Implications for the Nigerian State

Shortly after the extrajudicial execution of Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of Boko Haram, in 2009, the organization reemerged under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau and became radically more violent. Between 2009 and 2012 the organization was reported to be responsible for more than 900 deaths, most notably a bomb attack on a United Nations building in Abuja that killed 21.[32][33] By the time of the Chibok kidnapping, Boko Haram's operational capacity and the frequency of its attacks had both intensified, leading the governor of Borno state, a major stronghold of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria, to report that "Boko Haram[members] are better armed and are better motivated than our own troops."[34] In the first three months of 2014, Amnesty International estimated that Boko Haram caused more than 1,500 deaths, showing an exponential escalation of its operational capacity in the period immediately predating U.S. military assistance.[35] On the same day as the abduction in Chibok, Boko Haram also perpetrated a bombing in Abuja, killing approximately 70 people and injuring more than 200, displaying that its reach extended beyond northern Nigeria.[36]

Despite this growing capacity, Boko Haram seems very far from its stated goal of overthrowing the Nigerian government and replacing it with an Islamic caliphate. This raises the question of why the United States is concerned by the growing strength of an organization yet to prove its transnational capacity for terrorism. One main reason is that, while Boko Haram will not overthrow the Nigerian government, ongoing counterinsurgency efforts will undoubtedly drain the federal government of both financial and military resources. With huge shifts in the oil economy already profoundly hampering the Nigerian economy, a large-scale military effort could threaten the financial viability of the state.[37] In an extremely volatile Sahel region, the U.S. absolutely cannot afford any risk of widespread instability in Nigeria and, therefore, has a vested interest in subduing Boko Haram.

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32   Adam Nossiter, "In Nigeria, a Deadly Group's Rage Has Local Roots," *New York Times,* February 26, 2012.
33   Adam Nossiter, "Islamic Group Says It Was Behind Fatal Nigeria Attack," *New York Times,* August 28, 2011.
34   "Boko Haram 'stronger than Nigerian army,'" *Al Jazeera,* February 17, 2014.
35   Tim Lister, "Boko Haram: The Essence of Terror," *CNN,* October 22, 2014.
36   Nana Karikari-apau, "Blast kills 71 people at bus station in Nigeria," *CNN,* April 14, 2014.
37   Chris Kay, "Nigeria Signals Revenue to Plunge as Benchmark Oil Price Cut," *Bloomberg News*, December 4, 2014.

Short of serious financial instability, Nigeria's important military and diplomatic presence in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), and the UN make it a key ally to the United States on conflicts and diplomacy throughout the African continent. Therefore, a counterinsurgency that limits Nigerian flexibility as a regional hegemon also threatens the United States' ability to deal with regional security issues without direct troop contributions. Henke provides a prime example of U.S./Nigeria collaboration on African security issues through the case study of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). Henke highlights the United States' preference for multilateral intervention in Darfur due to its prior troop commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan, which provided an impetus for the U.S. to seek cooperation and bring on partners. While the U.S. military is currently not as committed to these countries as it was during the formation of UNAMID in 2007, significant cuts to the military budget and record low numbers of active duty soldiers provide a similar incentive for multilateralism in dealing with African security issues.[38] To address the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, the United States outsourced the military component of UNAMID primarily to Nigeria, which remains the largest troop contributor to the intervention.[39] Nigeria contributes the eighth greatest number of troops, military experts, and police to the United Nations, and it remains the backbone of ECOWAS, which has intervened in West African affairs dating back to the intervention in Sierra Leone in the late 1990s.[40] It is imperative to the United States that Nigeria maintains the financial and military flexibility to continue its engagement in the UN, AU, and ECOWAS so that the U.S. can limit its involvement in the region. Thus, the U.S. has a strong incentive to assist the Jonathan administration's attempt to subdue Boko Haram in order to prevent draining of Nigeria's increasingly precious resources. This makes genuine preference convergence an explanatory factor of this research.

Porous Borders and Transnational Economies of Terror

As Boko Haram grows in strength and reach, its opportunities to collaborate with other regional terrorist organizations (mainly Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Al-Shabaab) increase as well, amplifying the threat to regional allies and the United States. Despite frequent media reports of a connection with AQIM, which obviously concerns the United States, the relationship between Boko Haram and AQIM has remained tenuous and opaque. While Jonathan's recent claims that "Boko Haram is no longer a local terror group" and that "it is clearly operating as an Al-Qaeda operation" seem to be exaggerated calls for assistance rather than substantiated reports, the increasing links between the organizations are too numerous to ignore.[41][42] Evidence beginning in 2006 reveals Boko Haram members training in the Sahel with AQIM, and Abdulmalek Droukdel, the emir of AQIM, has stated that he sent "men, weapons,

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38   "Pentagon's Chuck Hagel Plans to Downsize US Military," *BBC News,* February 24, 2014.

39   Marina Henke, Security Cooperation for Sale, Chapter 4: International Security Cooperation in UNAMID, *Under Review*

40   "Troop and Police Contributors," *United Nations.*

41   Michael Martinez, "'War on Boko Haram:' African, Western nations unify in hunt for Nigerian girls," *CNN,* May 17, 2014.

42   Robin Simcox, "Boko Haram and defining the 'al-Qaeda network,'" *Al Jazeera,* June 16, 2014.

and ammunition" to Boko Haram to enact revenge for the killing of Mohammed Yusuf.[43][44] In 2013, Boko Haram was the largest terrorist contingent at AQIM's training center in Mali, and there are reports of Boko Haram members being trained by Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Al-Shabaab in east Africa.[45][46] These developments contributed to the 2013 Department of State designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization and the general of AFRICOM declaring Boko Haram an Al-Qaeda affiliate.

The transnational capacity of Boko Haram also has the potential to escalate because of recent splintering factions, namely the organization Ansaru, that have more direct connections to AQIM and Al-Shabaab. Mamman Nur, the leader of Ansaru, which still collaborates extensively with Boko Haram, is more connected with AQIM and Al-Shabaab than Abubakar Shekau, and has expanded Ansaru's operations to Niger, Cameroon, and possibly the Central African Republic. According to Jacob Zenn, an analyst for the Jamestown Federation, this expansion "risks creating a multi-million dollar 'terrorism economy' in the southern Sahel that fuels corruption and raises tensions between neighboring countries and the region's Muslims and Christians."[47]

This display of transnationalism by Boko Haram and Ansaru, and the subsequent instability added to the Sahel, directly conflict with the stated goals of the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP), an American interagency plan to combat terrorism by strengthening the military capacity of regional partners and building cooperation for joint operations and intelligence sharing across the region.[48] These stated aims seem to coincide with U.S. assistance to Nigeria (a partner country in the TSCTP), which has focused on military training and intelligence sharing in an effort to increase the Nigerian government's capacity for dealing with Boko Haram. Thus, U.S. military cooperation with Nigeria fits within an existing defense policy designed to target terrorist threats in the Sahel, which is ultimately rooted in the U.S. preference to prevent the Sahel from becoming a terrorist safe haven.

The United States' decision to assist the Nigerian government's operations against Boko Haram both corresponds to existing security policy designed to subdue terrorist threats in the region and provides support to a regional ally that is vital to U.S. interests throughout the continent. Furthermore, the decision to assist synchronizes temporally with the growing operational capacity of Boko Haram and the expansion of splinter factions' operations transnationally. Therefore, it appears that the Chibok kidnapping helped trigger preference convergence between the U.S. and Nigerian governments to increase cooperation in the fight against Boko Haram. This makes mutual security considerations the explanatory factor in this research.

43   Joe Brock, "Special Report: Boko Haram – between rebellion and jihad," *Reuters,* January 31, 2012.
44   "Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb: Condolence, Support and Comfort for our Brothers and People in Nigeria 20/08/09," August 20, 2009; "North Africa Qaeda Offers to Help Nigerian Muslims," *Reuters*, February 1, 2010.
45   David Blair, "Timbuktu: al-Qaeda's terrorist training academy in the Mali desert," February 11, 2013.
46   Simcox, "Boko Haram and defining the 'al-Qaeda network."
47   Jacob Zenn, "Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria," February 24, 2014.
48   "US Department of State: Programs and Initiatives," U.S. Department of State.

Differing Preference Intensities and a Tenuous Future

Despite sharing a genuine interest in subduing Boko Haram, the Nigerian government naturally expresses this preference with a much higher intensity than the United States, which creates roadblocks to effective cooperation. This discrepancy gains more prominence through reports of divergence within the Nigerian government, resulting from vying claims to legitimacy between the Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba ethnic blocks in the months leading up to the national election in February. The primarily northern Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups, which have historically comprised the majority of military leadership in Nigeria, seek control of the presidency for the first time in 15 years. As the insurgency persists relatively unsuccessfully, Jonathan, who is Yoruba, appears incapable of gaining control in the North, thus strengthening the electoral position of former General Muhammad Buhari, a Fulani. These competing interests weaken the cohesion and operational capacity of both the Jonathan administration and the Nigerian military.

In the months following the Chibok kidnapping, Amnesty International released damning testimony that the Nigerian military received advanced warning of the planned abduction but chose not to act, amounting to "a gross dereliction of Nigeria's duty to protect civilians."[49] In May, 10 generals and five other senior military officials were found guilty of providing arms and information to Boko Haram, which had helped the group attack military camps and ambush convoys.[50] These reports tying the Nigerian military to Boko Haram are most likely the end-product of systemic corruption that leaves senior military officials to grease their patrimonial networks through looting, finding a natural home alongside Boko Haram. However, forsaking security for economic opportunity diverges from the Jonathan administration's need for order, which would show that a Yoruba civilian-led administration can maintain peace in the country. These misaligned interests will undoubtedly limit the effectiveness of cooperation between the U.S. and Nigeria.

Additionally, reports of the United States' reluctance to sell lethal weapons to Nigeria due to fear of military human rights abuses reveal the extent of the discrepancy in preference intensities between the two countries. While the Jonathan administration is aggressively committing resources to the front against Boko Haram, especially in the period immediately preceding the election, it appears that the Obama administration will adhere to its hardline of banning the sale of lethal weapons to countries with militaries accused of gross human rights abuses. This has led to tensions between the two nations. For example, the Nigerian ambassador to the U.S. stated, "there is no use giving us the type of support that enables us to deliver light jabs to the terrorists when what we need to give them is the killer punch," implying that Nigeria is more concerned with ending the insurgency than dealing with its human rights record.[51] Undoubtedly, different preference intensities will limit the extent and effectiveness

49   "Nigerian authorities failed to act on warnings about Boko Haram raid on school," *Amnesty International,* May 9, 2014.
50   "Senior officers in Nigeria military found guilty of helping Boko Haram," *Al Jazeera,* June 4, 2014.
51   "Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria fury over US arms refusal," *BBC News,* November 11, 2014.

of future cooperation and of ultimately meeting the shared goal of subduing Boko Haram.

CONCLUSION

The harrowing and very public abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls by Boko Haram constituted a jarring trigger that mobilized the United States and Nigeria to expand their cooperation to address Boko Haram. This cooperation resulted from genuine preference convergence on mutual security concerns, not the byproduct of the CNN effect, alternative economic motives, or a security cooperation market with France. Because the publicity of the event did not shift U.S. preferences on cooperation with Nigeria, but rather aligned with them, it is clear that no loss of policy control occurred within the Obama administration and, therefore, the CNN effect hypothesis can be rejected. Also, due to a rapidly diminishing reliance on Nigerian oil, the United States had no incentive to swap military incentive for economic advantage in Nigerian markets, and, thus, this hypothesis can also be rejected. Additionally, while the Sahel has many parameters that fit a security marketplace model between the U.S. and France, the lack of empirical evidence elucidating this relationship in the Sahel broadly coupled with the fact that the United States has committed resources to Nigeria commensurate to its preference intensity make the likelihood of this hypothesis extremely low. Therefore, we can conditionally reject this hypothesis at the current time.

This paper concludes that the growing operational capacity of Boko Haram, demonstrated in the months leading up to American assistance, caused a preference convergence between the Obama administration and the Jonathan administration to increase their efforts to combat the realist threats of Boko Haram. The United States' preference structure was influenced by both the need for Nigeria to remain flexible enough to be a regional hegemon and the transnational linkages between Boko Haram and other terrorist organizations that conflicted with the security interests expressed in the TSCTP. This shared preference is however, expressed with different intensities, which limits the effectiveness of the cooperation and helps to explain the lack of success in both rescuing the kidnapped schoolgirls and subduing Boko Haram.

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The Shaheeda-Sharmouta Complex: Female Suicide Bombers and the Palestinian Nation

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Abstract

Much of the literature on female Palestinian suicide bombers has concentrated on their motivations for carrying out attacks, while little has probed their reception in Palestinian society. Looking beyond celebrations of the ten female Palestinian suicide bombers in the form of eulogistic songs, music videos, graphics, poetry, and other media glamorizing these women as martyrs, this article draws on interviews conducted with Palestinian nationals to paint a more complete picture of how these female militants are received by their society, in which violent resistance is understood as a masculine undertaking and child-bearing and motherhood as the sole feminine domain. This article argues that although female suicide bombers are publicly celebrated for their contributions to the Palestinian struggle, their transgressions of traditional female gender roles render them internal threats to the Palestinian nation. As such, they are appropriated into the Palestinian national narrative in contradictory ways that mitigate their threat as militants, causing them to vacillate between two extremes as Palestine's sexual capital and its arsenal. There also exists a public-private dichotomy in Palestinians' reception to female suicide bombers. While they are revered in public national discourse as shaheedas, or female martyrs, in the private, day-to-day conversations between Palestinian nationals, they are regarded as sharmoutas, or whores.

Introduction

Much of the literature on female Palestinian suicide bombers has concentrated on their motivations for carrying out attacks, while little has probed their reception in Palestinian society.[1] This paper addresses this gap by extending beyond a mere examination of how these female suicide bombers are publicly exalted and drawing heavily on interviews conducted with their fellow Palestinian nationals. In total, it paints a more complete picture of how these women are received by their society, wherein violent resistance is understood as a masculine

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1   For examples of texts, see Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers (2003) by Barbara Victor, "Girls interrupted: the making of female Palestinian suicide bombers" (2006) by Katherine Vanderkaay, and *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?* by Yoram Schweitzer.

undertaking and child-bearing and motherhood as the sole feminine domain.[2] How does Palestinian society make sense of female suicide bombers, who abandon women's traditional roles as nurturers to become agents of destruction?

Although female suicide bombers are publicly celebrated for their contributions to the Palestinian struggle, this paper argues that their deviation from traditional female gender roles renders them as internal threats to the Palestinian nation.[3] As such, female suicide bombers are appropriated into the Palestinian national narrative in contradictory ways that mitigate their threat, simultaneously deemphasizing and hyper-emphasizing their gender differences. Perceptions of these women vacillate between two extremes: as Palestine's sexual capital and its arsenal. Furthermore, a public-private dichotomy exists in Palestinians' reception to female suicide bombers. While both Palestinian leadership and society might propagandize them as *shaheedas*—or female martyrs—in the private, day-to-day conversations between Palestinian nationals, they are disparaged as *sharmoutas*, or whores.

To advance such an argument, this paper will be divided into five sections. The first offers the sociopolitical background surrounding the emergence of female suicide bombers in the Palestinian resistance movement. The second examines "successful" female suicide bombers—or those who managed to complete their missions and inflict Israeli casualties—and analyzes their reception in public national discourse as *shaheedas*. Attention is then turned to the dozens of "failed" female suicide bombers—or those who were intercepted and jailed before completing their missions and derided as *sharmoutas*—to expose the limitations of female militants' acceptance in the Palestinian plight. The next section complicates the *shaheeda-sharmouta* dichotomy by demonstrating that Palestinians refer to even the most successful *shaheedas* as *sharmoutas* away from the public eye. Lastly, the final section tries to make sense of the contradictions in the national reception of successful female suicide bombers in an attempt to answer why they are simultaneously revered and reviled, and what motivates their public celebration.

BACKGROUND

On July 20, 2014 and a few months later on October 13, Fatah, a leading secular Palestinian

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2   While this paper seeks to complicate the existing analysis on female Palestinian suicide bombers, it draws completely from second-hand interviews, as it is impossible for the author to conduct personal interviews with Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, State authorities, and failed female suicide bombers. Because the study of female Palestinian suicide bombers is so new, there is only a small pool of literature from which the author can draw, which is mostly qualitative in nature. As such, quantitative data sources, such as public opinion polls, are not available. Therefore, there are major limitations to this study, the largest of which being its complete reliance on the small pool of published works written by scholars and journalists, such as Anat Berko and Barbara Victor, which are tinged with their own biases.
3   This paper uses Benedict Anderson's definition of "nation," which is an imagined community not to be confused with a nation-state.

political party uploaded a music video to its official Facebook page.[4] Captioned "Fatah's self-sacrificing female fighters – an ongoing sacrifice…" the video showcases Dalal Mughrabi, a Fatah-affiliated hijacker, and eight female Palestinian suicide bombers: Wafa Idris, Ayat al-Akhras, Darin Abu Aisheh, Andalib Takatka, Zainab Abu Salem, Hiba Daraghmeh, Hanadi Jaradat, and Mirfat Mas'oud. Replete with their video testimonies, excessively edited glamour shots, staged photos showing them veiled in Palestinian *kuffiyehs* (patterned scarves) with light and small arms, and post-attack photos of the destruction they wrought, the video venerates these female militants with lyrics such as "Salute the self-sacrificing female fighters. Here are the girls who offered [their lives], graced with determination," and "You redeem the soil of the homeland, crowned with pride... / We will continue to safeguard [your] blood."[5]

Several years earlier, on May 1, 2002, a video broadcast on the official television channel of the Palestinian Authority—the governing body of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip - premiered for the Palestinian public. It featured an elegantly dressed woman standing in the middle of a large orchestra, singing in commemoration of the first female Palestinian suicide bomber, Wafa Idris—the "blossom who was on Earth and is now in Heaven." Eulogizing her "sister Wafa," the songstress praised the other woman for choosing *shahada*, or martyrdom.[6] While these videos seem to indicate the reverence accorded to female suicide bombers by Palestinian leadership—their martyrdom celebrated in the form of murals, songs, shareable graphics, news articles, television segments, and the commemorative naming of public spaces and events—the position they occupy within the Palestinian nation is far more complex and ambiguous, pointing to patriarchal anxieties surrounding the relationship of women to the nation.

To understand how Palestinians come to terms with the relatively new phenomenon of female suicide bombing, it is crucial to situate these women within a narrative of organized Palestinian resistance starting with the first Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising, in 1987 and extending to the present day. Triggered by the deaths of four Palestinian laborers and the wounding of several others by an Israeli vehicle at the Erez military checkpoint on December 8, 1987, the first *intifada* was marked by six years of peaceful demonstrations, labor strikes, and various protests. It was further fanned by the deaths of 1,124 Palestinians at the hands of Israeli State forces and mass arrests, curfews, injuries, and house demolitions. In mostly peaceful displays of civil disobedience against the Israeli occupation, a new Palestinian national identity crystallized around shared experiences of dispossession and a reinvigorated desire for self-determination.[7]

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4   Permanent Observer Mission of the State of Palestine to the United Nations, "Palestine Liberation Organization," Permanent Observer Mission of the State of Palestine to the United Nations New York, last modified 2014, accessed November 16, 2014, http://palestineun.org/about-palestine/palestine-liberation-organization/.
5   Fatah, «Fatah Glorifies 9 Female Terrorists Who Killed 75 People in Total,» video file, 03:00, Palestinian Media Watch, July 22, 2014, accessed November 16, 2014, http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=458&doc_id=12135.
6   Official Palestinian Authority TV, "PA TV Broadcasts Song Praising Suicide Bomber Wafa Idris," video file, 01:00, Palestinian Media Watch, November 11, 2009, accessed November 16, 2014, http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=111&fld_id=111&doc_id=4685.
7   David A. McDonald, *My Voice is My Weapon: Music, Nationalism, and the Poetics of Palestinian Resistance* (Durham, UK: Duke University Press, 2013), Kindle edition.

Several years of relative peace abruptly ended on September 28, 2000, the beginning of the second *intifada*, also commonly referred to as the al-Aqsa *intifada*. Marked by unrestrained violence, the second *intifada* began after Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Jewish holy site Temple Mount, a site that is also considered holy in the Islamic tradition and is known to Arabs as the Haram esh-Sharif. The visit drew the ire of Palestinian Jerusalemites, who rioted by throwing stones at worshippers and police.[8] Initially attempting to disperse rioters using tear gas, the Israeli police violently escalated their response, opening fire on several hundred protestors marching from a local university in Gaza City towards the Israeli settlement of Netzarim, five miles away. This resulted in the highly publicized death of Jamal al-Durra and his twelve-year-old son Mohammad al-Durra two days after the events in Jerusalem. The Israeli forces' rapid increase in the number of checkpoints, curfews, raids, and targeted assassinations militarized the nature of Palestinian resistance. Different Palestinian organizations vying for popular support, such as Fatah, Hamas, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, replaced public displays of nonviolence and civil disobedience with orchestrated attacks, most notably in the form of suicide bombings, against both Israeli soldiers and civilians during this second *intifada*.[9]

While some groups used the tactic as a method of Palestinian resistance prior to the events of September 2000, suicide bombing became a defining feature of the second *intifada,* with 27 suicide bombings accounting for 120 of the 290 Israeli deaths stemming from the Palestinian resistance from 1993 to September 2000. According to scholars Sean Yom and Basel Saleh, 472 of 918 Israeli fatalities and over 3000 injuries were attributable to 112 Palestinian suicide bombings from the outbreak of the second *intifada* to March 2004, the overwhelming majority of which were committed by men.[10] Hamas, the militant governing organization in the Gaza Strip first adopted suicide bombing in 1994 as a strategy towards its goal of creating an Islamic Palestinian State and the destruction of Israel through *jihad*.[11] The Palestinian Islamic Jihad, another militant Islamist organization, executed its first suicide operation only a few months after Hamas's in 1994.[12][13] The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, a coalition of armed Palestinian groups in the West Bank that identifies as the military wing of Fatah, the governing faction of the Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank, began its terrorist operations against Israeli civilians under the flag of secular Palestinian nationalism in 2002.[14] Another organization, the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, also claimed responsibility for several major attacks since 2001.[15]

8   Rosemarie Skaine, ed., *Female Suicide Bombers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006), 122.
9   McDonald, *My Voice is My Weapon*.
10   Sean Yom and Basel Saleh, *Palestinian Suicide bombers: A Statistical Analysis* (n.p.: Economists for Peace and Security, 2004), 1
11   Joe Stork, *Erased in a Moment: Suicide bombing Attacks Against Israeli Civilians* (n.p.: Human Rights Watch, 2002), 66.
12   "Major Terrorist Attacks in Israel," Anti-Defamation League
13   "Suicide and Other Bombing Attacks in Israel since the Declaration of Principles (Sept 1993)," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs
14   Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers*, 123.
15   "Major Terrorist Attacks in Israel," Anti-Defamation League.

Though it has been the subject of incredible media attention, the phenomenon of female suicide bombing is a recent one. Women have long been participants in the Palestinian struggle, serving as cabinet members, speakers, members of research centers, and participants in demonstrations, particularly during the first *intifada*.[16] If involved in acts of terrorism, they were merely assistants in their execution. However, the contribution of women to the Palestinian resistance movement was largely limited to birthing and raising Palestinian sons, who may eventually become soldiers in the national struggle against the Israeli occupation.[17] It was only in January 2002 that women began to infiltrate the male-dominated arena of suicide bombing, with the high-profile detonation of the first female suicide bomber Idris killing an Israeli man and inflicting over 100 casualties. Since then, nine other women have successfully carried out attacks and inflicted Israeli casualties in the name of the Palestinian struggle, and approximately 70 Palestinian women have been implicated in failed suicide bombing attempts as either bombers or escorts.[18]

Given the recent emergence of the female suicide bomber phenomenon in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its egregious deviance from the peaceful, nurturing roles expected of Palestinian women, it is pertinent to ask how successful female suicide bombers—those who managed to complete their missions and inflict Israeli casualties—are received among their co-nationals. How do they figure within Palestinian society, and how do Palestinians reconcile these women's deviations from traditional gender roles with the contributions they have made towards Palestinian statehood? Furthermore, what can the experiences of women who have failed to carry out their suicide operations tell us about the limits of their societal acceptance?

Shaheedas: Successful Female Suicide Bombers

A week after Idris's attack, former Middle East specialist for the U.S. Department of State and now-journalist Barbara Victor traveled to her family's home in the al-Amari refugee camp, narrating her experience in her book, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers*. Near Idris's house, Victor describes:

> …I noticed photographs of Wafa displayed on all the buildings…There were more people crowding around the house and they were pushing and shoving to reach me and talk about Wafa. All of them, regardless of age or gender, said the same thing: that one of their own had become a heroine for the Palestinian struggle—a woman, a symbol of the army of women who were ready to die for the cause.[19]

16   Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers*, 56-57.
17   Anat Berko and Edna Erez, "Martyrs or murderers? Victims or victimizers?: The voices of would-be Palestinian female suicide bombers," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy: Agency, Utility, and Organization*, ed. Cindy D. Ness (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), 131.
18   Yoram Schweitzer, "Palestinian female suicide bombers: Virtuous heroines or damaged goods?," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy: Agency, utility, and organization*, ed. Cindy D. Ness (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), 131.
19   Barbara Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers* (Emmaus, PA: Rodale, 2003), 5-6.

Such celebrity of female Palestinian suicide bombers is ubiquitous. Victor observed that Idris, described as the "flower of womanhood," was the star of one of the most frequently played music videos on Palestinian television, the most popular form of media for Palestinian pre-teens and older adolescents. A series of photographs from her childhood until shortly before her death formed the backdrop for a sultry rock star's eulogy—a song dedicated to Idris's martyrdom. While navigating through the Jabaliya refugee camp a few months later, Victor noted photographs of male and female suicide bombers plastered "all over the hospitals and municipal buildings, schools, and police stations."[20] The Palestinian Authority celebrated Idris, who carried out her attack under the banner of the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, as a hero and role model, naming various groups and spaces after her—football tournaments, a summer camp for girls in the city of Kalkiliya, a university students group for Fatah members, a course for training Fatah women cadres—and dedicating public demonstrations and songs on the official Palestinian Authority television channel in her honor. The *shaheedas* following Idris received similar treatment, with Ayat al-Akhras having a summer camp named after her and her defiant expression immortalized in murals and Hanadi Jaradat, who was and due to qualify as a lawyer at the time of her attack, posthumously receiving the highest decoration of the Arab Lawyers Union.[21]

In gaining posthumous celebrity, *shaheedas* become mythologized in Palestinian society in contradictory ways, with their gender differences deemphasized on the one hand and hyper-emphasized on the other. For example, in exploring male Palestinian militants' reception to their fellow female fighters, political anthropologist Julie Peteet concludes that Majidah, a disciplined fighter, became accepted by her male peers as "the best fighter in the south" over her more feminine peer Rula due to her stern, serious behavior and dress that coded her "an honorary man—tough and brave but not really a woman in the sense of sex." Peteet suggests that Majidah was regarded as an "honorary man" due to the Islamic concept of *fitna*, a state of chaos that would ensue if men and women interact without Arab social codes that determine proper gender conduct and the legal-religious regulations mandated by the Qur'an.[22] A similar deemphasizing of gender difference occurs in the process of honoring female Palestinian suicide bombers. For example, the Palestinian Authority honored Ayat al-Akhras in the same military funeral as the male Palestinian suicide bomber, Daoud Abu Suway, burying their remains in the same place. Similarly, photos of Ayat and Andalib Takatka are interspersed on a poster among those of their male counterparts. The District Governor of Hebron, Kamel Hamid, made no gender distinctions when stating, "Indeed, they died as Martyrs for the homeland and [for] honor. We are committed to being loyal to them and to maintaining the struggle until we have achieved what they died as Martyrs [to achieve]."[23]

While their gender differences are deemphasized for the purpose of warding off *fitna*,

20   Ibid., 190-191.
21   Khaled Abu Toameh, "Arab Lawyers Union Honors Palestinian Suicide Bomber," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 13, 2012
22   Peteet, "Action, Ideology, and Gender," in *Gender in Crisis*, 155.
23   WAFA News Agency, "Abbas Rep: 'Our Martyrs and Prisoners Will Remain the Beacon of Our Magnificent Glory,'" Palestinian Media Watch

Palestinians also portray *shaheedas* as female pioneers and celebrate them as feminist icons blazing new paths for women and young girls. Victor, in visiting a class of twelve-year-old girls in the Jabaliya refugee camp recollected a young girl's motivations for becoming a *shaheeda,* which included honoring Idris, "who proved that women can do as much as men."[24] After Idris's attack, Attaf Yusuf, a columnist in the Ramallah-based *al-Quds* media supplement, *The Women's Voice*, wrote "Palestinian women desire to participate alongside the men in all aspects of the struggle." After Darin Abu Aisheh's successful attack, which resulted in four casualties, the official newspaper of the Palestinian National Authority, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, stated, "These actions…attest to the Palestinian woman's capability to perform successful actions." [25] Raviha Diyav, administrative member of the General Union of Palestinian Women, the official representative of Palestinian women in the PLO, was quoted in the Ramallah-based newspaper *Al-Ayyam* stating that Idris' attack showed "the determination and the resolve of the Palestinian woman to participate as full partners in the national struggle, alongside her brothers."[26] Moreover, attesting to the perceived feminist potential of female Palestinian suicide bombers, Victor notes a poster of Andalib Takatka in the office of Andalib Audawan, a prominent Gazan feminist who paved the way for women's rights in the institutions of marriage and divorce. When asked why the poster was hung up, she simply stated, "Because we share the same name."[27]

In addition to being portrayed in ways that minimize their gender differences and as feminist icons bridging the gender divide, *shaheedas* are also rendered as hyper-feminine brides and mothers of the Palestinian nation. The contradiction of deemphasizing and hyper-emphasizing gender differences is exemplified in another Facebook post by Fatah that refers to Idris simultaneously as "the beautiful flower" and the lethal hero who "through her Martyrdom-seeking operation, turned upside down Israeli security considerations that had focused on observing young Palestinian men only."[28] Likewise, reports and propaganda items issued from Palestinian sources also paired descriptions of the lethality of the *shaheedas* as militants with those of them as the symbolic brides and mothers of the Palestinian nation. Hanadi Jaradat, the *shaheeda* dispatched by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad who killed twenty-one people in a restaurant in Haifa, is referred to as the "bride of Haifa," drawing men to her mourning house to act out bride-less weddings to her in her honor.[29]

Propaganda graphics, published by Fatah on its Facebook page, describe Andalib Takatka and Ayat al-Akhras in similar ways. In April 2014, Andalib was designated as the "bride of Al-

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24   Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside*, 188.
25   Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, "Palestinian Youth Center Names Football Tournament After First Palestinian Female Suicide Bomber Wafa Idris," Palestinian Media Watch
26   Al-Ayyam, "Terrorist Wafa Idris Glorified for Her Participation 'In the National Struggle,'" Palestinian Media Watch
27   Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside*, 192.
28   Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, "Fatah Honors Suicide Bomber Who Killed 1 and Injured over a Hundred on Its Official Facebook Page," Palestinian Media Watch
29   Dorit Naaman, "Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death: Media, Gender, and Performance in the Case of the Palestinian Female Suicide Bombers," *Signs* 32, no. 4 (Summer 2007): accessed October 23, 2014, doi:10.1086/512624.

Asifa," referring to the Fatah terror unit that dispatched her.[30] On the 11th anniversary of Ayat's death, Fatah posted, "Today is the 11th anniversary of Ayyat Al-Akhras' martyrdom death… In her operation, Ayyat – who should have worn a wedding dress – put on the Palestinian *kuffiyeh* and army uniform." A similar graphic stated:

> 11th anniversary
> March 29, 2013
> Ayyat, we are committed to your promise
> We are committed to the promise of freedom,
> Oh Bride of Palestine,
> Ayyat Al-Akhras.[31]

These descriptions of *shaheedas* as mothers and brides of the Palestinian nation are similarly found in televised propaganda. On the Palestinian Authority Television program *The Best Mothers*, Abu Aisheh's mother boasts about her daughter's suicide attack, stating, "I said, 'I haven't gone mad. I'm not crazy. I want to sing, Darin is a bride.'"[32] Likewise, the role of Reem Riyashi as a mother is illustrated in a reenactment of her attack on a children's television show broadcast on Al-Aqsa TV, a Hamas-affiliated channel, in 2009.[33]

These portrayals of female Palestinian suicide bombers as brides and mothers serve to not only honor these women, but also to mitigate the potential threat their martyrdom poses to traditionally accepted gender roles. That is, these *shaheedas*, in abandoning their duties as mothers of the next generation of Palestinian soldiers in order to don explosive belts and occupy militant roles traditionally monopolized by men, undermine national expectations of proper gendered duties. Because women's traditional roles in the Palestinian struggle have always been that of brides and mothers, scholar Dorit Naaman argues, "the designation of the title bride suggests a comfortable place in the patriarchal nationalist project" that forces the deviant *shaheedas* back into comprehensible gender roles.[34]

Though successful *shaheedas* are celebrated in ways that coerce them back into traditional gender roles, it is important to note that not all women who attempt a suicide attack in the name of the Palestinian nation are rendered martyrs in Palestinian society. Rather, it is, as Peteet states, only those who "go beyond what is expected and achieve martyrdom…[and] carry out incredibly heroic acts" who are privileged with national celebration and acceptance.[35] Those who fail to achieve excellence in the form of Israeli casualties find themselves not at

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30   Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, "Fatah Celebrates Suicide Terrorists Who Killed 8 and Wounded over 100," Palestinian Media Watch
31   Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, "Fatah Calls Suicide Bomber 'Bride of Palestine,'" Palestinian Media Watch
32   "Mother Upon News of Daughter's Suicide Bombing: 'I Want to Sing, She is a Bride,'" Palestinian Media Watch
33   "Kids Shown Video of Their Mother's Suicide Bombing Death on Hamas TV," Palestinian Media Watch
34   Naaman, "Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death."
35   Peteet, "Action, Ideology, and Gender," in *Gender in Crisis*, 152.

the center of Palestinian society, but instead relegated to its margins.

Sharmoutas: Failed Female Suicide Bombers

In a conversation with the Israeli terrorism expert Anat Berko, Marwan, a Palestinian journalist, declares, "A woman who winds up in jail…regardless, her status is inferior. She is not the ideal woman."[36] Such a statement about women who fail to carry out their suicide operations and are intercepted by Israeli authorities is in stark contrast to the respect given to successful female suicide bombers, the beautiful, pure brides and mothers of Palestine. Failed female suicide bombers are branded not as venerated *shaheedas*, but as scorned *sharmoutas*, or whores—undesirable women who deviated from their proper gender roles and into the masculine domain.

Marwan goes on to state, "As to what goes on in jail [where there are male security guards], people's imaginations know no bounds. I don't think anyone would want to marry such a woman. She is not normative; she is deviant, atypical and crossed all the lines." A woman who participates in a suicide bombing operation wanders outside of the accepted bounds of the domestic sphere, has meetings her family knows nothing about, goes from one terrorist organization to another interacting with strange men, and even rides alone in the same cars as them.[37] Sheikh Muhammad Abu Tir, the deputy head of the Hamas administration at the time, told Berko that he believed his sister, a previously-jailed, fifty-two year old woman, was unmarried because "probably…no one wanted to marry her [as] she had been in jail and a terrorist, meaning she had relations with men and became a morally stigmatized woman."[38]

According to further interviews conducted by Berko, it is well known that dispatching organizations, though not Islamist organizations like Hamas, sexually assault women who volunteer themselves for the national cause. Further, as Berko stated, a common conception among the Palestinian public is that, "a *shaheeda* is a second-class *shaheed* [male suicide bomber], and who knows what went on between them, why she had to become a *shaheeda*…and whether she had to purify herself or her family [of her past sexual transgressions]."[39] Indeed, given the frequency with which these dispatching organizations sexually assault their female operatives and the stigma associated with women leaving the home, none of the failed female suicide bombers who survived their missions and spoke to Berko were satisfied with their loved ones' reactions to their actions. Though expecting gratitude and respect from their communities, these women instead were reminded that, as one of them expressed to Berko:

> A woman is not a man [who is able] to do things like that [participating
> in terrorism]. A woman who succeeded or tried to do a suicide bombing,

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36   Anat Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women and Children and Suicide Bombers*, trans. Elizabeth Yurval (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 7.
37   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 7-8.
38   Ibid., 43.
39   Ibid., 163.

they give her respect, but the older women in the man's [the prospective husband] family think that the woman who was in prison is like a man and they fear her, because in their time [when they were younger,] young women would not go out of the house except to the hospital [to get medical treatment]…[40]

From this Palestinian perspective, women who fail to execute their suicide operations not only fail as terrorists, but also, in the perception of other Palestinians, as women. Marwan goes on to state that a failed female suicide bomber is "not normative; she is deviant, atypical and crossed all the lines. In a macho society she is a woman who has taken a step in the direction of being a man, a woman who lost her femininity in a society ruled by men."[41] Failed female suicide bombers, who, in the process of entering the male-monopolized domain of suicide bombing, forsake their proper gender roles to become "like men."

Anxieties surrounding failed female suicide bombers stem from women carrying the "burden of representation" in nationalist societies. According to Nira Yuval-Davis in her seminal text, *Gender and Nation*, women in nationalistic societies serve as bastions of national identity and honor. She demonstrates this by juxtaposing gendered mottos taught to children of the Hitler Youth movement. Young boys were told to "live faithfully; fight bravely; die laughing," and girls were to "be faithful, be pure; be German"—to become the German nation.[42]

Women "embody the line which signifies the collectivities' boundaries."[43] For women to engage in acts of terrorism is for them to transgress the patriarchal underpinnings of a society wherein men occupy the highest social stratum while women and children, the lowest.[44] Committing fruitless acts of terrorism, in particular, poses a threat to the Palestinian nation, wherein women's chastity, modesty, and sexuality are extremely sensitive issues and serve as means with which Palestinians assert their national superiority relative to other nations. For a woman to attempt to become a suicide bomber, to actively engage with strange men without supervision, and to expose herself to sexual activity out of wedlock, is for her to undermine the patriarchal underpinnings of the Palestinian nation.

According to scholars Laura Sjoberg and Jessica Peet, states, and by extension nations, "see their own centers of gravity in the control, protection, and symbolic function of 'their women.'"[45] They are founded on and gain legitimacy from the restricted mobility, chaste reputations, and passivity of their female nationals.[46] Berko reaches a conclusion that corroborates Sjoberg and

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40   Berko and Erez, "Martyrs or murderers? Victims," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy*, 159.
41   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 7-8.
42   Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (n.p.: SAGE Publications, 1997).
43   Ibid.
44   Berko and Erez, "Martyrs or murderers? Victims," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy*, 148-9.
45   Laura Sjoberg and Jessica Peet, "Targeting Civilians in War: Feminist Approaches," in *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present, and Future,*, ed. Laura Sjoberg and Ann Tickner (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 175.
46   Berko and Erez, "Martyrs or murderers? Victims," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy*, 149-150.

Peet's assertion: "As opposed to a man for whom terrorism reinforced his masculine image, a terrorist woman would not be considered feminine, obedient, or caring about what other people think…"[47] Instead, a female suicide bomber is considered an uncontrollable woman—a threat to the Palestinian nation, which depends on her obedience and contributions to the national cause through motherhood.

Women in nationalistic societies are segregated from the public domain, assigned to the domestic sphere, and confined to roles that embody traditional, patriarchal ideals of femininity—wifehood and motherhood. As such, their levels of obedience, their seclusion, and their ability to birth male soldiers to further the national cause define their worth. Official statements made by governing Palestinian bodies reified such patriarchal constructions of proper national womanhood. During the first *intifada*, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), a coalition of local Palestinian leadership, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, recognized by the United Nations as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, issued *communiqués*, or official statements, that were key in mobilizing the Palestinian resistance movement. The role of Palestinian women as mothers of the nation was repeated throughout the *communiqués*. *Communiqué* No. 29, "The Call of the Wedding of the Palestinian Independent State" emphasized the role of the Palestinian woman as "the mother of the martyr" and alluded to "her celebratory ululations, for she has ululated twice, the day her son went to fight and was martyred, and the day the state was declared." *Communiqué* No. 5 described Palestinian mothers, sisters, and daughters as *manabit*, or soil, on which manhood, respect, and dignity are nurtured, selectively highlighting the reproductive functions of Palestinian women.[48]

When women were imagined in scenarios anywhere remotely near the frontlines of the resistance, they were still referred to in ways emphasizing motherhood and their relation to men. They were the "thousands of women who miscarried as a result of poison gas and tear gas grenades" or "those women whose sons and husbands were thrown in the Nazi prisons."[49] In the March 8 *communiqué*, "The Woman's Call," Palestinian women were to be praised for making history "through the blood of their sons."[50]

Hamas's charter further addresses the role of women in the Palestinian nation. Article 7 situates Muslim women as the nurturers of men who "play a great role in guiding and educating the [new] generation." This role is reiterated in Article 18, which stresses that the primary role of the Palestinian woman lies in caring for the home and teaching her children Islamic moral concepts.[51] Thus, given these codified descriptions of what proper feminine contribution to the nation is, it makes perfect sense why successful female suicide bombers are represented as the brides and mothers of the nation. These are the only socially acceptable roles for

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47   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 36.
48   Joseph Massad, "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism," *The Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 474,
49   Ibid., 475.
50   Ibid., 476.
51   Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers*, 37.

Palestinian women.

Blurring the Shaheeda-Sharmouta Dichotomy

There exists a public-private dichotomy in discourse surrounding female Palestinian suicide bombers. Marwan, the Palestinian journalist, goes on to say to Berko, "You want to know what woman is a terrorist? I'll tell you. The woman who rebelled, crossed the lines, hung around with men, couldn't be controlled. Arab men don't like that kind of woman. They will call her a *shaheeda*, but subconsciously, they will call her a *sharmouta* [a whore]."[52] In spite of their clear contributions to the Palestinian resistance, measured in Israeli casualties, successful female suicide bombers are not exempt from the stigma of sexual promiscuity and from having their femininity and honor questioned in the private, day-to-day conversations between Palestinian nationals. Even Idris, who had summer camps, football tournaments, and women's terror units dedicated in her honor and who holds tremendous posthumous celebrity as the first female suicide bomber, bears stigma from her divorce. As Marwan goes on to explain, "…every woman who was thrown out by her husband bears the stigma of a *sharmouta*. They are women who rebelled against their husbands and were so unable to please them that they left to find other wives."[53]

The stigma of looseness, immorality, and sexual deviance attributed to failed female suicide bombers manifests in gossip surrounding the past lives of successful *shaheedas*. According to Marwan, a joke is told among Palestinians every time a woman carries out a terrorist attack, "She blew up masturbating…She didn't get enough sex…She wasn't satisfied."[54] A woman who carried out a suicide attack must have been impure, someone who faced sexual assault, the loss of a father or brother, or a slew of other personal problems. In addressing why Fatima Omar Mahmoud al-Najar, a grandmother with forty children and grandchildren, carried out a suicide attack, Abu Tawfiq, a respected, sixty-year-old village figure reasoned, "Maybe she was crazy in the past or deviant…Maybe they found she was running a whore-house from her home, maybe she was crazy. Hers was not the action of a natural, normal mother."[55]

Shaheedas cannot be ideal Palestinian women and terrorists at the same time, for they have flouted standards of proper female conduct expected in an honor-based Muslim society. Public praise of the *shaheedas* in newspapers, official statements, and other distributable media is accompanied by murmurs about their dishonorable pasts. Such a double standard is manifest in the treatment of Abu Aisheh's dispatcher, Nabil. While Abu Aisheh was publicly celebrated as the "bride of Palestine," Nabil was stigmatized as a pimp who played around with women—involved with them sexually and dispatching them on suicide missions only after corrupting them.[56] Nabil's masculine image, Berko stated, was damaged after dispatching

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52   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 6.
53   Ibid.
54   Ibid., 7.
55   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 104.
56   Ibid., 152.

Abu Aisheh, despite having done everything he could to prevent gossip about his relationships with the women he dispatched, further indicating the perceived dishonorable nature of female suicide bombers.

SHAHEEDAS IN PUBLIC, SHARMOUTAS IN PRIVATE

Continuing his conversation with Berko, Marwan pointed out the hypocrisy inherent to Palestinians' reception to successful female suicide bombers. "After a suicide bombing attack they say she was a heroine, but in secret or over coffee in a café they say, 'She was a bad woman and had problems.' Everyone knows and no one says anything; it's a conspiracy of silence."[57] The previous three sections juxtaposed how successful female suicide bombers are celebrated in various forms of Palestinian media as *shaheedas* against how failed female suicide bombers have been denigrated as *sharmoutas*. While I demonstrated that successful female suicide bombers also bear a stigma of "looseness," there exists another dichotomy in national discourse surrounding female suicide bombers, divided along a public-private line. While *shaheedas* may be publicly celebrated as the brides and mothers of the nation, propagandized by Palestinian officials and exalted in Palestinian society, in day-to-day conversations among Palestinians, they are often branded as *sharmoutas*. This section will give an explanation for the contradictions in public and private national discourse surrounding successful female Palestinian suicide bombers.

Palestinian women are dispatched for four reasons. First, there is supposedly a surplus of women who volunteer their lives for the national cause. According to Dr. al-Rantisi, the former spokesman and second-in-command of Hamas, "Every day women, even married women, want to be [*shaheeda*]…In Bethlehem alone there are two hundred girls willing and ready to sacrifice themselves for Palestine" and who are difficult to dissuade, and "in Ramallah and Nablus as well, as many women as men are ready."[58] Second, female suicide bombers arouse less suspicion from the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) at checkpoints. As such, they are not examined as carefully as men and easily found out.[59] Third, dispatching female suicide bombers serves as a means of goading men into action for the Palestinian cause. Such an emasculating provocation is found in the video testimonial Ayat al-Akhras left before her attack, in which she stated, "To the Arab rulers, I say enough sleeping, betrayal, and failure to fulfill Palestine's duty."[60] Finally, a *shaheeda's* attack, unlike that of a male *shaheed's*, garners tremendous media attention, not only from the Palestinian press, but also from the Arab, Israeli, and Western press as well, drawing international attention to the Palestinian cause. As an Arab journalist said to Berko, "Women make news, and those who dispatch know it."[61] Naaman asserts that terrorism is a form of communication, whereby terrorists send messages through their acts of violence to their target audiences. Ayat's dispatcher corroborated such an assertion. He was motivated

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57   Ibid., 7.
58   Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside*, 31.
59   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 118.
60   V.G. Julie Rajan, *Women Suicide Bombers: Narratives of Violence* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 308.
61   Berko, *The Smarter Bomb: Women*, 167.

to use her body as a means of sending a message to the international community that women are participating in the Palestinian struggle, sparking their interest in the reasons these women do so and, by extension, drawing international attention to the cause of Palestinian statehood. Ayat's dispatcher, in fact, had personally written the testimony she read and videotaped before her death, knowing that the entire world would be engrossed in her case.[62] Indeed, her suicide attack became the subject of the award-winning documentary, *To Die in Jerusalem*.[63]

However, in using female suicide bombers, dispatching organizations not only draw international attention to the Palestinian struggle, but also to the inability of Palestinian leaders and society to provide for and control their women. As Shalfic Masalqa, a psychologist and professor at Hebrew University states, "…if a woman becomes a [*shaheeda*], one has to look for deeper, more underlying reasons…Pathology plays an important role in these cases…Often there are other, more personal reasons."[64] In the same way that Palestinian nationals gossip about what went wrong in successful *shaheedas'* lives to motivate them to implode themselves, Israeli and Western media also speculate about their motivations. V.G. Julie Rajan, in her text, *Women Suicide Bombers: Narratives of Violence*, analyzes these hypotheses, criticizing Victor's speculation that Idris's motivations stemmed from "her inability to fulfill the 'proper' definition of Palestinian femininity." Victor, in line with the Israeli press, attributes Idris's actions to her misery, the result of the patriarchal nature of Palestinian society, writing at length about her husband divorcing her after her miscarriage and her subsequent social ostracization.[65]

Rather than depicting Idris as a woman of agency—a person "conscious of and affected by the politics of war" —Western and Israeli media mitigate Idris's emasculating threat as a female suicide bomber by rendering her a mere victim of misogyny inherent to Palestinian society.[66] Similarly, American political commentator Alan Dershowitz, in his book, *The Case for Israel*, makes the far-fetched assertion that Andalib Takatka and Ayat al-Akhras carried out their suicide missions only after having been sexually seduced and impregnated by their fellow male operatives.[67] Moreover, American journalist Joel Green claimed in the *New York Times* that Ayat was driven to implode herself to escape her engagement, despite there being no evidence to support this claim.[68]

However problematic these Western and Israeli assumptions are, it is true that Palestinian women, due to their gender, suffer disproportionately in a society engaged in conflict and under occupation. Maha Abu-Dayyeh Shamas, Co-Founder and Executive Director of Women's Legal Aid and Counseling (WCLAC), a feminist non-governmental organization specializing in issues of gender-based violence in Palestinian society, believes that women who are victimized by political violence (e.g. Israeli occupation in the form of home demolitions,

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62   Schweitzer, "Palestinian female suicide bombers," in *Female Terrorism and Militancy*, 136.
63   *To Die in Jerusalem*, directed and screenplay by Hilla Medalia, 2007.
64   Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside*, 28.
65   Rajan, *Women Suicide Bombers: Narratives*, 79.
66   Rajan, *Women Suicide Bombers: Narratives*, 80.
67   Ibid., 325.
68   Ibid., 82.

destruction of agricultural capital, rampant unemployment) are also living in constant fear of their and their families' safety while facing heightening domestic violence. Additionally, they often refrain from talking about their struggles out of fear of being branded as selfish.[69]

Though the *shaheedas* themselves may not face all of these social and physical insecurities, Israeli and Western media appropriation of their lives highlight the individual struggles of female Palestinian suicide bombers. In doing so, these media narratives emphasize the failure of Palestinian leadership and society at large to care for its women—the bearers of Palestinian identity and honor—and mask the sociopolitical context that compels women to adopt roles as militants in the first place.

In the face of these assaults on national honor, Palestinian leaders depict female suicide bombers as Palestinian patriots and nationals and deemphasize the women's individuality. The boisterous celebration of *shaheedas* serves as a means for Palestinians to conceal societal shortcomings that Israeli and Western media emphasize. In doing so, they implicitly signal that a nation that fails to protect and provide for its women, driving them to commit barbarous acts of terrorism and self-destruction, is one undeserving of the privilege of internationally recognized statehood. If women, according to Sjoberg and Peet, serve as nations' and states' "centers of gravity," then Palestinian leaders have every incentive to celebrate their highly visible female suicide bombers as revered members of Palestinian society.[70]

Conclusion

At the heart of contradictions in the representation of female suicide bombers are Palestinian anxieties about their ability to carry what Yuval-Davis refers to as the "burden of representation," or of embodying the identity and honor of the Palestinian nation. While these *shaheedas*, or female martyrs, are publicly celebrated, they are denigrated as *sharmoutas*, or whores, in the private, face-to-face conversations between Palestinians. The public-private dichotomy in the discourse surrounding these female suicide bombers arises from tensions surrounding the fact that, while they contributed to the national cause through the sheer number of casualties they wrought and by bringing the Palestinian struggle to international attention, they also transgressed their proper and traditional roles as wives and mothers of male fighters—roles that lie at the patriarchal foundations of the Palestinian nation.

Given the attention that female Palestinian suicide bombers attract from the international community—attention that renders them the agentless victims of a misogynistic society—Palestinian authorities cannot afford to publicly shame them for their deviation from proper gender roles. In order to "save face," it is in the interest of Palestinians to boisterously celebrate these women. Due to the ambiguity surrounding the place female militants occupy in the Palestinian nation, their celebration is also inherently contradictory. The gender differences of female suicide bombers are simultaneously deemphasized and hyper-emphasized. They are

69   Naaman, "Brides of Palestine/Angels of Death."
70   Sjoberg and Peet, "Targeting Civilians in War," in *Feminism and International Relations*, 175.

depicted as both martyrs who stand shoulder-to-shoulder with their male counterparts and the brides and mothers of the nation.

The contradictions, anxieties, and ambiguities between female suicide bombers and Palestinian society highlight a larger, more general relationship between women and the nation. Women in nationalistic societies are rarely constructed as active agents of nationalism. That is, they are not subjects who shape national borders, futures, and discourses; they do not fight on the front lines of the national struggle. Rather, they are constructed as national objects—merely bodies through which national ideologies are conveyed. Women are, as the UNLU states, the *manabit* of the nation; they *are* the nation.

Given this relationship, it is vital for scholars in the field of international relations to pay greater attention to how women are represented by their own nations and by others. Such an exercise reveals not only how nations wish to present themselves in the international community, but also how these representations are capable of being weaponized. They are used as a means by which nations can inflict damage on each other through accusations of cultural backwardness and attacks on national honor. As such, this article offers a contribution to an emerging issue deserving of further research.

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Political Discontent in Democratizing Turkey: An Analysis of Protest Participation

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the types of individuals who participate in protests in democratizing countries like Turkey, where government authorities often use violent force as a response to civilian protesters. Using World Values Survey data, I undertake logistic regression analyses of various forms of protest to determine the effects of pertinent social movement theories: relative deprivation, biographical availability, political engagement, and structural availability. I calculate the estimated probabilities of statistically significant coefficients, and identify specific characteristics that describe the average protestor. The analyses generally corroborate the biographical availability, political engagement, and structural availability theories, but provide little to no support for relative deprivation claims. I find that individuals have a greater propensity for various forms of protest participation if they: are younger, identify as students, have a greater interest in politics, receive daily news from a newspaper or the Internet, or have active religious organizational membership. Understanding how such factors may encourage political action in Turkey may provide a better understanding of protests that have erupted in democratizing countries around the world.

INTRODUCTION

In December 2010, Mohammed Bouazizi, an unemployed college graduate living in Tunisia, set himself on fire when police officers confiscated his fruit cart for lacking a permit.[1] Bouazizi's self-immolation helped instigate the Arab Spring, a revolutionary wave of political protests in countries like Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.[2] During this time, Turkey remained inactive — almost expectedly so. In the 1990s and 2000s, Turkey

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1   Emma C. Murphy, "The Tunisian Uprising and the Precarious Path to Democracy," *Mediterranean Politics* 16, no. 2 (2011): 300.
2   Kamal Eldin Osman Salih, "The Roots and Causes of the 2011 Arab Uprisings," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2013): 184.

was often praised for being an exemplary democratic country in the region.[3] However, in May 2013, Turkey received international attention for its own violent protests. What began with environmentalists peacefully occupying Gezi Park in Istanbul quickly became violent as the Justice and Development Party (AKP) ordered the police force to crack down on the demonstrators. Soon thereafter, protests spread to other cities in the country and over 2.5 million people took to the streets to voice their discontent with the AKP.[4]

Despite the Turkish government's violent responses, civilians have continued to demonstrate in large numbers.[5] Why are individuals willing to participate in such protests, especially when they are likely to face government repression? The existing literature provides several competing explanations for the kinds of individuals that are motivated to participate in protests. Relative deprivation theory suggests that individuals unsatisfied with their current living conditions are more likely to participate.[6] Biographical availability theory claims that an individual's characteristics—gender, age, or occupation—may best predict the likelihood of protest participation. Political engagement theory suggests that an individual's interest in politics will induce participation in collective action movements. Finally, structural availability theory posits that ties to organizations and political networks can best account for why individuals participate in protests.[7]

In this paper, I employ the 2012 World Values Survey data in order to assess whether existing explanations for protest participation can account for why individuals might be motivated to demonstrate in Turkey. My empirical analyses corroborate the biographical availability, political engagement, and structural availability theories, but provide little to no support for relative deprivation claims. I find that age, being a student, having a high interest in politics, receiving news daily from a newspaper or the Internet, and religious membership are the largest indications for protest participation.

In the following sections, I proceed by first reviewing the competing theoretical explanations for protest participation and providing testable hypotheses for each. I then turn to describing the data and methods employed in the analysis. In presenting the results from logistic regression models, I discuss the statistical and substantive significance of the variables examined in relation to three dependent variables: strikes, demonstrations, and other forms of protest. I conclude by discussing the implications of my findings for understanding protests in democratizing contexts.

3   Meliha Benli Altunisik, "The Turkish Model and Democratization in the Middle East," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 1/2 (2005): 45-46.
4   Piotr Zalewski, "Turkey Braces for First Anniversary of Gezi Park Protests," *The National,* May 31, 2014, accessed November 12, 2014
5   Protests in Turkey have continued in 2014 and 2015, and the AKP's hardline restrictions have only become more stringent. For example, the high levels of media censorship have extended to social media sites, resulting in nation-wide restrictions on Twitter and Youtube.
6   Wolfgang Rüdig and Georgios Karyotis, "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity," *British Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 3 (2014): 7-8.
7   Alan Schussman and Sarah A. Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," *Social Forces* 84, no. 2 (2005): 1085-1087.

Theoretical Explanations for Protest Participation

What kinds of people are willing to participate in violent protests in countries like Turkey, where state responses are often repressive? Scholarship on contentious politics spans disciplines including political science, sociology, and psychology, and references social movements from around the world.[8]

In recent decades, many scholars posit a shift in political behaviors and participation. Robert Putnam's research corroborates these findings: voter turnout in the United States has declined significantly since the 1960s.[9] Some political scientists blame weak political parties and distrust in government responsiveness for the fifty to seventy percent drop in party affiliations.[10] However, rather than suggesting that citizens are becoming less inclined to participate politically, the data suggest that political engagement is fundamentally changing. "Movement societies" are advanced, industrialized democracies wherein civil society organizations institutionalize mass-participation among their members.[11] The literature aims to transform the way protests are understood: scholars posit that protests are indicative of a healthy democratic state. They conclude that protestors are rational actors taking advantage of their democratic right to engage in politics, moving away from traditional forms of participation (e.g. voting).[12]

What remains unclear is whether the wisdom drawn from the experience of consolidated democracies can explain protest participation in countries where democratic norms are neither fully implanted nor respected. For example, in Turkey, the AKP used considerable police force to respond to the Gezi Park protesters in May 2013. In eight months, at least six deaths were reported.[13] Despite the government's generous use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and water cannons, demonstrators continue to participate in large numbers. What kinds of individuals are willing to pay the costs associated with participating in violent protests, especially without government-assured mobilization rights?

The protest literature offers four sets of theories that may be the most applicable to the Turkish case: relative deprivation, biographical availability, political engagement, and structural availability. The relative deprivation hypothesis is one of the oldest theories in contentious

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8   Wolfgang Rüdig and Georgios Karyotis, "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity," *British Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 3 (2014); Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation."; Pippa Norris, Stefaan Walgrave and Peter Van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 2 (2005).
9   Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of the American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 34-37.
10   Paul R. Abramson and John H. Aldrich, "The Decline of Electoral Participation in America," *The American Political Science Review* 76, no. 3 (1982): 505-506.
11   Sarah A. Soule, "A Movement Society Evaluated: Collective Protests in the United States, 1960-1986," *Mobilization* 10, no. 3 (2005): 345-346, 360.
12   Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," 1083-84 & 1089.; Norris, Walgrave and van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," 202-203.
13   "6 Saplings Who Perished At the Gezi Park Events," *Haberself*, July 10, 2013.

politics, attempting to connect individual feelings of entitlement and discontent with protest movements.[14] While the theory pertains to the more obvious socioeconomic "bread and butter" demands seen more recently in countries like Greece and Egypt, relative deprivation also extends into other facets of society.[15] Protestors may feel deprived of the general entitlements that come with membership to a particular state, such as citizenship, employment opportunities, or religious freedoms.[16] Some scholars only focus on restrictive aspects of society that are not economic. In Turkey, government enforced regulations on social life has become a source of popular discontent.[17]

Relative deprivation may be offset by other factors, which constrain demonstrators from protesting rather than further inciting them. In Europe, dissatisfied individuals with full-time employment were significantly less inclined to protest than those who were unemployed due to a fear of losing their jobs and its associated benefits.[18] When applied to the Turkish case, relative deprivation may play an important role in explaining why individuals participate in protests.

Scholars who have studied biographical availability suggest that an individual's personal traits are the most indicative factors for determining whether he or she will protest. Independent variables that drive protest participation may include age, marital status, and employment. Demonstration trends throughout Australia, the United States, Europe, and Egypt indicated a significant correlation between young people and increased protest participation.[19] Scholar Clive Bean tested for gender and found men to be 'somewhat' more likely than women to demonstrate.[20] On the other hand, other scholars have found that gender, marital status, or having children are insignificant constraints for political participation.[21] Extending these biographical availability findings to Turkey, I might expect to find a correlation between young people and increased mobilization. However, gender and marital status are probably insignificant indications of whether an individual will protest.

The political engagement hypothesis gauges an individual's interest in politics and connects it to their likelihood to participate. Alan Schussman and Sarah Soule examine an individual's commitment to remaining politically informed by assessing the various sources of media for

14   Rüdig and Karyotis, "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity," 7-8.
15   Ibid.; Nadine Sika, "Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2012): 196.
16   Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" *Comparative Politics* 5, no. 3 (1973): 437-438.
17   Cihan Tuğal, "'Resistance Everywhere': The Gezi Revolt in a Global Perspective," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 49, (2013): 167.
18   Norris, Walgrave and van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," 273.
19   Clive Bean, "Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence," *Political Behavior* 13, no. 3 (1991): 266; Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," 1089.; Norris, Walgrave and van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," 472-473.; Sika, "Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising," 188-189.
20   Bean, "Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence," 266.
21   Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," 1089.

information collection, perceptions of political efficacy, voter registration, and ideological lean.[22] Other scholars that study this hypothesis apply it to some of the most contentious cases of the twentieth century. For example, in 1999, Belgium had the highest proportion of demonstrators to any of the other countries that participated in the Political Action Survey (PAS). At the same time, political engagement in the country remained a consistently high marker for motivating these protest participants.[23] Therefore, this study reasons that in Turkey, individuals who are politically engaged may be more likely to protest than those who are not.

The structural availability theory often contradicts the political engagement hypothesis. Structural availability proponents suggest that individuals seldom participate in social movements without first being asked. The theory proposes that organizational affiliations and membership are one of the strongest indicators for increased protest participation.[24] In Australia, Bean tested multiple variables and found a positive correlation between organizational membership and protest participation. He claimed that structural availability variables were the most telling signs for measuring social movement participation.[25] Scholarship of the last five years supports Bean's findings that institutional membership and political participation are interdependent.[26] In Dar'a, Syria, institutions connected the population to the broader mobilizations in Egypt during the Arab Spring, indicating that structural availability has the potential to spill over into other countries.[27]

Other scholars have developed the structural availability hypothesis further, distinguishing traditional social networks (e.g. churches, trade unions) from newer ones (e.g. environmental groups, women's groups).[28] Some scholars consider this distinction a banal contribution to social movement theory, and question the structural availability hypothesis. Schussman and Soule's research, for example, found that even the most active civic association members were not linked to broader protests in the United States.[29] Additionally, in Greece, trade union membership was likely to increase strike recruits, but was not significant in linking them to the broader protests.[30] In Turkey, it is probable that a correlation exists between group affiliations and increased protest participation.

Recent social movements have polarized civilians along secular and religious lines. Secularist

22   Ibid., 1091.
23   Norris, Walgrave and van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," 195, 200.
24   Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," 1086.; Sika, "Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising," 193.
25   Bean, "Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence," 265.
26   Joris Verhulst and Stefaan Walgrave, "The First Time Is the Hardest? A Cross National and Cross-Issue Comparison of First-Time Protest Participants," *Political Behavior* 31, no. 3 (2009): 474.
27   Reinoud Leenders, "Social Movement Theory and the Onset of the Popular Uprising in Syria," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2013): 278-279.
28   Norris, Walgrave and van Aelst, "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?," 201.
29   Schussman and Soule, "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation," 1092.
30   Rüdig and Karyotis, "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity," 20-21.

ideals worked in conjunction with democratic principles, and were fundamental to Turkey's domestic affairs.[31] Scholarship of the twentieth century sought to distinguish Turkey as a democratic state, separate from its autocratic neighbors. Some scholars identify Turkey's first wave of democratization as having occurred after the first military coup of 1961, and ending before the second coup of 1973.[32] It is important to note that historically, Turkey's larger boycotts and labor strikes have revolved around restructured economic policies and generally corroborate the relative deprivation theory.[33] However, scholars suggest that the root causes of twenty-first century protests are different and that the AKP and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan have played a significant role in inciting protests. Furthermore, the changing nature of social movements can also be observed in the participants themselves: ordinary citizens with no prior political experience have begun demonstrating since the first Gezi Park protests took place.[34]

It remains to be shown whether recent protests in Turkey have been motivated or shaped by some of the factors that have driven political action elsewhere in the world. Table 1 summarizes the key hypotheses from the broader social movement theory, as applied to Turkey.

Table 1: Formal Statement of Hypotheses and Summary of Findings

All other things being equal, individuals will be more likely to protest if:
Relative Deprivation Theory
(H1.1) They have low satisfaction with the financial situation of their households.
(H1.2) They belong to a lower class (below average income).
(H1.3) They identify as belonging to the lower class.

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31   Sinan Ciddi, "The Republican People's Party and the 2007 General Elections: Politics of Perpetual Decline?," *Turkish Studies* 9, no. 3 (2008): 438.
32   Ayla H. Kılıç, "Democratization, Human Rights and Ethnic Policies in Turkey," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 18, no. 1 (1998): 92.
33   Ibid., 98.
34   Tuğal, "'Resistance Everywhere': The Gezi Revolt in a Global Perspective," 163-165.

Biographical Availability Theory

>   (H2.1) They are male.

>   (H2.2) They are younger.

>   (H2.3) They are self-employed, unemployed, or students.

Political Engagement Theory

>   (H3.1) They have a high interest in politics.

>   (H3.2) They obtain their news from a daily newspaper.

>   (H3.3) They obtain their news from the Internet.

>   (H3.4) They do not obtain their news from the television.

>   (H3.5) They participate in local elections.

>   (H3.6) They participate in national elections.

Structural Availability Theory

>   (H4.1) They are active members of labor unions.

>   (H4.2) They are not members of religious organizations.

>   (H4.3) They are active members of sports or recreational organizations.

>   (H4.4) They are active members of environmental organizations.

DATA AND METHODS

What motivates individuals to participate in violent demonstrations, potentially risking their lives for a cause? In this study, I use survey data to assess whether the hypotheses identified in Table 1 can help explain three manifestations of political protest: peaceful demonstrations, strikes, and "other acts of protest."

The data used in this study come from the World Values Survey (WVS).[35] Although Turkey has been included in the WVS research since 1990, it is the last wave of data that is particularly relevant to this study. The WVS conducted its most recent fieldwork in Turkey between June 30, 2012 and August 25, 2012, randomly selecting 1,605 participants throughout Turkey who were at least 18 years of age. Contextualizing this within a broader historical timeline, the survey was conducted between President Erdoğan's June 2011 reelection and less than one year prior to the May 2013 Gezi Park protests.

Dependent Variables

To assess the impact of protest participation, I employ three different measures through which political protests may manifest: *peaceful demonstrations*, *strikes*, and *other acts of protest*. All of these dependent variables are dichotomized so that respondents who indicate a willingness to participate in acts of protest by answering that they "have done" or "might do" are set to 1; respondents who answer that they "would never do" are set to 0.[36] Because the dependent variables are coded dichotomously, I employ binomial logistic regression for the empirical analysis presented in the following section.

Independent Variables

To assess the impact of relative deprivation on protest participation, I employ three different measures that may tap into perspectives of comparable economic and socioeconomic dissatisfactions. The first variable is *satisfaction with financial situation of the household*. This variable is coded on a scale of one to ten, with one being completely dissatisfied, and ten being completely satisfied. The second variable is *scale of income* and asks the participants to consider all wages, salaries, pensions and related incomes. It is coded from one to ten, with one belonging to the lowest income in Turkey, and ten belonging to the highest. The last variable subjectively measures *social class*. Respondents placed themselves on a scale, whether belonging to the upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, working class, or lower class in Turkey.[37]

To assess the impacts of biographical availability on protest participation, I employ three

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35   "World Values Survey Wave 6: 2010-2014."
36   A marginal number of the respondents who answered "don't know" or "no answer" are excluded from the analysis.
37   I have excluded "no answer/refused" or "don't know" responses for all of the variables stated above.

different measures that may describe relevant characteristics of the demonstrator. The first variable is *sex*, which is coded dichotomously: 1 if the respondent is male and 0 if the respondent is female. The second variable is *age*, and survey respondents ranged from 18 to 86 years old. The last variable is *employment status*. In this analysis, I differentiate respondents who are self-employed, unemployed, or students.

To assess the political engagement of survey respondents in Turkey, I employ six different non-violent measures that may describe an individual's political behaviors. The first variable is *interest in politics*. The level of interest is measured according to participants who said they were very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested. I dichotomized this variable by separating those who are very or somewhat interested from those who are not. The second, third, and fourth variables relate to various news sources and information collection. The WVS asks respondents whether they receive their news from *daily newspapers*, the *Internet*, or *television broadcasts*. I dichotomized these variables to equal 1 if a respondent indicates that they obtain their news from these sources on a daily or weekly basis and 0 if they obtain their news from these sources once a month or less. The fifth variable asks whether an individual participates in *local elections* and the sixth asks whether they participate in *national elections*. These variables are coded dichotomously to equal 1 for those who always or usually vote and 0 for those who never vote.[38]

To assess the impact of structural availability on protest participation, I examine four measures of voluntary membership in different organizations: *labor unions, church or religious organizations, sports organizations,* and *environmental organizations*. These variables are coded to distinguish whether respondents are active members, inactive members, or nonmembers of the various organizations.[39]

Empirical Analysis

Tables 2 through 4 report logistic regression models for dependent variables: *peaceful demonstrations*, *strikes*, and *any other form of protest*. Table 2 reports logistic regression models that examine whether or not individuals are willing to participate in peaceful demonstrations in Turkey. The data indicate that the variables associated with relative deprivation are unlikely to explain political participation: the coefficients for *financial satisfaction* and *income* fail to attain statistical significance across model specifications. Conversely, the *class perception* coefficients appear to be positive and statistically significant in Models 1 and 2. These results suggest that individuals who perceive themselves as belonging to higher classes are more likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations. However, the results for *class perception* fail to become significant when I test for political engagement and structural availability.

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38   I have excluded those respondents who responded "don't know" or "never," wherever applicable.
39   I excluded respondents who answered, "don't know" or "no answer."

**Table 2: Logit Analysis of Peaceful Demonstration Participation**

	Model 1 Relative Deprivation	Model 2 Biographical Availability	Model 3 Political Engagement	Model 4 Structural Availability
Financial Satisfaction	.06 (.13)	.04 (.13)	-.08 (.14)	-.08 (.14)
Income	.06 (.12)	-.02 (.13)	-.15 (.13)	-.13 (.14)
Class Perception	.32** (.12)	.28** (.13)	.02 (.14)	.00 (.14)
Male		.20* (.11)	-.22* (.13)	-.27** (.13)
Age		-.02*** (.00)	-.02*** (.01)	-.02*** (.01)
Unemployed		.07 (.26)	.16 (.27)	.01 (.28)
Student		.54*** (.21)	.40* (.23)	.39* (.23)
Self-employed		-.05 (.20)	-.08 (.21)	-.06 (.21)
Interested in Politics			.90*** (.12)	.85*** (.12)
Reads Daily Newspaper			1.01*** (.16)	1.00*** (.16)
Receives News Daily from Internet			.59*** (.14)	.55*** (.14)
Watches TV News Daily			.27 (.28)	.34 (.29)
Votes in Local Elections			-.05 (.64)	-.16 (.65)
Votes in National Election			-.02 (.69)	.22 (.71)
Active in Labor Union				.60 (.45)
Inactive in Labor Union				.23 (.86)
Active in Religious Organization				1.36** (.61)

Inactive in Religious Organization				.16 (.62)
Active in Sports Organization				-.32 (.44)
Inactive in Sports Organization				.72* (.38)
Active in Env. Organization				.92 (.61)
Inactive in Env. Organization				1.35 (.83)
Constant	-.67*** (.10)	.16 (.22)	-1.49*** (.50)	-1.67*** (.52)
N	1476	1470	1453	1448

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p < .10 **p < .05 ***p < .01

Many of the biographical availability variables introduced in Model 2 appear to be statistically significant: the coefficients for *male*, *age*, and *student* remain statistically significant in Models 3 and 4. Interestingly, the coefficients for *male* turn negative in Models 3 and 4, indicating that they are less likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations than women. The predicted probability that a woman will participate in a peaceful demonstration in Turkey is 0.64, while only 0.57 for a comparable man. The coefficients for *student* are positive, suggesting that educated individuals are more likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations, as shown in Figure 1. The coefficients for *age* show that protest participation decreases as individuals grow older. *Unemployed* or *self-employed* individuals do not attain statistical significance in Table 2.

Figure 1: Peaceful Demonstration Participation Increases Among Students
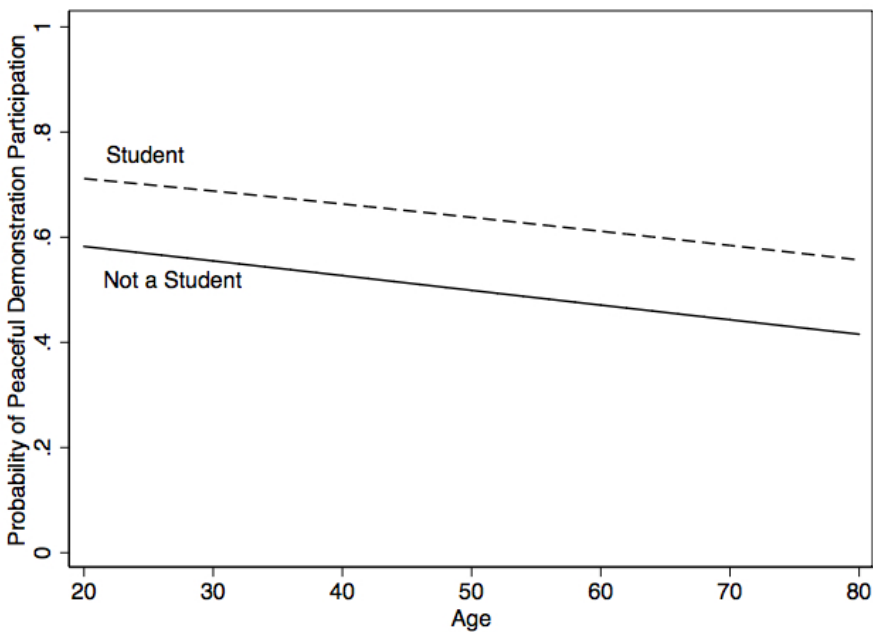
In Models 3 and 4, the coefficients for individuals who are *interested in politics*, *read daily newspapers*, or *receive their daily news from the Internet* appear to be positive and statistically significant. The average predicted probability for peaceful demonstration participation in Turkey is 0.58.[40] By removing one of these variables—*individuals who read the daily newspaper*—the probability

40   For this simulation I set financial satisfaction=1, income=1, class perception=0, sex=0, age=38, unemployed=0, political interest=1, reads daily newspaper=1, receives daily news from internet=1, receives daily news from television=1, votes in local elections=1, votes in national elections=1, active in labor union=0, inactive in labor union=0, active in religious organization=0, inactive in religious organization=0, active in sports organization=0, inactive in sports organization=0, active in environmental organization=0, inactive in environmental organization=0.

for demonstration participation drops significantly to 0.34. However, the coefficients for individuals who *receive their news daily from the television*, and those who vote in *local* and *national elections* fail to attain statistical significance. Therefore, the data suggest that some political engagement variables play a role in peaceful demonstration participation, while others do not.

Model 4 shows uneven effects for the different forms of organizational membership. The coefficient for *active members of religious organizations* is positive and statistically significant, indicating a higher likelihood of demonstration participation. The predicted probability for peaceful demonstration participation among this group is also high, at 0.82. Despite *inactive members of religious organizations* failing to achieve statistically significant coefficients, the predicted probability of participation is still higher than the average respondent at 0.61. The data propose that religious organizations in Turkey are highly political. Surprisingly, the findings indicate that the coefficients for *members of labor unions* and *environmental organizations* are statistically insignificant. The only other structural availability variable to attain a positive and statistically significant coefficient is *inactive members of sports organizations*.

The results in Table 3 suggest that relative deprivation variables are unlikely to explain why individuals participate in strikes. Although the coefficient for *class perception* is positive and statistically significant in Model 5, the result is not significant in Models 6 through 8. The uneven effects for *income* also fail to explain strike participation, and the only coefficient to attain statistical significance is in Model 7. The other relative deprivation variable, *financial satisfaction,* does not attain statistical significance at all. These results corroborate the findings in Table 2; relative deprivation variables do not explain peaceful demonstration or strike participation in Turkey.

Table 3: Logit Analysis of Strike Participation

	Model 5 Relative Deprivation	Model 6 Biographical Availability	Model 7 Political Engagement	Model 8 Structural Availability
Financial Satisfaction	.10 (.13)	.07 (.14)	-.03 (.15)	-.03 (.15)
Income	-.01 (.13)	-.09 (.13)	-.25* (.14)	-.22 (.14)
Class Perception	.23* (.13)	.19 (.14)	-.04 (.15)	-.06 (.15)
Male		.36*** (.12)	-.05 (.13)	-.10 (.13)
Age		-.02*** (.00)	-.01** (.01)	-.01** (.01)
Unemployed		.00 (.27)	.11 (.28)	.05 (.29)
Student		.53** (.21)	.42* (.23)	.43* (.24)
Self-employed		-.25 (.22)	-.30 (.23)	-.28 (.23)
Interested in Politics			1.14*** (.13)	1.09*** (.13)
Reads Daily Newspaper			1.02*** (.17)	1.00*** (.17)
Receives News Daily from Internet			.54*** (.14)	.49*** (.15)
Watches TV News Daily			.05 (.29)	.12 (.30)
Votes in Local Elections			-.27 (.65)	-.34 (.66)
Votes in National Election			.32 (.70)	.55 (.72)
Active in Labor Union				.90* (.47)
Inactive in Labor Union				-.29 (.87)
Active in Religious Organization				1.23** (.59)

|				
Inactive in Religious Organization				.37 (.61)
Active in Sports Organization				-.39 (.45)
Inactive in Sports Organization				.68* (.38)
Active in Env. Organization				.83 (.60)
Inactive in Env. Organization				1.70** (.85)
Constant	-.88*** (.10)	-.22 (.23)	-1.92*** (.52)	-2.14*** (.54)
N	1466	1460	1443	1438

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p < .10 **p < .05 ***p < .01

Model 6 suggests that biographical availability variables affect strike participation. *Age* attains a negative and statistically significant coefficient across model specifications, suggesting that younger people are more likely to strike. Similarly, the coefficient for *student* has a positive and statistically significant result in Models 5 through 8. When considering a typical survey respondent, the probability that they will join in a strike is 0.51.[41] On the other hand, the predicted probability of a twenty-three year old student—representing a one standard deviation decrease in age from the typical respondent—participating in a strike rises to 0.66. Other biographical availability variables—being *male*, *unemployed*, or *self-employed*—do not appear to be indicative of active political participation.

Political engagement variables affect the likelihood of strike participation: Models 7 and 8 show that individuals who are *interested in politics*, *read daily newspapers*, or *receive their daily news from the Internet* attain positive and statistically significant coefficients. To better understand the role of political engagement variables among highly motivated protest participants, I differentiated between students who *read the daily newspaper* from those who do not. Figure 2 underscores the importance of the political engagement theory, showing that politically informed students are much more likely to participate in strikes than those who are not. However, there appears to be no relationship between voting in *local* or *national elections* and an increased willingness to join in strikes: the coefficients move in opposite directions, and fail to attain statistical significance.

41   For this simulation I set financial satisfaction=1, income=1, class perception=0, sex=0, age=38, unemployed=0, political interest=1, reads daily newspaper=1, receives daily news from internet=1, receives daily news from television=1, votes in local elections=1, votes in national elections=1, active in labor union=0, inactive in labor union=0, active in religious organization=0, inactive in religious organization=0, active in sports organization=0, inactive in sports organization=0, active in environmental organization=0, inactive in environmental organization=0.

Figure 2: Strike Participation Increases By Reading the Newspaper
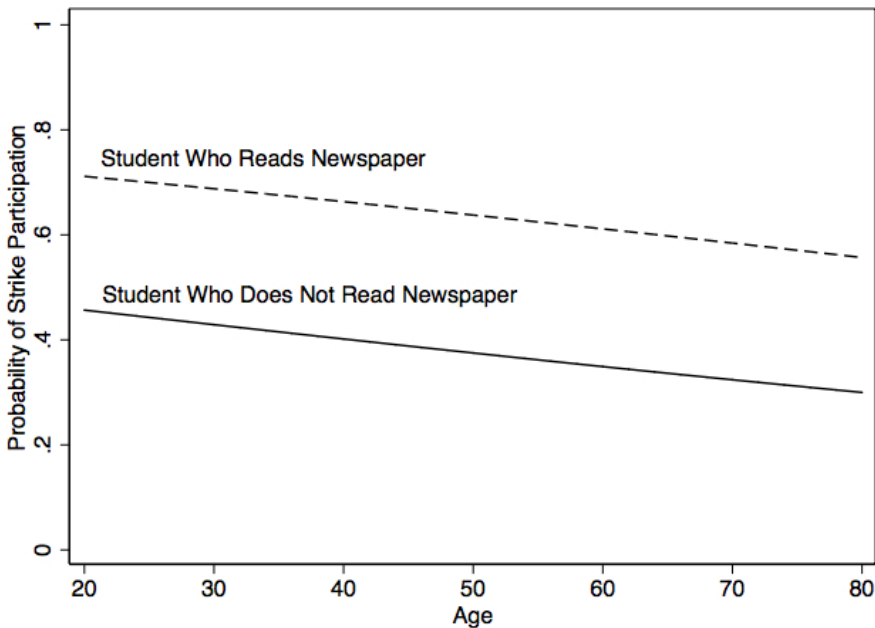
The structural availability variables in Model 8 suggest that different levels of activity in organizational membership might be associated with a greater likelihood of strike participation. For example, the coefficients for *active membership in labor unions* and *religious organizations* are positive and statistically significant, indicating a greater likelihood of joining in strikes. The results for *inactive members of sports organizations* or *environmental organizations* are also positive and statistically significant. The predicted probability for *inactive members of environmental organizations* to participate in strikes is 0.82, which is even higher than for young people or students.

Table 4 reports the logistic regression models for participation in *any other form of protest*. The independent variables testing for relative deprivation—*financial satisfaction, income,* and *class perception*—either fail to attain statistical significance or perform inconsistently across model specifications. For example, the *class perception* variable initially attains a positive and statistically significant coefficient in Model 9, but this result falls away in Models 10 through 12. In Model 12, the results for *financial satisfaction* and *income* are negative and do not attain statistical significance.

Table 4: Logit Analysis of Participation in Other Acts of Protest

|	Model 9 Relative Deprivation	Model 10 Biographical Availability	Model 11 Political Engagement	Model 12 Structural Availability
Financial Satisfaction	.07 (.14)	.04 (.14)	-.08 (.15)	-.10 (.16)
Income	.06 (.13)	-.02 (.14)	-.19 (.15)	-.16 (.15)
Class Perception	.23* (.14)	.20 (.14)	-.04 (.15)	-.06 (.16)
Male		.40*** (.12)	-.02 (.13)	-.09 (.14)
Age		-.02*** (.00)	-.01* (.01)	-.01* (.01)
Unemployed		.20 (.27)	.35 (.29)	.33 (.30)
Student		.65*** (.21)	.58** (.23)	.64*** (.24)
Self-employed		-.14 (.22)	-.18 (.23)	-.18 (.24)
Interested in Politics			1.13*** (.13)	1.11*** (.14)
Reads Daily Newspaper			1.06*** (.18)	1.07*** (.18)
Receives News Daily from Internet			.60*** (.15)	.57*** (.15)
Watches TV News Daily			.04 (.30)	.13 (.31)
Votes in Local Elections			-.31 (.66)	-.37 (.69)
Votes in National Election			.74 (.72)	1.01 (.76)
Active in Labor Union				.54 (.47)
Inactive in Labor Union				.28 (.84)
Active in Religious Organization				1.22** (.55)

Inactive in Religious Organization				1.44** (.65)
Active in Sports Organization				-.56 (.47)
Inactive in Sports Organization				.28 (.37)
Active in Env. Organization				.65 (.60)
Inactive in Env. Organization				1.14 (.71)
Constant	-1.03*** (.11)	-.49** (.23)	-2.67*** (.55)	-2.97*** (.58)
N	1452	1446	1429	1424

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p < .10 **p < .05 ***p < .01

The results in Model 10 show that some biographical availability variables increase the likelihood of protest participation: the coefficients for *age* and *student* again attain statistical significance across model specifications. On the other hand, the positive and statistically significant coefficient for being *male* in Model 9 falls away when controlling for political engagement and structural availability variables. The biographical availability variables for *unemployment* and *self-employment* move in opposite directions and fail to attain statistical significance.

When I include political engagement variables, Model 11 indicates that individuals *interested in politics*, *who read the daily newspaper*, or who *receive their daily news from the Internet*, are more likely to participate in protests. The coefficients for these variables remain consistently high and statistically significant in Model 12. However, individuals who remain politically informed by tuning into daily television broadcasts fail to attain statistical significance. In Table 4, the results for voters who participate in *local* and *national elections* move in opposite directions, and neither variable attains statistical significance.

The results shown in Model 12 include the variables associated with structural availability. The data show that members of *religious organizations* are likely to participate in protests: the coefficients for both active and inactive membership attain positive and statistical significance. Holding all other variables constant, Figure 3 shows the likelihood of participation in *any other act of protest* between members of religious organizations and nonmembers. As seen in the previous tables, the results again imply that religious organizations are highly political. Active and inactive members of religious organizations have a .70 predicted probability of participating in *any other forms of protest*. By contrast, none of the coefficients for members of *labor unions, sports organizations*, or *environmental organizations* attain statistical significance.

Figure 3: Peaceful Demonstration Participation Increases with Religious Membership
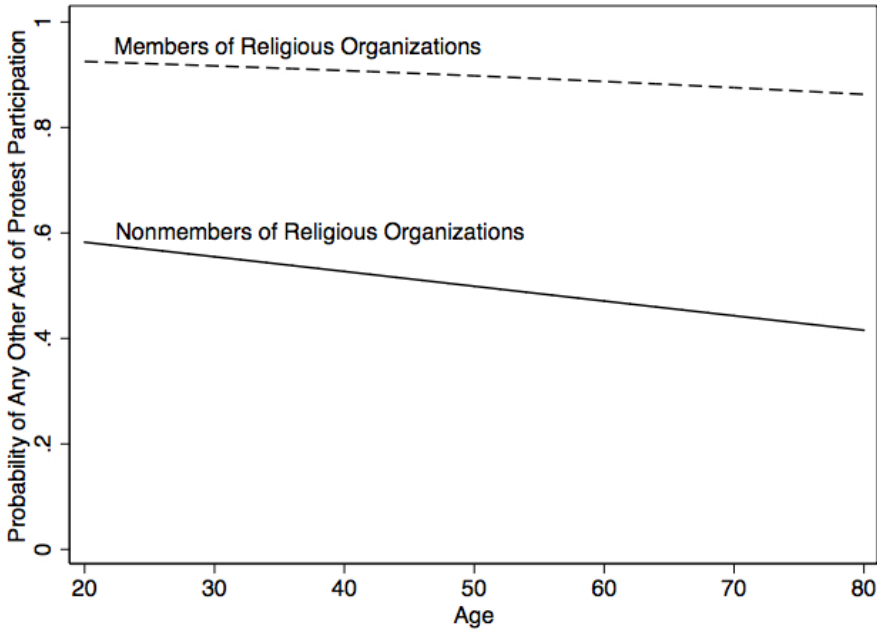
CONCLUSION

Despite popular claims that economic grievances are a root cause for inciting protests in democratizing countries, the empirical analyses conducted in this study indicate that relative deprivation variables are insignificant indications of protest participation in Turkey. An individual's financial satisfaction, income, or class level is not associated with higher levels of protest participation. These findings distinguish Turkey's social movements from those that took place in neighboring Arab countries and Greece, where the uprisings have been largely rooted in economic and class-based grievances.[42]

My findings corroborate the biographical availability claims: being younger or a student is significant in predicting protest participation. However, the results in these analyses are also counterintuitive: while protests are often associated with men, my findings show that gender alone is not a reliable predictor for protest participation.[43] Women may therefore play a significant, though understudied, role in social movements. In fact, the findings in Table 2 indicate women play larger roles in peaceful demonstrations than men do.

42   Sika, "Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising," 190.; Rüdig and Karyotis, "Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity," 6-7.
43   Bean, "Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence," 266.

The political engagement variables examined for this study were also found to be consistent predictors of protest participation. Since May 2013, most political demonstrations in Turkey appear to be in direct response to the leadership of President Erdoğan and the AKP.[44] The data from these analyses imply that individuals who read the newspaper are more actively engaged in their communities and care about the outcomes that will affect their neighborhoods. It is unsurprising that political engagement is fundamental to protest participation: demonstrators may not normally accept the costs that come with participating in violent protests if they did not feel passionately about an issue. Furthermore, receiving news daily from the Internet may be more telling of an individual's political engagement than watching news broadcasts, as televisions are more easily accessible to the general population.

My findings for structural availability indicate that some variables, like active members of religious organizations, are consistent predictors of all three types of protests. Sports organizational members are also found to be more likely to participate in protests. This finding is unsurprising: soccer fans, also known as "Ultras," are highly rambunctious members of Turkish society. Ultras were prominent players in the Gezi Park demonstrations, and their extensive record with violent police interactions made them invaluable assets to the rest of the protestors.[45] Across all three tables, labor union membership was insignificant in predicting protest participation. My analysis falls in line with existing civil society literature in Turkey, which conclude that union influences over political participation are very weak. This may be due to the limited access to union membership, which predominantly represents urban, upper-class males.[46]

While grievances are country-specific and require further contextual analysis, there is much to learn from the recent protests in Turkey. For example, traits of the average protestor fall in line with those of participants who demonstrate in well-established democracies. The ongoing large-scale protests in Turkey that have continued well into 2014 and 2015 make clear the fact that there is a need for new survey data in 'post-Gezi Turkey.' I also suggest a more comprehensive analysis of religious membership and political participation in Turkey, given that the religiously affiliated AKP has begun reforming a historically secular Turkey. Violent state responses in democratic countries also require further study. For example, the Turkish police's use of pepper spray on the first Gezi Park protestors mirror a similar police response that occurred during demonstrations on the UC Davis campus in November 2011.[47] Understanding why some state responses incite protestors to demonstrate in larger numbers while others do not may be a valuable contribution to the existing social movement literature. By tracking various facets of protest participation over time, we may better understand the changing nature of protest culture in democratic and democratizing countries.

44   Tuğal, "'Resistance Everywhere': The Gezi Revolt in a Global Perspective," 165-66.
45   Çetin Cem Yılmaz, "United Ultras Join Forces Against Police Violence in Taksim," *Hürriyet Daily News,* June 3, 2013, accessed November 23, 2014
46   Ozlem Altan-Olcay, and Ahmet Içduygu, "Mapping Civil Society in the Middle East: The Cases of Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2012): 170.
47   Adam Gabbatt, "UC Davis Pepper Spray Police Officer Awarded $38,000 Compensation," *The Guardian,* October 23, 2013

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Partnering with a Pariah: An Assessment of U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

Great powers continue to create alliances with weak and stigmatized states despite the ostensible irrationality of the act. International Relations scholars often research the manner in which weak states create alliances, but fail to address why the more powerful ally is willing to make concessions. This paper attempts to determine the answer to this question through a rhetorical analysis of American presidential speeches on Taiwan over several eras. Ultimately, the research supports the contentious hypothesis that the rhetorical portrayal of distance and strategic location is an important factor in determining the friendliness of great power relations with pariah states, though causation cannot be established.

INTRODUCTION

Why do great powers create friendly diplomatic relations with pariah states? Though "pariah" can be a controversial term that indicates a state's failings when compared to another's subjective moral standards, its function in this paper is to describe a state that is ostracized from the international system. Heavily stigmatized and lacking in traditional forms of power, pariah states may seem like an irrational choice for a great power alliance. Yet, history has provided us with a few puzzling examples of these unions. This paper begins with a justification of research on this topic and an examination of the existing literature regarding it. This is followed by a model that illustrates how a great power's perception and portrayal of a pariah state's proximity and strategic location are integral to the friendliness of its relations with that state. The relationship between the United States of America and the disputed island nation of Taiwan provides a case for analysis. The methodology and the operationalization of this study are described in the following section. An analysis and comparison of presidential rhetoric concerning Taiwan over three eras makes up the body of this work. Finally, this paper draws conclusions on alliances and calls for further study of the research question.

Researching the benefits of the most unlikely diplomatic relations can help demystify why alliances are still advantageous in an anarchic system of self-interested states. If one were to discover the motivations behind such alliances, the findings could assist political leaders and speechwriters in deliberately taking advantage of the benefits they provide, especially by making more informed rhetorical choices in speeches and releases. Alternatively, these findings can help the scholar, pundit, and political observer decipher the rhetoric of a speech in order to reveal its practical meaning and implications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Balance of Power Theory

In a world that regularly divides along the ideological and geographical lines of East and West, even the greatest of powers may feel threatened. Claiming and politicizing pariah states along polarized lines can be a way for great powers to exhibit their power to threatening states and to secure the growth and survival of a particular ideology.[1] It may also be a manner of creating a business or resource hegemony from the economic threat of "the other" in a place in which few are normally willing to invest due to the high risk of poor return.[2] Great powers may also be coerced into creating alliances with pariah states. Pariahs do not often have the leverage to engage in Balance of Power diplomacy with traditional methods. Instead, they may use a tool such as a nuclear show of force to gain legitimacy from great power benefactors.[3]

The Buffer State System

Buffer states are valuable resources for purposes of great power security, resource hegemony, economic monopoly, or ideological obstruction because of their strategic location.[4] Pariah-buffer states gain legitimacy from a great power's aid and military support without losing sovereignty when alliances between them are created.[5] Great powers gain discretely valuable advantages in military positioning, resource acquisition, or ideological proliferation unique to the pariah's location that may outweigh the risk of supporting an ostracized state.[6] Buffer states are an extension of the previously mentioned Balance of Power Theory.[7] However, in this system two or more *great powers* that have been attempting to outdo each other with shows of force ally with pariahs and create buffer states to avoid further escalation. It demonstrates a desire to evade direct, immediate contact. Thus, buffer states are "generally… situated between

1   Thomas H. Henriksen, "The Rise and Decline of Rogue States" *Journal of International Affairs-Columbia University* 54 (2001): 367.
2   Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt and Andrew Small, "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy: Is Beijing Parting With Pariahs?" *Foreign Affairs* 87 (2008): 41.
3   Robert E. Harkavy, "Pariah States And Nuclear Proliferation" *International Organization* 35 (1981): 136.
4   M. G. Partem, "The Buffer System in International Relations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27 (1983): 4.
5   Youngho Kim, "The Great Powers in Peaceful Korean Reunification" *International Journal on World Peace* 20 (2003): 10.
6   Partem, "The Buffer System," 13.
7   David Knight, "Buffer States in World Politics by John Chay; Thomas E. Ross" *Geographical Review* 78 (1988): 94, accessed November 1, 2014.

two or more powerful, conflicting spheres of influence."[8]

Literature Review Conclusions

The school of thought that would provide a great power with enough incentive to create friendly diplomatic relations with an otherwise burdensome state is the Buffer State System. The advantage of this theory is that while a pariah state may collapse politically or economically, geographical location, borderlines, and sovereignty are the variables least likely to change. It is highly unusual that even a state stricken by disaster would cease to exist. Scholar Stephen Walt asserts that attempting to balance power is the most common response by states in threatening situations.[9] However, alliances with pariah states can be considered anomalies in the world of International Relations and are not likely made in response to a threat from the pariah state. Rather, great powers create alliances with these states when their resources and positioning are needed in the fight against other great powers. The Buffer State System acknowledges that when great powers ally with pariah states they do so with a strong third party in mind. The Buffer State System provides a great power with the best odds for success when it is willing to gamble on its alliances.

The core concept of the Buffer State System in this context is that physical location and proximity are the most important variables in determining whether great powers create friendly diplomatic relations with pariah states. This is illustrated in the following model:

Figure 1

Y: Strength of Diplomatic Relations			
		X_2	
		Great power acknowledges pariah state's location as beneficial to great power's non-domestic strategic interests	Great power does not acknowledge pariah state's location as beneficial to great power's nondomestic strategic interests
X_1	Pariah state is portrayed/perceived as close to great power mainland	Friendly	Moderately Friendly
	Pariah state is portrayed/perceived as far from great power mainland	Moderately Friendly	Not Friendly

8   Ibid., 93.
9   Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 192-193.

Variables

In this model, X_1 is the perception and portrayal of distance from a pariah state to the great power mainland. X_1 inherently varies as the concept of distance varies. X_2 is the condition of whether the great power acknowledges the pariah state's location as beneficial to its non-domestic strategic interests. X_2 varies based on if the acknowledgment is made. The combinations of these independent variables determine the dependent variable, which is the strength of diplomatic relations between a pariah and a great power. This ranges on a scale from unfriendly to moderately friendly, to friendly. The author created this model.

Operational Definitions and Methodology

In this research project, a great power will be defined as the country with the highest Gross Domestic Product. In the modern capitalist system, a measure of economic health is often indicative of total power. A pariah state will be defined as a country that does not have a seat in the United Nations General Assembly. The United Nations is a very comprehensive congress of sovereign states, so inclusion in its body is an effective measure of legitimacy and acceptance within the international community. For X_1, a pariah state will be said to be portrayed as close to a great power's mainland if the great power refers to it in terms of familiarity. These include personal pronouns and phrases that indicate oneness or nearness. It will be said to be far if such terms are omitted. For X_2, a great power will be said to have acknowledged a pariah's nondomestic strategic interests if it refers to the specific security or economic advantages of the pariah's location. It will be said to have not acknowledged these interests if such references are omitted. The strength of diplomatic relations will be defined as friendly if formal diplomatic action is undertaken by the great power that grants legitimacy to the pariah state. It will be defined as unfriendly if these actions are not undertaken or actions are undertaken to revoke legitimacy. It will be defined as moderately friendly if actions undertaken by the great power do not have a comparatively significant effect on the relations between the two states.

Due to the small number of pariah states that qualify under these operational definitions, this paper will conduct a qualitative rhetorical analysis in which it will compare rhetoric and its impact over three eras of history. Despite the fact that this research is based in The Buffer State System school of thought, it takes a Constructivist approach of portrayal due to its qualitative nature.

Cases and Sources

This research will be conducted based on a case study involving the relationship between the United States of America and Taiwan. This case was chosen because, in a topographical sense, Taiwan is very far from the United States of America. These states have a historically

established dyadic relationship.[10] The United States has the world's highest GDP, while Taiwan no longer has official representation in the United Nations.[11] Thus, both satisfy the definitional criteria. The eras that will be compared are the American presidential eras of Eisenhower, Carter, and Obama. The Eisenhower and Carter administrations were chosen because they are periods in which the alliance between the U.S. and Taiwan was being explicitly used as a pawn in the Cold War.[12] The Obama administration was chosen as the third case study due to its current and future implications for U.S. policy makers.

For the independent variables, this paper will look at speeches and official documents released by Presidents of The United States of America, the great power state. For the dependent variable, this paper will look at legislation, treaties, and other records of formal diplomatic action undertaken by the United States of America regarding Taiwan, the pariah state.

Hypothesis

This paper posits that great powers will take diplomatic action that grants legitimacy to pariah states if they are perceived or portrayed as close and strategically advantageous. Therefore, it is expected that great powers will create friendly diplomatic relations with the pariah states that have the most geopolitical advantages. These predictions are based on the theory of the Buffer State System, which asserts that the physical location of a state is an important factor in alliance creation.

The Eisenhower Administration

X_1

Dwight D. Eisenhower served as the 34th President of the United States of America from 1953 to 1961. In the same vein as the historically pervasive slogan "I Like Ike," Eisenhower found success with the electorate when he outlined his targets as president with the alliterative phrase "Communism, Korea and Corruption."[13] During his tenure, the democratic nation of Taiwan, known to some as Formosa, was officially recognized as the Republic of China and as the seat of Chinese power despite Communist control of the mainland and its vast population.[14] To the American government, Taiwan was a physical roadblock to Communist proliferation and an ideological stronghold for democratic beliefs. Despite the impracticalities of establishing diplomatic relations with a small island governed by the general of a failed civil war campaign, capitalist Taiwanese society would prove to be perfectly exploitable for

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10   Michael Klare, *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy* (New York: Macmillian, 1996), 17.
11   United Nations, "United Nations Statistics", United Nations Statistics Division-National Accounts.
12   William Boyer, "The United States, Taiwan and China: Any Lessons for South Korea?" *International Area Studies Review* 3 (2000): 5.
13   Stanley Sandler, *The Korean War: An Interpretive History* (London: Routledge, 2001), 221.
14   Dwight Eisenhower, "Special Message to the Congress Regarding United States Policy for the Defense of Formosa" (address to Congress, Washington D.C., January 24, 1955).

anti-communist propaganda purposes. The Eisenhower administration used rhetoric to mold American public opinion on this issue. The President and his speech writers convinced the electorate, legislators, and foreign policy makers that the Communist threat and the inspirational little nation that fought to maintain its freedoms in an ideological war zone were really much closer to the U.S. than a map would suggest. On June 18th, 1960, Eisenhower remarked upon his arrival at the Sungshan Airport in Taipei, Taiwan that, "the significance of this visit [is] one that attempts to bring even closer together our two countries."[15] Though the word "closer" in this statement seems to be referring to friendly relations rather than the people of the two nations feeling physically adjacent to one another, the word choice is interesting when one acknowledges the diction and familiarity of language that Eisenhower used in his "Address to a Mass Rally in Taipei" later that same day.

An excerpt of his speech is as follows:

> We Americans are in a very real sense your close neighbors: we look out with you upon the same ocean--the Pacific. This largest of oceans has been narrowed by the marvels of modern communication and transportation. No longer is it a formidable barrier separating America from the Nations of the Far East.

> We in America have accepted this tremendously important fact of international life, and recognize its implications for the future of our country. Therefore, I come to you, as to the other countries of the Pacific which I am privileged to visit, as a friend and neighbor deeply concerned with your--and our common interests.[16]

This speech demonstrates what is likely the strongest and friendliest presidential support for Taiwan in American history. Eisenhower refers to the island nation as a "close neighbor," a phrase usually reserved for border nations such as Mexico and Canada. Eisenhower then discusses how the Pacific "has been narrowed" and is "no longer a formidable barrier." This language used to minimize the perception of distance is made much more powerful by the use of the word "with" in his first sentence. The familiarity of this term changes Eisenhower's sentence from an acknowledgment of common interest and concurrent action to one where the countries are so close that the people can look out at the ocean not simultaneously, but together. Rhetorically, the countries are one and the same.

X_2

Another rhetorical strategy used by the Eisenhower administration was to emphasize the advantages of Taiwan's location for American security and economic advancement. In a January

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15   Dwight Eisenhower, "Remarks Upon Arrival at the Sungshan Airport, Taipei," (speech to crowd, Taipei, Taiwan, June 18, 1960).
16   Dwight Eisenhower, "Address to a Mass Rally in Taipei," (speech to crowd, Taipei, Taiwan, June 18, 1960).

24th, 1955, message to Congress, in which he advocated for budget allocations for Taiwanese defense, Eisenhower stated that "the existing and developing situation" of Asian Communist threats to Taiwan "poses a serious danger to the security of our country and of the entire Pacific area and indeed to the peace of the world."[17] Eisenhower equates Taiwanese survival with American and world peace as it can be seen as a buffer state separating the communist and democratic worlds. Therefore, Eisenhower establishes the geopolitical importance of Taiwan's physical location. In a March 13th, 1959, message to Congress, Eisenhower reminds the legislators of the United States' standing investments in Taiwan and how the island's "high morale [is] promoted by the economic progress we have helped forward."[18] This is another reference to American security: "morale" is the spirit that keeps the Taiwanese from succumbing to Chinese threats. Eisenhower promotes trade with the island due to its specific location in the tumultuous East Asian region.

Y

Eisenhower's speeches and remarks about Taiwan culminated in his 1960 state visit to the country. An official presidential visit from a great power is a momentous event that endows a pariah state with much-needed legitimacy. Though Eisenhower's remarks in Taipei (X_1) were made simultaneously with his arrival there, they demonstrate the mindset under which Eisenhower entered the country and what he had previously determined were his foreign policy goals. It is also important to note that despite the fact that these speeches were made in Taipei, the United States' position as a great power means that such remarks would be not heard solely by the people in attendance but reported to the American people and the world. Eisenhower's perception and portrayal of distance and the strategic importance of Taiwan influenced his decision to make this state visit and rallied the American support needed to send him there.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION

X_1

Jimmy Carter served as the 39th President of the United States of America from 1977 to 1981. Carter solidified the American position on the Taiwan question after Richard Nixon's policy of détente with the Communist Chinese mainland. Nixon's Shanghai Communiqué established the United States' adherence to the One China Policy.[19] This communiqué would become a landmark document in the gradual dissolution of Taiwanese-American relations and the basis for Carter's beliefs on Taiwan. The rhetoric used in Carter's speeches shows his administration's desire to craft an image of distance between the U.S. and Taiwan. In a news conference on June 30th, 1977, Carter iterated his desire for "Taiwan and the Mainland [to]

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17   Eisenhower, "Special Message to Congress", 1955.
18   Dwight Eisenhower, "Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program" (address to Congress, Washington D.C., March 13, 1959).
19   Jimmy Carter, "The President's News Conference," (Washington D.C., June 30, 1977).

work out the differences between them."[20] In his remarks at a 1978 White House briefing, Carter referred to potential reconciliation of Taiwanese-Chinese relations as finding "peace in that region."[21] The impersonal language that Carter uses demonstrates both his belief that Taiwanese statehood is an external issue and his desire to portray it as such to the American public. He no longer considered the U.S.'s main concerns to be with Chinese-Taiwanese relations – this was a problem for "that region." Carter's priority was establishing official diplomatic relations with Beijing. His speeches demonstrate a somewhat flippant tone when addressing Taiwan. He indicates quite clearly through his brief, impersonal, and repetitive responses, that it is a faraway and foreign problem. He directs Americans to believe that Taiwan is no longer and should no longer be a top priority.

X_2

Carter often talked about the economic benefits of trade with Taiwan, but never did he talk about why Taiwan, specifically, would make a beneficial trade partner. In a question and answer session with European newspaper journalists on April 25, 1977, Carter mentioned the U.S. imports of "shoes from Taiwan and South Korea" and "color televisions in Japan."[22] This line about Asian imports was a common trope for Carter in many of his speeches. Ultimately, however, Carter's acknowledgement of Taiwan's regional advantages was very limited, which demonstrated his personal beliefs and the image of Taiwan that he was selling to the American public. His true sentiments about Asian geopolitical advantages were revealed in a December 15, 1978 White House briefing in which he called for the continuation of trade with Taiwan while taking advantage of "trade relationships with almost a billion people in the People's Republic of China."[23] Carter was making a highly strategic decision to understate Taiwanese regional value in favor of the opportunities that would be created by establishing relations with Beijing.

Y

On the first of the year of 1979, the U.S. severed formal diplomatic ties with Taiwan in order to comply with the Shanghai Communiqué and to fulfill its promise to adhere to the One China Policy. The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 was passed by Congress later that year to establish informal "commercial" and "cultural" exchange with Taiwan upon the severance of formal relations. This was a major blow to Taiwanese legitimacy and the low point of Taiwanese-American relations. The United States of America now addressed Taiwan as part of China and removed its ambassadors from the country.

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20   Ibid.
21   Jimmy Carter, "Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the People's Republic of China Remarks at a White House Briefing Following the Address to the Nation," (address to Journalists, Washington D.C., December 15, 1978).
22   Jimmy Carter, "Question and Answer Session with European Newspaper Journalists," (interview with Journalists, Washington D.C., April 25, 1977).

23   Carter, "Diplomatic Relations", 1978.

THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

X_1

Barack Obama currently serves as the 44th President of the United States, having assumed the office in 2009. Though United States foreign policy still heavily focuses on the Middle East, the era in which he holds office may be, arguably, the beginning of a period of security dilemmas in the South and East China Sea,. In a January 14, 2012, Statement on Elections in Taiwan, Obama praised the efforts of "both sides [China and Taiwan] undertaken in recent years" which suggests a distancing of the U.S. from the East Asian region.[24] However, he also acknowledged the "profound importance" of East Asian peace to the U.S, which indicates that he did not intend for America to be a solely passive observer as in past years. In a news conference with President Hu Jintao of China on January 19, 2012, Obama stated that reducing tensions between Taiwan and China is "in the interest of both sides, the region, and the United States."[25] Obama's reference to "the region" is neutral language; it is neither familiar as in "our region, this region" nor is it particularly detached as in "that region." The rhetoric Obama uses does not seem to be used to shape any particular impression of Taiwan's distance from the U.S.

X_2

Obama was most vocal about American security advantages fortified through trade when he answered a Chinese university student's question on Taiwan at a town hall meeting and a question-and-answer session in Shanghai on November 16, 2009:

> … I think that economic ties and commercial ties that are taking place in this region are helping to lower a lot of the tensions that date back before you were born or even before I was born.
>
> Now, there are some people who still look towards the past when it comes to these issues, as opposed to looking towards the future. I prefer to look towards the future. And as I said, I think the commercial ties that are taking place—there's something about when people think that they can do business and make money that makes them think very clearly and not worry as much about ideology. And I think that that's starting to happen in this region, and we are very supportive of that process. Okay?[26]

24   Barack Obama, "Statement on Elections in Taiwan" (statement, Washington D.C., January 14, 2012).
25   Barack Obama, "President's News Conference with President Hu Jintao of China" (speech, Beijing, China, January 19, 2012).
26   Barack Obama, "Remarks at a Town Hall Meeting and a Question-and-Answer Session in Shanghai" (interview, Shanghai, China, November 16, 2009).

Though Obama is not referring to American economic advantage through investment in the Taiwanese economy, he does address the ideological benefits of supporting American-style laissez faire economics between China and Taiwan. If money makes the Chinese "think clearly" and "not worry as much about ideology" it is clear that even in today's age the U.S. government sees Chinese Communism as a threat to American democratic values and security. Promotion of American economic ideals in a disputed region is an important stage in achieving goals of security. It is a reason to be specifically interested in Taiwan as a democracy located just outside Mainland China.

Y

Congress introduced The Taiwan Policy Act of 2013 on January 25th of that year. This bill seeks to strengthen Taiwanese-U.S. relations, which have been "neglected" in recent years, by allowing for official Taiwanese representation to visit Washington D.C., to display the national flags at the informal diplomatic institutes of both countries, and most importantly, to sell military technology to the Taiwanese (fighter planes being a particular need). Though the bill has been presented in committee, it has yet to reach the congressional vote. However, the National Defense Authorization Act of 2013 has been passed. This authorized the fighter plane sales without outlining any specific steps towards making the actual transaction.

COMPARISON

The portrayal and perception of the U.S. mainland's distance from Taiwan and Taiwan's advantageous location has changed vastly over time. Eisenhower used extremely familiar language to minimize the distance felt between the two nations. He addressed the Taiwanese as neighbors and was consistent in pointing out Taiwan's ideal location as an ideological buffer in the fight against Communism. Carter's language was the polarized opposite. He used passive language to portray the U.S. as a distant observer of East Asian hostilities and hardly acknowledged the island's economic advantages. Obama's portrayal of Taiwan as a distant but important country is moderate and neutral in comparison to these two rhetorical extremes. The legislation signed and state visits undertaken in these presidential eras are also similarly comparable. Eisenhower's 1960 state visit granted the ultimate legitimacy to the Taiwanese state. He established exceedingly friendly diplomatic relations. This is especially true in comparison to Carter, who completely severed formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan, thereby refraining from acknowledging Taiwanese legitimacy. This is the most unfriendly that diplomatic relations can possibly be aside from the refusal of even informal recognition. Again, in comparison to such extremes, Obama's era of promotion of Taiwanese defense and international recognition while adhering to the One China policy can be seen as relatively neutral. There were no comparatively significant changes in Taiwanese legitimacy at this time. The legislation enacted during Obama's tenure can be labeled as moderately friendly.

INTERPRETATION

According to the model shown in Figure 1, legislation and other official acts by the great

power that demonstrate a pariah state's legitimacy should be theoretically friendly in nature if the pariah state is comparatively perceived and/or portrayed as close to the great power's mainland and acknowledged to be located in a place of non-domestic strategic interest. Legislation and official acts will be unfriendly if the pariah state is portrayed as far away and its regional advantages are unacknowledged. If only one of these two conditions is present, the legislation enacted should be moderately friendly in nature. The findings of this comparative rhetorical analysis correlate with this model and the premise of the Buffer State System. Eisenhower portrayed Taiwan as close to the U.S. and as an important location for ideological buffering and U.S. security. His ultimate 1960 state visit to Taiwan can indeed be considered an indication of friendly diplomatic relations. Carter portrayed Taiwan as a distant place and he did not acknowledge Taiwanese regional advantages. Ultimately, he severed formal relations with Taiwan, a very unfriendly act. Obama seems to acknowledge Taiwan as only as distant or as close as it appears on a map, but he does promote its value to U.S. security. Therefore, it's understandable why moderately friendly acknowledgments of Taiwanese legitimacy were proposed and signed while he has been in office. Though direct causation cannot be established with this analysis due to unknown variables, it is evident that the perception and portrayal of distance and strategic issues play an important role in determining the friendliness of great power diplomatic relations with pariah states.

Implications and Further Research

The correlation established in this paper can be utilized by speechwriters for leaders that would like to craft a certain image of the advantages or disadvantages of alliances through rhetorical choices. It can also be used to analyze future speeches and documents in order to find rhetorical changes that may enable political analysts to predict the nature of subsequent legislation and treaties. The importance of proximity to these alliances also helps scholars understand that countries protect themselves by first protecting the region to which they feel they belong. Further research into this puzzling question is necessary to take full advantage of these benefits. The effects of a president and his administration's ideological background and leadership style could have a great effect on the content of a speech. For example, is a president a pragmatist or a theorist in nature? Further studies are needed about pariah states and nuclear proliferation. Is this another factor in great power alliances? Finally, research that looks at a wider variety of cases is highly encouraged. This author was forced to modify her research methods after abandoning a second case study on the relationship between China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea due to the lack of published Chinese legislation and her discovery that the few publications available are censored based on the language in which they are viewed.

Summary Table			
Presidential Era	**X₁**	**X₂**	**Y**
Eisenhower	Refers to Taiwanese as close neighbors of the Pacific who share regional interests	Encourages the protection of American security assets, ideological buffering against communism (Jan, 1955), and investment in Taiwan (1959)	Eisenhower's 1960 Official Visit to Taiwan
Carter	No more talk of neighbors, Carter deepens the distance between the two countries by referring to "peace in *that* region" 1978	No significant mention of interests	The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 – severing formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan
Obama	Obama distances the US from Taiwanese issues by professing his desire to adhere to the One China Policy while hoping to promote peace in the region (2012)	Discusses importance of Taiwanese promoted laissez faire economics in making a more secure East Asian region for US and world interests (2009)	Taiwan Policy Act of 2013 – increased support in Taiwan for international bodies without recognition of statehood. National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013 – authorizing arms sales to Taiwan

CONCLUSION

In the imperfect human mind, distance and location are relative-images that can be molded by subtle persuasion. The negative attributes of pariah states may seem to outweigh the benefits of alliances. So, for legislators and the electorate, a sentiment of paternalistic regional duty or the understanding that the positioning of a country in a key region would make an advantageous alliance is very important. There is a correlation between the rhetoric used in speeches by great power states and their subsequent policies toward pariah states. The speechwriter is, perhaps, the most underestimated player in the field of International Relations. These men and women, nameless in the public consciousness, use the power of language to shape the political landscape. While immersed in the Cold War, the Eisenhower administration decided that Taiwan could be used as a buffer against the encroaching Communist bloc. Subtle, but powerful rhetorical choices allowed the President and his speechwriters to create familiarity and further their agenda. When normalization with the Chinese mainland became advantageous,

the Carter administration changed rhetorical strategies to create the illusion of physical and ideological distance. Today, the Obama administration continues the legacy of informed language construction regarding pariah states. The U.S., like any state in the international system, is self-serving. If a great power aligns itself with a pariah, it must view the relationship as advantageous. Language and its geopolitical connotations shape the people's understanding of these advantages. Alliances are a human construction-they are only as strong as they are perceived to be.

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Examining Civil Wars and Gender Equality: The Role of Women in Peacemaking

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Abstract

Despite their substantial economic and social costs, civil wars have persisted in the post-World War II era. While previous studies have attempted to isolate the causes of within-country conflict with varied success, this article incorporates a previously overlooked determinant of civil wars: the country's gender relations. Although difficult to capture in an empirical framework, the incentives for supporting insurgency causes play a role in recurring civil war—not necessarily the greed or grievances incurred by the first war. This model finds that gender relations, as measured by fertility rates, contribute to decreasing the risk of relapse into violence.

Introduction

Security and economic wellbeing are inextricably linked. Economic development often cannot take place during wartime, particularly in times of civil war. Conflict of all kinds disrupts a country's economy, which causes repercussions for others that may trade or have close relations with the conflicted nation-state. Wars destroy resources and reconstruction efforts involving financial and human resources after war can be even more expensive. Some describe the effect of war on the economy, politics, and society as "de-development."[1] Lack of peace and security also imposes negative externalities on the domestic and neighboring economies. Political borders do not limit conflict, diseases, or economic degeneration. Paul Collier estimates the total cost of the average civil war, including not only the costs of the actual war but also the costs of public health issues and damages to neighboring nations, to be $60 billion.[2] This number far exceeds the average income of a lesser-developed country, which is generally more prone to breaking into civil war. In addition to the economic costs, wars generate less tangible

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1   Victoria Brittain, "The Impact of War on Women," *Race & Class* 44 (2003): 41-51.
2   Paul Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy," Oxford University. 2006.

but no less important human costs in terms of pain, suffering, and loss of life.[3] Understanding the costs and causes of civil war can help to minimize or prevent these conflicts.

Despite the pitfalls to continued conflict, 36 percent of societies with civil wars occurring between 1945 and 1996 relapsed into subsequent civil wars.[4] This phenomenon has been called a *conflict trap*.[5] A conflict trap is the tendency for those societies that have recently fallen into civil war to relapse into war for various reasons.[6]

This article discusses the likelihood of a recurrence of civil war based on incentives to reengage in warfare. While a wide range of possible determinants has been identified as causes of civil war, one remains largely unexplored: gender relations. Civilian casualties and the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war have risen precipitously in post-World War II civil warfare.[7] Women are a largely underestimated demographic in influencing communities. This article tries to capture their impact on the outbreak of renewed violence.

Literature Review

Models Predicting Civil War

Nicholas Sambanis examines various definitions of civil war, honing in on specific issues to create an operational definition of civil war.[8] He critiques the Correlates of War (COW) database and others, questioning the specifics of each definition: he asks what is the difference between internal armed conflict and civil war; when does civil war start and end; and how does one differentiate between civil war and other kinds of war? After creating a very thorough operational definition of civil war, Sambanis uses data fitting that definition in a dynamic probit model. He notes which variables are significant across differences in coding rules, such as income level and population size, and describes why that may be. He concludes with a concern that current models for predicting civil war are more accurate in predicting war for nations with an existing history of conflict versus those that may not have conflict-ridden histories.

However, sizeable datasets come with their own problems. Michael Ward, Brian Greenhill, and Kristin Bakke warn about large sample sizes of conflicts in determining which variables are important in forecasting the occurrence of war.[9] The models may produce statistically

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3   Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *World Bank* (2000): 1-44.
4   Barbara F. Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): 371-88.
5   Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy."
6   While Collier explains what a conflict trap is in his 2006 article, he best explains it in his book *The Bottom Billion*.
7   Brittain, "The Impact of War on Women."
8   Nicholas Sambanis, "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operation Definition," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (2004): 814-58.
9   Michael D. Ward, Brian D. Greenhill and Kristin M. Bakke, "The perils of policy by p-value: Predicting civil conflicts," *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2010): 363-75.

significant results but those significant factors are often not theoretically sound. Thus, policy predictions based on those variables may lead to policies that are not ideal for each conflict situation.

On the other hand, models are becoming increasingly accurate, according to Ward et al., who explore the positive side of using statistical models to predict political situations.[10] When models are used correctly, they argue, these models can effectively inform public policy decisions. The authors demonstrate the level of accuracy possible in predicting a civil war using a logit regression.

One of the most famous articles on the prediction of civil war was written by James Fearon and David Laitin, who question the reasoning behind the occurrence of civil wars in light of a seemingly significant increase in the number of civil wars that occurred after 1991—the year of the Soviet Union's disintegration.[11] They find that, instead of civil wars being encouraged by the change in the international system's dynamics, there has been a long-term increase in the number of civil wars since World War II. Fearon and Laitin determine that ethnic and religious fractionalization or religious and political grievances are not necessarily significant factors in predicting civil war outbreak. They explain this with their *Insurgency Theory*. In their regressions, the most significant factors are those that create ideal conditions for an insurgency—weak governments, rough terrain, large populations, and access to foreign support and thus weapons for the insurgency.

As another renowned scholar on civil conflicts and development, Collier discusses the possible causes and costs of civil wars, using the same rule of classifying civil war as many other scholars and the Correlates of War database: "A civil war is classified as an internal conflict with at least one thousand battle-related deaths."[12] As a leading civil conflict scholar, he argues why looking at civil conflicts is best with an economist's viewpoint—it allows outsiders to understand the root issues to which war is reasoned. He indicates what he has found to be the most important influences in determining structural factors that may lead to a civil war: geography, a history of conflict, diasporas, economic opportunities, and domination of society by one ethnic or religious group. Insurgents can hide from the government more easily in mountainous areas than in plains. A history of conflict provides more incentives or grievances to fall back into conflict. Diasporas fund oppressed groups, often with currencies stronger than those of the conflicted nation. Economic opportunities decrease the incentive to go to war because there is opportunity to increase socioeconomic status. When one ethnic group dominates over others, this incites grievances in the oppressed parties. Collier then suggests a few different policy solutions for some of the aforementioned factors, such as increasing international regulation of raw goods on the black market commonly used to fund rebel groups (diamonds and oil, for

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10   Michael D. Ward et al., "Learning from the Past and Stepping into the Future: Toward a New Generation of Conflict Prediction," *International Studies Review* 15 (2013): 473-90.
11   James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75-90.
12   Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy," 6.

example) and inscribing ethnic minority rights into a powerful constitution. He also prescribes post-conflict policies, mentioning the fragility of peace agreements in their early years. He emphasizes again the problem of resource-dependent countries, noting that they are even more in danger of recidivism if they continue to base their economies on raw materials post-conflict.[13]

In view of the many studies on civil wars and the various factors leading to them, there are varied results on one variable that seems to be important: ethnic fractionalization. Randall Blimes asks the question many wonder: why are there so many mixed results in large-n studies on whether ethnic fractionalization is significant in predicting civil war?[14] Conventional wisdom would say that it is important, providing easy lines for societies to divide into warring parties. However, the mixed results from large-n studies, such as those mentioned here, lead to confusion. Blimes uses a heteroskedastic model and shows that ethnic heterogeneity of a country instead has an indirect effect on the probability of a civil war occurring.

Other scholars look at more macro-impact variables. Collier and Hoeffler study what they think would be the root causes behind civil war: greed and grievance. The authors give reasons as to why greed and grievance are two drivers for populations to fight against each other—greed for control of the resources of the country, or long strings of grievances finally pulled tight enough to break the peace.[15] They begin by creating theoretical models of greed and grievances inciting rebellion alone, then another wherein they interacted in a feedback effect: greedy groups need to have grievances to lure more people to support their cause, and grieved groups need resources to support their efforts to assuage those grievances, therefore creating a loop. Then, the authors use a logit regression to empirically examine civil wars, discovering that proxies for grievances are largely insignificant, while those of greed are significant. Overall, they suggest that greed for resources causes the initial conflict; then, the grievances from that create situations in which the grievances compound to make further war increasingly attractive.

Given that civil wars tend to recur, as many other scholars note, Serhan Cevik and Mohammad Rahmati evaluate the risk of conflict recurrence in post-conflict situations using macroeconomic data.[16] They find that there were many significant factors in determining this, one of them being the geographic location of the country—whether it was landlocked, resource-dependent, and more. They defied conventional wisdom in that their regressions did not show that UN Peacekeepers made a significant contribution to the peacemaking process.

13   Ibid.
14   Randall J. Blimes, "The Indirect Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on the Likelihood of Civil War Onset," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2006): 536-547.
15   Collier and Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War."
16   Serhan Cevik and Mohammad Rahmati, "Breaking the Curse of Sisyphus: An Empirical Analysis of Post-Conflict Economic Transitions," *International Monetary Fund Working Paper* (2013): 1-48.

The Post-Conflict Situation and Peace Duration

After civil wars, reconstruction efforts prove instrumental in preventing future conflicts. Collier, Hoeffler, and Mans Soderbom examine tasks ahead of post-conflict societies— mainly economic recovery and reducing the risk of conflict relapse.[17] They state that almost half of civil wars may be attributed to previous wars. Among other revelations, they find that UN Peacekeeping presence and expenditures significantly reduce the risk of recurrence, and that resources and their allocations play important roles in the duration of peace.

Information asymmetry also influences the duration of peace. Michaela Mattes and Burcu Savun discern that uncertainty about military capabilities of each side can lead to civil war recurrence.[18] Using a Cox proportional hazards model, they find that those peace agreements that contain the three uncertainty-reducing measures prescribed by the authors reduce the likelihood of conflict recurrence by 84 percent compared to those that do not.

Recalling previous research on grievances causing the recurrence of violence, Karl DeRouen Jr. and Jacob Bercovitch create a new framework for the study of enduring civil wars: the Enduring Internal Rivalry (EIR).[19] They find that, from the civil wars that occurred between 1946 and 2004, 76 percent of those resulted from an EIR. Using a logit model, they propose that civil wars comprised of EIRs have a higher probability of recurrence. Through their hazard analysis, they also find that those civil wars also have shorter peace duration.

Thomas Flores and Irfan Nooruddin use another kind of statistical model to observe the factors behind post-conflict economic recovery: a duration analysis.[20] They discover that the post-conflict political transition to democracy actually slows economic growth in the short term. This supports other literature on the dangers of democratization. Their data also shows that an absolute military victory establishes a longer-lasting peace than peace comprised of multiple parties.

A key factor in any post-conflict situation is the resolution—be it treaty or otherwise. Stephen Quackenbush and Jerome Veneicher study the differences in post-conflict resolutions in their impacts on stability in the future.[21] They gathered data from dyadic disputes between 1816 and 2001 and subsequently find that settlement type is an important factor in the recurrence of conflict. Surprisingly, however, they see that settlement type does not have an impact on

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17   Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Mans Soderbom, "Post-Conflict Risks," *Journal of Peace Research* 45 (2008): 461-78.
18   Michaela Mattes and Burcu Savun, "Information, Agreement Design, and the Durability of Civil War Settlements," *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (2010): 511-24.
19   Karl R. DeRouen Jr. and Jacob Bercovitch, "Enduring Internal Rivalries: A New Framework for the Study of Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research* 45 (2008): 55-74.
20   Thomas E. Flores and Irfan Nooruddin, "Democracy under the Gun: Understanding Postconflict Economic Recovery," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (2009): 3-29.
21   Stephen Quackenbush and Jerome F. Veneicher, "Settlements, Outcomes, and the Recurrence of Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 45 (2008): 723-42.

peace duration.

In a substantial compilation of reasoning from assorted sources, Walter empirically analyzes why civil wars recur—do they repeat the same war or is violence more commonly renewed for different reasons?[22] Agreeing with Fearon and Laitin's investigation of why civil wars happen, she finds that those conditions that prime people for individual enlistment in rebel armies— such as low quality of life and high barriers to political access—are critical in predicting violence renewal. She states that while some aspects of previous wars do not make a difference in the outbreak of the next, two such aspects exist which encourage relapse and violence persistence: the length of war and the type of peace agreement, particularly partition agreements.

Gender and Human Capital

Patrick Regan and Aida Paskeviciute studied the propensity for sets of two countries, or dyads, to break into militarized interstate disputes (MIDs), and included variables based on gender participation.[23] They incorporated measures of women's involvement in society as the percentages of women in parliament and fertility. Using various hypothesis tests on a logit model, they posit that women have a peacemaking effect on interstate relations and disputes. Both the fertility rate and the percentage of women in parliament are proven significant in Regan and Paskeviciute's regressions on the prediction of MIDs, increased hostility, and fatalities.

In war, civilian casualties almost always occur, in addition to those of the militaries. Golie Jansen discusses gender inequality in war, arguing that women are disproportionately affected during times of conflict because they are more vulnerable in terms of physical, reproductive, and mental health.[24] She states that civilian casualties have risen precipitously in recent years, and notes that sexual violence, particularly against women, comprises a major part of that rise.

Yet how does this violence start? Mary Caprioli hypothesizes that gender inequality on the domestic level would increase the probability of intrastate violence, using fertility rate to measure gender inequality.[25] She postulates that the higher the fertility rate, the harsher the gender inequality. Women who are more subordinated to men in society are usually less educated, take more of a role at home, and have more children as a result of under-education in general— particularly reproductive health. She tests her hypotheses using the Uppsala Conflict Database Program and Peace Research Institute of Oslo (UCDP/ PRIO) and Correlates of War (COW) databases, and compares the results. The UCDP/ PRIO dataset contains more conflicts because its definition of *intrastate conflict* holds a lower threshold for battle deaths

22   Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War."
23   Patrick M. Regan and Aida Paskeviciute, "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States," *Journal of Peace Research* 40 (2003): 287-301.
24   Golie G. Jansen, "Gender and War: The Effects of Armed Conflict on Women's Health and Mental Health," *Affilia* 21 (2006): 134-145.
25   Mary Caprioli, "Gender Equality and Civil Wars," Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, Social Development Department, 2003.

than that of the COW's definition of *civil war*, which has a threshold of 1,000 battle deaths. Interestingly, the gender-related variables proved significant in the UCDP/ PRIO dataset, while in the COW's they were not significant.

METHODOLOGY

This article discusses the likelihood of a recurrence of a civil war. I define "civil war" as an intrastate conflict, adhering to a leading authority on conflict: the Uppsala Content Data Program (UCDP). It defines intrastate conflict as "conflict between a government and a non-governmental party."[26] Additional restraints are put on the idea of civil war by the Correlates of War database, which provides most of the war information for this article. It restrains civil wars to those with 1,000 battle deaths occurring in one year in order to discount those conflicts that could be classified as something else, such as riots, terrorist attacks, and some violent coups.[27] The model analyzes those countries that began a civil war after 1945 and ended by 1996. Those that relapsed into war and were still ongoing at the end of 1999 were dropped from the dataset.

Ward et al. demonstrate the accuracy of a logit model in predicting civil wars.[28] This paper uses a logit model with robust standard errors to estimate the likelihood of intrastate conflict recurrence based on what happened during the war and life post-war, and employs data from various sources.[29] Initially, this paper uses a replication dataset obtained from Walter's 2004 paper in the *Journal of Peace Research*'s open-source archives of data.[30] Walter uses a pooled, random effects logit model. Intuitively, one may think the model should use fixed-effects. However, because this model studies peace years that are not consistent across panels and contains time-invariant variables from the war, a random effects model must be used. The analysis of recurrent civil war is continued by testing hypotheses through a pooled, random effects logit model with robust standard errors and an alternative view of society.[31]

The feminist school of thought in academic literature emerged in the later part of the twentieth century. Accordingly, gender divisions on conflict remain largely unexplored in conflict literature. During conflict, women take on the primary economic responsibilities and play a role in conflict resolution. However, the results of those actions are, as acknowledged by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, "still under-examined and underutilized."[32] Regime types are a way of creating a proxy for how power is distributed throughout society

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26   "Definitions - Uppsala University, Sweden."
27   "The Correlates of War Project." The qualifying conflicts may be found in Appendix 1.
28   Ward et al., "Learning from the Past and Stepping into the Future: Toward a New Generation of Conflict Prediction."
29   The sources may be found in Appendix 2.
30   Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War."
31   Another model, specifically tailored for rare events, was used; however, the robust pooled logit model was a better fit according to pseudo-r^2 values and their significances.
32   "Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the protection of civilians in armed conflict." New York, New York: United Nations Security Council, 2001.

and women are a largely underestimated demographic of that group. Nonetheless, women have been increasingly affected by war since World War II with the increased rates of civilian casualties. Fifteen percent of casualties in World War I were civilian, 65 percent in World War II, and 90 percent in more recent wars.[33] Those civilians are predominantly women and children. UN theorists say that women's involvement in the community and societal levels can act as a constraint on the use of militarized force.[34] This article empirically tests that theory.

Explanatory Variables Based on Gender

This article takes another view of society as a whole having an effect on an individual's incentives to fight again. Through research on militarized interstate disputes and the use of variables based on women's issues, the possibility of gender issues affecting civil war recurrence is factored into the regression.[35] Women are generally more vulnerable to attack during civil wars, a situation which is worsened due to the rising number of civilian casualties and the popularity of using sexual violence as a weapon of war in the post-World War II era. Research has also shown that the inclusion of women in the peace process creates longer-lasting peace agreements.[36]

Gender inequality and women's roles in the peacemaking process have been involved in warfare for many years, notably in Grecian times in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in which women on both sides refused to sleep with their men until peace was reached. More officially, in 1915, the International Congress of Women in The Hague was a peacemaking effort by the women of both sides of World War I, meant to communicate between the warring parties and plead for peace among leaders.[37] Since gender issues emerged into the spotlight in more recent years, finding a proxy variable to measure the respect for women in society going back to when the data set begins— immediately after World War II— is a challenge.[38] No direct way exists to measure women's roles in different societies, and even the data offered by various sources does not often reach back to 1945. Instead, this paper uses the ratio of boys' to girls' school enrollment and fertility rates.

Neither selected proxy variable, as per its nature of being a proxy, perfectly represents the status of women in each society. School enrollment will likely decrease around a civil war, simply because of the dangers involved in leaving home during times of conflict and potential war. Boys may be called away to fight for the cause. Girls may have increased incentive to leave school in order to fulfill the duties left undone by the absent men. In addition, the security environment in which they find themselves may decrease their incentive to go to school for

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33   Brittain, "The Impact of War on Women."
34   Caprioli, "Gender Equality and Civil Wars." Regan and Paskeviciute, "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States."
35   Ibid.
36   Jansen, "Gender and War: The Effects of Armed Conflict on Women's Health and Mental Health."
37   Ibid.
38   "Resolution 1325," New York: United Nations Security Council, 2000.

fear of punishment by the radical, ruling party in that area.[39]

Fertility rates are commonly associated with GDP per capita, because generally, as countries develop, birth rates drop. Low birth rates are associated with economic access through increasing the amount of time women have to participate in the labor force, and freeing up for further consumption resources that would have normally been used on additional children.[40] Fertility rates relate to political access for related reasons. The amount of time women spend on rearing children decreases the time available for political participation and access to knowledge.[41] In addition, the importance of having more children increases as the death count from each war also increases.

Other Explanatory Variables[42]

Theorists attribute the relapse into renewed war to many factors, such as variables of the previous war, the peace agreement, and life after the war. I add on to these by taking another view of society and asking how gender relations may affect the probability of relapse into violence.

Civil wars may persist because of the type of conflict—those conflicts between differing ethnic groups are infamous for their ferocity and long-lasting grievances.[43] For this reason, a dummy variable for ethnic warfare is included in the regression, coded as 1 if the war fell along ethnic lines.

More grievances may be incurred by the consequences of the war, such as war-related deaths, the duration of the war, and the number of persons displaced by the war. The casualty count and number of displaced persons increase the longer the war lasts, creating massive human and economic costs. Families are rendered unstable by grief and insufficient resources destroyed by war. Nonetheless, during the war, many people run from the violence into refugee camps. These are uncertain places used as temporary housing until it is safe to go home. Yet if their homes are destroyed, where should these people go once the war ends? Displacement of people may be an insidious indicator for the likelihood of renewed war.

The type of victory may play a part in recidivism. A decisive military victory may help the

39   *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*, Education for All Global Monitoring Report (New York: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2011).
40   RAND Corporation, "Policy Brief: The Family in Economic Development," 2008; Caprioli, "Gender Equality and Civil Wars."
41   Ibid.
42   One may have expected GDP or GDP per capita to be included in the regression. Due to high correlation with several control variables, GDP was excluded from the model. Collier (in his 2006 work) points out that the source of income can influence whether a country will fall into violence. Nonetheless, because wartime years may cause the country to backslide in terms of development, there may be a reverse causation issue with determining GDP's effect on subsequent warfare. Finally, various other papers, including Walter's, do not include GDP in their regressions.
43   Blimes, "The Indirect Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on the Likelihood of Civil War Onset."

new government control the former warzone. However, this also usually leads to a powerful, more autocratic government. Generally, democracies tend to be more peaceful societies, and so dummy variables for a decisive victory and the level of democracy in a country are included in the model.[44]

Next, peace agreements influence peace duration. Partition agreements have a confused history of either causing more violence or putting an end to it once and for all. To attempt to make their effects clearer, a dummy variable is included in the model for a peace made by partition agreement.

Collier and Hoeffler comment that rebel groups may make harsher demands if their grievances are accordingly severe.[45] Those rebels were expressly fighting for control of the government. Those are accounted for within a dummy variable, "total goals," coded as 1 if they aimed for overthrow of the current government, and 0 if their initial goals were less extreme. Even if the insurgency was not aiming for new control of the government, the settlement of the rebels' initial grievances will hopefully be resolved in the peace treaty.

The early years of a peace agreement tend to be the most tenuous.[46] Once a peace agreement has survived its first five years, it is more likely to persist, and so those years are included in the model.

Life after war will affect incentives to relapse into civil war. Development has to restart after the destruction and "de-development" resultant of the violence.[47] This "de-development" refers to the destruction a war wreaks upon a nation's resources and thus its economy. Quality of life hopefully increases after the war, and infant mortality and fertility rates serve as indicators of the health of the people, the development process, and the gender relations in the country.[48]

RESULTS

This model had to address a few statistical anomalies. Multicollinearity was a problem between several variables. Because of the nature of the regression, the dependent variable is discrete; heteroskedasticity is corrected for by the use of robust standard errors; the error term is assumed to be uncorrelated with the regressors, and the key variables of interest are assumed to be exogenous.

One may note that only one variable was used to capture the effect of gender relations in

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44   Michael W. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace," *The American Political Science Review* 99.3 (2005): 463-466.
45   Collier and Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War."
46   Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy."
47   Cevik and Rahmati, "Breaking the Curse of Sisyphus: An Empirical Analysis of Post-Conflict Economic Transitions;" Brittain, "The Impact of War on Women."
48   Ibid.; Caprioli, "Gender Equality and Civil Wars;" Regan and Paskeviciute, "Women's Access to Politics and Peaceful States."

society. Specifications were explored using the proportion of girls' school enrollment and the proportion of female deaths of total deaths. However, due to statistical issues, they had to be dropped from the model.[49]

Table 1: Subsequent War Robust Logit Regression Results

Subsequent War	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Ethnic War	0.106 (0.588)
Total Goals	-1.23 (0.689)*
War-Related Deaths	0.082 (0.205)
Duration	-0.359 (0.138)***
Decisive Victory	-0.418 (0.552)
Grievances Settled	0.445 (0.537)
Displaced Persons	0.049 (0.059)
Partition	1.631 (0.770)**
Level of Democracy	0.001 (0.035)
Infant Mortality	0.033 (0.015)**
Peace Years (first 5 years of)	-0.478 (0.264)*
Fertility Rate	0.248 (0.121)**
Constant	-1.877 (1.538)
Number of observations	1010
Pseudo-R^2	0.092
Wald Chi^2 p-value	0.008

* significant at the 0.10 level
**significant at the 0.05 level
***significant at the 0.01 level

The model shows that war is significantly less likely to occur if the rebels took over government control. This could be for several reasons. The ideal scenario is that in which the rebels took over control and the population was so satisfied that it no longer felt the need to fight again. Unfortunately, this could be a longer-lasting effect of the conflict trap.[50] Conflicted societies tend to swing between anarchical periods (the civil wars) and periods under tyrannical control. Often, when the rebels win over complete government control, they rule like the tyrants against whom they had fought so hard.

49   Unfortunately, the proportion of girls' school enrollment had to be dropped from the regression. It was unavailable for so many countries and highly collinear with other control variables that the schooling ratio's effect was probably captured within the model. The proportion of women's deaths in total deaths was also dropped from the regression model due to many missing observations and high collinearity with other variables. Furthermore, this ratio is a poor measure of violence against women because it reflects all other sources of mortality.
50   Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy."

Some argue that the longer a war continues, the more likely it is that the nation will relapse into renewed violence. Enduring internal rivalries can rile up citizens into continued conflict.[51] However, some argue that the costs of war take such a toll on the economy and society that the incentive to relapse into war powerfully diminishes. Both arguments could be right—the threshold of 1,000 battle deaths could represent or cross another threshold of violence and destruction to make recidivism less appealing. At lower levels of violence, the duration of the war could have a smaller impact on relapse into violence. This model shows that the risk of subsequent war decreases in longer wars, presumably because the human and economic costs were so high that the incentive to relapse into war was sufficiently reduced to assure peace.

Just as the duration of the war is important, a longer duration of peace means a greater likelihood of its continuation. The first five years of a peace agreement tend to be the most tenuous. However, the results of this model show that the five years of peace decrease chances of another war. This confirms that once that time period has passed, the peace is likelier to hold.

Partition agreements increase the likelihood of repeated warfare. Not only do partition agreements force migration, which decreases stability in the daily lives of the population, but they also create a situation in which information on the strategies of the new states is harder to obtain, thus increasing the threat perception of the new countries.[52] The enduring internal rivalries resonant from the civil war could continue even after a partition agreement.[53]

With a higher infant mortality rate, the probability of renewed violence increases. Infant mortality directly affecting warfare is more challenging to explain. How would the number of children dying within the first five years of life affect the propensity of a nation to be violent? I suggest that infant mortality is instead another indicator of health within the community and thus development of the country. If communities are unsafe, public health decreases. According to a policy briefing from the RAND Corporation in 2008, infant mortality rates tend to fall as countries develop.[54] However, noting vast differences in infant mortality rates between countries with similar GNPs, it studied the variables most commonly associated with economic development and infant mortality, and found that the mothers' education stood as the strongest reason behind the decrease of infant mortality rates. As increased education is a large part of development, this result makes sense.

This model shows that higher fertility rates increase probability of war. There may be several reasons for this. Couples may choose to have larger families to compensate for the expected losses of children from the violence or from the desperation resultant of the times. Fertility rate and GDP per capita are generally inversely related, so the model's result could also

51   DeRouen Jr. and Bercovitch, "Enduring Internal Rivalries: A New Framework for the Study of Civil War."
52   Mattes and Savun, "Information, Agreement Design, and the Durability of Civil War Settlements"; Quacken-bush and Veneicher, "Settlements, Outcomes, and the Recurrence of Conflict."
53   DeRouen Jr. and Bercovitch, "Enduring Internal Rivalries: A New Framework for the Study of Civil War."
54   RAND Corporation, "Policy Brief: The Family in Economic Development."

indicate the level of development of the country. As most of the countries in this sample are lower-developed countries, a high fertility rate makes sense. The fertility rates could either be a reaction to the violence or have a destabilizing effect. Nonetheless, as Caprioli discusses, when rebel leaders are generating support for their cause, they often use women as an example of a victim to galvanize the men into joining the military ranks.[55] Due to this, women are pressured into more established roles in the home as wives and mothers. This also contributes to the explanation of a higher fertility rate correlating with subsequent warfare—since the rebel recruitment encourages more traditional roles, the women are forced away from non-traditional roles. More resources are devoted to having children. Not only does this often have a negative effect on the potential GDP per capita, it also damages society as a whole. Women who are at home taking care of children are neither participating in the formal labor force nor the political realm.

Conclusion

One must always regard statistical models, particularly of such complex situations as war, with a certain amount of skepticism. Large *n* studies can produce results that may not hold true for all situations.[56] This analysis generally looks at large, structural factors. No doubt, going on a case-by-case basis and analyzing short-term risk variables would create a more accurate model of the risk behind civil conflict recurrence. Keeping that in mind, this analysis suggests that duration, partition agreements, a peace lasting at least five years, infant mortality rates, and fertility rates are the variables that significantly impact the persistence of civil conflict.

The effect of women on recurrent conflict still remains under-examined. This analysis is only one small step toward discovering the true roles of women in conflict. While my results show that women have no great effect on war recurrence, there are limits to my study that one must be aware of, and into which future researchers may look more. My proxy variables or regression themselves may be imperfect, as mentioned earlier.

Future research should expand the dataset to current day. Next, another aspect of a more updated dataset is the inclusion of the "Arab Spring." The outbreak of violence in the Middle East and North Africa may provide a theoretical base for a regime change to be included in the analysis.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is a powerful document on the effects of war on women, and vice-versa. With a more current dataset, future researchers may use this as a point for a possible regime change over relations of women in war.

Since fertility rate and infant mortality rate are statistically significant in this analysis, one may look more into the effect of demographics on civil warfare. There is already a fair amount

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55   Caprioli, "Gender Equality and Civil Wars."
56   Ward et al., "Learning from the Past and Stepping into the Future: Toward a New Generation of Conflict Prediction;" Ward, Greenhill and Bakke, "The perils of policy by p-value: Predicting civil conflicts."

of literature on the effect of youth bulges on the propensity of nations to go into conflict, but other researchers may look into the persistence of wars based on demographics, such as youth bulges and the gender relations within those youth bulges. How empowered are women in those societies where so many young people exist? How are those young women making a difference for peace in their communities?

Collier differentiated between two different reasons why peace had to be reached: "Peace requires either that the intense political conflict continue but that the military option of conducting it should be made infeasible, or that the political conflict should itself be resolved."[57] There are huge implications to each kind of peace. Future researchers may differentiate between which type of peace was achieved, and if gender relations play a role in which type of peace was reached.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Qualifying Conflicts (adapted from Walter, 2004)

Post-Conflict Peace Periods that began between 1946-1996: (Dates indicate the years of peace through 1999). Wars that were ongoing at the end of the time period (1999) are not included in the data set since there is no opportunity for renewed conflict to occur. Countries marked with an asterisk (*) all experienced an ongoing subsequent war (as of 12/31/99).

Algeria (1963-1999)
Argentina (1955-1999)
Bolivia (1952-1999)
Burma (1951-1968)
Burma (1980-1993)*
Burundi (1972-1988)
Burundi (1988-1991)*
Cambodia (1975-1979)
Cambodia (1991-1999)
Chad (1987-1999)
China (1949-1967)
China (1968-1999)
Colombia (1964-1984)*
Congo (1965-1999)
Costa Rica (1948-1999)
Cuba (1959-1999)
Dominican Republic (1965-1999)
El Salvador (1992-1999)
Greece (1949-1999)
Guatemala (1954-1966)
Guatemala (1996-1999)
India (1993-1999)
Indonesia (1950-1953)
Indonesia (1953-1956)
Indonesia (1956-1999)
Iran (1979-1981)
Iran (1982-1999)
Iraq (1959-1991)
Iraq (Kurdish/Shiite) (1991-1999)
Jordan (1970-1999)
Laos (1973-1999)
Lebanon (1958-1975)
Lebanon (1976-1999)
Liberia (1994-1999)

Mozambique (1992-1999)
Nicaragua (1979-1982)
Nicaragua (1990-1999)
Nigeria (1970-1999)
Pakistan (1971-1973)
Pakistan (1977-1999)
Paraguay (1947-1999)
Philippines (1952-1972)*
Romania (1989-1999)
Rwanda (1964-1990)
Rwanda (1994-1999)
South Yemen (1986-1999)
Sri Lanka (1971-1983)*
Sri Lanka (JVP) (1989-1999)
Sudan (1972-1983)*
Tajikistan (1994-1999)
Uganda (1966-1980)
Uganda (1988-1999)
Vietnam (1975-1999)
Yemen Arab Republic (1948-1962)
Yemen Arab Republic (1962-1999)
Yugoslavia Croatia (1992-1995)
Yugoslavia Bosnia (1995-1999)
Zimbabwe (1979-1999)

Appendix 2: Sources of Data

Ethnic War: coded as 1 if the war was categorized as ethnic warfare by Walter (2004).

Total Goals: coded as 1 if the rebels' goal was to take over control versus making demands such as political reform, more autonomy, etc. by Walter (2004).

War-Related Deaths: from a threshold of 1,000 battle deaths, obtained by Walter (2004) from the Correlates of War Database.

Duration of War: obtained and logged by Walter (2004) from Correlates of War Database.

Displaced Persons: obtained and logged by Walter (2004) from Sambanis (2000); measures the number of displaced persons due to war.

Grievances settled: dummy variable coded as 1 if the terms of a treaty resolved the main rebel grievances stated at the beginning of the war; information obtained by Walter (2004) from *Keesing's Contemporary Archives,* the Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity, and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, and individual histories.

 Decisive Victory: dummy variable coded as 1 by Walter (2004) if the war ended with a decisive win on either side.

Partition: dummy variable coded as 1 by Walter (2004) if the peace included a partition agreement; obtained from Sambanis (2000).

Infant Mortality Rate: obtained by Walter (2004) from the Socio-Economic Data Division of the World Bank's International Economics Department.

Democracy: obtained by Walter (2004) from the Polity III dataset, a rating scale of democracy to autocracy.

Peace Years: number of peace years after the war, counted by Walter (2004).

Fertility Rate: obtained from the UN Population Prospects.

Schooling Ratio: obtained from the Barro & Lee dataset.

Deaths Ratio: obtained from UN Population Prospects.

Appendix 3: Pairwise Correlation Results

	Subsequent War	GDP/ Capita	Fertility Rate	Deaths Ratio	Schooling Ratio	War-Related Deaths	Democracy
Subsequent War	1						
GDP/ Capita	-0.0261	1					
Fertility Rate	0.0334	-0.5932	1				
Deaths Ratio	-0.0135	-0.3115	0.384	1			
Schooling Ratio	-0.151	-0.3554	0.1131	0.2728	1		
War-Related Deaths	0.0179	-0.0542	-0.0211	0.1995	-0.4277	1	
Democracy	-0.0257	0.3606	-0.2872	-0.212	0.0619	-0.0518	1
Duration	-0.0103	-0.2014	-0.0487	0.2022	-0.2035	0.6921	-0.0774
Ethnic War	0.0503	-0.3614	0.311	0.3083	-0.3305	0.1756	-0.3062
Infant Mortality	0.0481	0.135	-0.1568	-0.0364	-0.2195	-0.0197	0.0295
Partition	0.0355	-0.1137	-0.0998	-0.0573	.	0.0813	-0.1826
Displaced Persons	0.0135	0.0127	-0.1021	0.1007	-0.3883	0.5453	-0.1147
Settled Grievances	-0.0009	-0.0085	-0.0636	-0.1012	0.3305	0.0107	0.166
Total Goals	-0.0437	0.2131	0.0108	-0.1559	0.4693	-0.3359	0.0896
Decisive Victory	-0.0081	-0.0148	0.1916	0.0527	0.0778	-0.1319	-0.1474
Peace Years	-0.0089	0.1347	-0.1398	-0.0492	0.0678	-0.0655	0.0061

	Duration	Ethnic War	Infant Mortality	Partition	Displaced Persons	Settle Grievances	Total Goals	Decisive Victory	Peace Years
Duration	1								
Ethnic	0.1952	1							
Infant Mortality	-0.058	-0.004	1						
Partition	0.2087	-0.0258	-0.1076	1					
Displaced Persons	0.5815	0.0291	0.0386	0.099	1				
Settled Grievances	0.022	-0.3892	-0.0655	0.1664	0.2326	1			
Total Goals	-0.3353	-0.4763	-0.0019	0.0324	-0.0446	0.357	1		
Decisive Victory	-0.2975	-0.0039	-0.0087	-0.0506	-0.3108	-0.0657	0.1321	1	
Peace Years	-0.0764	-0.0648	0.0318	-0.0631	-0.1008	-0.1018	0.0682	0.1162	1

Appendix 4: Odds ratios and Marginal Effects

Table 1: Subsequent War Odds Ratios

Subsequent War	Coefficient (Standard Error)	Odds Ratio	P-Value
Ethnic War	0.106 (0.588)	1.512	0.857
Total Goals	-1.23 (0.689)	0.292	**0.074**
War-Related Deaths	0.082 (0.205)	1.085	0.688
Duration	-0.359 (0.138)	0.699	**0.009**
Decisive Victory	-0.418 (0.552)	0.658	0.449
Grievances Settled	0.445 (0.537)	1.561	0.407
Displaced Persons	0.049 (0.059)	1.050	0.412
Partition	1.631 (0.770)	5.108	**0.034**
Level of Democracy	0.001 (0.035)	1.001	0.969
Infant Mortality	0.033 (0.015)	1.034	**0.025**
Peace Years (first 5 years of)	-0.478 (0.264)	0.620	**0.070**
Fertility Rate	0.248 (0.121)	1.282	**0.040**
Constant	-1.877 (1.538)	0.153	0.223
Number of observations	1010		
Pseudo-R^2	0.092	Wald Chi^2 p-value	0.008

Table 2: Subsequent War Conditional Marginal Effects

	Mean	dy/dx (Marginal Effect)	Standard Error	P-value
Duration	2.171	-0.005	0.002	**0.007**
Infant Mortality	-3.586	0.001	0.0002	**0.026**
Peace Years	4.838	-0.007	0.004	**0.08**
Fertility Rates	5.080	0.004	0.002	**0.032**
Number of observations	1010		Model VCE	Robust

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CULTURE &
SOCIETY CORNER

The 2015 Sigma Iota Rho Journal of International Relations Culture & Society Corner features articles on the role of liberal feminism in international relations theory by Tushara Surapaneni and the movement of music from the Ottoman Empire by Arynne Wexler. Although not strictly confined to the subject of international relations, the Journal's editors believe that these articles provide a congent and well-informed examination of the cultural and societal context in which international relations occur, thus warranting their inclusion in the Journal.

Liberating Liberal Feminism: An Intersectional Approach

BY TUSHARA SURAPANENI
SUNY GENESEO

ABSTRACT

The production of knowledge in international relations theory is dominated by men and their experiences. This paper critiques one branch, liberal feminism, and explores an avenue for the improvement of its emancipatory agenda. Liberal feminists use gender as a social construct in analyzing the unequal allocation of and access to resources and opportunities. Liberal feminism's single-axis framework perceives race, class, sexuality and gender as competing identities, rather than as intersecting constructs that produce different outcomes both within and between groups of women. A case study examining the relationship between Kurdish and Turkish feminists illustrates the harm of an essentialist perspective with respect to the subordination of women. Using an enhanced intersectional analytical framework, liberal feminism can be improved so that it is more inclusive of minority women. Intersectionality proposes an introspection of those producing liberal feminist knowledge and the women who benefit from that knowledge. An overview of general trends in the worldwide political representation of minority women demonstrates that liberal feminism does not need to forgo its commitment to empirical data. Adopting intersectionality will "liberate" liberal feminism from its harmful treatment of women as a monolithic group.

INTRODUCTION

Feminism is a richly historical and multidisciplinary field that crosscuts international relations with anthropology, sociology, biology, and psychology. Underlying the foundation of modern feminism is the notion that all women are oppressed and the way in which we understand

and behave in the world is shaped by gendered meaning.[1] The use of "gender" in feminist discourse generally refers to the culturally defined characteristics and expectations of men and women. These expectations of how men and women should behave vary with societal context, but most societies adopt gender differences that reinforce hegemonic masculinity.[2]

Feminism has the potential to transform international relations (IR) theory. Feminists believe that international relations discourse can be improved by using a more gendered lens to more accurately reflect the realities of international politics. IR feminists criticize other theories within the discipline for being rooted in the knowledge and experiences of men, thus marginalizing women's experiences or rendering them entirely invisible.[3] Definitions of the patriarchy differ widely depending on context, but all converge on a central truth: in almost every society historically and worldwide, patriarchy sustains and legitimizes a social order that demotes and oppresses women.[4] Consumed by this concept of hegemonic masculinity, IR feminists examine the effects of domestic and international structures on women. The general goal of IR feminism is to design research in which women are both the subjects and the creators of knowledge. Not only is the study of women's experiences important, but also knowledge should be built in such a way that is useful to them.[5]

Unfortunately, a theory focused on the marginalization of women is marginalized itself within international relations due to a prevalent misunderstanding of feminism's relevance to generating theoretical knowledge.[6] Many IR feminist theories are proposed supplements to traditional rationalist theories, not attacks of their inherent correctness. IR feminism exposes complexities in the portraits depicted by traditional IR theories.[7] Feminists offer a useful framework for rethinking traditional rationalist theories and their conceptualization of the international system. In doing so, deeper questions are raised about the influence of non-state actors and the nature of hierarchy, power, and sovereignty. It is important to note that there is no single feminist framework. Branches of IR feminism are diverse in orientation and methodology, each offering a unique perspective and epistemology. Prevailing feminist theories are described as critical/Marxist, postmodern, post-colonial, radical, standpoint, and liberal, all of which suggest different critiques of traditional IR theories and of each other.

An Overview of Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism was born out of the American interpretation of the liberal tradition,

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1   Spike V. Peterson, "Transgressing boundaries: Theories of knowledge, gender and international relations," MILLENNIUM, (London: London School of Economics, 1992), 195.
2   J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 6-7.
3   Ibid., 5.
4   Ibid., 6.
5   Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, ed., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25.
6   Peterson, "Transgressing boundaries," 186.
7   Ibid., 190.

which stresses individual rights and freedom.[8] The theory remains dedicated to a positivist methodology, separating it from the majority of feminist theories, which are post-positivist. Liberal feminism's focus on individualism only extends to the empowerment of women in making their own choices. The theory does not individualize within its analysis of women, opting instead for a streamlined generalization of how women experience sexism. Liberal feminists seek to legally liberate women and expand their roles in both the private and public spheres. The theory adheres to principles of universal human rights based on the ontological position that there is no inherent difference of ability or intellect between men and women.[9] Liberal feminists are credited with shedding light on private sphere issues that occur at the individual and household levels. These theorists prioritize issues such as domestic violence, childcare, reproductive rights, criminalization of rape, professional and political discrimination, and equal pay.[10] Liberal feminism relies on activism and legislation aiming to abolish legal barriers and achieve gender equality.[11]

Within the theoretical realm, liberal feminism is in a unique position. It is the most mainstream interpretation of feminism touted by self-labeled "feminists" outside the ivory tower of academia. Yet, the theory simultaneously receives the most criticism from within its discipline.[12] Similar to other IR theories, there is internal debate between different sects of feminists, just as there are internal debates among realist, liberal, and constructivist theorists, as well as between supporters of offensive realism and supporters of defensive realism. Critiques of liberal feminism tackle a variety of issues. Most IR feminists consider themselves to be post-liberal, implying that liberal feminism is either outdated, insufficient, or both. Additionally, all branches of IR feminism do not uniformly share liberal feminism's adherence to empiricism and positivism. Leftist post-liberals take issue with liberal feminism's overly simplistic claim that adding women to existing patriarchal structures would end female subordination.[13] Post-colonial feminists contend that the reliance on a Western liberal definition of what gender equality looks like is problematic and harmful to non-Western women. Many feminists also express frustration with the tendency of early liberal feminists to equate biological sex with gender.[14] In defense, liberal feminists counter the complaints of post-structural theorists by arguing that their colleagues threaten the feminist emancipatory agenda by focusing too much on differences among women.[15] However, sensitivity to the discrimination of minority women will not threaten prospects for solidarity or equality. It will later be demonstrated by a case study of the worldwide political representation of minority women that a post-liberal, anti-essentialist approach actually uplifts more women into the public sphere.

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8   Patricia S. Misciagno, *Rethinking feminist identification: The case for de facto feminism* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997), 37.
9   Jill Steans, *Gender and international relations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 213.
10   Misciagno, *Rethinking feminist identification*, 39-40.
11   Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons ed., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2013), 185.
12   Misciagno, *Rethinking feminist identification*, 37.
13   Carlsnaes et al, *Handbook of International Relations*, 277.
14   Ibid., 185-186.
15   Ibid., 277.

The relative position in power and status of men over women is often referred to as patriarchy. Patriarchy develops as a social system that constitutes and is constituted by the experiences of men. It is not homogenous across geographic or cultural contexts, but feminists universally believe that all societies are inherently male dominated.[16] Liberal feminist Zillah Eisenstein argues that complete equal opportunity for women has radical implications, because it implies the "elucidation and erosion of patriarchy."[17] However, this notion is not necessarily true. The acceptance of liberal feminism in mainstream culture can be partially attributed to its inherent weakness of being less threatening to a white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal society.[18] Liberal feminism merely asks women to assimilate into the existing hegemonic order rather than to question it.[19] Legal reform is treated as an end in itself, instead of as a means to achieving a more revolutionary end: dismantling patriarchy. Allan G. Johnson points out that it is easier to uplift women into male-dominated positions of power than to change the nature of the patriarchy. Producing more Margaret Thatchers, Ellen Johnson Sirleafs, Angela Merkels, or Condoleezza Rices only generates the illusion of gender equality while reaffirming and embracing patriarchal values. These women, although extraordinary in their own right, do not undermine patriarchal principles – such as hierarchy, control, competition, capitalism, or the acceptability of war – simply by occupying seats of power typically held by men.[20] Thus, inviting more women in the public sphere will not automatically elucidate or erode patriarchy as Eisenstein suggests. Liberal feminism looks critically at women's representation and access to opportunity but undermines the goal of gender equality by tolerating and perpetuating the underlying values of patriarchal society. The notion that women can achieve equality without fundamentally transforming the "cultural basis of group oppression" is untenable.[21] Legal reforms, while important, will not be sufficient to destroy institutions of domination or systematic processes of gender inequality.

Liberal Feminist Politics of Domination: Which Women? Which Men?

Several global indexes exist to quantify the amount of freedom enjoyed by women in different societies. Sectors of the liberal feminism's general research program analyze empirical data that track the prevalence of women in positions of power in male-dominated spheres, such as business, politics, law, etc. An upward trend in female leadership and representation is interpreted as marked progress in achieving greater gender equality in the international system. Legislation mandating gender quotas in political representation is also considered a sign of improvement despite varying degrees of enforcement and tangible outcomes. By ranking countries based on these factors, liberal feminists purport an ethnocentric idea that there

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16   Pamela M. Paxton and Melanie M. Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective* (Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press, 2007), 27.
17   Misciagno, *Rethinking feminist identification*, 71.
18   bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center,* (Cambridge: South End Press, 1984), 23.
19   Allan G. Johnson, *The Gender Knot: Unraveling our Patriarchal Legacy,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 17.
20   Ibid.
21   hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 21.

are some countries where it is "better" to be a woman than in others based on a sum of afforded rights and privileges. This assumption highlights a major issue with the essentialist tendency of liberal feminism to ignore intra-group differences. For example, liberal feminists often complain that a woman in the United States earns, on average, 77 cents on the dollar for the same work as men. Yet, this attack on wage inequality does not illuminate equally important distinctions that women of color earn even less than 77 cents or that in some states, companies can legally practice employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Even as liberal feminists strive to close the wage gap, it is important to question for which groups of women they are seeking justice (in this example, white women making 77 cents to a white man's dollar). This simplified example illustrates the greater problems with attempting to capture the lived experience of women in a statistical figure. There is no average experience of oppression, even within the same country, since women are discriminated against based on multiple social identities like race, class, sexuality, and physical ability in conjunction with gender. Thus, overgeneralizing the experience of women leads liberal feminism to construct a worldview that is built upon inaccurate maps of women's lives.[22]

Feminists share the assumption that the lives of women are important, so why are certain women's experiences with inequality given more attention in liberal feminist research? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at who exactly is generating mainstream feminist theory and whose input is largely disregarded. When feminist scholars advocate for a reflexive attitude that incorporates their own personal lives and experiences, it is important to acknowledge that Western-educated white women dominate mainstream liberal feminist theory.[23] Their tendency to focus on majority culture perpetuates a tunnel-vision interpretation of feminism that considers gender differences alone.[24] When liberal feminists make claims about what women are, what women contribute, and how the position of women in society can be improved, their claims are inapplicable to women who do not share the class and racial privilege of those formulating the claims. Even if white liberal feminists may be sincerely concerned with issues of race, class, sexuality, etc., their methodology holds gender as "the sole determinant of woman's fate" since they have not expressed oppression based on other factors.[25]

Furthermore, despite the fact that men also face discrimination based on social identities, liberal feminists do not specify with which men they are seeking equality. When liberal feminists apply such terms as "individual" or "citizen," they are generally referring to men who benefit from a "white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal class structure."[26] In pursuing equality with educated men from the middle and upper classes, liberal feminists are only positioning themselves to significantly improve the social standing of women with similar backgrounds.

22   Angelia R. Wilson, ed., *Situating Intersectionality: Politics, Policy, and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4.
23   J. Ann Tickner, "What is your research program? Some feminist answers to international relations method-ological questions," *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2005): 8.
24   Jill M. Vickers, "Feminists and party politics," *The American Political Science Review* 95 (2001): 249.
25   hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 15.
26   hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 19.

Liberal feminism seeks to dismantle male domination, but the theory itself practices a form of domination politics in its production of feminist knowledge. The failure to acknowledge the unique experiences of minority women only reinforces the behavior of white scholars speaking "for and as [all] women" without acknowledging their own privilege.[27] It is crucial to the advancement of liberal feminism to create spaces for minority women to criticize sexist, racist, and classist hegemony from their unique positions at the margin.[28] The following case study of feminism in Turkey illustrates the unique position of Kurdish feminists in the Turkish modernization project.

KURDISH FEMINISTS IN TURKEY

The Kurdish people are members of an ethnic group that live across Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. The Kurds are considered the largest stateless ethnic group in the modern world and have a long history of oppression and displacement. Kurdish women in Turkey experience overwhelming hardships including humiliation, physical violence, unemployment, lack of healthcare, and barriers to participate in civil society.[29] Furthermore, Kurdish feminists are doubly marginalized in academic feminist discourse. Although the propagation of second wave feminism influenced the construction of "the modern Turkish woman," feminist academic circles largely exclude an analysis of how minority women, particularly Kurdish women, are affected by and interact with the Turkish modernization project. In their construction of the identity of women, Turkish feminists dissociate themselves from axes of religious and ethnic differences.[30] Consequently, the production of feminist knowledge is completely dominated by majority women in Turkey, mirroring the politics of domination exercised by white feminist scholars in the United States.

A Kurdish woman interprets the feminist emancipatory agenda entirely differently than a middle-class, educated Turkish woman. A Kurdish woman's interactions with Turkish society are fundamentally different experiences than those of a privileged Turkish woman. Stressing the patriarchal nature of the Turkish state, Kurdish feminists focus on violence against minority women, citizenship rights, and nationalism as integral to their manifesto.[31] Recognizing their marginal position in society and within the discipline of feminism, female Kurdish activists echo the critique that Turkish feminism and Western liberal feminism are inherently ethnocentric. As bearers of multiple forms of discrimination, Kurdish women advocate a feminist agenda that heeds socioeconomic, ethnic, and national identities of women.[32] Kurdish feminists call for a commitment to center the study of feminism on differences among women.

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27   Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *Feminist Legal Theory: Readings in Law and Gender*, (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1991): 67.
28   hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 16.
29   Toni Wright, "On 'Sisterhood': What Iraqi Kurdish Women Migrants have to Say about Women and the Commonalities they Share," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 15 (2014): 183-184.
30   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 110-111.
31   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 115.
32   Ibid., 117.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The single-axis framework of liberal feminism privileges the study of gender above other identity constructs. Kimberlé Crenshaw points out that a single-axis framework privileges the experience of majority women while erasing minority women in the "conceptualization, identification, and remediation" of gender discrimination.[33] Treated as mutually exclusive experiences, race, class, and sexuality are given secondary status to gender within liberal feminists' proposed legal reforms. However, liberal feminists will never achieve the social equality they seek on the basis of gender alone.[34] Granted, almost every feminist writer acknowledges – usually within a sentence or two – that women experience oppression differently based on other social identities, such as race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, physical ability, age, education, and geographic region. At the Houston Woman's Conference in 1978, the ninth agenda item on a list of thirteen liberal feminist demands reads: "a remedy to the double discrimination against minority women."[35] Yet, a simple acknowledgement of the plurality of women's experiences or a well-meaning reminder of the implications of "totalizing assumptions" is not reflected in liberal feminists' methodologies nor does it inform their policy recommendations. Legal reforms are touted as the linchpin to gender equality, but unfortunately there is no demand for legislation that explicitly accommodates "double discrimination."

The liberal feminist agenda of abolishing legal barriers to women will not be solved by simply promoting women of different race, class, or sexuality within its established analytical structure. This approach views social identities as parallel categories rather than constitutive of each other. In other words, liberal feminists cannot simply "add race and stir" to understand the experiences of minority women.[36] A woman's experience, socially, economically, and politically, is more than the sum of different identities, because these identities are socially constructed and interrelated. In order to benefit minority women, the liberal feminist framework must be reimagined to adopt intersectionality.[37] Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality" in 1989 in her analysis of the oppression of black women in the United States, but the underlying idea is neither a new phenomenon nor uniquely American. Intersectionality is founded upon the idea that women of minority groups are further marginalized than majority women, and as a result, face multiple barriers to improving their power and status. Enhancing liberal feminism's analytical framework with the application of intersectionality requires the following:

1. Abandoning the notion that the experience of women is fixed or monolithic and recognizing differences among women. Intersectionality does not suggest pigeonholing women by groups, but argues against broad, overreaching categories undertaken by liberal feminism, which considers all women's subordination to be

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33   Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," 57.
34   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 5.
35   Misciagno, *Rethinking feminist identification*, 40.
36   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 21.
37   Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," 58.

a uniform experience for the sake of empiricism. [38]

2. Viewing social identities such as gender, race, and sexuality as dynamic and interactive, rather than constructs moving in parallel. Social identities should be understood relationally and in an explicit context, intersecting with and rooted in each other.

3. Examining the different social identities that intersect to generate a "matrix of domination," which can explain unique barriers, privileges, and overall outcomes for women.[39]

It is necessary to briefly expand on the third tenet, which offers an important clarification on handling multiple social identities. An additive approach that quantifies the disadvantages of being a woman *in addition to* being black *in addition to* being bisexual does not sum to a complete understanding of a minority woman's experiences. These social identities (gender, race, and sexuality) are mutually constructed. Intersectionality recognizes that a minority woman's understanding of her gender informs her experience with her race and vice versa. Policy makers utilize the former approach because it is convenient for isolating one form of discrimination to tackle – such as affirmative action based on race *or* gender *or* class – but they do not take into account how social identities coincide to produce compounding barriers. Therefore, the additive approach is harmful, because it can lead to competition between marginalized groups in claiming political resources. Intersectionality does not produce the "oppression Olympics" where different groups vie for the title of the most subjugated, structurally, politically, or culturally.[40] Instead, it illustrates a more accurate picture of multi-layered discrimination, where "several grounds of discrimination interact with each other simultaneously" to predict different obstacles for minority women than for majority women.[41]

Enhancing liberal feminism's theoretical framework with intersectionality will help theorists veer away from a solely gendered outlook to accommodate social identities that more accurately reflect the realities of women's lives.[42] Intersectional analysis has true potential for enacting radical change, because it liberates women from a standardized hegemonic order and informs its practitioners in designing more inclusive policies.[43] The most convincing argument for intersectionality will operate within liberal feminism's research parameters through an analysis of measurable, empirical data and legal reforms. The following overview of worldwide female minority quotas demonstrates how this form of intersectionality can augment legal reforms.

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38   Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30 (2005): 1779.
39   Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 224-225.
40   Ange-Marie Hancock, "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm," *Perspectives on Politicss,* 5 (2007): 68.
41   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 2-4.
42   Olena Hankivsky and Renee Cormier, "Intersectionality and public policy: Some lessons from existing models," *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (2011): 218.
43   McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," 1777.

TRENDS IN FEMALE MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL LEGISLATURES

In 2011, seven countries did not have a single woman in their legislatures, continuing the tradition of male domination in politics. Simultaneously, other countries were witnessing the proportion of women parliamentary representatives beginning to exceed that of men. Liberal feminists may contend that minority women stand to benefit from either gender or minority quotas for political representation, therefore making gender-minority "tandem" quotas redundant. Rather than simply examining how gender *or* minority status disenfranchises women, intersectionality asks how gender *and* minority status can work together to shape minority women's representation in and interactions with political structures.[44] Empirical research attests that gender quotas tend to benefit minorities only if the quota is compulsory of national political parties. Even if gender quotas were enforced in every country, it still would not guarantee the promotion of minority women in politics.[45] In the United States, the first Latina was not elected to the House of Representatives until 41 years after the first woman and 113 years after the first Latino man. In other countries, women may serve in legislatures, but men dominate the representation of the minority groups' interests. Between 2005 and 2007, in 81 democratic and semi-democratic countries, minority women comprised only 2 percent of national legislatures, despite composing 9 percent of the general population. During that period, majority men were, on average, nine times more likely to be elected than minority women.[46] Different quota systems, which are regulated to varying degrees, produce different outcomes for the representation of minority women in politics. Instituting and enforcing gender and minority quotas will improve the representation of majority women, minority women, and minority men. Though this approach fails to address underlying intersectional social issues that perpetuate these gender disparities, such a system would begin to address the marginalization of particular groups within a state's political discourse.

Interestingly enough, there are several countries in which minority women utilize their social identities strategically to garner political votes. In countries that have gender and minority quotas, electing minority women essentially kills two birds with one stone, thereby displacing fewer men from seats in the legislature.[47] Intersectional analysis posits a less cynical interpretation of this trend, since the rise in minority women representation is not exclusive to countries with compulsory quotas. In some countries, minority women may be viewed as particularly effective advocates for constituents with shared identities. For example, since the 1970s, the number of minority-identified women continues to exceed the number of majority women at every level of the United States government. Similar trends have been documented in Canada and Belgium since the turn of the twentieth century.[48] Liberal feminism interprets these patterns simply as a great leap for womankind overall, without highlighting the unique importance of increased minority representation in legislatures. Intersectionality improves

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44   Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 226.
45   Melanie M. Hughes, "Intersectionality, quotas, and minority women's political representation worldwide," *The American Political Science Review* 105 (2011): 604.
46   Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 226-227.
47   Hughes, "Intersectionality, quotas, and minority women's political representation worldwide," 605.
48   Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 230-231.

liberal feminists' understanding of the impact of power disparities among individual women and relationships within and between nations.[49] Clearly, intersectional analysis can enhance liberal feminism's epistemology without threatening its methodology of collecting empirical data. Thus, liberal feminism's research programs in international relations could greatly benefit from an intersectional framework to strike a better balance between individual and structural levels of analysis.[50]

CONCLUSION

Including the study of women's lives and experiences is crucial to fully understanding interactions between states. Abolishing legal barriers to empower women into male-dominated spheres is a worthwhile pursuit, even if it does not fundamentally transform patriarchal principles. However, it is imperative that liberal feminists are self-aware and critical by asking themselves which women they are truly empowering. Liberal feminism's single-axis framework is flawed, because it perceives race, class, sexuality and gender as competing identities rather than as constructs that intersect to produce different outcomes between and within groups of women. A reflexive look at the liberal feminist agenda reveals that women of diverse social identities are still marginalized in political discourse and prevented from accessing the benefits pursued by liberal feminists. Intersectionality presents a compromise, because it asks liberal feminists to acknowledge and account for differences among women. In exchange, it lends itself seamlessly to their methodology of collecting and analyzing empirical data.

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49   Wilson, *Situating Intersectionality*, 91.
50   Ibid., 90.

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Clash between Europe and the Ottoman Empire: How Percussive Instruments Set the Beat for Ottoman Influence in the 18th and 19th Centuries

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ABSTRACT

As the Ottoman Empire expanded west, its interactions with Europe precipitated groundbreaking changes in modern culture. The Ottomans left a lasting mark on European music by introducing percussion instruments to the orchestra. The continually evolving employment of this section in European orchestras paralleled the shift in power between the Ottoman and European empires during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More specifically, as Europeans gained supremacy against an increasingly weak and vulnerable Ottoman Empire, composers also assumed greater autonomy over the use of 'Turkish' elements in their music. Ultimately, Europeans mirrored their domination over Ottoman land by claiming these musical elements as their own.

The first section of this article focuses on the history of the Ottoman Empire and the military band of its elite infantry units, the Janissaries. The second section introduces the percussion section of Ottoman bands and describes how it was transplanted into European music. The third section focuses on how European composers grew increasingly flexible in their use of these Ottoman instruments and how these changes in music served as a barometer for changes in the trajectory of the Ottoman Empire. The three composers whose works are referenced in this article are Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven.

As the Ottoman Empire expanded west, its interactions with European culture precipitated groundbreaking changes in modern culture. During the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire both commanded respect and instilled fear in European nations. At its prime during the mid-sixteenth century, the Empire stretched from parts of Europe through North Africa

in the west to the Arabian Peninsula and modern-day Iraq in the east. The aggressive, rapid rise of Ottoman hegemony both challenged and intrigued Europeans. During the Ottomans' territorial expansion, a *Turquerie* fad spread through Europe, and significant exchanges and migrations took place between Ottomans and Western Powers.[1] The exchanges included people, commodities, technology, ideology, military tactics, literature, and music.

Historians rarely acknowledge the musical migration that originated from the Ottoman Empire and entered European orchestras during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In an attempt to replicate the military strength and success of the Ottomans, Europeans copied the 'Turkish' music they heard through military bands and diplomatic gifts.[2] In particular, they imitated the presence of a percussion section and made use of new 'Turkish' rhythms. However, as the Ottoman Empire quickly lost traction at the turn of the nineteenth century, the European mimicry of 'Turkish' music also changed.

The continually evolving employment of 'Turkish' instruments in European orchestras followed the shift in power between the Ottoman and European empires during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More specifically, as Europeans gained the upper hand against an increasingly weak and vulnerable Ottoman Empire, composers also assumed greater autonomy over the use of 'Turkish' elements in their music. Ultimately, Europeans mirrored their domination over Ottoman land by claiming these musical elements as their own. The modern orchestra as we know it today, with its characteristic percussion section, is the byproduct of this historical clash between two great empires.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Ottoman Empire emerged from a vacuum of power during the post-Mongol period at the turn of the fourteenth century. Osman Ghazi came to power in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey) and set the stage for one of the longest-lasting empires in history. The territory of Anatolia, previously a frontier state, quickly turned into an organized and unified world power. On the watershed date of May 29, 1453, Mehmed II captured the last territory of the ancient Byzantines and established the new capital city: Constantinople.[3]

Under Suleiman the Magnificent, the Ottomans led conquests that expanded west into Europe. The siege of Vienna in 1529, a defeat for the Empire, served as a pivotal moment in

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1   Eve R. Meyer, "Turquerie and Eighteenth-Century Music," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).
2   This article will employ the term 'Ottoman music' rather than 'Turkish music' for deliberate reasons. The music that Europeans were familiar with originated from the military bands of the Ottoman Empire. Even though these troupes usually consisted of Christians who had been conscripted from conquered territories in Europe, Europeans generally categorized the people and land under the Ottoman Empire as 'Turks' and 'Turkey', respectively. Thus, while Europeans referred to this new style of music as 'Turkish', it would be erroneous to apply this term. Similarly, the other popular term 'Janissary music' neglects the fact that this music was sometimes played outside of a military context. When these terms appear instead of 'Ottoman' throughout this article, they may be placed in quotation marks.
3   Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 248-253.

Ottoman history, marking the geographic extent of Ottoman conquest into central Europe. The Empire then ruled a vast territory under an organized code of law, leading Europeans to view the Ottomans as the paramount model for order, discipline, and efficiency.[4]

The Janissaries, an elite infantry unit whose Turkish name translates to "new force," were the backbone of the Empire that earned the formidable reputation for the Ottomans. The Janissaries were Christian youths recruited for the Sultan's army through a *devsirme*, or levy. Founded in 1329, the Janissaries were taken to the Palace School in Istanbul where they were converted to Islam, trained, and sent to assume important military and administrative posts throughout the Empire.[5] One of these posts included the Ottoman military band, the *mehterhane*.[6]

As the Ottomans sought to become the regional hegemon, a bipolar system set in between European Christendom and the Ottoman Empire. Through its conquests, the Ottoman Empire's close contact with Europe resulted in a significant exchange of culture. Starting in the sixteenth century and reaching its height in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a 'Turkomania' spread through Europe. Turkish candies, fabrics, and tobacco flooded the markets, and 'The Turk' became a popular figure at masked balls.[7] However, most Europeans first encountered 'Turkish' culture through its military music. Long before the *mehterhane* became popular in European music, Europeans recognized the sound of the Ottoman military band. During Mehmed Pasha's visit to Vienna in June of 1665, a large *mehterhane* accompanied him.[8] Additionally, *mehters* played in order to motivate Ottoman troops while intimidating their adversaries in battle.[9] A seventeenth-century description provides a vivid exaggeration, conveying the true fear that the sounds of the Janissary band instilled: "When they pass playing at the same time, the noise of them presses men's brains out of their mouths."[10]

Even though the sounds of the Janissary military band already had established a presence in Europe, the first real exchange of Ottoman music occurred in the early eighteenth century when the Ottomans sent a Janissary band to King Augustus II of Poland. The band was so popular that Empress Ann of Russia requested and received one in 1725. Austria and France subsequently followed suit, and by 1770, most European armies had a similar military band.[11]

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4   Ibid., 254-260.
5   Michael Pirker, "Janissary Music," *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 9, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/14133.
6   Eric Rice, "Representations of Janissary Music (*Mehter*) as Musical Exoticism in Western Compositions, 1670-1824," *Journal of Musicological Research,* Vol. 19, Issue 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 51.
7   Karl Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter," *Turkish Music Quarterly*, Vol. 1 No. 1, Summer 1998.
8   Pirker, "Janissary Music," 1.
9   Rice, "Representations of Janissary Music," 47.
10   Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter."
11   Fatma Muge Gocek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 73.

MILITARY MUSIC

The most notable innovation that the Ottomans brought to European music was the percussion section. Before the premiere of Ottoman music, composers had not integrated percussion instruments into orchestras, with the exception of the timpani, which was used in a limited fashion. The percussion instruments most commonly categorized as Ottoman are the bass drum, cymbals, Turkish crescent, and tambourine.[12] While sources on this topic differ in opinion as to whether or not the triangle originated from Ottoman music, this analysis will include the triangle as part of this group of Ottoman instruments since it was used to evoke a 'Turkish' exoticism for Europeans.

The thundering sounds of the Ottoman military band were a means of power projection on the battlefield and appear in many accounts of Ottoman warfare in Europe. Music extended the Ottoman identity beyond the battlefield and into European culture and international politics. Even before the Ottomans became a superpower, their military music contributed to a socially constructed fear of their power.

However, Ottoman power did not go unchecked. In 1699, the Treaty of Karlowitz altered political, economic, and cultural power structures. It finalized the Ottoman Empire's first major loss, forcing the Ottomans to cede territory and recognize Europe as an equal power for the first time. This recognition was not merely a forced political gesture; internally, the Ottomans quietly began to look to European advisors to help Westernize their military, treasury, and culture. Additionally, Europeans experienced a series of subsequent victories throughout the eighteenth century that granted them further territorial and economic rights, such as with the treaties of Passarowitz in 1718 and Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, which ended the Austro-Turkish and Russo-Turkish wars, respectively.[13] The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji is a prime example of challenges to Ottoman hegemony. It granted Russia navigation on the Black Sea, a privilege that previously had not been granted to non-Muslims, the authority to serve as the de facto protectors of Orthodox Christianity, and the right to build an Orthodox Church in the Empire's capital city, Constantinople. As the Ottoman Empire's power diminished and borders contracted, Europeans grew more at ease with their Ottoman neighbors and expanded the application of Ottoman music outside of the military and incorporated it into the orchestra.

Despite military setbacks, the Ottomans held European domination in abeyance and continued to display military prowess.[14] European music from that time reflects the reserved celebrations of these victories. Even though composers gained the confidence to integrate Ottoman musical elements into their scores in the late eighteenth century, the majority of these pieces involved military themes and was meant to contain a recognizable 'Turkish' percussion section and/or rhythm, *alla turca*. Notably, the percussive instruments that came from the Ottomans

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12   James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and their History*, (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1970), 247, 266-267.
13   Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*. 282-282.
14   Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music*, (London: Royal Music Association, 2000), 33.

were initially classified as a single unit or 'battery' in European orchestras.[15] Still new and exotic, Ottoman percussion instruments were placed together in stage and pit seating charts and were not considered a de facto unit of the orchestra (Figures 1 and 2).[16]

Sheet music reveals that the major composers of that era partnered these Ottoman percussion instruments with the characteristic Ottoman rhythm of "a strongly marked downbeat, fast, repeated-note pulsations on the triangle, and cymbals that reinforced the strong tonic accent, along with the bass drum."[17] Beethoven used a 'heavy-light-light-light' pattern, another common rhythm of Ottoman music, in his 'Turkish March' in *The Ruins of Athens*.[18] Mozart also tried to recreate typical Ottoman rhythmic patterns in the final movement, unmistakably labeled '*Alla Turca*,' of his Piano Sonata No. 11 in A Major, K. 331.[19] In Mozart's Violin Concerto No. 5 in A major, K. 219, a listener can easily distinguish the *alla turca* 'Turkish' theme of the piece. The underlying beat is the same as the military cadence that is famous to this day: 'Left, left, left right left' (Figure 3).[20] Mozart also featured the distinctive Ottoman 'concerto grosso' style through the alternation between soft and loud sections. This is featured in a number of Mozart's other works, such as in the overture to his opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.[21] Similarly, the second movement in Haydn's Symphony No. 100 in G Major is another example of European composers easing Ottoman music into orchestras. This movement, labeled 'Military,' alternates between quiet sections with dulcet tones of string and woodwind instruments and loud sections distinguished by trumpets and percussion instruments, most notably the cymbals.[22] The crescendos, or gradual increases in volume, build up to loud percussive movements whose beats are emphasized with Ottoman cymbals, parodying the Ottoman army on its way to battle.

REFORMS OF EMPIRES AND ENSEMBLES

Haydn (1732–1809) and Mozart (1756–1791) are two examples of Austrian composers who grew up with stories of the Ottomans' siege of Vienna, and their compositions reflect the lingering awareness of Ottoman dominance over Europe. The score sheets of these, and other European composers, reflect changes in European of the Ottoman percussion section, serving as a barometer for simultaneous shifts in imperial powers in the early nineteenth century.

15   Edward Harrison Powley, "Turkish Music: An Historical Study of Turkish Percussion Instruments and Their Influence on European Music," (Master of Arts thesis, University of Rochester, 1968), 3; D. Doran Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," (Doctoral of Musical Arts monograph, Louisiana State University, 2003), 24.
16   Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," 24.
17   Ibid., 27.
18   Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter."
19   Rice, "Representations of Janissary Music," 68-70.
20   Rice, 69; John H. Beck, ed, *Encyclopedia of Percussion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 225-228.
21   Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter."
22   Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," 32.

This era consisted of revolts, territorial loss, economic concessions, and reforms for the Ottoman Empire. The *Tanzimat* (reform) Era, which made up the core of the changes from 1839 through 1876, was a final attempt to salvage power following major losses to Europe during the Greek Revolt (1821–1832) and the Crimean War (1853–1856). Leading up to these major events, European powers had grown bolder against the Ottomans. This century saw the real emergence of "The Eastern Question," a term which describes how European powers competed for their stakes over Ottoman territory.[23] Europeans also flexed their muscle over the Ottoman economy. The French, for example, used their dominance over the Istanbul market to drive out Ottoman businessmen. While Europe improved its military technologies and flourished as an economic power, New World silver inflated the Ottomans' cash economy and left devastating results. The Empire lost control of its administrative and military structures and experienced a series of revolts, economic decline, and military losses. Unable to fund the Janissary army and maintain military loyalty, the Ottoman Empire acquired the nickname "the sick man of Europe" at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The struggling Empire then looked to its European counterparts to further modernize and Westernize.[24]

European integration and eventual appropriation of Ottoman music mirrored European ascendancy and dominance over the Ottomans. Reflecting these political changes and shifts in the balance of power, composers began to "appropriate the formerly fearful sounds of the Janissary band [and] absor[b] their strength."[25] The percussion section, which had been marginalized in orchestras as a guest troupe used to evoke a Turkish exoticism, underwent major shifts. During the nineteenth century, the percussion section was "gradually weaned from its past standard usage and introduced to a variable degree of independence […] functioning not only as a homogeneous group, but also in combination with other orchestral instruments."[26] These changes included major modifications in instrument size, appearance, and tuning, among others. The bass drum, for example, was given a more modern appearance and acquired a new tensioning screw mechanism that allowed finer tuning. The drum also dropped the 'Turkish' label that had always preceded its name.[27]

With these physical changes came a new flexibility for using percussive instruments. No longer restricted by the idea of a homogeneous application for these instruments, composers moved away from the military march themes that portrayed the 'noble Turk' and assimilated percussive elements into their compositions.[28] Beethoven (1770 – 1827) is the ultimate example of this shift. His trailblazing and unparalleled Symphony No. 9 in D. Minor, Op. 125,

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23   Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 334.
24   Lapidus, *History of Islamic Societies*, 275-282; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 389-390, 490.
25   Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music*, 33.
26   Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," 44.
27   Ibid., 45.
28   Ibid.

commonly known as "Beethoven's Ninth," incorporated the Ottoman instruments of drums, cymbals, triangle, and tambourine, as well as the archetypal dotted Ottoman rhythm. However, Beethoven's use of these Ottoman instruments "merely convey[s] Turkish music […] rather than representing it."[29] The drums are merely complementary to the other instruments of the Symphony.[30] With the absorption of the percussion section into European orchestras, the "association with an exotic music [did] not disrupt the overall unity of the theme and variations form in this movement."[31] Just as Europe was appropriating Ottoman territory, Beethoven was commandeering Ottoman music.

As Beethoven completed this 'Choral' Symphony in the final years of his life, he also copied three Ancient Egyptian inscriptions by hand. He had come across these inscriptions from an essay on Champollion's *The Paintings of Egypt* by Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, the same poet and historian who provided the words for the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.[32] Accounts from the time describe Beethoven as "overjoyed when he found a way to interweave all of these complementary elements into a great rousing Finale."[33] At the same time that Beethoven was completing this Symphony, the world saw the end of the Janissaries. In what is now known as the Auspicious Event of 1826, Mahmud II massacred the Janissaries and destroyed their uniforms, records, and musical instruments.[34] The distinct rhythmic beat and percussion section no longer belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

As the balance of power in this centuries-long struggle turned to favor the Europeans, the premiere of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Vienna, a city with a deep Ottoman history, marked the confluence of major changes in political powers and musical composition. Beethoven straddled the Classical and Romantic periods in music. He "urged […] further bold and unhesitating innovations […] He not only enlarged the scope of the instruments by having them tuned to intervals other than the conventional […] but gave them expressive powers such as had never been attained before."[35]

A year after the Auspicious Event, Beethoven took his own last breath to the percussive beats of a thunderstorm.[36] However, he had already ushered in a new era for orchestral music. The works of composers of the Romantic movement that followed in the first half of the nineteenth century brought "a marked change of colour in the percussion section of the orchestra, resulting from an extension of the use of the now permanent members, and the

29   Rice, "Representations of Janissary Music," 79.
30   Blades, *Percussion Instruments and their History,* 271.
31   Rice, "Representations of Janissary Music," 79.
32   Jonathan David Little, *Literary Sources of Nineteenth-Century Musical Orientalism: The Hypnotic Spell of the Exotic on Music of the Romantic Period,* (Lewinston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), 29-30.
33   Ibid.
34   Powley, "Turkish Music: An Historical Study of Turkish Percussion Instruments and Their Influence on European Music," 5.
35   Louis Adolphe Coerne, *The Evolution of Modern Orchestration,* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1979), 53-57.
36   Alexander Wheelock Thayer, Hermann Dieters, Hugo Riemann, *The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*, Vol 3. (New York: Beethoven Association, 1921), 308.

introduction of further instruments."[37] The Ottomans had lost their status as a dominant actor in the orchestra and on the international stage. European composers had altered the use of Ottoman instruments to such an extent during the transition from the Classical to Romantic periods that when the Turkish ambassador Ahmed Efendi heard a European band playing in Prussia with 'Turkish' elements, he declared: "It is not Turkish."[38]

CONCLUSION

Shifting imperial powers at the end of the nineteenth century ultimately settled into a new world order. While the Ottoman Empire had generally avoided direct encroachment, the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878 was an inflection point for the Empire. Beginning in 1878, the Ottomans lost control over their European territories as most of the Balkans declared independence.[39] Following the First World War, European powers dismantled the remaining areas of the Ottoman Empire and created borders that opened a new chapter for the region. Despite its dissolution, the Ottoman Empire left a lasting cultural legacy that remains not only in history books, but also on music sheets.

The Ottoman military band wrought a new age for classical music that gave rise to some of the era's most epic compositions. At the same time that the European military overpowered the Ottomans, European composers felt more at ease with Ottoman instruments and melodies. As Europe gained further economic and political control over the Ottomans, European composers mirrored this change by moving away from the portrayal of a noble and exotic 'Turk' and appropriated those formerly foreign elements as their own. As Europe's territorial encroachment on the Ottoman Empire grew, so too did the size of European orchestras. When the diplomatic world entered the *Tanzimat* Era, the orchestral world entered the Romantic movement with an embedded percussion section.

Music served as an extension of the battlefield during the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire, and understanding those shifts in political power is instrumental in understanding the evolution of the modern day orchestra. Specifically, the permanence of the percussion section in the orchestra is the direct result of international relations. These parallels between the use of Ottoman percussion instruments and major historical events raise a number of interesting questions. What other histories are mapped out in an orchestra's seating arrangement? What else can musical score sheets trace? On a broader note, how does foreign policy affect culture, and vice versa? A new set of players, and therefore new interchanges of culture and technology, now exists on the global stage. It would be a worthy study to examine the trends that occur as a direct result of international relations today.

Even though the events of the nineteenth century resulted in the end of one of the world's

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37   Blades, *Percussion Instruments and their History,* 291.
38   Powley, "Turkish Music: An Historical Study of Turkish Percussion Instruments and Their Influence on European Music," 70.
39   Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies.* 489-490.

largest empires, the Ottomans did not entirely lose ownership of their traditional musical elements. The Istanbul Military Museum revived the Ottoman band in the first half of the twentieth century, and though it was discontinued in 1935, the museum still organizes occasional performances for the public.[40] Even without this reminder, the Ottoman Empire left a lasting influence that remains in the arrangement of the modern-day orchestra.
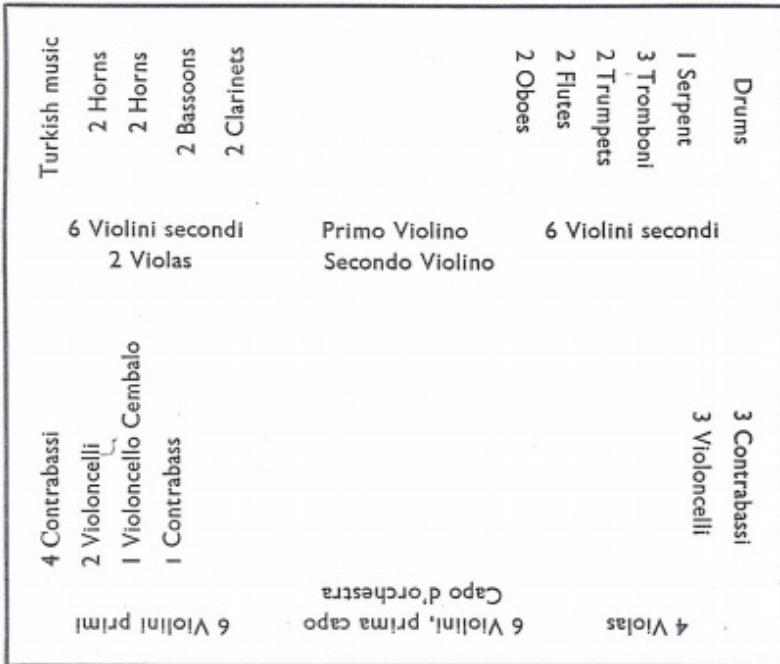
APPENDIX

Figure 1. *La Scala* seating arrangement. Copied from D. Doran Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," Doctoral of Musical Arts monograph: Louisiana State University, 2003. Reprinted from Adam Carse, *The Orchestra From Beethoven to Berlioz: A History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, and of the Development of Orchestral Baton-Conducting,* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1949), 474.
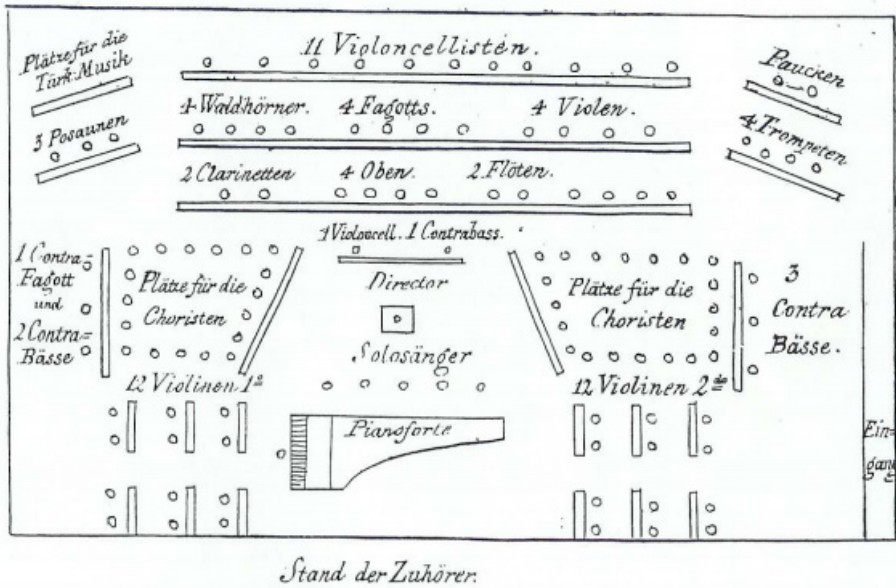
40   Signell, "Mozart and the Mehter."

Figure 2. Paris seating arrangement. Copied from D. Doran Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section," Doctoral of Musical Arts monograph: Louisiana State University, 2003. Reprinted from *Musikalische Zeitung* (Germany), "Orchestra for the Large Concerts and the Large Chorus in Paris," (August 1810), 46.

Figure 3. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Rondo – Tempo di Minuetto," *Violin Concerto no. 5, K. 219*, commonly referred to as *Turkish*. (1775).

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