

WOMEN'S PHYSICAL SECURITY AND PEACE IN INTERSTATE
RELATIONS IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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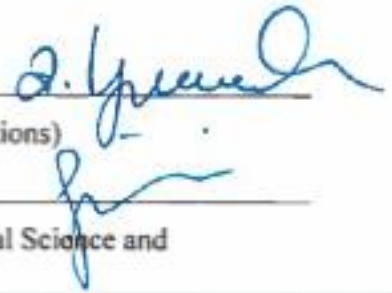
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Fatma YOL

ABSTRACT

WOMEN'S PHYSICAL SECURITY AND PEACE IN INTERSTATE RELATIONS IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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Gender studies and International Relations discipline are used to understand each other since 1988. The relation between gender and security studies has been advanced by a number of feminist theorists. In particular, it is claimed that countries with gender inequality are more confrontational. In order to test this theory, this study attempts to understand whether there is a correlation between the physical security of women and conflict vs. peace in interstate relations. Northeast Asian countries, Japan, Mongolia, China, South Korea and North Korea have been selected as case countries. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to test the hypothesis. It is concluded that the countries with high physical security of women tend to behave peacefully in their relations; countries where women are not physically safe tend to be more confrontational.

Keywords: Women's Physical Security, Peace, Conflict, Interstate Relations

ÖZ

Kuzeydoğu Asya’da Kadınların Fiziksel Güvenliği ve Devletlerarası İlişkilerde
Barış

YOL, Fatma


Master of Arts, International Relations

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1988’den itibaren toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları ile Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplininin birbirini anlamak üzere kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Özellikle toplumsal cinsiyet ve güvenlik çalışmalarının birbiri ile ilintili olduğu ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin olduğu ülkelerin daha çatışmacı olduğu bir takım feminist teorisyenler tarafından ortaya atılmıştır. Bu teoriyi test etmek amacıyla bu çalışmada kadınların fiziksel güvenliği ile devletlerarası ilişkilerde çatışmacılık/barışçılık arasında karşılıklı bir ilişkinin var olup olmadığı anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Bunun için Kuzeydoğu Asya ülkeleri, Japonya, Moğolistan, Çin, Güney Kore ve Kuzey Kore vaka ülkeler olarak seçilmiştir. Hipotezi test etmek üzere bu vakalar üzerinde hem niteliksel hem de niceliksel yöntem kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak kadınların fiziksel güvenliğinin yüksek olduğu ülkelerin kendi aralarındaki ilişkilerde de barışçıl olduğu; kadınların fiziksel olarak güvende olmadığı ülkelerinse kendi aralarındaki ilişkilerde daha çatışmacı olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadınların Fiziksel Güvenliği, Barış, Çatışma, Devletlerarası İlişkiler

DEDICATION



Dedicated to my family...

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ABBREVIATION LIST

CEDAW : Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

EIU : Economist Intelligence Unit

GPI : Global Peace Index

IAEA : International Atomic Energy Agency

NPT : Non-Proliferation Treaty

UN : United Nations

WPS : Women's Physical Security

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There have been many attempts to measure state behavior in international system in order to provide a theory for sustainable peace. Most of these studies try to achieve this by focusing on the origin of confrontational behavior. Scholars have conducted many researches to achieve this goal by considering miscellaneous variables such as the level of democracy or economic wealth. Especially after 1980s, a new variable has been added to these: gender inequality. Feminist political scientist researchers have sought to test the connection between gender inequality and confrontational state behavior, and have put forth credible ideas. In this context, issues as inequalities in family law, domestic violence, fertility rate or female participation in labor force, which used to be categorized as secondary subjects of political science erstwhile, were used as indicators of domestic and international conflict, primary subjects of Political Science and International Relations. Although gender-based violence's impact on international behavior has been asserted as essential as economic or democratic development by some scholars as Hudson (2009) and Caprioli (2000), the linkage has not been accepted as a mainstream theory of International Relations or Political Science. This study aims to contribute to theoretical discussions about gender inequality and conflictual behavior of states. Northeast Asia plays the most important role in the security and economic development of all Asia. There are both ongoing conflictual relations including territorial problems and nuclear armament issues and attempts of cooperation

between Northeast Asia countries and those relations have never been understood with its linkage to women security. Northeast Asia has never been used as to test a correlation between gender inequality and interstate conflict. In this thesis, women's physical security will be used as a result of gender inequality and its correlation with conflictual interstate relations will be tested by using Northeast Asia countries for case analysis.

This research inquires whether physical violence against women in a state can reflect a state's behavior in the interstate relations. Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to illustrate the correlation between women's physical security and state behavior by taking Northeast Asian countries as small-N cases and collecting data about their women security and state behaviors in order to make qualitative and quantitative analysis by comparing scales. Research questions which lead this thesis are "How does women's physical security influence states' international or regional behavior in Northeast Asia?", "Is there a linkage between violence against women and state's conflictual behavior towards other states in the international and regional relations?" and "Does a state's security of women reflect external peace of that state?". In order to answer these questions the level of physical security of women and confrontational (or peaceful) behaviors of states, first, 16 states in East Asia region will be evaluated by using empirical data of creditable scales. Then, Northeast Asian states, i.e. China, Japan, Mongolia, South Korea and North Korea, will be used as major cases in this study. Two different scales will be demonstrated and analyzed through dependent and independent variables in order to prove the hypothesis and contribute to the efforts of establishing correlation between gendered violence and state behavior.

The research is structured in the following manner: After the purpose, theoretical contributions and research questions are explained in the Introduction, Chapter 2 will show an overview of this thesis. It will have literature review, theoretical and conceptual framework and methodology of this thesis. Chapter 3 will focus on women's physical security in Northeast Asia region. This section will focus on the question: "What is physical security?" Thus, physical security will be defined in general terms and its conceptual framework will be drawn. The reason why women's physical security matters will be illustrated. Then, it will descend on women's security specifically in Northeast Asian countries. Women's physical security in Asia Pacific will be explained in two steps. First, general concerns of women's physical security in the region will be stated by focusing on 5 countries in order to relay a general background for the reader. Second, empirical results of women's physical security in Northeast Asia will be conducted and its measurement will be made by using Woman Stats data base which includes diverse scales about women's physical security.

Chapter 4 will focus on dependent variable of the hypothesis; that is state behavior in Northeast Asia region. First, the concept of state behavior will be analyzed theoretically. Then, state behavior of Northeast Asia countries will be evaluated in two sections. It will begin by revealing basic security matters of Northeast Asia states. General security concerns of Northeast Asian countries will be defined. In the second section, empirical evidences of attitudes of Northeast Asia states in international area, in other words, statistics of state attitudes in international system will be demonstrated via Global Peace Index results of 2018.

In Chapter 5, results of Global Peace Index (2018) and Physical Security Index, which is built by Woman Stats Project will be analyzed in order to find a correlation between them. Then, specific external peace indicators and women's physical security indicators' credible scales will be evaluated to find more correlations among them. Impact of control variables on dependent variable of this thesis will be compared with independent variable of this thesis. Then, qualitative analysis will be made by focusing on Northeast Asia countries, mainly on Japan and North Korea which are the most and the least secure for women and peaceful in interstate relations in the region. Inferences which support my hypothesis will be conducted specifically.

In the final conclusion chapter, a summary of the search will be presented, with discussions and interpretations. It is claimed that women's physical security is an important indicator that can measure state behavior (peaceful or conflictual). Some shortcomings of this study and recommendations for future research will also be mentioned.

In the following section, as a continuation of thesis overview, conceptualization of dependent and independent variables of the hypothesis of the research will be made. Then, theoretical framework and research design will be elucidated.

CHAPTER II

THESIS OVERVIEW

2.1. Literature Review

The concept of security used to be related to states' security from traditional threats before 1990s. However, the scope of the term security has expanded and started to cover units of analysis as economic, social, environmental and human/individual security. Human security, especially women's security, became an important concept to study for academics and other research units. Among those who led such studies are scholars linking the Political Science and International Relations discipline with gender studies. The studies conducted in this context have tried to prove that violence against women is not only a problem at the individual level but has negative reflections in different levels of analysis as well. According to Hudson and Den Boer, "violence against women within a society bears any relationship to women within and between societies..." (2002, 6). Likely, Cockburn stated that "Gender power is seen to shape the dynamics of every site of human interaction, from the household to the international arena" (2001, 15). Impact of gender and women are seen in every sphere of life. Therefore, such reflections were observed in both inter-state and intra-state relations. In this context, it has been argued that some problems concerning women are the main causes of large-scale conflicts, or that information on the existence of these problems can provide prediction of how a state will behave domestically or in the international system.

But which women issues do lead to such large-scale consequences? Different cases which were handled in various studies by many scholars have revealed diverse answers to be given in response to this question. For instance, Boone (1989) covered a relation between individual and social reproduction of state structure. Accordingly, “there is a fundamental contradiction between individual (or familial) reproductive interests and the social reproduction of the state political structure.” (Boone 1986, 859). The relation between gender issues and state behavior is not only found on domestic policy making, but also on structural bases of states, like their political regimes. Strong evidences show that patriarchal societies are more likely to be reigned by authoritarian regimes. For example, Fish (2002) found an association of authoritarianism with sex ratio and male- female literacy differences in Islamic nations. Offering a similar connection with a different case analysis, Hudson and Den Boer (2002) investigated Asia’s sex ratios with theoretical and historical analysis and inferred that skewness of sex ratios decreases democracy and peace level in that region. By skewness of sex ratios, they referred to female infanticide and sex- selective abortion. They claimed that high sex-ratio societies will tend to develop authoritarian political systems over time, and such societies are “are better equipped to deal with possible large-scale intrasocietal violence created by society’s selection for bare branches” (Hudson and Den Boer 2002, 25). In this way the connection with the internal conflict can be established.

Some studies investigated the relation between gender inequality and domestic political stability as well. Caprioli (2005) advocated that gender inequality is related to internal conflict of countries because gender inequality is an example of structural violence. Her study suggests that (because she placed gender inequality

within contexts of fertility rate and labor force of women) these two indicators can predict that there would be an internal conflict in a country. As she noted, societies based on structural gender inequality are more likely to be violent and domestic conflicts are more common than societies with relative gender equality. Similar inference was made by McDermott et al. (2007), who found correlation between violent state behavior and polygyny. In addition to them, Melander (2005) examined gender equality's connection with lower levels of intrastate conflict by measuring gender equality through three indicators: whether the highest leader of a state is a woman or not; the percentage of women in parliament; and education attainment ratio of women. Through his research, he claimed that although women's state leadership does not have a statistically essential influence, lower levels of intrastate armed conflict are associated with more equal societies where women are represented in the parliament or the ratio of women-to-men achieving higher education (Melander 2005, 695). Hunt and Posa (2001) have further consolidated this issue and have addressed the dangers of civil tolerance for structural violence such as gender inequality. They argued that if gendered violence is socially tolerated, then all violence types may be legitimized within a society and it causes inter and intrastate violence, especially when violence is justified as a resolution tool for societal problems. Bunch (2003) argues that societies must decrease and end all forms of violence in society, such as militarization, racial and economic injustice and the violence against women in daily life, in order to ensure that armed conflict will not arise again. Therefore, one can argue that fostering gender equality is utterly essential for achievement of sustainable peace.

Political values as state behavior might be diverse in accordance with different cultural aspects of countries. Feminist scholars supporting the linkage between gender and state behavior argue that “the truly significant difference between cultures is the difference in beliefs about gender” (Hudson and Brinton 2007, 4). Therefore, understanding of gender in a country is an essential aspect of culture which has a considerable impact on political values. However, it must be stated that there are other scholars who believe that gender inequality and its consequences are only among many of the reasons which cause violence within state. In Caprioli and Boyer’s words: “Gender is not a major factor in predicting state violence, but gender equality is an important predictive element in state use of violence during crises” (2001, 508).

As it has been already stated, gender inequality or gender violence not only has impact on intra-state issues but also on inter-state relations as well. Nonetheless, conflict within the state can lead to a conflict between states. This argument is not only developed by feminist scholars who were mentioned but can also be inferred by some writings in peace and conflict literature. For instance, Ted Gurr (1993), and other scholars (i.e. Carment 1993, Gellner 1983, Kupchan 1995) pointed that ethnic discrimination and its consequences such as insurgency or civil conflict often lead to interstate conflict and violence against neighbor states as well. Similarly, Van Evera (1997) covers sorts of nationalism that lead interstate war. If the same logic keeps its validity, it is plausible to establish a causative link where domestic violence or intrastate conflict causes interstate conflict. Therefore, one can expect that violence against women within a state may have a correlation with interstate violence.

Mary Caprioli had many inquiries with respect to finding association of gender equality and peaceful behavior of states in international system. For instance, in her articles, “Gendered Conflict” (2000) and “Gender, Violence and International Crisis” (Caprioli and Boyer 2001) it is argued that states with high levels of domestic gender equality were less likely to use military force for resolution of international problems, whereas states possessing structural gendered inequality express aggressive behavior and tend to use force in interstate disputes (Caprioli and Trumbore 2006). Gender inequality has been measured from different perspectives, and the link between state behavior and the state has been interpreted as such. For instance, Regan and Paskeviciute (2003) used women’s political participation as a case and suggested that facilitating woman’s access to political power would increase the number of peaceful countries in the world. Similarly, the study “The Heart of The Matter: The Security of Women and The Security of States.” by Hudson et al. (2009), measured such structural violence in terms of “women’s physical security” and compared its robustness with other roots of conflictual behavior of states. This study of Hudson, which seeks the correlation among physical security of women and security of states by making theoretical and empirical inquiries, is also the basic reference source and inspiration of this thesis.

Hudson et al. (2009) discussed origins of state behavior in international system, whether they were peaceful or confrontational. Democracy level, economic wealth and Islamic civilization were commonly acknowledged as most reliable metrics of conflictual state behavior in international area. In addition to those, Hudson et al. (2009) suggested women’s physical security as an essential indicator which has more reliable matching scores in comparison with other three metrics.

Women's physical security's likelihood ratio of peacefulness is higher than other variables, such as democracy level, economical wealth and Islamic prevalence. Therefore, they concluded that female insecurity has correlation with state insecurity. Such inference declaring attitudes toward women in patriarchal societies and its influence on state behavior has been analysed also by considering male domination on world politics, evolutionary biology and psychology, family law, and prevalence of late marriages (Hudson 2010). Also another study "Sex and World Peace" of Hudson et al. (2012) comprehensively and meticulously illustrates micro-level gender violence factor on world peace and how treatment of women and gendered aggression displays macro-level state peacefulness in world politics. Despite the fact that violence against women or gender-based violence are seen as matters dealt with at the individual level, such violence has an essential impact on state relations, thus on the state level.

2.2. Conceptual Framework

Conceptualization is an important aspect that helps to the clarity of a research. Therefore, this section will explain the literature which helped the choice of concepts of both dependent and independent variables. To begin with, the hypothesis of this thesis is;

States that provide high-level physical security for women demonstrate peaceful behavior in international area, whereas countries where women's physical security is low tend to display conflictual attitudes in the international system.

As can be seen, women's *physical security level* is the independent variable while *state behavior* is the dependent variable of the hypothesis. Therefore, conceptualization process will attempt to answer what is meant by physical security of women and state's peaceful or confrontational behavior as evaluated in this thesis.

2.2.a. Independent Variable: Women's Physical Security Level in a State.

There had been too many wars and conflicts around the world for centuries and the concept of security and its principles were mostly related to state and military. However, after 1990s, the concept of security has extended and critical security studies emerged. Security concept started to embrace political, economic, social, environmental and human/individual security. The charge of providing security has passed from nation states to both international organizations and local governments, as well as to nongovernmental organizations and public opinion through media. Especially, within the ideas of liberal thinkers, who argue that individual security is as important as state security, individual security gained an essential importance to define the new security concept. Because the concept of security consists of principles and the meanings of security, Rothschild (1995) explained purposes of various principles and definitions of it. Accordingly, there were four main purposes of principles or definitions of security such as, "(1) to provide some sort of guidance to the policies made by governments, (2) to guide public opinion about policy, to suggest a way of thinking about security, or principles to be held by the people on behalf of whom policy is to be made, (3) to contest existing policies and (4) to influence directly the distribution of money and

power” (Rothschild 1995, 58-59). For Rothschild, in the point of naive idealist view, principles of security are important for international policy. Through the growing influence of international politics, international relations and spread of international information, international security started to matter, which can be seen as another product of the liberal view (1995, 65-69). For Rothschild, new policies made for individual or international security is an ongoing process which can be defined as a feature of post Cold War era. Because of the increase in the importance given to individuals, demilitarization, to a certain extent globalization, and emergence of international community and civil society, new aspects to be incorporated into the concept of security should be seen natural. Eventually, security can take place at all levels and state cannot be the only reference object to define security concept. As the system changes itself, concepts change synchronously. Today, individual, environment, civil society, NGOs and international organizations spread out the world through globalization and security became not only a matter of states but also a matter for non-state actors as well, necessitating that policies should be made to ensure security for them all.

In this context, women’s security has become an important concept as well. Especially women’s peace researchers started a movement for redefinition of security in feminist perspective. For instance, Betty Reardon (1999) argued that ‘human security’ means protection against harm of all kinds including the meeting of basic needs, human dignity and the human rights fulfillment and a healthy environment for sustaining life. Human security is a concept that includes all people of different ethnicities, religions, races and genders. It has not only been studied academically but also has been considered by international organizations such as

the United Nations. For instance, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) revealed Human Development Report which defined human security's dimensions in 1994. Accordingly, "Human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor... The components of human security are interdependent. When the security of people is endangered anywhere in the world, all nations are likely to get involved... Human security is people-centred. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities and whether they live in conflict or in peace" (UNDP 1994, 22-23). Other social and economic needs such as food and health have become a subject of human security. When human security, which covers all humanity and the needs of people in general, is taken from a feminist perspective, women's security comes to the forefront (Steans 1988, 69). This "human security" explanation was valid surely for both men and women; however, it is highly important as pointing women. The reason for this statement was that the security of women and men was believed to be different. In Manchanda's words "women's experience of (in)security and violent conflict is different from that of men and therefore – cutting across class, caste and cultures - women's notion of security and power is different" (2001, 1957) and violence against women was a missing gap in literature and a matter worth handling. This argument was based on a variation of reasons from the biological, e.g. focusing on women nature, to the cultural differences, e.g. mentioning gender inequality in patriarchal structure of societies embedded by state organs that excludes women from public sphere, which women experienced (Taylor 2004, 67). This process, named as feminizing security (Singh 2010), including attempts of Jill

Steans (1988), Tessler (1999), Carrol (1987), Acharya (2001), Ann Tickner (1992) and many other feminist scholars, made security a term not only beyond the confines of a military security understanding but also as a term covering physical and structural security of the people, especially women, encompassing facts such as being safe from ordinary everyday crime to unequal representation in assembly. In this content, women's security also means keeping them safe from gender-based violence as well.

Six terms were produced by efforts of various scholars and some NGOs in constructing a general terminology for gender violence such as; gender-based violence, gender-related violence, violence against women, gendered violence, gender violence and femicide (Ertan et al. 2018). Accordingly, all have similar meanings with some difference in between. For instance, in Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology, Collins defines gender-based violence as “violence directed towards an individual or group on the basis of their gender.” (2014, 767) or Aldred and Biglia makes definition of gender-related violence as “sexist, sexualizing or norm-driven bullying, harassment, discrimination or violence whoever is targeted” (2015, 662). Gender-based violence is more comprehensive than violence against women because it can be experienced by both males and females or some groups as LGBTIQ, while violence against women and physical security of women are only related to females. What is common in all these definitions is that all of them are rooted in violence and gender determinations.

To explain women's physical security, Johan Galtung's physical violence conceptualization can be used. Accordingly, physical violence is a narrow concept of violence. Shortly he describes it as “Under physical violence human beings are

hurt somatically, to the point of killing.” (Galtung 1969, 169). Physical violence constraints human movements, such as imprisoning a person, but it is also unequal treatment as the right or capability to have physical control or interference over a specific group of people. Therefore, physical violence is directly implemented to a person and is a concept that points to the integrity of the one’s body. Murder of women, rape and sexual assault, and domestic violence toward women are practices that encompass physical violence toward women. In a state if the rates of those indicators are at high levels, women are insecure. Under the methodology section, measuring women’s physical security will be explained in detail.

Although women experience both such direct and indirect violence –i.e. gender inequality which can be clarified as a type of structural violence, it should be reminded that this study only conducts a research for physical security of women. Thus, it will focus on directly applied physical violence toward women because the measurement of women’s physical security in this thesis will be done by using scales which are built through considering only directly applied physical violence.

2.2.b. Dependent Variable: State Behavior in International System.

The explanation of cooperation and conflict among nations is one of the most important subjects of research in the study of international relations. However, the operationalizations of cooperation and conflict among nations differ greatly among various empirical studies. Some studies have measured cooperation and conflict on just one indicator, e.g. cooperation on common memberships of intergovernmental organizations, and conflicts on interstate wars (Singer and Wallace, 1970). In other studies (see, inter alia, Rummel, 1972; Ward, 1982), the concepts of cooperation

and conflict among nations have been measured on several indicators such as economic, military, and political interactions, cultural and scientific affairs, interactions concerning the physical environment and natural resources. Moreover, there can be some heterogenous behavior which cannot be described as fully conflictual or cooperative (Faber, 1987). This thesis aims to figure out the correlation between women's physical security and state behavior in international system in order to predict safety of a state by considering female security. What is meant by the term state security is the way the state behaves –e.g. cooperative or conflictive, in international area. Theory of negative/positive peace of Galtung and empirical research of Global Peace Index will be used to operationalize the dependent variable.

An important point to explain in this thesis's conceptual framework is what peaceful or conflictual behavior of state means. Johan Galtung's negative peace-positive peace conceptualization will be taken as source of description in this thesis. IR scholars have concentrated more on war, conflict and violence, therefore only on negative peace (the absence of violence), yet they became aware of the need to pay greater attention to positive peace, which includes justice, human rights, and several other aspects of human security (Diehl 2016, 9). Many scholars specifically those dealing with conflict resolution, human rights, reconciliation, justice, economic development, human security, and gender are interested in the concept of positive peace. Moreover, studying positive peace requires moving beyond the simple presence or absence of violence and being able to consider any kind of disagreement that produces the violence within society (Diehl 2016, 4). However, this study examines interstate relations as the dependent variable. This thesis will

take into account Galtung's study of negative peace. According to him, negative peace can be defined as the absence of war, whereas positive peace is referred as the presence of social justice where there is egalitarian distribution of power and resources. Negative peace is a quite narrow concept of peace and it is simply defined as the absence of violence (Galtung, 1969). When a scholar is using the term "peace", most probably he/she uses this concept in this negative peace framework because it is the most common and dominant understanding of peace (Diehl 2016, 3). Yet, negative peace should not be understood only as absence of war or end of a war. It includes several indicators depending on a researcher. For instance, Global Peace Index, which this thesis utilizes to measure dependent variable of the hypothesis, adopts negative peace indicators. It investigates external peace indicators as involvement in conflicts, nuclear weapon capacity, terrorist activity, violent demonstrations, relations with neighboring countries, militarization and so on... Such behavior gives information about how peaceful that state is. Under the section on research design, states' behavior as peaceful or conflictual will be measured and illustrated more clearly.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

Gender studies have been used to understand international relations from a feminist perspective since the 1980s. One of the most important issues in the discipline of international relations is the security issue. While the concept of security enlarged and included different elements, feminist and gender studies tried to find their place in the term. Jill Steans (1988) described the concept of "critical security" as an extension of the concept of security and the inclusion of new

concepts away from the state level, such as human security. According to her, there are areas where structural violence such as women's security, food security and human rights are experienced. These are places where the safety of individuals is affected not only directly but indirectly in environmental, health and economic areas. At this point, it is stated that women and gender issues are ignored in the discipline and not seen as important and effective issues.

While both the security of women and the term security are explained in itself, the lack of use of women and gender was seen as a deficiency in the discipline. For example, gender has been argued to be an important factor in the sense of peace and conflict. Peaceful or confrontational behavior is related to the militarism of a state. As Enloe (1987) mentioned earlier, militarism is already a gendered system in itself and one of the areas where gender inequality is most intense. For this reason, a relationship between gender inequality and militarism and a relationship between militarism and state behavior can be established. Enloe (1987) also pointed out that even women's expression of gender inequality and subordination was seen by militant states as a problem for national security. In other words, it has been claimed that states where gender inequality is intense may give more importance to their militarism.

Another important study in this context is Susan Wright's article "Feminist theory and arms control." (2009). Wright attempts to analyze gender and arms control together to find a correlation among them. In her analysis, she points out that the theories and practices related to arms control exhibit masculine characteristics. Such characteristic reduces the importance of human beings and does not take individuals into consideration. It creates alienation, discrimination,

and embraces a security understanding that prevails military gains rather than human security. Thus, arms control ignores human safety because it is a patriarchal practice and a result of gender inequality.

To sum up, it has been argued that women are directly related to security studies and that gender inequality is one of the underlying factors of security problems. In this context, most of the studies argue that it is wrong to ignore the gender aspect in the discipline, but on the contrary, states need to ensure gender equality in order to achieve peace. Many studies have been conducted to support this theory. These studies have attempted to analyze the link between gender inequality and conflict in different instances and in different cases.

Gendered violence and its relation with peaceful society have been an interesting study field for sustainable peace studies. According to Tickner, "overcoming social relations of domination and subordination" is one of the most important conditions to sustain peace because there is a linkage between gendered violence and peaceful societies (Tickner 1992, 128). However, this linkage is not only seen at the societal level but also in intrastate relations. There have been many arguments and research to prove the correlation between gender inequality and international conflict. According to Caprioli, "domestic norms of peaceful conflict resolution and of gender inequality predict state behavior internationally" (2005). Thus, scholars argue that there is a correlation between gender inequality and conflict within states. This claim is argued in some research such as "The Heart of the Matter" of Hudson et al. (2002) and "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis" of Caprioli and Boyer (2001). For instance, Caprioli and Boyer argue that "domestic gender equality may predict a state's international behavior" (2001: 503)

and even more specifically the article “Hearth of the Matter” provides highly inspiring and comprehensive work in revealing women’s physical security as an indicator which is more reliable than level of democracy, economical wealth or Islamic culture (Hudson et al 2009). This theory was shaped in an interdisciplinary theoretical framework including social learning theory from psychology, political psychology and social diffusion theory and evolutionary biology. Similarly, in this thesis, theoretical framework is drawn with social diffusion theory, taken into consideration as it is related to security studies and Johan Galtung’s peace studies.

Maoz and Russett (1990), scholars of social diffusion theories, searched for discovering relationship between social relations and political state structure. Surprisingly, some theorists claimed that impoverishing violent patriarchy leads the development of democracy. For example, Hartman argues that even though it is not the primary condition, monogamy or later marriage of women are important aspects in the rise of democracy and capitalism in the West (2004). Moreover, based on these studies, one might also predict the impact of gender-based violence on states’ domestic and international behavior because studies like Gerald M. Erchak and Richard Rosenfeld (1994) or Cynthia Cockburn (2001) have shown that if domestic violence, which is a type of a physical violence against women, is normal in family, then that society is more likely to trust resolutions including violent conflict.

Galtung identified two versions of violence such as direct and indirect violence. Direct violence refers to physical harm, while indirect violence is a structural violence that is invisible and does not aim for direct physical harm. In this context, direct violence toward women will be taken into consideration in this study and women’s physical security will be indicated as direct violence type. However,

what differentiates women's physical security from Galtung's conceptualization is that source of women's physical security can be found in a specific version of structural violence which is gender inequality. Accordingly, structural violence is a systematic exploitation which can turn into a part of the social order (Galtung 1975, 80). This theory can be adapted to other forms of structural violence, as well. For instance, Caprioli (2005) composes a framework for violence against women by using Galtung's model of structural violence which has four components; exploitation, penetration, fragmentation and marginalization (Galtung 1975, 264-65). Similarly, these components also lead to insecurity in both physical and psychological terms. Patriarchal societies tend to build an authority over women and exploit them in the favor of masculine (Caprioli 2005). For example, gender stereotyping and permanent violence threat, which are detriments for women, are forms of structural violence. Moreover, keeping women away from the public sphere or providing them less job opportunities outside the home and their limited participation in other spheres of life, such as political or social life, can be argued as a case of fragmentation (Pateman, 1970), while gendered hierarchies, which is simply male domination and subordination of women, are obvious examples of marginalization (Caprioli 2005).

Structural violence is pursued by cultural norms and Galtung argues that cultural violence legitimizes structural violence (Galtung 1990). Not only structural violence but also physical violence is sustained by cultural violence. In his words, "Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right-or at least not wrong" (Galtung 1990, 291). Culture includes individual attitudes towards each other. Negative treatment against women can be rooted in cultural aspects.

Murdering women or not reporting domestic violence or rapes, even being afraid of going outside when the sun goes down are physical violence practices that emerge where gender equality, which is a structural violence, is not maintained. Such inequality "creates the conditions for the social control of women" (Sideris 2001, 142) and gender term becomes an "integral aspect of structural and cultural violence" as Caprioli points out. This study argues that physical violence must also be added.

2.4. Methodology

This thesis uses a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative analysis in case study. This study adopted qualitative, as it can be deemed the most appropriate method for studying the human behavior and their living conditions. Hence, this study relies heavily on the examination of documents from relevant agencies and existing data. Also, this study uses empirical data. The East Asia Region will be analyzed as the case of this study because most likely and least likely cases for my hypothesis are found in this region. Empirical data to confirm the hypothesis is taken from two reliable statistics. Woman Stats data base provides the most reliable scale for "Women's Physical Security". In this study, Multivar-Scale-1 will be used to measure women's physical security in East Asian region. Second, in order to detect state peacefulness, 2018 Global Peace Index's result will be utilized. After demonstrating numerical findings, tables will be compared to find a correlation among statistics in Chapter 5.

2.4.a. Measuring Independent Variable: Women's Physical Security

Women's Physical Security scale is only provided by Woman Stats data base. Scholars who need statistics usually benefit from this source. Women's physical security scale is Multivar-Scale-1. However, specific indicators of women's physical security will also be taken into consideration because there must be a specific condition for Northeast Asia. Therefore, this study will use scales by using up-to-date scores of Asia Pacific countries. In order to do this, 5 updated scales will be utilized which were used in previous research of Woman Stats Projects, based on Woman Stats database, inspired by Professor Mary Caprioli's Physical Security of Women Scale originally coded in February 2007.

The scales are: DV-SCALE-5 to indicate Domestic Violence; LRW-SCALE-4 ; LRW-SCALE- 5; LRW-SCALE-11 for rape rates such as, rape and sexual assault, strength of taboos against reporting rape and comprehensive rape scale; and MURDER-SCALE-1 which demonstrates female murder scores. In these scales, coding was made in following way: there are four main scores for all countries. Depending on the codebook of Woman Stats Project, all scales have their own indicators. Coders scored countries by giving them numbers from 0 to 4. This study will get cross-section scores of these 6 scales numbering from 0 to 4 as well and simplify them in one scale including only Asia Pacific countries in order to use in this study.

Domestic Violence	DV-SCALE-5	The WomanStats Project, Overall Adequacy of Domestic Violence Law (Scale), Andrea Den Boer and Senem Ertan, Publication date 3 June 2017
Rape and Sexual Assault	LRW-SCALE-4	The WomanStats Project, Reported Rape Prevalence, 2018 scaling, Tessa Pennington, Publication date 7 December 2018
Strength of Taboos Against Reporting Rape	LRW-SCALE- 5	The WomanStats Project, Strength of Taboos Against Reporting Rape, 2010-2015, Publication date July 2017
Comprehensive Rape	LRW-SCALES-11	The WomanStats Project, Comprehensive Rape Scale, scaled 2018, Tessa Pennington, Publication date 7 December 2018
Murder Rates of Women of Childbearing Age (15-44)	MURDER-SCALE-1	The WomanStats project, 2016 Scaling of Murder-Scale-1, Publication date 7 December 2016.

Table 2.1. Indicators of Physical Security of Women Scale.

Woman Stats tried to express following statements through making its scales banding the scores ranging from 0 to 4:

“0 – illustrates best results of the table. It means that there are laws against domestic violence, rape, and marital rape; there are no or rare taboos or norms against reporting these crimes. Honor killings or femicides and suicides cannot be seen at this point.

4 – There are no or weak laws against domestic violence, rape, and marital rape, and these laws are not generally enforced. Honor killings and/or femicides may occur and are either ignored or generally accepted. (Examples of weak laws—need 4 male witnesses to prove rape, rape is only defined as sex with girls under 12—all other sex is by definition consensual, etc.)”

As banding scales together, it will be assumed that all of them have equal affects on the result. After making sure that all scales are scored in the same grading evenly, I will add all scores of scales and normalize them among 0 to 1. Countries whose final results are closer to 0 will be described as safer states for women whereas those who approach 1 will be qualified as insecure. Scores of Asia Pacific countries will be given in Chapter 2 and analyzed in Chapter 4.

2.4.b Measuring Dependent Variable: State Behavior in International Area

There are plenty of statistics which demonstrate states’ peaceful or conflictual behavior in international system. One of the most reliable and valid statistics are illustrated in the Global Peace Index. Due to its robustness and updated data, this thesis will use GPI results as proxy. The GPI measures a country’s level of Negative Peace using three domains of peacefulness. Negative peace is the absence

of violence or fear of violence (GPI 2018, 60). The first domain, *Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict*, investigates the extent to which countries are involved in internal and external conflicts, as well as their role and duration of involvement in conflicts. The second domain evaluates the level of harmony or discord within a nation; ten indicators broadly assess what might be described as *Societal Safety and Security*. The assertion is that low crime rates, minimal terrorist activity and violent demonstrations, harmonious relations with neighboring countries, a stable political scene and a small proportion of the population being internally displaced or made refugees can be equated with peacefulness.

Seven further indicators are related to a country's *Militarisation* —reflecting the link between a country's level of military build-up and access to weapons and its level of peacefulness, both domestically and internationally. Comparable data on military expenditure as a percentage of GDP and the number of armed service officers per head are gauged, as are financial contributions to UN peacekeeping missions (GPI 2018, 78).

The GPI comprises 23 indicators of the absence of violence or fear of violence. All scores for each indicator are normalized on a scale of 1-5, whereby qualitative indicators are banded into five groupings and quantitative ones are scored from 1 to 5, to the third decimal point (GPI 2018, 79). Scores of Asia Pacific states will be mentioned and analyzed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

2.4.c. Case Selection

Both gender inequality and conflict between states are witnessed in East Asia. Thus, East Asia countries are the best cases to prove the correlation between

women's and states' security. These East Asian countries are Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, Taiwan, Laos, Mongolia, South Korea, Indonesia, Timor-Leste, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Thailand, Myanmar, Philippines and North Korea. After a general evaluation of both Southeast and Northeast Asia, Northeast Asian countries will be focused on. Previous studies have never used Northeast Asia region for a case study which tests the connection between gender inequality and conflict. However, there are ongoing conflictual relations between Northeast Asia countries and those relations have never been understood with its linkage to women security. In fact, there is a lack of research related to women studies in Northeast Asia. This study will conclude that these countries are more compatible with the hypothesis.

Because one can argue that states in Northeast Asia have variations of different political, social and economical aspects, it might seem inappropriate to make comparison. However, this feature gives strength to this study. State behavior can be measured in diverse ways, such as indicating democratic or economic levels. Democracy level and economic wealth will be used as control variables. This study will demonstrate that states with similar levels of democratic or economic development can have different results, while states that demonstrate different democratic or economic levels of development can have similar results. For instance, despite cultural similarities there might be some economical or developmental differences among all Northeast Asian states. However, in the case of evaluating similar cases such as economically most developed states of the region, South Korea and Japan, this thesis shows different results of them. If the main reason which caused conflict was development levels, then one might expect similar results from these two countries. Therefore, measuring alternative

characteristics of states' behavior in Northeast Asia with women's physical security indicator will provide reliability and provability for the hypothesis.



CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SECURITY OF WOMEN IN NORTHEAST ASIA

3.1. Introduction

Concepts, such as violence against women, gender-based violence, gendered violence or gender violence, have long been described and used by scholars and institutions as an alternative to violence against women. However, *gender* related concepts are associated with not only women but also other individuals or group of individuals who are not accepted in the male-dominated society due to their gender identities and sexual orientation. However, violence against women is directly related to women (Ertan et al 2018). The UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), defines violence against women and girls as "violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately." (1992). Manjoo has broadened this definition and argued that violence against women is "any form of structural inequality or institutional discrimination that maintains a woman in a subordinate position, whether physical or ideological, to other people within her family, household or community" (Manjoo, 2011). In sum, the concept of violence against women has many dimensions. It encompasses all forms of violence such as physical, psychological, sexual and economical. It can be both direct and indirect. Violence can be exposed in all levels of analysis as individual -e.g. domestic

violence, community -e.g. murder or non-partner rape, and state. Based on Galtung's (1969) conceptualization of violence, it can be personal or structural.

The physical violence, in categorization of violence against women, is a direct form of violence which is seen in all individual, community and state levels of analysis. Thus, physical violence against women refers to direct damage applied to women. This damage can be related to sexual abuse and survival threat towards women, like rape or murder. Description and measurement of physical security has been made by few scholars. For instance, according to Ertan et al. "Physical violence can occur in different forms including killing, injuring, or attacking women." (2018, 22). Also, Pillai explains physical violence as "anything from threatening behavior, slaps and being pushed about, through black eyes, bruises and broken bones to extremely serious incidents of assaults." (2001, 966). Yet, most of the scholars prefers to use the data of Woman Stats projects which has the most comprehensive and systematic measurement of physical security of women. Accordingly, "WomanStats physical security cluster includes the following variables with measures for law, practice, and prevalence: domestic violence, rape, marital rape, and murder" (Caprioli et al. 2009, 844). Although the description of physical violence seems to be more related to individual or community practices, the state has an essential role to play and responsibility to stand against such violence. Laws against female murder or rape and sexual abuse, domestic violence are important indicators of physical security of women. Therefore, laws against physical violence particularly against women are evaluated in state level of analysis of physical security.

3.2. Physical Violence against Women in Northeast Asia

Physical violence against women is pervasive all over the world. However, there is no adequate academic research to illustrate this fact and other impacts of it in Asia. Especially for South East Asian countries, only reports made for public institutions are convenient to gain information about physical violence against women. Most of the previous work demonstrates that physical violence against women is found in the forms of domestic violence, rape, underreporting of crimes and murder.

Domestic violence, murder and rape are prevalent forms of physical violence against women in Northeast Asian countries. There are more academic studies about violence against women in this part of Asia in comparison with other part of the continent. Despite some of these countries, (i.e. Japan, China, South Korea), have better economical or developmental conditions, violence is still observed.

Studies about Japanese women and domestic violence claim that physical violence in Japan is at a moderate level due to "a quiet, non-expressive Japanese culture" (Kumagai 1979, 91), especially in the comparison with other nations like the United States (Fulcher 2002; Kumagai and Straus, 1983). Physical violence against women in Japan is in better conditions than some western countries such as the United States. This is not because Japan is a country with gender equality, but because of some cultural facts. Gender differences are justified by Japanese people and considered as "natural". However, family has a huge importance for Japanese society and domestic violence is not welcomed. Treatment of wives by husbands is less violent in comparison with other states. However, statistics show that domestic

violence is still a serious problem for Japanese women. About one-third of women victims were murdered by their male intimate partners and Craven (1997) mentioned that perpetrators of physical violence against women are mostly family members like husbands or boyfriends (Craven, 1997). As Fulcher points out, “Domestic violence went largely unrecognized by Japanese society and unaddressed by the Japanese government until the early 1990s” (2002, 16). In addition, as Yoshihama argues “until passage in Japan of the Law Relating to the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims (Domestic Violence Prevention Act, hereinafter) in 2001, no social policies or services existed that specifically addressed the problem of domestic violence” (2002, 390). The Japanese government provides public women’s centers for women and children who are abused or battered. However, only a small portion of women who need centers benefit from this facility. These public women's centers are seen as last solution after all informal sources of support have failed.

Japanese family law (1947, art. 18) let conciliation when one party rejects other’s divorce request. According to Yoshihama when women’s wish for divorce “is denied by their abusive husbands, battered women in Japan request conciliation in the hope of securing an escape from an abusive marriage” (2002, 390). Moreover, “A study of conciliation cases elucidated the serious nature of husbands' violence, including hitting with a wooden stick, stabbing with a knife, and pouring heating oil on the wife and attempting to set her on” (Yoshihama 2002, 390)

According to Muramoto “Although Japan has gone through substantial changes in the past 20 years, the situation for women is not much improved” (2011, 514).

For a survey done by The Gender Equality Bureau of the Cabinet Office in 2009, “24.9 percent of the Japanese women have experienced physical violence from their partner, 16.6 percent have experienced psychological violence, and 15.8 percent have experienced sexual violence” (Muramoto 2011, 514). Moreover “Of all women, 11.6% reported having been physically injured or experienced psychological difficulties as a result of violence” (Muramoto 2011, 514). In comparison with older survey results, it seems that there is an increasing trend in the number of women who are exposed to physical violence. However, the reason of the increase in number might be due to raising awareness for reporting behavior. Eventually, all these surveys and documents demonstrate the number of physical violence which is reported.

Rapid economic modernization of South Korea has produced cultural contradictions within society, especially in gender relations (Chong 2006). Modernizing forces provided in South Korean women high levels of education and this has changed their expectations. However, they face the incongruity between the rapidly changing expectations of women and the norms of a traditionalist gender system (Chong 2006). Patriarchal values which shape men's and women's roles in Korea is influenced by Confucian ideology (Stainback and Kwon 2012). Confucian virtues make women inferior to men in social status. These virtues support the idea that women must be subordinated and restricted from participation in social activities. The chastity ideology of Christianity is also influential for gender relations in South Korea. Not reporting crime can be argued as a reflection of chastity ideology. According to Shim (2001), victims think that they cannot marry another man because they lost their chastity and this make them not report sexual

violence. Therefore, cultural aspects such as religion are highly effective for gender relations and women's roles in social context. Despite the growing awareness of women by rapid modernization, culture remains as an important factor for women's security and inequality pursues in South Korea.

Sexual and domestic violence are major problems of South Korean women in terms of physical violence. Depending on Korean Ministry of Gender Equality and Family report in 2016, (as cited in Choi et al) "In South Korea, although one in every five women has experienced sexual violence (via physical contacts) more than once in her lifetime, only 48.1% of the women disclosed their experience to others" (2018, 2). Not reporting sexual violence remains a problem in South Korea. Moreover, just as South Korean women suffer from domestic violence, refugees and migrants from North Korea have worse situation in terms of domestic violence, too (Choi and Byoun 2014; Nam et al. 2017).

Violence against women is widely seen across China. Gender differences are based on Confucian tradition, which positions women in Yin (passive, sensitive, emotional) and men in Yang (active, assertive, logical). Despite the Confucian tradition which condemns violence against women, domestic violence is becoming an increasing problem in China. As Lin et al. mentions "The national prevalence rate of physical violence was estimated at around 34%, and studies conducted in various parts of China (including both rural and urban areas) reported comparable lifetime prevalence)" (2018, 69). Scope of violence is broader in this country. In addition to spousal violence, domestic violence and sexual violence, "violence against pregnant women" is also witnessed in China and Hong Kong (Tiwari et al.

2007; Chan et al 2010). However, when it comes to define violence as a crime, there are different perspectives in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. For example, violence against women in China only covers physical damage whereas in Hong Kong and Taiwan psychological harm is considered as violence too (Tang et. al 2002). It is not because psychological violence is not seen in China but because people have “normalized” it. According to a Jiao et. al’s study (2014), even Chinese college students see domestic violence as a private matter rather than policing crime. In response to this problem, China passed its first domestic violence law in December 2015. This law aimed to prohibit domestic violence both among married couples and unmarried cohabitants. However, effects of this considerably new law have not clearly been studied yet. Because China possesses too many ethnic groups, it is difficult to research every single aspect of it. Those ethnic groups differ within themselves in cultural, social, economical and political ways. Demographic characteristics, risk behavior, patriarchal ideology, mental health and social support are the risk factors of physical violence (Lin et al. 2018). Therefore, level of violence can vary depending on ethnic background of people in China. For instance, as Niu and Laidler (2015) points out that the Hui women, who are Muslim, are more reluctant to domestic violence than other groups of people in China.

Domestic violence, rape, and human trafficking are main forms of physical violence towards Mongolian women. Especially, domestic violence is commonly seen in the country. According to The National Police Agency, there is an increase in domestic violence. For instance, in 2016, reported domestic violence increased 6.9% over 2015. However, Mongolian women are also reluctant to report domestic violence because such violence is seen as a family matter. In order to fix the

problem of domestic violence, the 2004 Law to Combat Domestic Violence was amended in 2016, and domestic violence was declared as a criminal offense. Yet, spousal rape is mainly underreported. Legal processes and judicial procedures with societal perceptions toward women are main reasons for victims not reporting rape. There is an increase in reports of rape in Mongolia and most of the victims of rape are under 18 years old (Asia Foundation 2017, 98-99).

There are just a few researches conducted on women's studies in North Korea. Many of these researches are derived from the responses to interviews conducted by some academics or journalists of women from North Korea. Since the research in North Korea is very difficult because of the country's closeness, the women who gave the interviews are mostly immigrants from North Korea. Based on the information provided by these women, it is said that Law on the Equality of the Sexes in 1946 officially advocated equality between men and women. Women's social, economic and political legal rights, but gender inequality continues in practice. Women are thrown into second place in society and North Koreans are “idealizing women who suffer and sacrifice themselves that subordinates women to their object of love – the patriarchal nation” (Choi, 2015 123).

One of the biggest problems of women in North Korea is sexual assault in terms of physical security. According to an interview of CNN (2018), 9 out of 10 women are sexually abused. In addition, women from North Korea have compulsory military service. Women in this country are in charge of military service for 2 or 3 years. Specifically, it has been claimed that women have been sexually abused in the military. In that interview Heo, who is a former police officer and victim of

sexual assault, alleges that if perpetrator is official, sexual assault investigations are covered (McKirdy and Kwon 2018).

In addition, divorce or abortion in North Korea is subject to various restrictions. For example, according to Halliday (1985), a couple's divorce requires only health problems. This health problem is about sexual insufficiency. Apart from this, violence against women, such as domestic violence and partner rape, is not sufficient for divorce. Abortion is legal only for women who have more than 2-3 children and suffer from financial inadequacy. Women who are not married or who are pregnant after rape have no such right to have abortion (Halliday, 1985 54-55). Based on the results of all these studies and the statistical data in next section, it can be concluded that women in North Korea have low physical security. Nevertheless, the inadequacy of research in the region hinders making definitive judgments.

3.3. Measuring Independent Variable: Women's Physical Security in Northeast Asia

The WomanStats database is the most credible resource for measuring women's physical safety. This source is mostly used in articles about gender issues. Therefore, the independent variable of this thesis, the physical safety of women, will be measured by looking at the WomanStats scores. When the scores are analyzed in general, normalization between 0 and 4 is observed. 0 indicates that women are physically secure, while 4 indicates women lack physical security. However, it is not possible to make a worldwide ranking due to the lack of fraction. For this reason, only the ranking of Asia Pacific countries will be used.

Women’s physical security data is based on MULTIVAR-SCALE-1 of Woman Stats project. This scale includes 8 indicators with 15 scales. These indicators are domestic violence (Scale-5, Practice 1 and 2, Scale-1, Data 1), rape and sexual assault (LRW-Scale-11), marital rape (Law 2, Practice 1 and 2, Data 2), murder (Murder Scale-3), suicide, unspecified violence against women, government group exploitation of women, exemption of mothers from combat/military service (Practice 1). Each indicator is equally weighted for multivar-scale-1.

Country	Overall Physical Security Score
New Zealand	2
Singapore	3
Japan	2
Australia	2
Malaysia	3
Taiwan	2
Laos	4
Mongolia	3
South Korea	3
Indonesia	4
Timor-Leste	4
Vietnam	3
Cambodia	4
Papua New Guinea	4
China	4
Thailand	3
Myanmar	4
Philippines	3
North Korea	4

Table 3. 1. Women’s Physical Security in Asia Pacific Region

When the table is examined, a country that is completely safe does not exist in Asia Pacific. New Zealand, Japan, Australia and Taiwan appear to be relatively safe countries. The most insecure countries are North Korea, Myanmar, China, Papua New Guinea, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia and Laos. Singapore, Malaysia, Mongolia, South Korea, Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines have low levels of security. The number of countries to be called safe is almost equal to that of unsafe countries. This shows that the region cannot be generally regarded as moderately safe or insecure.

Country	DV- SCALE-5	LRW- SCALE-4	LRW- SCALE-5	MURDER- SCALE-1	Women's Physical Security
Japan	4	0	3	0	2
Mongolia	3	1	3	1	3
South Korea	1	3	3	1	3
China	4	1	3	2	4
North Korea	7	No data.	3	2	4

Table 3.2. Northeast Asian Scores

This study uses Northeast Asian countries for case analysis. Independent variable of this thesis is women's physical security. Previous researches in the literature show that major problems of physical security for women in Northeast

Asia are domestic violence, rape and sexual assault (including spousal rape), hesitation to report crime and rape. These problems are specifically measured by Woman Stats in DV-Scale-5, LRW-Scale-4 and 5 and Murder-Scale-1. Northeast Asian states' scores of these scales and overall WPS scores are given above.

DV scale was normalized between 0-7. As it is seen on the table, South Korea is the most secure while North Korea is the most insecure state of Northeast Asia in terms of domestic violence. Mongolia follows South Korea with 3 points and Japan and China have 4. Northeast Asia countries rankings within themselves in DV scale does not match with their overall WPS rankings.

LRW-4 and LRW-5 scales are about rape and sexual assault. These scales are normalized between 0-4. Unfortunately, there is no data given for North Korea. According to the table, Japan seems one of the safest countries in the world. Mongolia and China have 1 point which demonstrates moderate safety. South Korea has 3 and it makes South Korea one of the most insecure countries in the world in terms of rape. However, these results are questionable because LRW scale 4 shows officially reported rape prevalence (per 100,000 total population) and LRW scale 5 demonstrates strength of taboos against reporting rape. Every Northeast Asian country has 3 points in LRW scale 5 and this means "Cultural barriers to reporting rape are intense, but a woman is not under risk of possible physical duress if she does report the rape" (WomanStats Project). Therefore, this makes the information about the rape rate suspicious. Even if there are more rape incidents in these countries, they may not be reported because of this taboo.

Murder scale was normalized between 0-2. According to Woman Stats data base, it is “designed to scale the sanction of or pressure for female murder in a given state, examining cultural/social practices that condone murder and/or injuring of women. This includes murder as a result of accused witchcraft, elopement, suspicion of promiscuity, infidelity, rape, "honor" killings, religious or ethnic practices, dowry deaths, acid attacks, etc”. The table shows that Japan has the lowest numbers in women’s murders whereas North Korea and China have the highest. South Korea and Mongolia are in the middle with 1 point. The ranking of these countries within each other is the same with WPS ranking.

CHAPTER IV

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: STATE BEHAVIOR OF NORTHEAST ASIA COUNTRIES

4.1. Introduction

This thesis aims to figure out the correlation between women's physical security and states' security in international system. This chapter focuses on independent variable of the hypothesis that is State Behavior in the case of Northeast Asia countries. By state security, what is meant is nature of a state's international behavior as peacefully or hostile. Therefore, to conceptualize the dependent variable of the hypothesis; "state behavior in international system", Northeast Asias countries' collaborative and confrontational relations will be examined in this chapter.

Main point of this chapter is to illustrate Northeast Asian countries' state behaviors by giving statistical data in order to check their likelihood with women's physical security scale. To measure this variable of state behavior which are operationalized as peacefulness of a state, this thesis will utilize the Global Peace Index which is made by using more than 20 indicators. Before making a measurement of peacefulness, some extra information about state relations in Northeast Asia will be given. The reason for this is to reflect common problems and issues prevalent in this region. In this case study, because Northeast Asia states are used as cases and behavior of these states are dealt with as the dependent variable of this thesis, I found it appropriate to begin this chapter by giving brief information

about the basic security problems of the Northeast Asia region. General concerns and cooperative or conflictual relations will be given.

Dependent variable State Behavior of Northeast Asian countries will be evaluated in two subtitles. It will begin by revealing historical bases and general security facts of state behavior in the region. Previous studies by some scholars about state behavior of Northeast Asia states will be mentioned in this part. Important international problems and events of case countries and analysis of their behavior will be given only in a general manner, avoiding detail. In the second part, *Measurement of Attitudes of Northeast Asia*, statistics of state attitudes in international system will be demonstrated via Global Peace Index results of 2018. First, all East Asia results will be given and secondly Northeast Asia countries will be focused on.

4.2. State Relations in the Northeast Asia

Northeast Asia plays the most important role in the security and economic development of all Asia. Historically, Northeast Asian countries were divided in the bipolar confrontation of the Cold War. Especially in the 1960s, the contradictory and conflictual situations between the countries became even more complicated and interstate cooperation and peace rarely took place during this period. The Cold War's end brought several changes in Northeast Asia. The most important and effective of these changes are (1) China's rise in terms of economy and military; (2) South Korea's economy development and rise to first world status; (3) North Korea's nuclear bomb and missile tests and (4) Japan's "normalization" by relaxing the limitations on its armed forces. These changes are important due to their impact

on the security of the region. Instead of the confrontational environment that prevailed in the region during the Cold War, a new security complex was formed with these changes.

Basic problems that thread the security of the region are bilateral disagreements and military issues. These are the results of the four conditions which are mentioned above. Maritime security and nuclear armament are at the heart of these problems. These issues are also the result of the conditions in the countries mentioned above. First of all, the rise of China as a new economic and military power is primarily important for the security of the region. Most Chinese sources claim that this upswing continues with a peaceful foreign policy, not confrontational (Ying 2006). However, maritime trade and energy transport issues are closely related to some of the problems in the region between countries because these economic issues attach special importance to naval power.

As a second factor, South Korea's military and economic strength has changed the security conditions in the region. The modernization of the armed forces in South Korea, the establishment of new military bases in Jeju and Ulleung islands, and the efforts of the offshore navy are seen as threats by other countries (Lee et al. 2008).

Third, nuclear armement and proliferation are seen as one of the most threatening global problems. The main country that created this problem is North Korea in Northeast Asia. Nuclear activities of North Korea are perceived as thread. It is not because of the capacity of the weapons but North Korea's uncontrolled behavior. North Korea's capacity might be less than other countries like the United

States (IAEA 2017), however, North Korea has not signed NPT and it tests its weapons and threatens countries to use them. The major disadvantaged countries to these actions are North Korea's neighbor South Korea and Japan, which has witnessed continuous missile trials over their territories (Bechtol 2014).

Finally, Japan's military transformation is an important issue for security. Japan pushed aside its military power after the Second World War, experienced constitutional passivism and became economically stronger. Opposing militarism was defined as a civilian power. However, in order to adapt to the changing conditions after the Cold War, it began to regain its military power. This is known as Japan's military "normalization". With military "normalization" and a strong economy, the term smart power has been used for this country. The transition from civilian power to smart power, which points to the military and economic elements in the country, is one of the factors affecting regional security.

In the light of these four incidents, the Northeast Asian region witnesses troubled state relations, especially due to military and nuclear armament problems. On the country basis, island and border disputes in the East and China Sea, the Taiwan problem, US presence in the region, maritime trade and energy transport for the Chinese economy are important issues for China. There are also some territorial problems in its bilateral relations. For example, relations with Japan for Senkaku/Diaoyu Island in East China Sea, Socotra reefs problem with South Korea, Philippines in South China Sea, and continental shelf-limiting disagreements with Malaysia and Vietnam are some of the major problems China has with bilateral and neighboring countries. China's String of pearls Strategy and air defense and

identification zone on the East China Sea are also important security concerns that are perceived as threat by other countries.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, Mongolia perceived threat by China which invaded the country in 1911. Mongolia's security strategy has been mainly about economical development and political isolationism (Nelles 2001). After 1990s, Mongolia started to suffer from poverty and economical weaknesses, rather than external threats. In those years, China put its influence over the country, however, it was not conflictual. In 1994, China and Mongolia signed the "Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation". Furthermore, The Mongolian Defense White Paper of 1997-1998 declared that "there is no controversial issue between Mongolia and China which could spark military conflict" and China "has no legal basis to lay any kind of political or territorial claim on Mongolia." Mongolia also built cooperative relations with other countries in the region. For instance, Japan and South Korea sent aid to Mongolia both for the solution of its economical problems and in order to reduce Chinese influence over the country. Mongolia was argued as a buffer state in Northeast Asia (Taras 1997). Its strategy was based on having friendly relations and receiving donor from other countries but it also pursued to adopt policies of "non- alignment" and quasi-neutrality in international relations (Galsanjamts 1999, 11). Recent studies show that Mongolia still has some political and economical problems and is highly under the impact of China (Reeves, 2011). It has environmental security problems and it keeps on having cooperative behavior in the region.

As an island country, Japan does not have a territorial neighbor, but has maritime problems in its bilateral relations, such as the sovereignty of some islands

on the continental shelf and sharing of undersea energy sources. From Japan's point of view, the main threats are the nuclear activities of North Korea, the lack of transparency in China's defense policy and the development of military forces, and the problems of Taiwan and the South China Sea. When bilateral disputes are examined, the Dokdo / Takeshima islands with South Korea, the Senkaku / Diaoyu islands with China, the sovereignty issue in the East China Sea and the support of Taiwan, the only Chinese principle come to the fore.

The two neighboring countries that experience the biggest problems are North Korea and South Korea. South Korea's basic understanding of security sees North Korea as the biggest threat. In 2010, the sinking of South Korean Cheonan battleship, and the bombing of the island of Yeonpyeon in the North Border Line in 2010 by North Korea are the most important problems faced by the two neighboring countries. In addition, the Dokdo / Takeshima islands dispute with Japan, the Socotra rocks dispute with China, the increasing Chinese influence in the East China Sea, and Japan's military "normalization" efforts are important issues affecting bilateral relations. In addition, the modernization of the armed forces in South Korea, the establishment of new military bases (Jeju and Ulleung islands), and the efforts of the offshore navy are seen as threats by other countries (Kim 2014).

The confrontational environment that prevailed in the region during the Cold War was replaced by a new security complex and the region has witnessed some new disagreements between the states. However these disagreements turned into regional cooperation. To illustrate, even though new number of problems that may damage the safe environment in the region emerged, countries still need each other

to solve these problems. In recent years, security situation of Northeast Asia has been relatively stable. Dialogues and cooperation efforts are already established to resolve some problematic conditions in the region. For instance, Six Party Talks, Four Party Talks (2003) and ASEAN+3 conferences are some examples of cooperative attempts aimed to end nuclear crisis of North Korea. In addition, APEC has important role to play for cooperation in Northeast Asia. Despite economic relations such as trade and investment are main subjects of APEC's foundation, security issues have started to enter the agenda after September 11 terrorist attacks. Northeast Asian countries have many political, economic and cultural differences. APEC provides a multilateral platform where various countries can express their views and opinions. Consensus and cooperation among those countries can be promoted.

Japan, China and South Korea are the three countries that play the most important role in the cooperation in Northeast Asia. Since 1997, their trilateral cooperation has raised and extended. For example, in the summit conference held in 2002, they agreed that they would further promote tripartite cooperation in order to maintain prosperity and stability based on mutual trust and to focus on large-scale issues by making regular meetings (MOFA 2002). Through annual summit conferences trilateral cooperation of Japan, China and South Korea became a driving force for Northeast Asia's regional cooperation. The China-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is an example of a cooperation attempt. This shows that there is a balance between economic cooperation and military problems and there is not a dual relationship that can be called as fully confrontational or cooperative.

4.3. Measuring the Dependent Variable: Peacefulness of Northeast Asia

There are some statistics which demonstrate states' behavior both in internal and external level. That behavior might be peaceful or conflictual, however, there are too many indicators to determine this. It is almost impossible to distinguish countries only in a binary manner as completely peaceful or conflictual. Therefore, in order to make an interpretation about peacefulness of a state it is necessary to utilize statistics with a variety of variables in terms of states' behaviors. This study uses the Global Peace Index as the main source for measurement of dependent variable, which is peacefulness of Northeast Asian states. Measurement will be made in two levels. First, overall score of these countries will be given. Overall scores of Global Peace Index were determined by gathering both internal and external peace indicators. Thus, general peacefulness scores of all East Asia states will be demonstrated. Second, external peace indicators and Northeast Asian states' scores of them will be given. Global Peace Index does not only consider external peace indicators but also internal peace indicators when it is measuring overall score. Due to the fact that this thesis focuses on external peace, scales for external peace indicators will be demonstrated specifically.

Global Peace Index is a highly credible statistic which is preferred by many scholars in order to clarify a behavior of any state. GPI examines 163 countries in total. It investigates data in three domains including twenty three indicators. GPI benefits from various sources to determine the scores of these indicators. These sources are credible and highly robust data bases and institutions, such as Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP),

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), United Nations Committee on Contributions.

GPI has three domains, such as ongoing conflict both in internal and external level, safety and security and militarization. Under these domains, *“number and duration of internal conflicts, number of deaths from external organized conflict, number of deaths from internal organised conflict, number, duration and role in external conflicts, intensity of organised internal conflict, relations with neighboring countries, level of perceived criminality in society, number of refugees and internally displaced people as a percentage of the population, political instability, political terror scale, number of homicides per 100,000 people, likelihood of violent demonstrations, number of internal security officers and police per 100,000 people , military expenditure as a percentage of GDP number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people, the military balance, volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as recipient (imports) per 100,000 people, financial contribution to UN peacekeeping missions united, nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities, ease of access to small arms and light weapons”* (GPI 2018,79) are assessed as indicators of GPI. These indicators are categorized into two titles. These titles are internal peace indicators and external peace indicators. Internal peace indicators’ influence rate to overall score is 59,8%, while external peace indicators’ influence rate is 40,2%. In this case, one can infer that the GPI reflects more information about internal peace in measuring the overall score of peacefulness of

states. The following table shows the peace indicators in two categories and their weights on the overall score.

INTERNAL PEACE INDICATORS		EXTERNAL PEACE INDICATORS	
INDICATOR	WEIGHT (1-5)	INDICATOR	WEIGHT (1-5)
Perceptions of criminality	3	Military expenditure (% GDP)	2
Security officers and police rate	3	Armed services personnel rate	2
Homicide rate	4	UN peacekeeping funding	2
Incarceration rate	3	Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities	3
Access to small arms	3	Weapons exports	3
Intensity of internal conflict	5	Refugees and IDPs	4
Violent demonstrations	3	Neighbouring countries relations	5
Violent crime	4	External conflicts fought	2.28
Political instability	4	Deaths from external conflict	5
Political terror	4		
Weapons imports	2		

Terrorism impact	2		
Deaths from internal conflict	5		
Internal conflicts fought	2.56		

Table 4.1. Internal and External Peace Indicators of Global Peace Index.

GPI has concentrated more on internal peace in order to measure the overall score of peacefulness. However, this thesis deals with external peace. When measuring the dependent variable, external peace indicators must be taken into account separately. For this reason, it is important to understand the external peace indicators in detail. As shown in the table above, there are 9 scales as external peace indicators. The most effective ones for the external peace indicator are *Neighboring countries relations* and *Deaths from external conflict*. The percentages of these two scales in the overall score are 7.1%.

Country	Overall GPI Score	Overall Rank
New Zealand	1,192	2
Singapore	1,382	8
Japan	1,391	9
Australia	1,435	13
Malaysia	1,619	25
Taiwan	1,736	34
Laos	1,821	46
Mongolia	1,821	46
South Korea	1,823	49
Indonesia	1,853	55
Timor-Leste	1,895	59
Vietnam	1,905	60
Cambodia	2,101	96
Papua New Guinea	2,109	100
China	2,243	112
Thailand	2,259	113
Myanmar	2,302	122
Philippines	2,512	137
North Korea	2,95	150

Table 4.2. GPI Scores of Asia Pacific Countries.

According to the index, Asia Pacific region is the third most peaceful region in the world (GPI 2018, 12). However, when the countries in the Asia Pacific region are examined, it is seen that their peace scores vary considerably. Some of these countries are at the top of the world ranking, while others are at the bottom. There are many factors for this difference. In this thesis, it is argued that one of the main indicators of the difference is the physical security of women. The Global Peace

Index is normalized between 1 and 5. Countries approaching 1 are considered the most peaceful, while countries approaching 5 are identified as the most confrontational. In this context, New Zealand, Singapore and Japan have succeeded to be among the top 10 in the world rankings and have emerged as the most peaceful countries in the region. Myanmar, Philippines, and North Korea are seen as the most conflicting countries in the region. The following table presents the peacefulness index and ranking in the three different parts of East Asia, namely Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia.

Country	Overall Score	Overall Rank	Country	Overall Score	Overall Rank
Japan	1,391	9	Singapore	1,382	8
Mongolia	1,821	46	Malaysia	1,619	25
South Korea	1,823	49	Taiwan	1,736	34
			Laos	1,821	46
China	2,243	112	Indonesia	1,853	55
North Korea	2,95	150	Timor-Leste	1,893	59
			Cambodia	2,101	96
			Myanmar	2,302	122
			Philippines	2,512	137

Table 4.3. GPI Scores of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia

When we look at the countries examined in three categories, it is not correct to make a distinction between them as one of the most peaceful or one of the most

confrontational. In Southeast Asia, there are some of the most peaceful countries and some of the most confrontational countries in the world. When we look at the cross-country ranking, we see similar decreases in the scores of countries from Singapore to the Philippines. In Northeast Asia, out of five countries one is the 9th most peaceful country in the world –Japan-, two are relatively peaceful and in the middle of the world ranking -Mongolia and South Korea- while the remaining 2 countries are in the category of countries of conflict -China and North Korea.

4.3.a. External Peace

GPI has concentrated more on internal peace in order to measure the overall score of peacefulness. However, this thesis deals with external peace. When measuring the dependent variable, external peace indicators must be taken into account separately. For this reason, it is important to understand the external peace indicators in detail. As shown in the table above, there are 9 scales as external peace indicators. These indicators are *Military expenditure (% GDP)*, *Armed services personnel rate*, *UN peacekeeping funding*, *Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities*, *Weapons exports*, *Refugees and IDPs*, *Neighboring countries relations*, *External conflicts fought* and *Deaths from external conflict*. The most effective ones for the external peace indicator are *Neighboring countries relations* and *Deaths from external conflict*. Scales of neighboring countries relations and deaths from external conflict are also the most effective external indicators of overall peacefulness score. The percentages of both of these scales in the overall score are 7.1%.

When we look at the states examined in three categories, it is not correct to make a distinction between them as one of the most peaceful or one of the most

confrontational. In Southeast Asia, on the other hand, there are some of the most peaceful countries and some of the most confrontational countries in the world. When we look at the cross-country ranking, we see similar decreases in scores of countries from Singapore to the Philippines. In Northeast Asia, 1 out of 5 countries is the 9th most peaceful country in the world. Two of the rest are relatively peaceful and in the middle of the world ranking while other 2 countries are in the category of countries of conflict.

External Peace Indicators	Japan	Mongolia	South Korea	China	North Korea
Military expenditure (% GDP)	1,4	1,38	2,1	1,60	5
Armed services personnel rate	1,29	1,48	2,85	1,21	5
UN peacekeeping funding	1,62	1,66	1,04	1,24	2,48
Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities	2,65	1,18	3,43	5	5

Weapons exports	1	1	1,957	1,161	1,001
Refugees and IDPs	1	1,024	1	1,005	1,002
Neighbouring countries relations	3	2	4	3	5
External conflicts fought	1	1,38	1,38	1,64	1
Deaths from external conflict	1	1	1	1	1

Table 4.4. Northeast Asian Countries' Scores of external peace indicators

All of these indicators are normalized between 1 and 5. 1 refers most peaceful score and 5 refers most hostile score. This table shows that Northeast Asian countries are quite peaceful in deaths from external conflict, external conflicts fought, displaced people and weapons export. What differentiates between their peacefulness is mainly related to nuclear and heavy weapon capabilities and neighboring countries' relations. Literature presented in the previous section also supports this fact.

The table also shows that the order of Northeast Asian countries ranking does not change in external peace indicators. Japan is the most peaceful country in

external dimension and North Korea is the most conflictual state in this region. In the following chapter, analysis of these tables and its comparison with women's physical security tables will be given.



CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the accuracy of the hypothesis of the thesis will be tested and the result will be analyzed to show whether new hypotheses can be put forward. First, the correlation between the dependent variable and the independent variable will be tested by evaluating the tables in order to test the hypothesis. The statistics of independent variable, women's physical security (WPS in short), is based on MULTIVAR-1 scale of Women Stats data base. States' behavior (the dependent variable) scores are taken from the Global Peace Index for East Asian countries. Second, qualitative analysis by focusing mainly on Japan and North Korea will be made and inferences will be expressed.

As discussed in the previous chapters, a number of indicators have been used to create this index and database. Number of indicators is more than 20. Therefore, in addition to comparison of GPI overall score and WPS, some external peace indicators of GPI will be examined as a separate scale in order to see whether they also are related with WPS. The Global Peace Index does not only examine interstate relations or the international peace of states. The Global Peace Index has 3 different domains, including a number of indicators that address internal security issues as well. The ratio of internal peace and security indicators in overall score of GPI is 59.8%. Therefore, this study needs to check external peace indicators specifically. GPI's external peace indicators are "Military expenditure (% GDP),

Armed services personnel rate, UN peace keeping funding, Nuclear and heavyweapons capabilities, Weapons exports, Refugees and IDPs, Neighbouring countries relations, External conflicts fought, Deaths from external conflict” (2018, 86).

In the previous section, the main security problems in East Asia are discussed. As it is seen, the most important of the problem is about relations with neighboring states and military issues. The major military problem is the nuclear weapon issue. For this reason, women's physical security's correlation with Neighboring Relations and Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities scales will be calculated. The indicator of “Relations with neighbouring countries” was measured through qualitative assessment by EIU analysts. “Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities” scale was built by using The Military Balance, IISS; SIPRI; UN Register of Conventional Arms; IEP sources by Global Peace Index. Then, the relationship of women's physical safety with GPI overall score will be compared with the relationship between these two indicators. This comparison process will be performed and interpreted with Bayesian Correlation Pairs in the JASP program.

Finally, control variables will be taken into consideration. These control variables are democracy level and economic wealth. The effect of these variables on state behavior has been put forward much earlier. Therefore, they will be used as control variables and their impact on GPI score will be compared with the impact of WPS on GPI.

In the evaluation of whole East Asia, it is seen that 6 Southeast Asian states have different physical security scores than expected (*see Table 3.1.*). At this point,

Thailand, Philippines and Vietnam scored higher than expected in this thesis, while Singapore and Malaysia scored low. However, Northeast Asian countries have the expected ranking. The expected score and the expected ranking mean that they are at the same level as the ranking made with peacefulness, as it is mentioned in the hypothesis. Since the data of Southeast Asian countries do not support the hypothesis, this result supports the literature claiming that factors other than gender security are important for state peacefulness.

Northeast Asian Countries	GPI	Women's Physical Security	Relations with neighbouring countries	Nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities	GDP Per Capita	Democracy Level
Japan	1,391	2	3	2,65	34,474	7,99
Mongolia	1,821	3	2	1,184	3,947	6,5
South Korea	1,823	3	4	3,34	27,105	8
China	2,243	4	3	5	8	3,32
North Korea	2,95	4	5	5	1,8	1,08

Table 5.1. Scores of Northeast Asia

The data of WomanStats are normalized between 0 and 4. The Neighboring Relations scale was coded in a similar way to the WomanStats. Only scores were normalized between 1 and 5. Due to the fact that the scores in the WomanStats

database and Neighbouring Relations scale do not use fractionated results, countries are examined with only 5 points. GPI scores were normalized between 1 and 5.

GPI's lowest score in the world is 3.6. North Korea has score of 2.95 which is the lowest in Northeast Asia (*see Table 4.2.*). The same country received 4 points, the lowest score in the world for women's physical security. Japan scored 2 points on WPS, the highest WPS score ever seen in the world. The same country has become one of the most peaceful countries in the world with 1,391 points in GPI. Mongolia with 1,821 points in GPI and South Korea with 1,823 points received the same medium score, 3 in WomanStats. There are around 0.5 differences between these two countries and Japan in the GPI scoring and they are in the middle of the world list. All this demonstrates the accuracy of the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: In Northeast Asia, countries where women's physical security is low behave more confrontational, while countries where physical security is high are more peaceful.

However, the GPI has established its index by considering not only the peacefulness in the behaviors of the states in foreign policy but also the mechanisms of internal conflict and cooperation. However, especially the relations with neighboring countries and military problems, especially nuclear arming, are the main issues of the security problems faced by Northeast Asia in general. In order to test the hypothesis of this thesis, it is important to take these two indicators into account. Therefore, it is appropriate to compare the neighbouring relations and

nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities scale to the physical security scale of women.

Hypothesis 2: There is a correlation between the physical security of Northeast Asian women and neighboring state relations between states. Countries where women are moderately safe tend to establish peaceful relations with neighboring countries.

Hypothesis 3: There is a correlation between the physical security of Northeast Asian women and nuclear weapon capacity of a state. Countries where women are moderately safe tend not to have nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, as it is understood in the literature, the biggest problems of the independent variable, are female murders, rape and domestic violence. In the following, DV-SCALE-5, which measures domestic violence from the WomanStats database, LRW-SCALE-4, which measures officially reported rape prevalence, LRW-SCALE-5, which measures scale of strength of taboos and MURDER-SCALE-1 will be given specifically. DV scale was normalized between 0-7, LRW-4 and LRW-5 between 0-4, and Murder scale was normalized between 0-2. These will be examined to see if there is a relationship between GPI overall scores.

Country	DV-SCALE-5	LRW-SCALE-4	LRW-SCALE-5	MURDER-SCALE-1
Japan	4	0	3	0
Mongolia	3	1	3	1
South Korea	1	3	3	1
China	4	1	3	2
North Korea	7	No data.	3	2

Table 5.2. Specific Scales of WPS

As found in the literature reviews, the most common factors threatening the physical security of Asian women are women's murders, rape and domestic violence. When these data are ranked with GPI overall ranking, it is seen that only the murder scale has a similar ranking. When we evaluate these three aspects on their scale and compare them with the peace of states; it can be concluded that women's murders are more effective than the other two factors given their scores, rank and country ranking. A similarity is not seen in other scales. Therefore, it is not possible to reach a special conclusion by using rape and domestic violence at this point.

5.1. Control Variables: Democracy Level and Economic Wealth

The level of democracy and economic wealth of countries are important variables used to predict peacefulness of a state. In this thesis, these two variables are used as control variables. Economic Wealth is calculated on the basis of GDP per capita. Data for this variable is obtained from Freedom House. Democracy level scores are based on The Economist Intelligence Unit. EIU gave scores to countries banding from 0 (least democratic) to 10 (most democratic). The levels of

democracy and GDP per capita of Northeast Asian states are given in the table below.

Northeast Asian Countries	GPI Overall Score	EIU Democracy Level	Freedom House Economic Wealth
Japan	1,391	7,99	\$ 34,474
Mongolia	1,821	6,5	\$ 3,947
South Korea	1,823	8	\$ 27,105
China	2,243	3,32	\$ 8,069
North Korea	2,95	1,08	\$ 1,800

Table 5. 3. Scores of Control Variables

When we look at the Global Peace score, Mongolia ranks second. However, when we look at GDP per capita, it is only around \$4 per capita, which is the second lowest among the five countries. It was supposed to have economic wealth in the second place in the expected ranking. Similarly, it is around \$ 8 per person in China. If only GDP per capita and GPI scores and rankings were taken into consideration and we had to conclude the correlation between the two, Mongolia would be expected to be between North Korea and China. In other words, the rankings should be as: Japan, South Korea, China, Mongolia and North Korea.

These examples show that the effect of the economic wealth variable is lower than that of women's physical security.

Level of democracy has more prominent correlation with peace level. The level of democracy is considered as one of the most important variables in the peace studies literature. However, the table above shows that South Korea has the highest score in democracy. Therefore, one might expect South Korea to have the highest score in peacefulness, too. GPI scores of Japan and Mongolia are higher than South Korea but their democracy level is lower. When we look at the rankings of the states, only GPI and WPS have the same order. Thus, one can argue that correlation between GPI and WPS is more obvious than other alternative variables. WPS has also been proven to be an exclusive variable in previous studies. As it is mentioned in literature review of this thesis, Hudson et al.'s (2009) empirical research suggests that the WPS's effect on peacefulness is higher than that of democracy. Comparing Northeast Asian countries scores of different variables shows this fact obviously.

The qualitative analysis focuses on the safest and most peaceful of these five countries - Japan and the most confrontational and insecure - North Korea. The physical security of women in Japan is highest *in the region*. At this point, Japan stands out as a case that supports the hypothesis of the thesis in Northeast Asia with its peaceful behaviors and high physical security for women. Nevertheless, Japan has the score of 2 which is not the highest score (0) of Woman Stats. It shows that Japan, as a developed country, has a lower level in terms of gender than expected; however, its score is at the expected order as it is in the first place in Northeast Asia. This thesis deals with the physical security of women through indicators of domestic violence, rape and women murder. The fact that domestic violence is low

is interpreted as the fact that the family has a very important place in Japanese culture and that violence against the mother / wife character is not tolerated by the society. In addition, women's murders are also at lower levels in Japan compared to other countries. However, Japan is one of the countries with high gender gap differences. Some authors even speak of the dilemma that Japan's development lags behind in gender. Thus, low levels of murder may be due to the criminal system rather than Japan's equality of men and women in the social context. However, the issue of rape is also a major problem for Japanese women. Japanese women are at a disadvantage when it comes to being raped or reporting the rape.

When we look at North Korea, there are almost no studies on women's issue. Nevertheless, it is known that patriarchy is utterly high and women's physical security is low. Therefore, the above statistics were commented on and North Korea had the lowest scores in all areas. On the other hand, there are many studies on the North Korean conflict. As mentioned in the previous chapter, North Korea's acceleration of nuclear armament, especially in the post-Cold War period, and the continuation of the disintegration of the peninsula which is a result of Cold War are important issues. This behavior of North Korea is considered from different perspectives. For example, North Korea is lagging behind a number of countries in terms of nuclear weapons capacity. But what makes North Korea confrontational is its intention to use these weapons, threatening neighbors and other countries, and avoiding stopping nuclear arming. The reason for this behavior is argued by some sources as a kind of defense mechanism established by North Korea due to the defeat of the Cold War. This is because there may be a number of reasons for previous studies on the origin of confrontational or peaceful behavior rather than

women's physical security. For example, idealism, liberalism and Democratic Peace Theory have suggested dynamics such as trade relations, interdependence, cooperation and the spread of democracy in order to achieve world peace. When we examine Northeast Asia in general, it is seen that countries are willing to establish cooperation. They turn the common problems which may constitute potential for conflict into collaboration due to economic reasons. When we look at bilateral relations there are some problems such as the question of Dokdo / Takeshima Island between Japan and South Korea; the question of sovereignty between Japan and China in the East China Sea; the question of Socotro Rocks between China and South Korea. Peaceful or confrontationalism of countries' behaviors can be detected in terms of methods of solving these problems, but this is not easy to do so because there is no ongoing actual conflict between states. On the contrary, China, South Korea and Japan have made some attempts in the past to provide cooperation in the region. For this reason, many indicators have been analyzed and interpreted using the scoring indexes at the beginning of the analysis section. Therefore, the levels of economic wealth and democracy are taken into consideration and used as control variables. As a result, it is seen that countries shape their behaviors towards other countries by being affected by various reasons and factors. While North Korea's motives can be varied, Japan is also a country that does not demand conflict and demands cooperation in the region due to economic concerns or its modernization (which is a concept that includes economic and democratic development). However, Japan's re-arming may leave this argument in doubt.

From this quantitative and qualitative analysis, one can infer that behavior of states in interstate relations can be attributed to various causative factors such as

economic interests and democracy. However, this thesis argues a correlation between the physical security of women and the behavior of states. Women's physical security is important for state security. As the concept of security expands, the importance of human security has increased and the physical security of women has an important place in the context of human security. This study conducted in the Northeast Asia case analysis revealed that countries where women's physical security is low tend to have conflicting behaviors in interstate relations while countries where women's physical security is high tend to behave peacefully. However, it is seen that human security is still not taken into account when measuring state peace. On the contrary, this thesis claims that human security, especially women's security, should be considered as an important variable and indicator in measurement of state peacefulness.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Although gender inequality and war studies seem to be independent of each other, recent studies have indicated a correlation between them. Theoretical framework was drawn by feminist scholars who focused on gender and security studies. Those scholars, such as Jill Steans (1988) and Cynthia Enloe (1987), argued that as the security concept expands, women security must also be studied academically. They also claimed that gender inequality has a linkage with state security. The literature shows that the level of gender inequality is an essential aspect to predict both intrastate and interstate conflicts. In order to find such linkage between the two, the association between gender inequality which was measured in various dimensions and the conflict has been tested by several scholars (E.g. Caprioli 2005, Hudson and Boer 2002, Mc Dermott 2007). This study focused on women's physical security and peace in interstate relations of Northeast Asian countries. Thus, the theory claiming a linkage between gender inequality and interstate conflict is tested. Most of the previous studies which test this theory mainly focused on structural violence against women and peace within a state. However, this study operationalized its concepts by using direct violence and negative peace concepts. A correlation between women's physical security and peacefulness of a state in interstate relations is found out. It is inferred that women's physical security level can be used as an essential indicator of interstate relations' peacefulness. Thus, one can predict cooperative or conflictiveness of a state by

considering women's physical security score. Quantitative and qualitative methods are used to test this hypothesis.

Women's physical security, which is the independent variable of this thesis, is conceptualized as direct violence against women and it is measured by Woman Stats data base's Multivar-Scale. Multivar-Scale focuses on murder, rape and domestic violence. Its banding is between 0 (the safest) - 4 (insecure). Besides, peacefulness of a state is conceptualized as negative peace term and is measured by Global Peace Index score. Global Peace Index normalized scores between 1 (the most peaceful) and 5 (the most conflictual). Because GPI measured its scores by evaluating both internal and external indicators, this study also searched for external peace indicators. After showing a theoretical and empirical evidences, this study hypothesized that Northeast Asian countries with higher levels of physical security for women tends to be more peaceful in interstate relations.

Every East Asian states' scores for women's physical security and peacefulness are taken into consideration but Northeast Asian states are focused on because there are some studies testing the correlation between gender inequality and security by using some Southeast Asian countries, however, Northeast Asia as a region has never been used for case analysis to test such linkage. Therefore, in order to illustrate independent variable of this thesis, Northeast Asian women's physical security is mentioned in the third chapter. Major problems that women face in Northeast Asia are detected as rape, murder and domestic violence. However, intensity of violence against women varies from country to country. For instance, Japan is seen safer for women because its moderate culture when Chinese women face rigorous violence. Studies also showed that women hesitate in reporting

violence, especially domestic violence and rape. Due to the fact that this problem cannot be demonstrated obviously by academic articles, this study used a data made by Woman Stats to measure women's physical security. The results show that there is no safest state in Northeast Asia for women. Yet, Japan is one of the most secure places on earth in terms of women's physical security. North Korea is the most insecure state for women. Order of Northeast Asian states are as: Japan, Mongolia, South Korea, China and North Korea. Mongolia and South Korea are not one of the safest places but they have a medium security for women. China and North Korea scores show that they are insecure for women.

Fourth chapter focused on the dependent variable of this thesis, which is peacefulness of a state. The factors affecting the relations between the countries in the Asia Pacific region are the share of natural resources, geopolitics, historical problems, political events and economic interests. This thesis examined this region by focusing on China, Japan, South Korea and North Korea because of their influence over the region is considerably high. Geopolitical and historical problems occupy the agenda in Northeast Asia in general. Especially after the Cold War, the security structure of the region transformed considerably. As a result of the rise of China, strengthening of South Korea, nuclear armament of North Korea and militarily "normalization" of Japan, a new security environment emerged and bilateral relations of countries were shaped in accordance with this conjuncture. However, despite all these conflicts, countries agree on the need for a regional cooperation. Economic interests lead the drive for cooperation, especially to overcome underdevelopment. Some major states play an important role in establishing cooperation. These states are China, Japan and South Korea in the

Northeast Asia. This cooperation is realized in both bilateral and multilateral forums. For example, organizations such as APEC provide a multilateral discussion platform and reduce the transaction costs in order to maintain security in the region, although they were established in the first place with economic motivations. Nevertheless, political disagreements remain but these are balanced by economic interests.

Analysis chapter made a comparison between tables that show scores of dependent and independent variables. Therefore, hypothesis of this thesis is proven by evaluating those tables. In order to uncover more results, specific evaluation of women's physical security indicators and external peace indicators are checked over. Murder scale of women and peacefulness of a state in Northeast Asia has a correlation. Other detection shows that women's physical security has a linkage with neighboring relations of Northeast Asian states. These detections are made only by considering scores and levels of state's women's physical security and peacefulness. However, particular search for women's murder is not made in this thesis. Control variables impact on dependent variable is explained and it is claimed that women's physical security is an essential indicator of peacefulness of a states' external relations. WPS score's validity and effectiveness is more than democracy and economic wealth. Then, countries are evaluated by qualitative analysis. In conclusion it is stated that, less physical security of women is not argued as the main reason of having conflictual behavior. Not causality but a correlation between these two variables is tested and mentioned in this thesis. Possessing peace in interstate relations may be a result of different aspects or conditions. In Northeast Asia, Japan is both the most secure state for women and the most peaceful state in

the region, whereas North Korea is both less secure for women and it is the most conflictual state. For instance, North Korea's conflictual behavior can be argued as being rooted in Cold War era or Japan's peacefulness can be claimed as laying in modernization. Moreover, democracy, economy, and culture are effective factors of state behavior. However, this thesis claims that women's physical security, which is included in human security, may also be taken into consideration in the prediction of state's behavior in interstate relations. Physical security of women shall be used as an indicator of states' peacefulness. As it is argued in literature review and theoretical framework, women aspect was not included in security understanding. After 1990s, it was stated that the problems of women were ignored, violence against women was used as a tactic of war by the conflicting states, gender inequality was an important factor causing conflict and women's empowerment was important to ensure international peace. However, women's security is still not among the reliable global peace indicators. In this thesis, the correlation between women's security and the peace of states was tested and it was stated that women's physical security should be included among peace indicators.

For further studies, specific problems of women can be examined in order to find a correlation with other aspects of security of states both for internal and external relations. Women murder, for instance, can be used as an independent variable to test its linkage with conflictual state behavior. In addition, this study has only taken direct violence against women. However, structural violence against women is as essential as direct violence. Thus, further studies can have a structural violence such as health conditions of women to figure out whether it has a correlation with violence in state level of analysis. In addition, the Southeast Asian

region is composed of countries with different ethnicities, religions, forms of government, economic conditions etc. Thus, it does not have a homogeneous structure. When we look at the data match only, 6 countries scored different than expected and the hypothesis of this thesis is not supported. The reasons for not supporting the hypothesis can be studied in further researches.

Weakness of this study is to focus only on five countries. However, a comprehensive study could be made to present such hypothesis. Using statistics would enable to test a large-N research. The reason why this study has considered five countries is the inadequacy to use statistic programs. Especially, control variables' effect on dependent variable would not be examined without a linear regression analysis.

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