

# Milestone 5

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## Paper Overview

This paper (Lazarev 2019) by Egor Lazarev entitled “Laws In Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya” examines post-war Chechnya and how legacies of war affect people’s choice between various legal processes. In modern-day Chechnya, there are three competing legal bodies: official Russian law, sharia courts (Gammer 2005), and customary law (adat) (Cremer 2012). The author argues that sharia and adat courts are traditionally more discriminatory towards women, and that women are more likely than men to turn to state courts rather than sharia courts or adat. The pattern of women choosing to turn to state courts for legal disputes rather than sharia or customary courts is exacerbated, as the author works to show through data, by the level to which a region was affected by violence during the Chechen wars (Oliker 2001). In other words, conflict provided women with more opportunity to pursue their interests through official law. The author, Egor Lazarev, backs up his claim through data and through a comparison with neighboring Ingushetia, which has many similarities but has not gone through conflict. The enhanced opportunities for women in the legal process has been counterbalanced by an effort by the Ramzan Kadyrov government in Chechnya to retraditionalize the republic (RFE/RL 2010), and while women continue to look to state courts for assistance, Kadyrov works toward supporting more traditional forms of conflict resolution that favor men and Chechnya’s traditionally patriarchal society. The author concludes that gender can play a large role in forming splits in post-conflict societies.<sup>1</sup>

Lazarev uses data throughout his paper to support his claims. The primary method he uses is ordinary least squares regression, in which Lazarev tests a number of different independent variables, including gender, exposure to conflict, distance from Chechnya’s capital (Groznyy), altitude (given cultural differences between upland and lowland Chechens (Layton 2014)) and various other variables on three indexes, which he labels indexRL, indexS and indexA. IndexRL, created by Lazarev early in the paper based on interview data, measures a given person’s likelihood to opt for Russian law, which indexS and indexA measure likelihood of sharia and adat, respectively. The author includes a number of graphics as well, including several ggplots, regression tables (created through stargazer) and others. Lazarev uses all of these methods to elucidate patterns in the data and arrive at his previously-described conclusions.

## Graphic

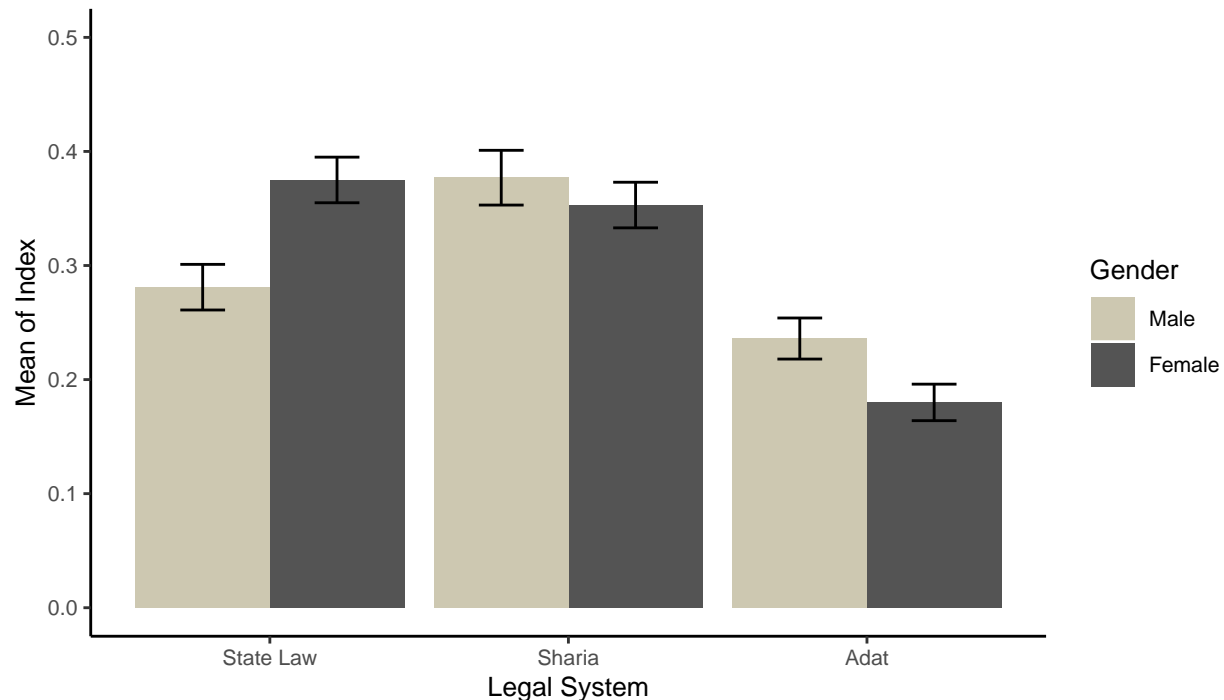
In this graphic, I use Lazarev’s data to show gender-based trends in choice of legal structure in Chechnya. Lazarev makes a very similar graph in his paper; however, I made sure to format mine in a more “beautiful” manner. The graph shows how men and women differ in their respective likelihoods to choose Russian state law, sharia, and adat. The error bars are included as well to show the uncertainty around the means.

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<sup>1</sup>All analysis for this paper is available under Milestone-3.Rmd in my github repo: <https://github.com/dfshapir/Replication>

## How Gender Impacts Choice of Legal System

Data From Lazarev, 'Laws in Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya'



Data from surveys performed by Lazarev during fieldwork. Indexes are calculated by averaging the number of scenarios where participants respond that they would choose one form of law over another.

## Appendix

Below, I used Lazarev's code to replicate a table from his paper. He labels it originally as Table 3 in his code; in the paper, it is labeled as Table 4.

Below is a screenshot of the actual table in his paper. There are some differences in formatting, but all of the numbers that I got match the numbers in the table. Lazarev removes all of the coefficients for individual years and simply puts "yes" for "Year fixed effects" in every column. Also, Lazarev cleans up some of his variable names for purposes of readability. The numbers, however, check out.

## References

Cremer, Marit. 2012. "The Instrumentalisation of Religious Beliefs and Adat: Customary Laws in Chechnya." 2012. [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-531-93326-9\\_11](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-531-93326-9_11).

Gammer, Moshe. 2005. "Between Mecca and Moscow: Islam, Politics and Political Islam in Chechnya and Daghestan." 2005. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00263200500261829>.

Layton, Katherine S. 2014. "Chechens: Culture and Society." 2014. <https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9781137483966>.

Lazarev, Egor. 2019. "Laws in Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya." 2019. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/laws-in-conflict-legacies-of-war-gender-and-legal-pluralism/6CFD85DA8F0EB06251F3B696A31E4FAB>.

Oliker, Olga. 2001. "Russia's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Lessons from Urban Combat." 2001. [https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1289.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1289.html).

Table 1:

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	istez_females		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
com_exposure	0.508* (0.274)	0.442* (0.226)	−0.110 (0.500)
urban	−0.388 (0.289)	0.093 (0.212)	−1.349** (0.665)
mountainous	0.274 (0.384)	0.474 (0.525)	−1.319* (0.747)
russ_pop	0.299 (0.283)	0.431** (0.189)	−1.097* (0.603)
pop_fem_share	−4.493 (5.392)	−7.353 (5.399)	4.656 (8.143)
as.factor(year)2011	−0.396 (0.443)	−0.608 (0.427)	3.656*** (0.737)
as.factor(year)2012	−0.710 (0.465)	−0.789* (0.435)	2.034*** (0.767)
as.factor(year)2013	−0.029 (0.452)	−0.867** (0.401)	2.879*** (0.677)
as.factor(year)2014	−0.026 (0.461)	−0.587 (0.428)	3.558*** (0.670)
as.factor(year)2015	−0.287 (0.504)	−0.624 (0.424)	3.753*** (0.693)
as.factor(year)2016	−0.588 (0.433)	−0.617 (0.418)	2.700** (1.150)
Constant	2.610 (2.739)	3.905 (2.704)	−3.418 (4.352)
Observations	8,495	5,296	3,199
Log Likelihood	−5,664.673	−3,583.200	−1,862.214
Akaike Inf. Crit.	11,353.340	7,190.399	3,748.428

*Note:*

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

TABLE 4  
PREDICTING FEMALE PLAINTIFF IN CIVIL DISPUTES: BINARY  
LOGISTIC REGRESSION

	<i>Dependent Variable</i>		
	<i>Female Plaintiff</i>		
	<i>All Disputes (1)</i>	<i>Family Disputes (2)</i>	<i>Non-family Disputes (3)</i>
Community victimization	0.508*	0.442*	-0.110
	(0.274)	(0.226)	(0.500)
Urban	-0.388	0.093	-1.349**
	(0.289)	(0.212)	(0.665)
Mountainous	0.274	0.474	-1.319*
	(0.384)	(0.525)	(0.747)
Presence of Russian population 1989	0.299	0.431**	-1.097*
	(0.283)	(0.189)	(0.603)
Share of women in district population	-4.493	-7.353	4.656
	(5.392)	(5.399)	(8.143)
Year fixed effects	yes	yes	yes***
Constant	2.610	3.905	-3.418
	(2.739)	(2.704)	(4.352)
Observations	8495	5296	3199

\* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Figure 1: Lazarev Image

RFE/RL. 2010. “Holier Than Thou: Ramzan Kadyrov and 'Traditional Chechen Islam'” 2010.  
[https://www.rferl.org/a/Holier\\_Than\\_Thou\\_Ramzan\\_Kadyrov\\_And\\_Traditional\\_Chechen\\_Islam\\_/2073626.html](https://www.rferl.org/a/Holier_Than_Thou_Ramzan_Kadyrov_And_Traditional_Chechen_Islam_/2073626.html).