

Studies in Energy Policy

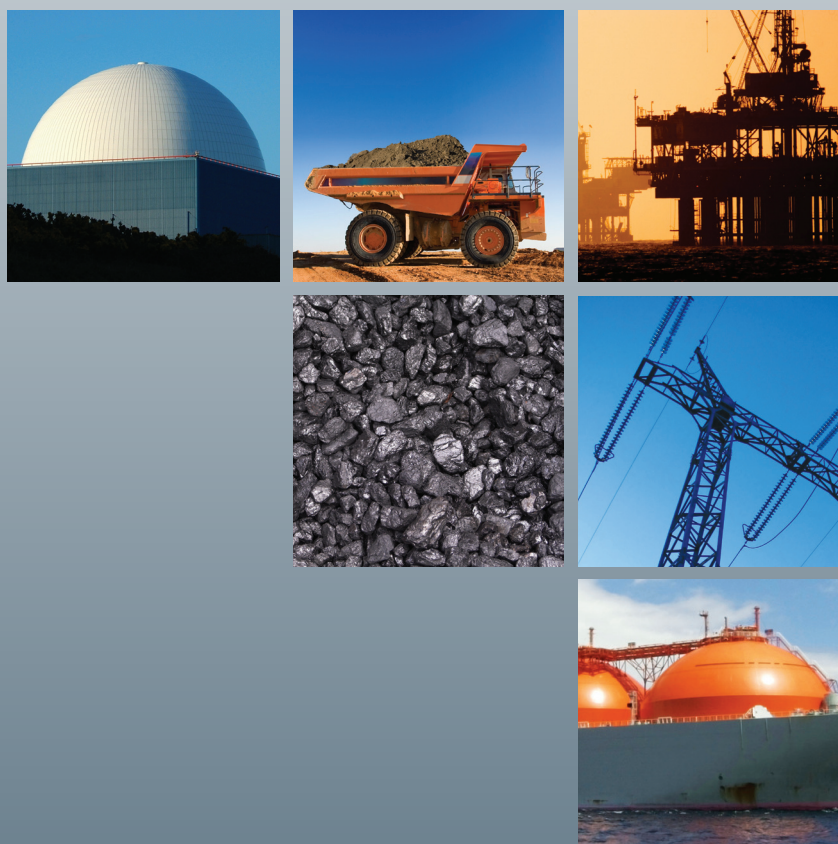


July 2011

In America's National Interest—Canadian Oil

A Comparison of Civil, Political, and Economic
Freedoms in Oil-Producing Countries

by Mark Milke, Ph.D.



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Summary

Attempting to restrict American imports of Canadian oil is a mistake that ignores both the reality of US dependence on imported oil, as well as the only major alternative sources of such oil—repressive governments that restrict civil, political, and economic freedoms.

The study points out that Canada now provides more oil to America than all the Persian Gulf countries combined, even though America imports 5.5 million more barrels of oil daily than it did in 1973.

Also, in 2009, the US relied on Persian Gulf countries for 14.4% of its oil imports, down from 24.5% of all US oil imports in 1979. In contrast, Canada supplied the United States with 21.2% of its oil imports in 2009, an increase from the 6.4% Canada supplied in 1979.

In addition to the reality of American oil demand and imports, this report measures how major oil-producing jurisdictions around the world, defined as those that produce more than 250,000 barrels of oil daily, perform on 17 comparisons of civil, political, and economic freedoms. The comparison includes eight measurements specific to women's freedoms. A total of 38 countries, from five continents, are compared.

For example, with the exception of Norway, Canada is the only major oil-exporting country that scores highly on all measurements of civil, political, and economic freedom, including the rights of women to full career, medical and travel choices; on media freedom, religious freedom, and property rights, as well as on other measurements such as judicial independence and relative freedom from corruption.

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by Ezra Levant

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Foreword

Over the past several years, the chief criticisms marshaled against Canadian oil have been emotional and aesthetic; it's precisely why they have been so effective. The passion of the detractors of Canada's oilsands in particular has overwhelmed the drier, technical defences of them. Greenpeace street theatre will beat an empirical paper in the court of public opinion.

But emotional values and aesthetics can be measured scientifically, too. And, as Mark Milke's study demonstrates, when we measure liberal values—the values that many of critics of oil extraction claim to pursue—we find that the case for Canadian oil can be made on aesthetic and emotional grounds, too. Oil is usually measured in dollars or megajoules. But it can also be measured by other metrics, like women's rights and freedom of religion and the health of a nation's democracy.

There is room for disagreement on how to assign a number to a particular ethical value, and to compare amongst them. Is the misogyny of Saudi Arabia more important than the restriction of Russia's free press? Which should concern us more: corruption in Nigeria or the nuclear ambitions of Iran? Additional criteria could be added to the ethical basket. For Americans, the blood and treasure spent by the US military to secure the Persian Gulf sea lanes can be measured both in blood and treasure.

Measuring the ethical quality of a global commodity is not merely a political exercise. As the commercial success of fair trade coffee suggests, a critical mass of consumers may care enough about the provenance of oil to be willing to pay a premium for oil that suits their moral sensibilities—or at least choose the most ethical oil available amongst equally priced alternatives.

Oil, like all natural chemicals, is morally neutral. But the provenance of oil, the way it is found, produced, bought, and sold is a human matter, and we can judge it against our culture's economic and social values. The Fraser Institute's motto is, "if it matters, measure it." Critics of Canadian oil have made the moral quality of oil matter a great deal. It is a debate that should be welcomed not only by Canada's oil producers but by all of OPEC's customers—especially policymakers and consumers in the United States—too.

Ezra Levant

Author, *Ethical Oil: The Case for Canada's Oilsands*

Overview of major findings

Over the last several years, Canada's oil exports have been assailed by those who would persuade American consumers and policymakers they can choose between Canadian oil imports—which, as with any processed product, carry some environmental costs—and perfection. The perfectionist end is implicit in the notion that a reduction in imported oil from Canada (or at least oil from the oilsands) would not have negative consequences on the supply and price of oil for American consumers, or would not require additional imports from jurisdictions that Americans might find questionable for either reasons of national security or for related to standards on civil, political and economic rights. Here are some examples:

- ◆ In 2009, Greenpeace USA, in its “Stop the Tar Sands” campaign, claimed that northern extraction of oil from Alberta's oil sands has “created a literal hell on earth” because land is visibly scarred by oil sands development which takes place above ground (Greenpeace, 2009).
- ◆ In 2010, city councillors in Bellingham, Washington voted 7-to-0 to “promote energy alternatives to fossil fuels, and in particular, Canadian tar sands sources, and encouraging [sic] the use of alternative transportation techniques” (Audette, 2010: A4).
- ◆ Over several years, Amnesty International, in its campaigns against the oilsands has called for “no more development without human rights.” It was a reference to the Lubicon Cree who live near the oil sands and to the claim that “[m]assive oil and gas development has almost wiped out the traditional economy and way of life of the Lubicon of northern Alberta ... [w]hile billions of dollars of oil and gas has been taken from their land” (Amnesty International, 2010).
- ◆ In an open letter in advance of planned protests for August 2011 near the White House, American actor Danny Glover and Canadian environmentalist David Suzuki and other prominent activists argued that “[t]o call this project [Canada's oil sands] a horror is serious understatement. The tar sands have wrecked huge parts of Alberta, disrupting ways of life in indigenous communities—First Nations communities in Canada.” (Klein, 2011).

The reality check

The desire for improvement exists in human history but long-lasting positive reforms are necessarily based on how men and women actually live, behave, and work; such reforms also occur within the physical limitations they themselves face. Engineers, architects and others may begin with a hunch for an improvement and improve bridges and buildings as a result. However, they must vet their imaginings through the reality of the physical forces of nature, be they gravity, wind, water, sun and erosion among others.

To ignore real-world constrictions in pursuit of an imagined ideal is not to improve the world but to ignore it; it is to disregard the only choices available that have the potential to make progress on matters of concern precisely because they are based in reality. Here are some relevant facts that should be observed in the debate over Canadian oil exports to the United States:

Fact #1 The United States imports 5.5 million more barrels of oil daily than it did in 1973

The United States imported 5.5 million more barrels of oil per day in 2009 than it did in 1973. Thus, the question is not whether or not the U.S. will import oil, but which country will supply that oil to American consumers, businesses and government.

Fact #2 Oil will remain the dominant fuel through to at least 2035

In its recent forecast to 2035, the International Energy Agency (IEA) notes: “Oil remains the dominant fuel in the primary energy mix to 2035.” The IEA forecasts global demand for crude oil to reach 99 million barrels daily by 2035 (IEA, 2010: 1–2).

Fact #3 Unconventional oil will increase in importance through to 2035

Critically, The IEA also forecasts that unconventional oil¹ will play “an increasingly important role in world oil supply through to 2035, *regardless of what governments do to curb demand*” (emphasis added). The IEA forecasts the share of unconventional oil as a share of annual worldwide oil production to increase to 10% in 2035 from 3% in 2009 and notes that “Canadian oil sands and similar Venezuelan extra-heavy oil will dominate the mix” (IEA, 2010a: 2).

1 As the IEA notes, there is no universally accepted definition of unconventional oil. A rough definition is oil that “requires production technologies significantly different from those used in the mainstream reservoirs exploited today” (IEA, 2010b: 145). For example, conventional oil extraction involves drilling for oil and then bringing it to the surface via the well’s pipe. In contrast, oil found in Canada’s oil sands is too viscous (rather like the consistency of molasses) to be extracted conventionally and thus requires other methods of extraction.

Fact #4 Geo-political events can affect the flow of crude oil imports from the Persian Gulf region suddenly and dramatically: witness Iran in 1979 and Iraq in 1991

In 1978, Iran's share of the US market for imported oil was 555,000 barrels daily (or 6.1%). In 1979, the year of the Iranian Revolution, that share dropped to 304,000 barrels (or 3.6%) and practically ceased by 1980 altogether. In Iraq, a similar dramatic decline occurred due to the first Gulf War. In the late 1980s, Iraq had been increasingly supplying oil to the United States, reaching 518,000 barrels daily or 6.5% of all US imports by 1990. After the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and the subsequent Gulf War in early 1991, imports from Iraq ceased entirely (US Energy Information Administration, 2010b; calculations by author).

In the cases of Iran and Iraq, a replacement of 6.1% of oil imports (Iran in 1978) or 6.5% (Iraq in 1990) was manageable. However, in 1991, the year of the first Gulf War, Saudi Arabia provided the United States with an average of 1.8 million barrels of oil daily, or 23.6% of all American imports. If some unforeseen event had reduced Saudi oil flows in 1991, the replacement of almost a quarter of America's oil imports would have been more difficult, especially as interruptions in delivery also place upward price pressure on the rest of the world's oil. A secure supply of oil from a stable country matters.

Fact #5 Growing worldwide demand for oil means little room for disruptions in supply

Over the past three decades, oil consumption grew dramatically in markets once more marginal to the worldwide supply-and-demand equation. As a result, they now exert more demand pressure and there is thus less room for suppliers to make up for a sudden gap in production. For example, in 1980, American oil consumption was just over 17 million barrels per day, or 27% of world consumption. In comparison, the Asia and Oceania region consumed just 10.7 million barrels a day, or 17%. Total world consumption that year amounted to 63.1 million barrels daily.

Almost three decades later, total world consumption has risen to 84.4 million barrels daily as of 2009; Asia-Oceania's demand has risen by two-and-a-half times to 25.6 million barrels daily; US demand has increased also, to 18.8 million barrels a day. While the percentage of total consumption has shifted—Asia-Oceania's share is now 30.4% compared to 22.3% for the United States—overall consumption worldwide has risen substantially (US Energy Information Administration, 2010c). The result is that a secure supply of oil from a stable country indeed matters (or should) to policymakers.

Fact #6 Canada now provides more of the United States' oil imports than all Persian Gulf countries combined

Despite growing U.S. oil imports, American reliance on Persian Gulf states (and more broadly on OPEC countries) has declined.

- ◆ In 1979, Persian Gulf countries accounted for just over 2 million barrels daily, or 24.5% of all US oil imports. By 2009, that had declined to just under 1.7 million barrels of oil daily, or 14.4% of all US oil imports.
- ◆ In 1979, the US imported a little more than half-a-million barrels daily from Canada, or 6.4% of all US imports. In 2009, imports from Canada amounted to almost 2.5 million barrels daily, or 21.2% of all US imports. Canada is now the largest supplier of crude oil to the United States.
- ◆ Oil imports from Mexico amounted to just 439,000 barrels per day in 197 or 5.2% of all US imports. In 2009, imports from Mexico amounted to over 1.2 million barrels, or 10.3% of all US imports. Mexico is now the second-largest supplier of crude oil to the United States.

Fact #7 Oil exports from America's two NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, are closing in on OPEC's share

- ◆ In 1979, OPEC accounted for over 5.6 million barrels daily, or 66.7% of all US oil imports. By 2009, that had declined to under 4.8 million barrels daily, or 40.9% of all US oil imports.
- ◆ Together, oil imports from America's two NAFTA partners grew from just under 1 million barrels daily in 1979 to almost 3.7 million barrels daily in 2009—or from 11.6% in 1979 to 31.5% in 2009.

Fact #8 Importing less Canadian oil would necessitate more oil imports from sources outside North America

In the absence of significant oil exports from Canada, countries with undesirable records on political, economic, and civil rights would benefit. A recent paper prepared for the US Department of Energy on the proposed Keystone pipeline made such a reality clear (Ensys Energy, 2010). The study noted that for the United States, exports from the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin (WCSB) are critical in decreasing American reliance on oil imported from the Middle East. The report found that any decrease in imports from western Canada “would be filled by offsetting increases in crude oil imports from other foreign sources, especially the Middle East (as the primary balancing supplier)” and that “[i]n all scenarios considered, increases of Canadian crude oil imports into the US correspondingly reduce US imports of foreign oil from sources outside of North America and the scale of ‘wealth transfers’ to those sources for the import costs of the crude oils.” Moreover, the report was blunt that imports from Canada’s oil sands “have the potential to very substantially reduce US dependency on non-Canadian foreign oil, including from the Middle East” (Ensys Energy, 2010: 6).

Fact #9 Canada's oil production capability affects the price of oil

The claim that crude oil from the oil sands “does not lower prices” because non-conventional oil is more expensive to produce than conventional oil (Kozel et al., 2010) is also mistaken. Oil from non-conventional sources *is* more expensive to extract (IEA, 2010b: 139) but the final price of oil is determined not only by the initial cost of production but also by demand. Reduced supply on the international market from any source creates upward pressure on prices; in reverse, more oil on the market *from any source* acts to dampen upward pressure on prices. This is straightforward supply and demand.

For example, when additional natural gas was discovered in, and extracted from, shale formations across North America over the last several years, the price of North American natural gas fell dramatically (IEA, 2010b: 179).² Extra supplies of a freely traded item will have such an effect regardless of the underlying cost of production in one jurisdiction compared to another. This is so because, all else being equal, buyers will not pay a premium for the same product unless they do not have access to the less expensive version. The result is that profit margins for producers may well differ—a producer in Saudi Arabia will have higher profit margins than one in Canada's oil sands—but the final price of a barrel of oil will differ only marginally according to grade, viscosity, and other elements that normally affect the price of oil. Oil is an internationally traded commodity, the price of which is set by that same international market.

Fact #10 Canada's oil acts as insurance against disrupted supply from OPEC

On attempts to argue that Canada's oil exports from the oil sands make little difference to supply, consider the open letter sent in September, 2010 to then Majority Leader in the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, from a coalition of 26 environmental groups. The letter stated: “the energy security benefits of tar sands oil have been exaggerated. Tar sands oil does not undermine the power of OPEC, does not provide spare capacity in times of shortage due to natural disasters or armed conflict, and does not lower prices (in fact, it is the most expensive oil in the world)” (Kozel et al., 2010).

Such claims are in error. A supply of oil from a non-OPEC source by virtue of its existence acts as insurance against disrupted supply from OPEC and possibly provides spare capacity. Whether any spare capacity exists at all is the result of several factors, including the worldwide supply and demand for oil: if oil is removed from the international market because of a domestic crisis, a terrorist attack, declining reserves, or any other reason,

2 For example, the US Henry Hub price (NYMEX) of natural gas fell from an annual average price of \$8.85 per btu in 2008 to \$3.89 per btu in 2009 (BP, 2010: 31) not only because of the weak economy but also because of increased supply from new natural-gas discoveries (and easier accessibility to the same) across North America.

the supply-demand ratio will become that much tighter. As previously noted, extra continental capacity over the past three decades has already replaced significant oil imports from OPEC and thus weakened the influence of the same (US Energy Information Administration, 2010b).

The purpose of this paper

This study will leave the environmental debate to others, not because such matters are unimportant—they are critical in their own right—but because such issues are addressed regularly by a multitude of others and in great detail. The purpose of this paper is to broaden the debate over Canadian energy to include measurements also relevant to the almost 6.9 billion men, women, and children now alive on planet earth (US Census Bureau, 2010)—all of whom require energy for even a minimum living standard of living.

To be specific, this paper queries how major oil-producing jurisdictions (defined as those that produce more than 250,000 barrels of oil daily) perform on comparisons of civil, political, and economic freedoms, and proxy measurements for the same.

A summary portrait of how Canada differs from other major oil producers

This study does not recommend that governments restrict oil imports from jurisdictions based upon relatively poor indicators of civil, political, and economic freedoms (or proxies that can affect the same). Just as no country is perfect on environmental indicators, no country is above criticism on civil, political, and economic freedoms. Moreover, some countries with poor records may improve over time or have already improved when compared to past, measurable practices. Thus, apart from security considerations, to artificially restrict imports from a particular country can be counter-productive. However, as ill-advised as it is to restrict trade for reasons unrelated to national security, it is also counter-productive and a mistake for governments to ignore mistaken assertions from lobbyists and others critical of Canadian oil. This study aims to correct such an omission with the facts.

Consider one measurement: out of the world's top 15 net exporters of oil, Canada is one of only two countries (Norway is the other) that is considered "free" in Freedom House's most comprehensive ranking—"freedom status." Three other countries on the list (Kuwait, Nigeria, and Venezuela) are classified as "partly free" while ten—fully two-thirds of the world's top 15 oil exporters—are classified as "not free" (Freedom House, 2010a). There are other countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and Denmark that

produce significant amounts of oil and compare favourably with Canada on all measurements in the Freedom House survey, but they are not significant exporters of oil and in particular, not to the United States.

As a result, any reduction in Canadian oil exports to the United States would likely be filled by some combination of countries that substantially restrict civil, political, and economic freedoms on a daily basis. The author assumes such facts may well matter to American policymakers and readers, if for no other reason, because artificial government barriers to Canadian oil imports would reduce trade with an ally that scores highly on civil, political, and economic freedoms that both countries value.

American policymakers and the public should be made aware that, with the exception of Norway, Canada is the only major oil-exporting country that scores highly on all measurements of civil, political, and economic freedom—which include, but are not limited to, a predictable regime of property rights, the protection of judicial independence, and positive scores on corruption—and which scores positively on civil, political, and economic rights of particular concern to women. Importantly, Canada is also the only major oil producer with such attributes that at present also exports significant amounts of oil to the United States and can do so in greater quantities in the future. Thus, Canada has the potential to greatly reduce American dependence on sources of oil outside North America and thus help the United States avoid any economic and policy shocks that would result from an over-reliance on countries with unpredictable, and in some cases, undesirable regimes.

1 Real-world choices for consumers of Canadian oil

Why the need for this study?

The purpose of this study is to broaden the debate over Canadian oil to include civil, political, and economic concerns relevant to the almost 6.9 billion men, women, and children on the earth (US Census Bureau, 2010). The environmental debate will be left to others, not because such matters are unimportant—they are critical in their own right—but because such issues are addressed regularly by a multitude of others and in great detail. To compare Canada's oil industry to that of other countries, this study compiles and compares:

- ♦ measurements that properly widen the debate over oil extraction and the beneficial and harmful outcomes that can result;
- ♦ measurements that take account of civil, political, and economic freedoms available (or not) to individuals;
- ♦ measurements that indicate public (i.e., government) priorities that can have a significant impact not only upon freedoms but also upon the economic and social well-being of individuals.

A comparison of civil, political, and economic rights

The issue of civil, political, and economic freedoms is a critical factor and one often overlooked by those advocating a boycott of Canadian crude oil and by American politicians speaking on US energy policy vis-à-vis Canada. Over the last several years, Canada's oil exports have been assailed by those who would persuade American consumers and policymakers they can choose between Canadian oil imports—which, as with any processed product, carry some environmental costs—and perfection. The perfectionist end is implicit in the assumption that a cessation of imported oil from Canada (or at least oil from the oil sands) would not have negative consequences on the supply and price of oil for American consumers. Here are some examples.

- ♦ In 2009, Greenpeace USA, in its “Stop the Tar Sands” campaign, claimed that northern extraction of oil from Alberta's oil sands has “created a literal hell on earth” because land is visibly scarred by oil sands development which takes place above ground (Greenpeace, 2009).

- ◆ In 2010, city councillors in Bellingham, Washington voted 7-to-0 to “promote energy alternatives to fossil fuels, and in particular, Canadian tar sands sources, and encouraging [sic] the use of alternative transportation techniques” (Audette, 2010: A4).
- ◆ In 2010, Corporate Ethics International, an environmental lobby group based in San Francisco, sponsored billboards in the United States and United Kingdom urging potential tourists to Alberta to “rethink” their travel plans. The group’s boycott was based upon their opposition to the oil sands (Gerein, 2011: A6).
- ◆ Over several years, Amnesty International, in its campaigns against the oilsands has called for “no more development without human rights.” It was a reference to the Lubicon Cree who live near the oil sands and to the claim that “[m]assive oil and gas development has almost wiped out the traditional economy and way of life of the Lubicon of northern Alberta ... [w]hile billions of dollars of oil and gas has been taken from their land” (Amnesty International, 2010).
- ◆ In an open letter in advance of planned protests for August 2011 near the White House, American actor Danny Glover and Canadian environmentalist David Suzuki and other prominent activists argued that “[t]o call this project [Canada’s oil sands] a horror is serious understatement. The tar sands have wrecked huge parts of Alberta, disrupting ways of life in indigenous communities—First Nations communities in Canada.” (Klein, 2011).

Perfectionism versus reality—the problem of comparing ideals to actual energy needs and capabilities

The perfectionism exhibited by Greenpeace and others is not a new problem. In politics, policymakers are often given either-or choices by advocates who ignore how human beings behave and the actual limited choices faced by citizens and the governments who represent them. At base, such disputes are a tug between an imagined world and the real one. Such a difference would seem to be self-evident, with the advantage in policy debates to the latter. However, in politics and in advocacy, there is no shortage of those who would force the actual world to conform to the perfect one constructed in their imagination.

In political science, this contrast is catalogued a number of ways but perhaps the most famous is the divide between Plato and Aristotle. Plato imagined another world of perfection separate from the observable physical one, the world of “forms” (roughly analogous to “heaven” in later religious terminology); Aristotle thought another world possible but also thought it a

mistake to allow the physical world, with its built-in limitation, to be measured against the world of one's imagination.¹ In that sense, Aristotle was the original empiricist.

To be clear, it is not that improvements are undesirable or that imagination is in necessary opposition to reforms. Engineers, architects, and others may begin with a hunch for an improvement and refine bridges and buildings as a result. However, they must vet their imaginings against the reality of the physical forces of nature, gravity, wind, water, sun, and erosion among others. Long-lasting positive reforms are necessarily based upon how human beings actually live, behave, and work, and within the physical limitations they themselves face. To ignore real-world constrictions in pursuit of an imagined ideal is not to improve the world but to ignore it; it is to disregard the only choices available that have the potential to make progress on matters of concern precisely because they are based in reality.

A short analysis of the claims of the perfectionists

Canada's energy exports—especially exports of oil from Alberta's oil sands—have been targeted by those who are Platonic perfectionists. Consider the campaign from Amnesty International to end oil-sands development until its chosen perfect goal is reached: “no more development without human rights.” In so doing, Amnesty International ignores real-world nuances: the group conflates a dispute over land claims with the unsupportable notion that human rights do not exist unless a Canadian government blindly accepts without question any and all native land claims or assertions of injury resulting from development.²

Thus, we find a perfectionist end: a claimed Aboriginal assertion is beyond question and the only measure of success for a critiqued government is capitulation—or else Canada is deemed to have an unacceptable human rights record. The demand ignores the reality that many claims cannot be perfectly reconciled. If two First Nations claim part of the same territory, that alone will prevent a resolution acceptable to all. Similarly, on the

1 This divide between Plato's non-empirical approach to philosophy, politics, and life and its contrast to Aristotle's empiricism has been catalogued multiple times over the millennia. For one review, see Frederick Copleston (1946/1985), 142–62, where the author discusses contrasting theories of knowledge.

2 In fact, Amnesty International's assertion that human rights are absent in northern Alberta cheapens the concept of measurable civil, political, and economic rights by equating a dispute between governments and an Indian band as akin to a denial of human rights. Moreover, Amnesty International well knows of actual omissions in civil, political, and economic rights around the world: a lack of women's rights in selected countries, torture, an absence of due process, lack of democratic participation, lack of secure property rights, the absence of religious freedom, denial of the right to associate, denial of freedom of expression, and a multitude of other infringements on rights.

environment, should one environmental group's demands not be wholly met, while the agenda of another more pragmatic group is, at least one advocate will still deem Canada's energy "less than acceptable." Such unresolved conflicts are unavoidable in a world of more than just one person; the entrance of a second person necessitates compromise.

But the perfectionist has the advantage in the public, media, and political mind because anyone can imagine a more perfect world. But such imagined perfectionism does not help resolve real-world conflicts nor does it present an honest account of actual, available choices to consumers of energy and to policymakers.

Further, as the example of Amnesty International demonstrates, there is irony in how some opponents of Canada's oil use rights arguments to argue for an end to oil sands production but ignore a wider consideration of which oil-producing countries fare better on such measurements. Thus, this study will fill the gap; it will take up where the critics end and compare major oil-producing countries on civil, political and economic rights.

Available choices on energy at present— a 10-point factual check-in

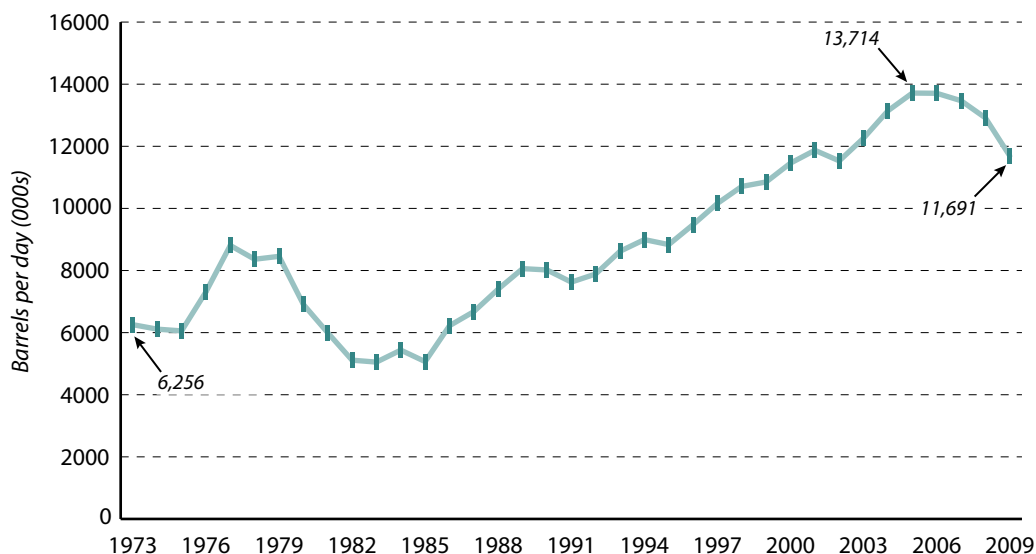
Insofar as those opposed to the United States importing oil from Canada try to persuade the American public and policymakers that the United States can do without Canadian oil in whole or in part, they ignore this consequence: higher imports of oil from countries that are either less friendly to the United States or are comparatively weak on the protection and practice of civil, political, and economic rights, or both.

Fact #1 The United States imports 5.5 million more barrels of oil daily than it did in 1973

The United States imported 5.5 million more barrels of oil per day in 2009 than it did in 1973. With rare exceptions, US oil imports have trended upward since the 1970s, pausing and declining only in recessions (figure 1.1). Thus, the question is not whether or not the US will import oil, but which country will supply that oil to American consumers, businesses, and government.

Fact #2 Oil will remain the dominant fuel through to at least 2035

In its recent forecast to 2035, the International Energy Agency (IEA) notes: "Oil remains the dominant fuel in the primary energy mix to 2035." The IEA forecasts global demand for crude oil to reach 99 million barrels daily by 2035 (IEA, 2010a: 1–2).

Figure 1.1: US imports of crude oil and petroleum products, 1973–2009

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2011.

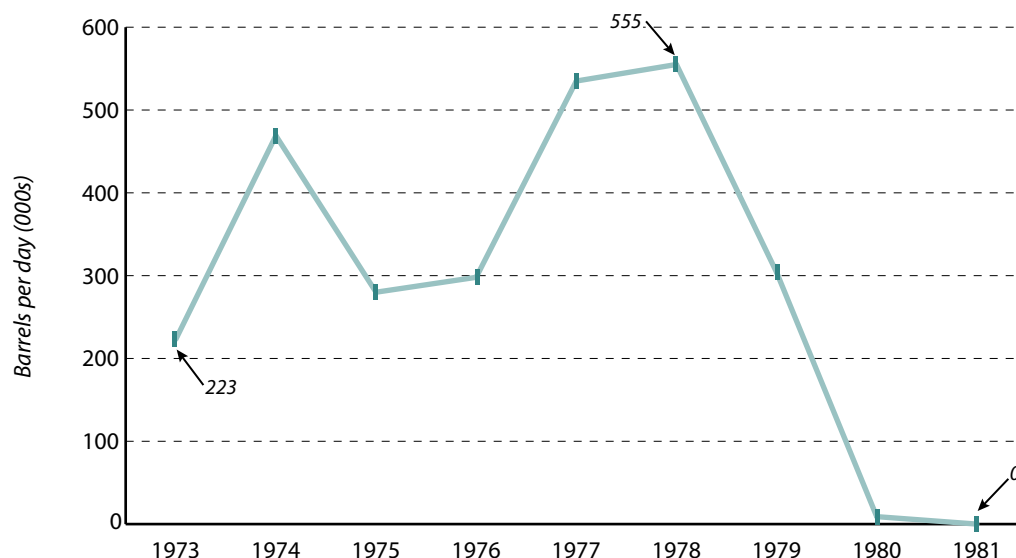
Fact #3 Unconventional oil will increase in importance through to 2035

In addition, unconventional oil³ (of which Canada's oil sands are an example) will increase as a share of total world oil production (IEA, 2010b: 147–61). The IEA also forecasts that unconventional oil will play “an increasingly important role in world oil supply through to 2035, *regardless of what governments do to curb demand*” (emphasis added). The IEA forecasts the share of unconventional oil as a share of annual worldwide oil production to increase to 10% in 2035 from 3% in 2009 and notes that “Canadian oil sands and similar Venezuelan extra-heavy oil will dominate the mix” (IEA, 2010a: 2).

Fact #4 Geo-political events can affect the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf region suddenly and dramatically: witness Iran in 1979 and Iraq in 1991

While Kozel et al. (2010) claim that the “energy security benefits of tar sands oil have been exaggerated,” the historical record demonstrates otherwise. In 1978, Iran's share of the US market for imported oil was 555,000 barrels daily (or 6.1%). In 1979, the year of the Iranian Revolution, that share dropped to 304,000 barrels (or 3.6%) and practically ceased by 1980 altogether (figure 1.2). In Iraq, a similar dramatic decline occurred due to the

3 As the IEA notes, there is no universally accepted definition of unconventional oil. A rough definition is oil that “requires production technologies significantly different from those used in the mainstream reservoirs exploited today” (IEA, 2010b: 145). For example, conventional oil extraction involves drilling for oil and then bringing it to the surface via the well's pipe. In contrast, oil found in Canada's oil sands is too viscous (rather like the consistency of molasses) to be extracted conventionally and thus requires other methods of extraction.

Figure 1.2: US imports of crude oil and petroleum products from Iran, 1973–1981

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b.

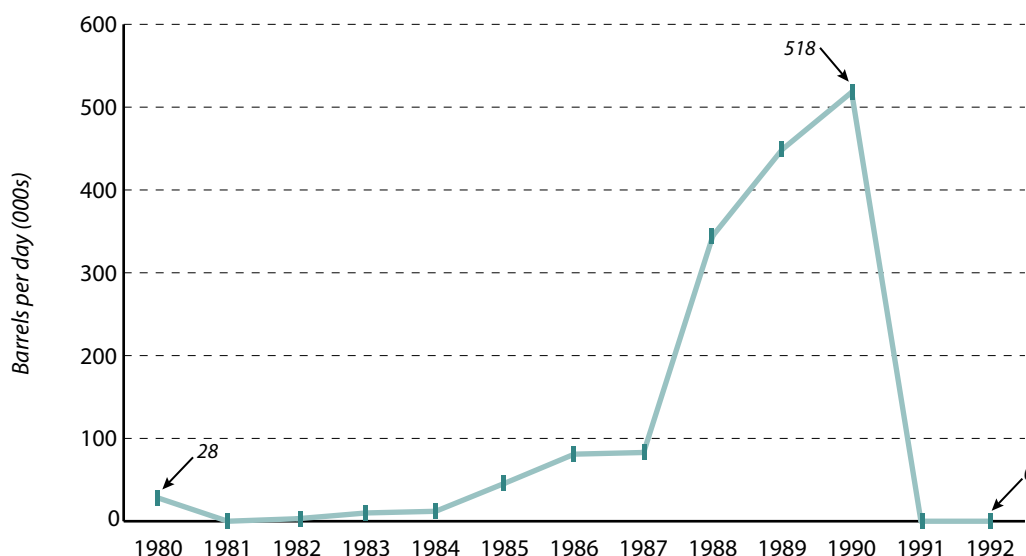
first Gulf War. In the late 1980s, Iraq had been increasingly supplying oil to the United States, reaching 518,000 barrels daily or 6.5% of all US imports by 1990. After the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and the subsequent Gulf War in early 1991, imports from Iraq ceased entirely (figure 1.3; US Energy Information Administration, 2010b; calculations by author).

In the case of Iran and Iraq, a replacement of their more minor oil flows was possible. However, in 1991, the year of the first Gulf War, Saudi Arabia provided the United States with an average of 1.8 million barrels of oil daily, or 23.6% of all American imports. If some unforeseen event had reduced oil flows from Saudi Arabia in 1991, the replacement of almost a quarter of America's oil imports would have been more difficult, especially as interruptions in delivery also place upward price pressure on the rest of the world's oil.

Fact #5 Growing worldwide demand for oil means little room for disruptions in supply

Over the past three decades, oil consumption grew dramatically in markets once more marginal to the worldwide supply-and-demand equation. As a result, they now exert more demand pressure and there is thus less room for suppliers to make up for a sudden gap in production. For example, in 1980, American oil consumption was just over 17 million barrels per day, or 27% of world consumption. In comparison, the Asia and Oceania region consumed just 10.7 million barrels a day, or 17%. Total world consumption that year amounted to 63.1 million barrels daily (figure 1.4).

Almost three decades later, total world consumption has risen to 84.4 million barrels daily as of 2009; Asia-Oceania's demand has risen by two-and-a-half times to 25.6 million barrels daily; US demand has increased also,

Figure 1.3: US imports of crude oil and petroleum products from Iraq, 1980–1992

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b.

to 18.8 million barrels a day. While the percentage of total consumption has shifted—Asia-Oceania's share is now 30.4% compared to 22.3% for the United States—overall consumption worldwide has risen substantially (figure 1.5; US Energy Information Administration, 2010c). The result is that a secure supply of oil from a stable country indeed matters (or should) to policymakers.

Fact #6 Canada now provides more of the United States' oil imports than all Persian Gulf countries combined

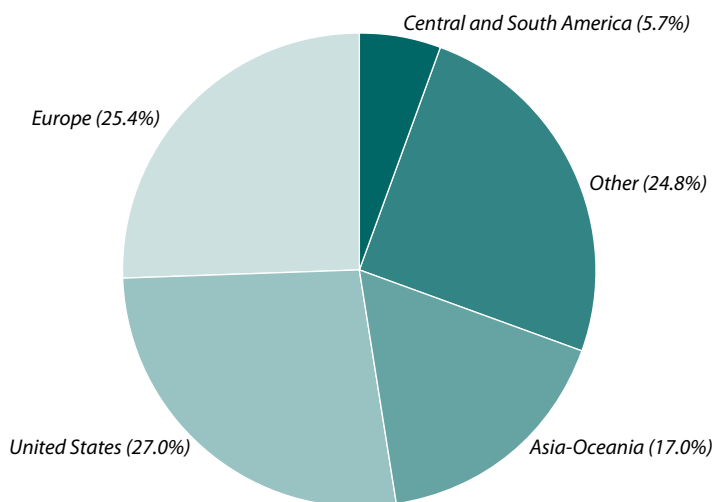
Since the 1970s, energy security and independence have been standard rhetoric in American discourse and for understandable reasons.⁴ However, the United States itself cannot provide the supply of oil needed to match domestic demand. However, its two NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, have helped replace imports from sources outside North America.

In 1979, the Persian Gulf countries⁵ together provided 24.5% of all US oil imports. However, over that three-decade period, the make-up of America's oil imports has changed dramatically. Despite growing US oil imports—8.5 million barrels daily in 1979 compared to 11.7 million daily in

4 In the three decades since the 1979 Iranian Revolution and US hostage crisis in the American embassy in Tehran, further attacks on US interests or US engagements in the Middle East have included: the US Marine barracks in Beirut (1983), the USS Cole (2000), three American embassies in east Africa (1998: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi) and, of course, the at-home terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

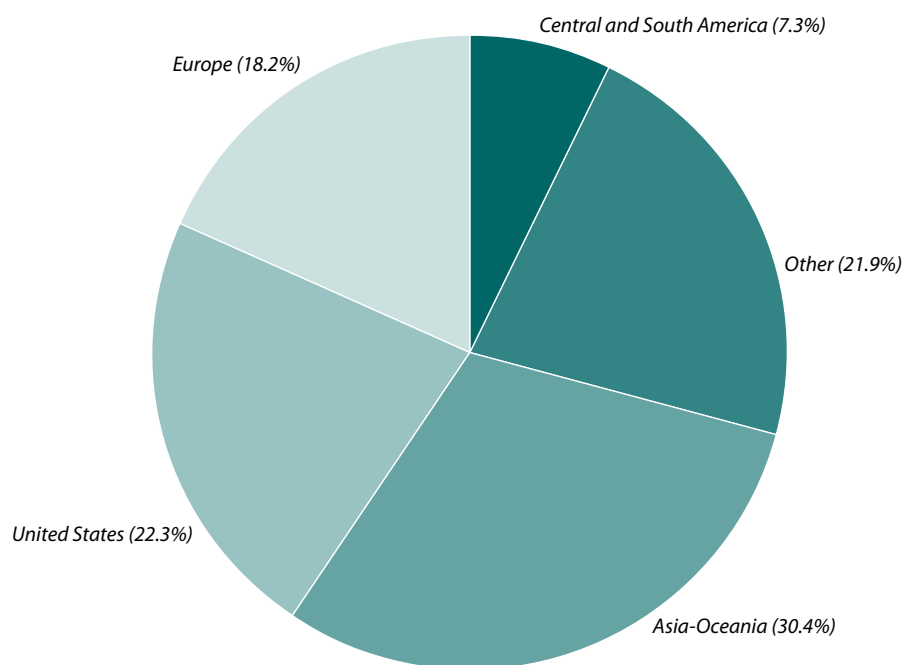
5 The Persian Gulf countries are Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates.

Figure 1.4: Total world petroleum consumption, 1980 (63.1 million barrels per day)



Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010c.

Figure 1.5: Total world petroleum consumption, 2009 (84.4 million barrels per day)



Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010c.

2009—American reliance on Persian Gulf states and, more broadly, on OPEC countries has declined (figure 1.6, figure 1.7).

1979 and 2009 compared

- ◆ In 1979, Persian Gulf countries accounted for just over 2 million barrels daily, or 24.5% of all US oil imports. By 2009, that had declined to just under 1.7 million barrels of oil daily, or 14.4% of all US oil imports.
- ◆ In 1979, the US imported a little more than half-a-million barrels daily from Canada, or 6.4% of all US imports. In 2009, imports from Canada amounted to almost 2.5 million barrels daily, or 21.2% of all US imports. Canada is now the largest supplier of crude oil to the United States.
- ◆ Oil imports from Mexico amounted to just 439,000 barrels per day in 197 or 5.2% of all US imports. In 2009, imports from Mexico amounted to over 1.2 million barrels, or 10.3% of wall US imports. Mexico is now the second-largest supplier of crude oil to the United States.

(Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b)

Fact #7 Oil exports from America's two NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, are closing in on OPEC's share

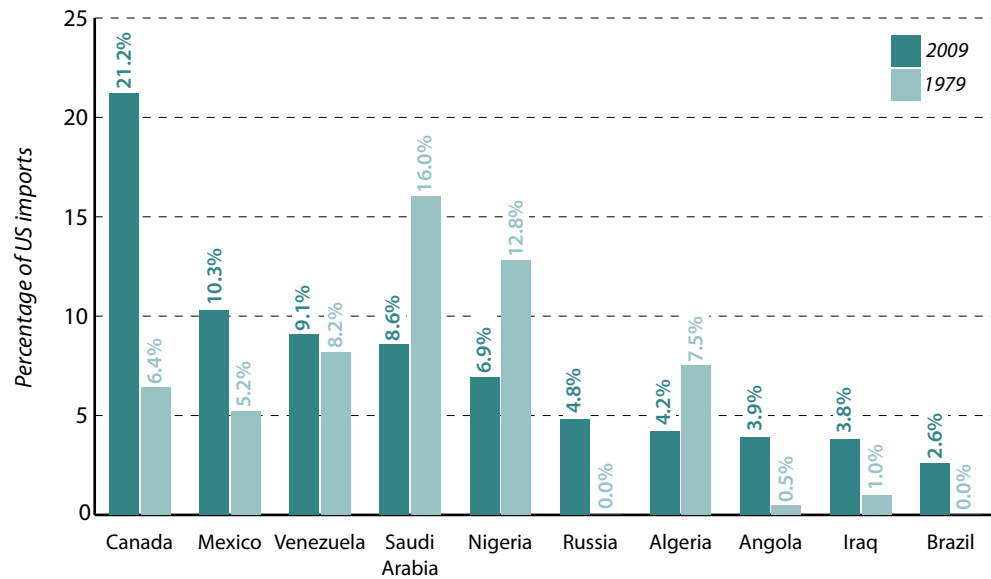
- ◆ In 1979, OPEC accounted for over 5.6 million barrels daily, or 66.7% of all US oil imports. By 2009, that had declined to under 4.8 million barrels daily, or 40.9% of all US oil imports.
- ◆ Together, oil imports from America's two NAFTA partners grew from just under 1 million barrels daily in 1979 to almost 3.7 million barrels daily in 2009—or from 11.6% in 1979 to 31.5% in 2009 (figure 1.8).

(Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b)

Fact #8 Importing less Canadian oil would necessitate more oil imports from sources outside North America

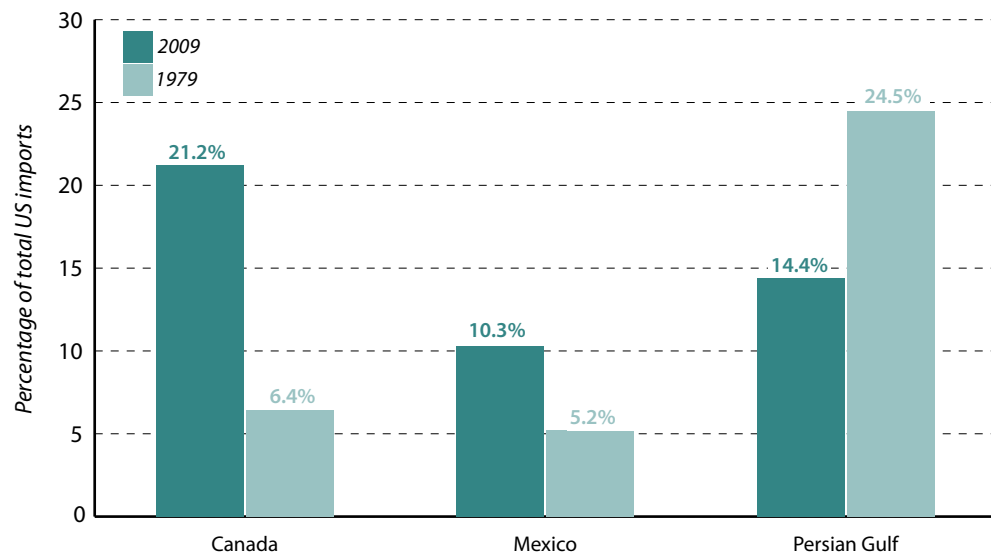
In the absence of significant oil exports from Canada, countries with undesirable records on political, economic, and civil rights would benefit. A recent paper prepared for the US Department of Energy on the proposed Keystone pipeline made such a reality clear (Ensys Energy, 2010). The study noted that for the United States, exports from the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin (WCSB) are critical in decreasing American reliance on oil imported from the Middle East. The report found that any decrease in imports from western Canada “would be filled by offsetting increases in crude oil imports from other foreign sources, especially the Middle East (as the primary balancing supplier)” and that “[i]n all scenarios considered, increases of Canadian crude oil imports into the US correspondingly reduce US imports of foreign

**Figure 1.6: Top 10 import sources of crude oil and petroleum products in 2009
(with 1979 levels compared)**



Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b.

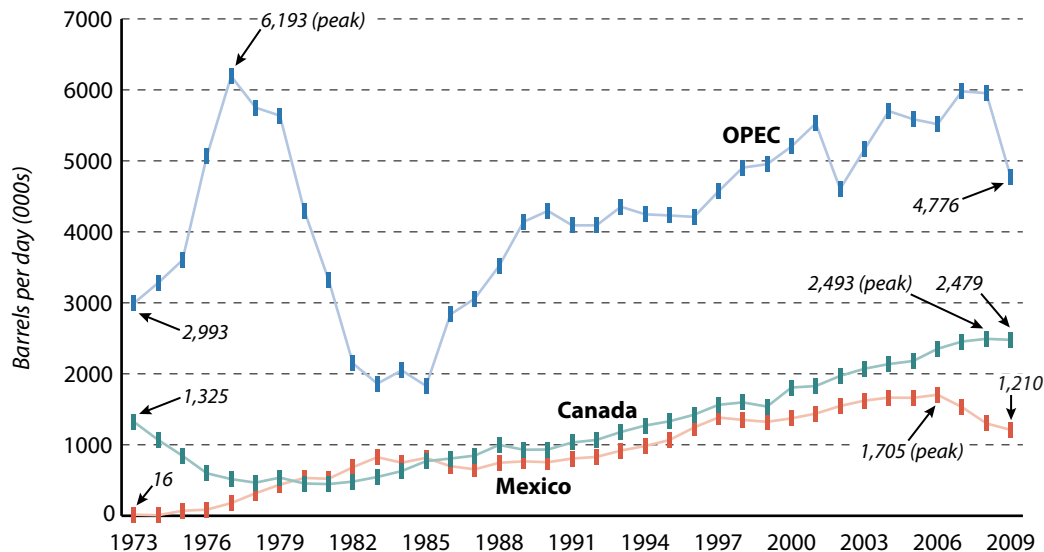
Figure 1.7: US imports of crude oil and petroleum products from Canada, Mexico, and countries in the Persian Gulf, 2009 and 1979



Note: Persian Gulf includes Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates.

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b.

Figure 1.8: US imports of crude oil and petroleum products from OPEC, Canada, and Mexico, 1973–2009



Note: Members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) include the Persian Gulf countries (save Bahrain). The separation in data is to show both sets of cohorts individually.

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010b, 2010c.

oil from sources outside of North America and the scale of ‘wealth transfers’ to those sources for the import costs of the crude oils.” Moreover, the report was blunt that imports from Canada’s oil sands “have the potential to very substantially reduce US dependency on non-Canadian foreign oil, including from the Middle East” (Ensys Energy, 2010: 6).

Fact #9 Canada’s oil production capability affects the price of oil

The claim that crude oil from the oil sands “does not lower prices” because non-conventional oil is more expensive to produce than conventional oil (Kozel et al., 2010) is also mistaken. Oil from non-conventional sources *is* more expensive to extract (IEA, 2010b: 139) but the final price of oil is determined not only by the initial cost of production but also by demand. Reduced supply on the international market from any source creates upward pressure on prices; in reverse, more oil on the market *from any source* acts to dampen upward pressure on prices. This is straightforward supply and demand.

For example, when additional natural gas was discovered in, and extracted from, shale formations across North America over the last several years, the price of North American natural gas fell dramatically (IEA, 2010b: 179).⁶ Extra

6 For example, the US Henry Hub price (NYMEX) of natural gas fell from an annual average price of \$8.85 per btu in 2008 to \$3.89 per btu in 2009 (BP, 2010: 31) not only because of the weak economy but also because of increased supply from new natural-gas discoveries (and easier accessibility to the same) across North America.

supplies of a freely traded item will have such an effect regardless of the underlying cost of production in one jurisdiction compared to another. This is so because, all else being equal, buyers will not pay a premium for the same product unless they do not have access to the less expensive version. The result is that profit margins for producers may well differ—a producer in Saudi Arabia will have higher profit margins than one in Canada's oil sands—but the final price of a barrel of oil will differ only marginally according to grade, viscosity, and other elements that normally affect the price of oil. Oil is an internationally traded commodity, the price of which is set by that same international market.

**Fact #10 Canada's oil acts as insurance against
disrupted supply from OPEC**

On attempts to argue that Canada's oil exports from the oil sands make little difference to supply, consider the open letter sent in September, 2010 to then Majority Leader in the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, from a coalition of 26 environmental groups. The letter stated: "the energy security benefits of tar sands oil have been exaggerated. Tar sands oil does not undermine the power of OPEC [and] does not provide spare capacity in times of shortage due to natural disasters or armed conflict" (Kozel et al., 2010).

Such claims are in error. A supply of oil from a non-OPEC source by virtue of its existence acts as insurance against disrupted supply from OPEC and possibly provides spare capacity. Whether any spare capacity exists at all is the result of several factors, including the worldwide supply and demand for oil: if oil is removed from the international market because of a domestic crisis, a terrorist attack, declining reserves, or any other reason, the supply-demand ratio will become that much tighter. As previously noted, extra continental capacity over the past three decades has already replaced significant oil imports from OPEC and thus weakened the influence of the same (US Energy Information Administration, 2010b).

A summary portrait of how Canada differs from other major oil producers

Any reduction in Canadian oil exports to the United States would likely be filled by some combination of countries that substantially restrict civil, political, and economic freedoms on a daily basis. Consider one measurement: out of the world's top 15 net exporters of oil (table 1.1), Canada is one of only two countries (Norway is the other) that is considered "free" in Freedom House's most comprehensive ranking—"freedom status." Three other countries on the list (Kuwait, Nigeria, and Venezuela) are classified as "partly free" while ten—fully two-thirds of the world's top 15 oil exporters—are classified as "not free" (Freedom House, 2010a). There are other countries such as the United

Table 1.1: Top 15 net oil-exporting countries, 2009

	Barrels per day (000s)		Barrels per day (000s)
1 Saudi Arabia	7,322	9 Algeria	1,807
2 Russia	7,194	10 Iraq	1,764
3 Iran	2,486	11 Venezuela	1,748
4 United Arab Emirates	2,303	12 Libya	1,525
5 Norway	2,132	13 Kazakhstan	1,299
6 Kuwait	2,124	14 Canada	1,144
7 Nigeria	1,939	15 Qatar	1,066
8 Angola	1,878		

Note: **Net** means oil exports after a country's oil imports have been subtracted. For example, Canada's imports of oil, mainly into central and eastern Canada, are subtracted from Canada's exports to arrive a net export figure. Note as well that this particular chart measures only crude oil and not, as the other figures in this study do, oil and other petroleum products. For the purpose of calculating the top net oil-exporting countries, the latter measurement was not available from the US Energy Information Administration.

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010d.

Kingdom, Australia, and Denmark that produce significant amounts of oil and compare favourably with Canada on all measurements in the Freedom House survey, but they are not significant exporters of oil and in particular, not to the United States.

The author assumes such facts may well matter to American policy-makers and readers, if for no other reason, than because artificial government barriers to Canadian oil imports would reduce trade with an ally that scores highly on civil, political, and economic freedoms that both countries value. American policymakers and the public should be made aware that, with the exception of Norway, Canada is the only major oil-exporting country that scores highly on all measurements of civil, political, and economic freedom—which include, but are not limited to, a predictable regime of property rights, the protection of judicial independence, and positive scores on corruption—and which scores positively on civil, political, and economic rights of particular concern to women. Importantly, Canada is also the only major oil producer with such attributes that at present also exports significant amounts of oil to the United States and can do so in greater quantities in the future. Thus, Canada has the potential to greatly reduce American dependence on sources of oil outside North America and thus help the United States avoid any economic and policy shocks that would result from an over-reliance on countries with unpredictable, and in some cases, undesirable regimes.

2 Countries and freedoms compared

The countries surveyed

This report surveys major oil-producing countries, those that have daily production rates of over 250,000 barrels. This quarter-million barrel “cut off” is admittedly arbitrary; however, as the report’s purpose is to compare the civil, political, and economic freedoms (and proxy measures) in countries with a significant energy sector, measuring production is the most readily available way to make such an identification.

In total, 94 countries extract oil every day but many are marginal producers that have no bearing on the supply or price of oil. For example, Switzerland produces 3,488 barrels of oil daily and Sweden, 4,833 (US Energy Information Administration, 2010c). That is around the production from a very junior oil company in the province of Alberta. According to 2009 data from the US Energy Information Administration (2010a), 38 nations meet the criteria of over 250,000 barrels in daily oil production. In order from the highest-producing country to the least:

1 Russia	14 Nigeria	27 Colombia
2 Saudi Arabia	15 Algeria	28 Egypt
3 United States	16 Angola	29 Australia
4 Iran	17 Libya	30 Sudan
5 China	18 Kazakhstan	31 Ecuador
6 Canada	19 United Kingdom	32 Syria
7 Mexico	20 Qatar	33 Equatorial Guinea
8 United Arab Emirates	21 Indonesia	34 Thailand
9 Brazil	22 Azerbaijan	35 Vietnam
10 Kuwait	23 India	36 Congo (Brazzaville)
11 Venezuela	24 Oman	37 Yemen
12 Iraq	25 Argentina	38 Denmark
13 Norway	26 Malaysia	

Source: US Energy Information Administration, 2010c.

Three broad freedoms—civil, political, and economic

This report compares major oil-producing countries on whether they foster three broad types of freedom: civil, political, and economic. The study will use indicators that either directly measure civil, political, and economic freedoms, or are proxies for the same.

That certain freedoms are defensible in and of themselves has long been recognized at least in Western societies. For example, in England, selected rights that pertained to the individual and his property were recognized as deserving explicit royal protection. In 1215, at the demand of barons, King John of England agreed to guarantee selected rights and liberties in law, and thus to bind himself and his heirs to the rule of law. The result was the Magna Carta, which refers to a right not to be imprisoned without due process: “[39] No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. [40] To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice” (Halsall, 1996).

In a similar vein but with the more explicit assertion that such rights were self-evident (and thus self-justifying), framers of the American Declaration of Independence wrote in 1776: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. (US National Archives, 2011).

Similarly, in Canada, one of Canada’s earliest politicians, Sir Wilfrid Laurier (later to be prime minister, in 1896), assumed freedom as a core value and as desirable in and of itself. Note his comments while opposition leader, during an 1894 speech in Winnipeg: “The good Saxon word, freedom; freedom in every sense of the term, freedom of speech, freedom of action, freedom in religious life and civil life and last but not least, freedom in commercial life” (Duffy, 2002: 48–49).

Given the historic attachment to civic, political, and economic freedoms in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada and in other countries, this author assumes most readers view certain freedoms as indeed self-evident and need not be individually justified. However, I will briefly elaborate on the three forms.

Civil freedoms and liberties

In his *Commentaries on the Law of England*, William Blackstone wrote that “civil liberty, rightly understood, consists in protecting the rights of individuals by the united force of society” (Storing, 1987: 627). More recently, Freedom House defines what those civil liberties are in practice: “[They] allow for the freedoms of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and personal autonomy without interference from the state” (Freedom House, 2010b).

Political freedoms

As for political freedoms, Blackstone saw the basis of jurisprudence as pertaining to the rights of the individual—the wider public has no “rights” in some collective sense in the view of Blackstone. However, political society exists. Thus, it is treated as an end in order to protect those individual rights. Thus, political freedoms clarify and protect pre-existing individual, civil rights (Storing, 1987: 624): political freedoms ensure such pre-existing rights can be exercised. Similarly, the French philosopher Baron de Montesquieu asserted that civil liberties cannot be adequately protected and exercised without *political liberty* to guarantee the same (Lowenthal, 1987: 522). In other words, the rights and liberties and assumed by the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, and Wilfrid Laurier as valuable must be robustly protected by a government even if they are assumed to exist apart from, and pre-date, government.

To be clear on what those political freedoms consist of, Freedom House describes them in this manner: “[They] enable people to participate freely in the political process, including the right to vote freely for distinct alternatives in legitimate elections, compete for public office, join political parties and organizations, and elect representatives who have a decisive impact on public policies and are accountable to the electorate” (Freedom House, 2010b).

Economic freedom

The concept of economic freedom is the type of freedom most associated with the Fraser Institute. As the Institute’s most recent edition of *Economic Freedom of the World* notes, the consensus that emerged from the early meetings over the index, and over the last 25 years, was that:

... the core concepts of economic freedom were self-ownership, non-interference, and the protection of people and their property from invasions by others. Self-ownership and non-interference imply that individuals have a right to choose for themselves—to decide how they will use their time, talents, and resources ... Economic freedom is present when adults are free to produce, consume, and trade with others as long as their actions do not harm the person or property of others. Use of violence, theft, fraud, and physical invasions are not permissible but, otherwise, individuals who are economically free are free to choose and compete as they see fit (Gwartney, Hall, and Lawson, 2010a: 1).

Overlap among various freedoms

Readers should note there can be obvious overlap between civil, political, and economic freedoms and, as a result, this study does not attempt to divide the categories on the basis of those three descriptors. For example, the “freedom

status” measurement from Freedom House is derived from measuring a combination of political and civil freedoms. Thus, this category cannot be categorized as measuring only one or the other. The subject of this study—civil, political, and economic freedoms—are the general descriptions. The specific measurements of freedom and its proxies are meant to give more detail on freedoms that in some instances may well be described under one or more of the general descriptions.

Also, the reader should be aware that debates exist over which type of freedom is most likely lead to another. For example, will political freedom lead to economic freedom as happened in Eastern and Central Europe after 1989? Or, is it more likely that economic freedom will eventually lead to political freedom, as happened in Chile and as might happen in China? The questions and their answers will not be addressed here as they are peripheral to the aim of this study.

Relevant to this study, the categories chosen for comparison not only reflect the notion that freedom as a general concept is self-evidently a good; the categories are meant to “tease out” whether such freedoms are accessible by individuals in the countries surveyed. Insofar as a jurisdiction does not value such freedoms in law, falls significantly short in the protection of the same, or is in opposition to such freedoms, the author also assumes most readers will find it self-evident that such omissions are undesirable. The rationale for each category’s inclusion in the comparison on civil, political, and economic freedoms will be explained next.

The comparisons

The following comparison of civil, political, and economic freedoms is divided into two sections—those civil, political, and economic freedoms that pertain to all in a general sense; and those civil, political, and economic freedoms that address issues specific to women. Both sections contain categories that directly measure freedoms as well as proxy measurements that may indicate the status of a particular freedom.¹

1 Readers should note the indicators are derived from various sources that have their own and substantially diverse methods of scoring: e.g., qualitative labels such as “free,” “unfree,” or “not free”; or quantitative scoring such as “2.” As a result, no attempt is made to standardize the scores or rank the countries overall in a preferential scoring system. That would be problematic given the various methods used to score each country by each organization. There is also the additional conundrum as to how to weight such differing comparisons. Should, for instance, the category of freedom for a woman to have surgery without the permission of a male relative be equal in weight to full choice of career? The results are simply provided and readers are thus free to decide how much weight they give to any category.

1 Civil, political, and economic freedoms

The first set of comparisons pertains to freedoms that can be exercised (or apply) to everyone in a country. For example, “religious freedom” can be exercised by all (or not) regardless of gender. Some freedoms will inevitably overlap. Religious freedom coincides with the freedom to express the same through a country’s media. They are, however, not the same freedom, as religious freedom includes the right to build houses of worship. Thus, if one can express a religious opinion in the media but is unable to build a church, synagogue, mosque, or shrine, religious freedom is still infringed upon. Thus, there is a necessity to have differing measurements and proxy measurements for a variety of civil, political, and economic freedoms even though they will inevitably overlap.

As an example of a proxy measurement, consider corruption. Freedom from corruption is not generally understood as a freedom in the sense that a constitution’s framers—in the case of Americans—would speak of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nonetheless, freedom from corruption is obviously valuable (and is included here) because a high degree of corruption can infect and warp institutions such as a country’s police force or courts. Such pervasive corruption can and does undermine the freedom to be treated equally under the law.

The nine categories surveyed

- 1.1 Freedom status
- 1.2 Electoral democracy [proxy]
- 1.3 Media freedom
- 1.4 Religious freedom
- 1.5 Economic freedom
- 1.6 Legal system and property rights (Fraser Institute)
- 1.7 Property rights (International Property Rights Alliance)
- 1.8 Corruption [proxy]
- 1.9 Judicial independence

1.1 Freedom status

We must understand the difference between fear societies and free societies, between dictators and democrats. We must understand the link between democracy and peace and between human rights and security. Above all, we must bring back moral clarity so that we may draw on the power of free individuals, free nations, and the free world for the enormous challenges ahead.

—Natan Sharansky (Sharansky and Dermer, 2004: xxxvi)

This measurement is derived from Freedom House's annual survey of freedom around the world, *Freedom in the World 2010* (Freedom House, 2010a), which contains reports on 194 countries and 14 related and disputed territories. Each jurisdiction is listed as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free. The designation is determined by the combination of the political rights and civil liberties. Also of note is that Freedom House awards its rankings based less on legal practices than on whether the aforementioned rights are respected in practice.

1.2 Electoral democracy (proxy)

No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

—Winston Churchill, House of Commons,
November 11, 1947 (Knowles, 1997: 123)

As noted earlier, some indicators will overlap. Indicator 1.1, freedom status, necessarily includes the concept of freely chosen political representation for citizens; it is a necessary part of a wider freedom measurement. However, electoral democracy, a proxy for political freedom is also measured here.

To be clear, it is not that electoral democracy always and everywhere necessarily protects civil, political, and economic freedoms. The majority of voters in a democracy could choose to steal the property of the minority and do so through their government. In fact, something similar to just this happened to Canadians of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War, where the country's elected representatives interned Japanese-Canadians and confiscated their property, which was never returned.

However, this measurement is yet useful as a proxy indicator because, despite any possible abuses that have or could happen in a democracy, not to allow democratic participation—voting and running for office—obviously does infringe upon freedom of association at a minimum. (That includes the ability to form political parties, for example). While democracy itself is not a freedom—it is a political structure—to be able to give one's consent to, first, the political structure where required and, second, to subsequent rulers is a freedom. Thus, absent an ability to select (via periodic elections) those who govern, one's freedom is infringed upon from the start. This is why electoral democracy is useful proxy measurement for freedom.

In theory and in rare practice, some jurisdictions exist that may protect many individual rights and associated freedoms and do so without significant representative government; Hong Kong under British rule is one such example. However, in that example, even the protection of freedom in such a case is, ultimately, arbitrary and subject to whimsical change. Moreover, even in Hong Kong prior to its return to Chinese rule, the civil freedoms of Hong Kong citizens were in fact “backstopped” by a liberal parliamentary

democracy, Great Britain, and thus intertwined with the same. That much of Hong Kong's liberties have been preserved even under subsequent Chinese rule has less to do with a beneficent overlord in Beijing solicitous of civil and political rights than with a practical recognition that, for reasons of prosperity and stability, moderate interference in Hong Kong is advised.

This measurement is also derived from Freedom House's *Freedom in the World 2010* survey (Freedom House, 2010a). Freedom House's designations here are transposed in this study to a simple Yes or No in response to the question of whether a state is an electoral democracy. To qualify as an electoral democracy, a state must satisfy the following criteria: [1] a competitive, multiparty political system; [2] universal adult suffrage; [3] regularly contested elections with ballot secrecy, reasonable ballot security, and absence of fraud so that results are indeed representative of the public will; and [4] the ability of major political parties to reach the electorate through the media and through open political campaigning (Freedom House, 2010c).

1.3 Media freedom

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.

—The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
Article 19 (United Nations, 1948)

This measurement is derived from Freedom House's survey, *Freedom of the Press 2010* (Freedom House, 2010d). The degree to which each country or territory permits the free flow of news and information determines the classification of its media as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free on the basis of a set of 23 questions from which a score from 0 (best) to 100 (worst) is computed. For this study, in order to simplify the comparison chart for the reader, *only the textual designations* (Free, Partly Free, Not Free) *are recorded*, not the numerical scores, which can be obtained directly from the Freedom House survey.

1.4 Religious freedom

Religious freedom and religious persecution affect all religious groups. Some—Baha'is in Iran, Ahmadis in Pakistan, Buddhists in China-Tibet, Falun Gong in China, Christians in Saudi Arabia—are now among the most intensely persecuted, but there is no group in the world that does not suffer to some degree because of its beliefs. Atheists and agnostics can also suffer from religious persecution. In Indonesia it is in principle illegal to be an atheist, though this provision is not enforced; but any Saudi Arabian—all of whom must, by law, be Muslim—who pronounces himself an atheist faces a real risk of being executed for apostasy.

—Paul Marshall, *Religious Freedom in the World* (Marshall, 2008: 1)

This measurement is derived from the Hudson Institute's index, *Religious Freedom in the World* (Marshall, 2008: 5–7). It covers not only the practice of religion but freedom of religion or belief, that is, the freedom to be openly religious or an atheist in a particular jurisdiction.

In the Hudson Institute's ranking (which covers 95% of the world's population) countries are ranked as Free, Partly Free, or Unfree. Countries and territories are also given a score on a scale of 1 to 7. To simplify the comparison chart for the reader, only the textual designations (Free, Partly Free, Unfree) are recorded, not the numerical scores, which can be obtained directly from *Religious Freedom in the World* (Marshall, 2008).

1.5 Economic freedom

Why is wealth good for liberty? Remember the European examples: the process of economic development usually produces the two elements that are crucial to the success of liberal democracy. First, it allows key segments of society—most important, private businesses and the broader bourgeoisie—to gain power independent of the state. Second, in bargaining with these elements the state tends to become less rapacious and capricious and more rule-oriented and responsive to society's needs ...

—Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (2003: 71–72).

Rankings of economic freedom are derived from the EFW Index published in the Fraser Institute's *Economic Freedom of the World: 2010 Annual Report* (Gwartney et al., 2010a, 2010b) with the exception of some Arab countries, where slightly more recent rankings are available from the Institute's *Economic Freedom of the Arab World: 2010 Annual Report* (Al Ismaily et al., 2010). Both indices are designed to measure the consistency of a nation's institutions and policies with economic freedom.

The four cornerstones of economic freedom are: personal choice; voluntary exchange coordinated by markets; freedom to enter and compete in markets; protection of persons and their property from aggression by others. Forty-two data points are used to construct a summary index and to measure the degree of economic freedom in five broad areas: Size of Government: Expenditures, Taxes, and Enterprises; Legal Structure and Security of Property Rights; Access to Sound Money; Freedom to Trade Internationally; Regulation of Credit, Labor, and Business. On a scale of 0 to 10, the higher the score, the more economically free is the jurisdiction in question; the lower the score, the less economically free is the jurisdiction (Gwartney et al., 2010a: v).

1.6 Legal system and property rights (Fraser Institute)

Look around: everything of economic value that you own—house and car titles, mortgages, checking accounts, stocks, contracts, patents, other people's debts (including derivatives)—is documented on paper. You are able to hold, transfer, assess and certify the value of such assets only through documents that have been legally authenticated by a global system of rules, procedures and standards. Ensuring that the relationship between those documents and each of the independent assets they represent is never debased requires a formidable system of legal property rights. That system produces the trust that allows credit and capital to flow and markets to work.

—Hernando de Soto (de Soto, 2009)

This measurement also comes from *Economic Freedom of the World: 2010 Annual Report*. Measurement 1.6 is given in addition to the Property Rights Alliance's measurement below to fill the gap where the PRA's *International Property Rights Index* (Property Rights Alliance, 2010) does not rate some jurisdictions. Measurement 1.6 is taken from Area 2: Legal Structure and Security of Property Rights of the EFW Index. On a scale of 0 to 10, the higher the score, the more secure are the legal systems and property rights; the lower the score, the less secure are the legal systems and property rights.

Despite its inclusion in the measurements for economic freedom, its separate results are included here because more detail on a country's freedoms is informative for both the purposes of comparison and also for reform. After all, a country may score favourably on the size of government (another Area of the EFW Index) but yet score poorly for legal structure and security of property rights—and the latter can and does affect the everyday freedom and prosperity of individuals and businesses.²

1.7 Property rights (Property Rights Alliance)

This measurement is from the *International Property Rights Index: 2010 Report* (Property Rights Alliance, 2010) published by the Property Rights Alliance and is given in addition to the Fraser Institute's measurement to fill the gap where *Economic Freedom of the World* does not rate some jurisdictions. The highest score, 10, indicates the strongest level of property rights that could exist in a given jurisdiction; the lowest score, 0, indicates non-existent property rights protection.

² For more on the relationship between property rights, prosperity and human freedom, see Hernando de Soto's book, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (de Soto, 2000).

1.8 Corruption [proxy]

Do parents pay a bribe so that a sick child can see the doctor or do they buy food for their family? It is simply unacceptable that families continue to face these decisions.

—Huguette Labelle, Chair, Transparency International
(Transparency International, 2009: 50).

Corruption is a proxy indicator for the practical ability of citizens to exercise civil, political, and economic freedoms, as rampant corruption can impinge on all three freedoms. This measurement is from Transparency International's *Corruption Perceptions Index 2010* (Transparency International, 2010). Transparency International defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain” (Transparency International, 2010: 4) and encompasses corrupt practices in both the public and private sectors. A score of 10 indicates very clean while a score of 1 indicates highly corrupt.

Transparency International notes the surveys and assessments used to compile the index include questions about “bribery of public officials, kick-backs in public procurement, embezzlement of public funds, and questions that probe the strength and effectiveness of public sector anti-corruption efforts” (Transparency International, 2010: 4). The agency also notes that perception and not actual corruption is used as a measurement because the frequency and/or amount of such corruption is a hidden activity that is obviously difficult to measure (2010: 4).

1.9 Judicial independence

A government of laws, and not of men.

—John Adams, 1774 (Adams, 1774)

Judicial independence³ is a useful barometer showing that citizens and businesses can expect and receive just treatment based upon the rule of law and thus not be subject to arbitrariness. For example, as will be detailed in the case of Venezuela, high courts rarely rule against the government (Freedom House, 2010c) and this may be a sign that individual rights are not adequately protected from interference.

This measurement is from the World Economic Forum's *Global Competitiveness Report 2010-2011* (World Economic Forum, 2010: 371). The survey of executive opinion measures a variety of indicators but for the purposes of this study, this pertinent question from the survey is noted and recorded here: “To what extent is the judiciary in your country independent from influences of

3 While *Economic Freedom of the World* includes the various aspects of the legal system as components of Area 2: Legal Structure and Security of Property Rights (and thus of the overall EFW Index), judicial independence is a useful measurement in its own right.

members of government, citizens, or firms?” According to answers received, the *Global Competitiveness Report* ranks a country's judicial independence on a scale from 1 (= heavily influenced) to 7 (= entirely independent).

2 Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

The second set of comparisons pertains to civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women. For instance, the freedom to have surgery without permission from a male guardian is a directly measurable freedom and an issue that affects only women. An example of a possible proxy measurement is the literacy rate in a given country. Here, literacy rates are given as a female-to-male ratio, as such rates may indicate the prevalence of present or past discrimination against girls and women in country's education system. The literacy rates may thus serve as a proxy measurement for possible discrimination.

To give the reader a sense of restricted freedoms that are likely to affect mainly girls and women around the world, this section is derived from two sources, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010) published by the World Economic Forum and *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (Kelly and Breslin, 2010) published by Freedom House.

The eight categories surveyed

- 2.1 Literacy rate—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.2 Enrolment in primary education—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.3 Enrolment in secondary education—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.4 Paternal versus maternal authority
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices?
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission?
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without permission of a male guardian?
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation

2.1 Literacy rate—female-to-male ratio [proxy]

This indicator is from *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010) and, in cases where the data was absent for selected countries, from *The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics* (United Nations, 2010). The literacy rate may, in selected circumstances, indicate active or previous discrimination against women or government priorities for funding that rank the education as a lower priority for girls than boys. Insofar as that is the case, such government discrimination between genders would constitute an infringement on the political right of equality.

This measurement has been converted from the World Economic Forum's percentage measurement into a ratio. Thus, a literacy rate of 80% for females and 90% for males in Saudi Arabia would be converted to a female-to-male ratio of .89.

2.2 Enrolment in primary education—female-to-male ratio

This indicator is from *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010) and, in cases where the data was absent for selected countries, from *The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics* (United Nations, 2010).

This measurement is given as a ratio of girls in said level of school relative to boys. For example, in the case of Angola, the ratio of .86 is derived from the data where, for every 100 boys in primary school, 86 girls are enrolled. Similarly, in the case of Saudi Arabia, a ratio of 1.08 at the secondary level has been converted from the raw data available from the World Economic Forum and the United Nations where, for every 100 boys enrolled, 108 girls are in attendance at secondary schools.

2.3 Enrolment in secondary education—female-to-male ratio

This indicator is from *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010) and mimics the primary measurement, except as applied to secondary school education.⁴

2.4 Paternal versus maternal authority

Paternal and maternal authority refers to whether parental authority is paternal, maternal, or shared. This indicator from *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010). Readers should note that, unlike other

4 A note on using literacy rates and enrolment in primary and secondary education as a proxy. Some may argue poor literacy and educational scores for countries reflect cultural preferences and tradition. That may be true, but that would be an explanation, not a justification, of past or present discrimination. Also, readers should be cautioned in the interpretation of these statistics as older cohorts are likely to have much higher illiteracy rates than younger populations with more access to education, similar to patterns in Western societies in the nineteenth century before universal education was widespread. Positively, it appears selected Middle Eastern nations that score poorly on freedom status, media freedom, religious freedom, and other measurements score highly on educational enrollment for women. For example, in Saudi Arabia, enrollment in secondary schools reveals a higher rate of participation by women than by men (108 females enrolled for every 100 males, or a female-to-male ratio of 1.08). Thus, the reader should keep in mind that, while infringements on freedoms may be widespread in such countries on other indicators, the literacy rates indicate that girls and women, depending on the country, may not currently be discriminated against in education. That may be positive for the strengthening of other freedoms for women over time if a correlation exists between literacy, education, and more freedom for individuals or for a society at large.

measurements in this survey, the higher number in this measurement is not a positive score and the scale is from 0 to 1. Thus, the best score for this indicator is 0, while 1 indicates the worst possible score.

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices?

This indicator is from *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (Kelly and Breslin, 2010). It is restricted to legal impediments, though in many cases social, cultural, and religious barriers to full career choices also exist. Legal restrictions vary from a ban on certain occupations considered “unsuitable” for women to restrictions on night-time hours, to restrictions (in Saudi Arabia for example) on travelling alone, all of which limit career choices.

There is no numerical score in this category. The designation entered (Yes, restricted, or no) is gleaned from the Kelly and Breslin data. Explanations follow in individual country profiles. For Western and other countries, the author has recorded Yes or not available for this category depending on availability of information.

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission?

This indicator is from *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (Kelly and Breslin, 2010). It is restricted to legal impediments, though in many cases social, cultural, and religious barriers to travel also exist, some of which are explained in individual country reports.

There is no numerical score in this category. The designation entered (Yes, restricted, or no) is gleaned from the Kelly and Breslin data. Explanations follow in individual country profiles. Kelly and Breslin examine women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa. For Western and other countries, the author has recorded Yes or not available for this category depending on availability of information.

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission?

This indicator is from *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (Kelly and Breslin, 2010). In many cases social, cultural, and religious barriers and/or legal barriers to surgery exist, some of which are explained in individual country reports.

There is no numerical score in this category. The designations (Yes, Yes/caveat, No, or Restricted)) are gleaned from Kelly and Breslin. Explanations follow in individual country profiles. Kelly and Breslin examine women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa. For Western and other countries, the author has recorded Yes or not available for this category depending on availability of information.

2.8 Female genital mutilation

Female genital mutilation or cutting (FGM/C) is an indicator of discrimination against girls and women. This indicator from *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* (Hausman et al., 2010). Readers should note that, unlike other measurements in this survey, the higher number in this measurement is not a positive score and the scale is from 0 to 1. Thus, the best score for this indicator is 0, while 1 indicates the worst possible score.

According to authors from the Population Reference Bureau, female genital mutilation or female genital cutting “involves the cutting or alteration of the female genitalia for social rather than medical reasons” and is generally performed on girls between ages four and 12, although in some cultures it is practiced “as early as a few days after birth or as late as just prior to marriage” (Feldman-Jacobs and Clifton, 2010: 1). The authors note that the procedure poses serious physical and mental health risks for women and young girls, especially for women who have undergone extreme forms of the procedure. They further cite a 2006 study by the World Health Organization linking FGM/C to “increased complications in childbirth and even maternal deaths. Other side effects include severe pain, hemorrhage, tetanus, infection, infertility, cysts and abscesses, urinary incontinence, and psychological and sexual problems” (Feldman-Jacobs and Clifton, 2010: 1).⁵

5 A note on using female genital mutilation as a proxy

While it may be argued that FGM/C is a cultural and religious practice and is, therefore, akin to circumcision for males, several critical differences exist. First, female genital mutilation is usually far more invasive than male circumcision; second, it is often performed to restrict or deny the pleasure of sexual activity to women (Feldman-Jacobs and Clifton, 2010: 2). Thus, it is a discriminatory practice aimed at girls and women. Similar to the notion that some restrictions on education for women may be cultural or religious, that this is true also for FGM/C would be an explanation, not a justification, of past or present discrimination.

3 Conclusion and overall results

The good Saxon word, freedom; freedom in every sense of the term, freedom of speech, freedom of action, freedom in religious life and civil life and last but not least, freedom in commercial life.

—Then Liberal opposition leader Wilfrid Laurier,
in 1894, (Duffy, 2002: 48–49)

The choice for American consumers— more oil from Canada or ...

If American policy and consumer boycotts change consumption patterns of US companies, countries with undesirable records on political, economic, and civil freedoms will be the beneficiaries. Critics of imported Canadian oil, whether extracted from the oil sands or from other sources, must confront the fact that, in the absence of such imports, additional oil will arrive from jurisdictions that many American consumers and policymakers find objectionable for common-sense reasons: that the governments in such jurisdictions restrict civil, political, and economic freedoms in a manner many Americans find undesirable or pose a security risk to the United States.

This study does not recommend that governments should restrict oil imports from jurisdictions based upon their relatively poor record for civil, political, and economic freedoms. Just as no country is perfect on environmental indicators, no country is above criticism on civil, political, and economic freedoms. Moreover, some countries with poor records now may improve over time or have already improved when compared to past practices. Thus, to restrict imports from a particular country can be counter-productive. Consideration of national security is an obvious exception. For example, at present, three countries examined in this study are on the US government's list of state sponsors of terrorism: Iran, Sudan, and Syria (United States Department of State, 2010).

Still, just as it is ill-advised for governments to restrict trade for matters unrelated to national security, it is also ill-advised to allow misleading assertions from lobbyists about Canadian oil to go unchallenged. The facts are clear: America needs imported oil; the worldwide demand for the same is increasing and not decreasing; oil will remain the dominant fuel for the foreseeable future; growing worldwide demand for oil means there is little room for disruptions in supply; Canada is already more key to America's oil import market than all the Persian Gulf countries combined; and Canada's oil matters not only in the greater context of security of supply but also because Canada is a key ally that shares American values. In short, Canadian oil is in the US national interest.

Table 3.1: Civil, political, and economic freedoms (and proxy measurements)—overall results on indicators 1.1–1.4 for 38 oil-producing countries

	Countries ranked by daily oil production	Barrels per day (000s), 2009 [1]	1.1 Freedom status	1.2 Electoral democracy	1.3 Media freedom	1.4 Religious freedom
1	Russia	9,933	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
2	Saudi Arabia	9,759	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
3	United States	9,140	Free	Yes	Free	Free
4	Iran	4,176	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
5	China	3,995	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
6	Canada	3,294	Free	Yes	Free	Free
7	Mexico	3,001	Free	Yes	Partly Free	Partly free
8	United Arab Emirates	2,794	Not Free	No	Not Free	N/A
9	Brazil	2,577	Free	Yes	Partly Free	Free
10	Kuwait	2,496	Partly Free	No	Partly Free	Partly free
11	Venezuela	2,471	Partly Free	No	Not Free	Free
12	Iraq	2,400	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
13	Norway	2,350	Free	Yes	Free	Free
14	Nigeria	2,211	Partly Free	No	Partly Free	Partly free
15	Algeria	2,125	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
16	Angola	1,948	Not Free	No	Not Free	N/A
17	Libya	1,789	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
18	Kazakhstan	1,540	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
19	United Kingdom	1,501	Free	Yes	Free	Free
20	Qatar	1,213	Not Free	No	Not Free	N/A
21	Indonesia	1,023	Free	Yes	Partly Free	Partly free
22	Azerbaijan	1,012	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
23	India	877	Free	Yes	Partly Free	Partly free
24	Oman	816	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
25	Argentina	794	Free	Yes	Partly Free	Free
26	Malaysia	693	Partly Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
27	Colombia	685	Partly Free	Yes	Partly Free	Partly free
28	Egypt	678	Not Free	No	Partly Free	Partly free
29	Australia	588	Free	Yes	Free	Free
30	Sudan	486	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
31	Ecuador	485	Partly Free	Yes	Partly Free	Free
32	Syria	400	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
33	E. Guinea	346	Not Free	No	Not Free	N/A
34	Thailand	339	Partly Free	No	Partly Free	Free
35	Vietnam	345	Not Free	No	Not Free	Unfree
36	Congo (Brazzaville Rep.)	274	Not Free	No	Not Free	N/A
37	Yemen	287	Not Free	No	Not Free	Partly free
38	Denmark	262	Free	Yes	Free	Free

Sources and scales: Barrels per day: US Energy Information Administration, 2010c; 1.1, 1.2: Freedom House, 2010a; 1.3 Freedom House, 2010b; 1.4: Marshall, 2008.

Table 3.1, continued: Civil, political, and economic freedoms (and proxy measurements)—overall results on indicators 1.5–1.9 for 38 oil-producing countries

	Countries ranked by daily oil production	1.5 Economic freedom	1.6 Legal system and property rights	1.7 Property rights	1.8 Corruption	1.9 Judicial independence
1	Russia	6.62	5.70	4.30	2.10	2.70
2	Saudi Arabia	7.30	8.30	6.10	4.70	5.20
3	United States	7.96	7.50	7.90	7.10	5.00
4	Iran	6.10	6.12	N/A	2.20	3.80
5	China	6.65	6.40	5.10	3.50	4.00
6	Canada	7.95	8.30	8.00	8.90	6.20
7	Mexico	6.89	5.40	4.70	3.10	3.20
8	United Arab Emirates	7.30	7.20	7.10	6.30	4.90
9	Brazil	6.18	5.30	5.10	3.70	3.50
10	Kuwait	7.80	7.00	5.80	4.50	4.90
11	Venezuela	4.33	2.90	3.20	2.00	1.70
12	Iraq	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	N/A
13	Norway	7.40	8.80	8.30	8.60	6.20
14	Nigeria	6.06	4.20	3.80	2.40	3.50
15	Algeria	5.50	4.50	3.70	2.90	2.80
16	Angola	3.89	3.30	N/A	1.90	3.00
17	Libya	N/A	N/A	3.70	2.20	3.10
18	Kazakhstan	7.06	6.00	4.30	2.90	2.90
19	United Kingdom	7.81	8.10	7.80	7.60	6.30
20	Qatar	7.40	N/A	6.80	7.70	6.30
21	Indonesia	6.44	4.40	4.10	2.80	3.80
22	Azerbaijan	6.36	6.40	4.00	2.40	3.30
23	India	6.51	5.90	5.50	3.30	4.80
24	Oman	7.50	7.40	6.50	5.30	5.10
25	Argentina	5.99	4.45	4.40	2.90	2.60
26	Malaysia	6.72	6.20	6.10	4.40	4.30
27	Colombia	6.19	4.40	5.00	3.50	3.50
28	Egypt	6.90	5.40	5.00	3.10	3.90
29	Australia	7.90	8.30	8.20	8.70	6.30
30	Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.60	N/A
31	Ecuador	6.07	4.00	3.90	2.50	2.00
32	Syria	5.70	4.70	4.90	2.50	2.90
33	E. Guinea	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.90	N/A
34	Thailand	7.06	5.90	5.20	3.50	4.30
35	Vietnam	6.15	6.00	4.50	2.70	3.90
36	Congo (Brazzaville Rep.)	4.75	2.10	N/A	2.10	N/A
37	Yemen	7.3 (2007)	N/A	N/A	2.20	N/A
38	Denmark	7.69	8.70	8.50	9.30	6.40

Sources and scales: 1.5: Gwartney et al., 2010a; Al Ismaily et al., 2010; 10 = most free, 0 = least free; 1.6: Gwartney et al., 2010b; Al Ismaily et al., 2010; 10 = strongest, 0 = weakest; 1.7: International Property Rights Alliance, 2010; 10 = strongest protection, 0 = non-existent protection; 1.8: Transparency International, 2010; 10 = very clean, 1 = highly corrupt; 1.9: World Economic Forum, 2010; 7 = entirely independent, 1 = heavily influenced

Table 3.2: Civil, political, and economic freedoms (and proxy measurements) specific to women—overall results on indicators 2.1–2.4 for 38 oil-producing countries

	Countries ranked by daily oil production	Barrels per day (000s), 2009 [1]	2.1 Literacy rate	2.2 Enrollment in primary education	2.3 Enrollment in secondary education	2.4 Paternal vs. maternal authority
1	Russia	9,933	0.99	1.00	1.00	0
2	Saudi Arabia	9,759	0.90	0.99	1.08	1.00
3	United States	9,140	1.00	1.01	1.01	N/A
4	Iran	4,176	0.89	0.96	1.00	1.00
5	China	3,995	0.94	1.00	0.97	0
6	Canada	3,294	1.00	1.00	0.99	N/A
7	Mexico	3,001	0.97	1.00	1.03	N/A
8	United Arab Emirates	2,794	1.02	0.99	1.02	1.00
9	Brazil	2,577	1.00	0.98	1.10	0
10	Kuwait	2,496	0.98	0.98	1.01	1.00
11	Venezuela	2,471	1.00	1.00	1.12	0
12	Iraq	2,400	0.80	0.86	0.71	N/A
13	Norway	2,350	1.00	1.00	1.00	N/A
14	Nigeria	2,211	0.68	0.90	0.77	0
15	Algeria	2,125	0.79	0.99	1.06	1.00
16	Angola	1,948	0.69	0.86	0.78	0.50
17	Libya	1,789	0.85	N/A	N/A	N/A
18	Kazakhstan	1,540	1.00	1.02	1.01	0
19	United Kingdom	1,501	1.00	1.00	1.03	N/A
20	Qatar	1,213	0.96	0.99	1.47	N/A
21	Indonesia	1,023	0.93	0.97	0.99	0.50
22	Azerbaijan	1,012	0.99	0.99	0.98	0.50
23	India	877	0.68	0.96	0.79	1.00
24	Oman	816	0.90	1.03	0.99	1.00
25	Argentina	794	1.00	0.99	1.12	0
26	Malaysia	693	0.95	1.00	1.07	0.50
27	Colombia	685	1.00	0.99	1.09	0
28	Egypt	678	0.77	0.96	0.95	0.50
29	Australia	588	1.00	1.01	1.02	N/A
30	Sudan	486	0.76	0.82	N/A	N/A
31	Ecuador	485	0.94	1.01	1.03	0
32	Syria	400	0.86	0.95	0.98	0.50
33	E. Guinea	346	0.92	0.91	N/A	N/A
34	Thailand	339	0.96	0.99	1.13	0
35	Vietnam	345	0.95	0.95	0.96	0
36	Congo (Brazzaville Rep.)	274	N/A	0.93	N/A	N/A
37	Yemen	287	0.54	0.83	0.53	1.00
38	Denmark	262	1.00	1.01	1.03	N/A

Sources and scales: Barrels per day: US Energy Information Administration, 2010c; 2.1, 2.2: Hausman et al., 2010; United Nations, 2010; female / male ratio; 2.3: Hausman et al., 2010; female / male ratio; 2.4: Hausman et al., 2010; 0 = best score, 1 = worst score.

Table 3.2, continued: Civil, political, and economic freedoms (and proxy measurements) specific to women—overall results on indicators 2.5–2.8 for 38 oil-producing countries

	Countries ranked by daily oil production	2.5 Legal freedom of career choices?	2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission?	2.7 Legal freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission?	2.8 Female genital mutilation
1	Russia	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
2	Saudi Arabia	No	No	Restricted	N/A
3	United States	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
4	Iran	Restricted	No	No	0
5	China	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
6	Canada	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
7	Mexico	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
8	United Arab Emirates	No	Restricted	Restricted	0.30
9	Brazil	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
10	Kuwait	Restricted	Yes	Yes	0
11	Venezuela	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
12	Iraq	Restricted	No	Yes/caveat	N/A
13	Norway	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
14	Nigeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.19
15	Algeria	Yes/caveat	Yes	Yes	0
16	Angola	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
17	Libya	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A
18	Kazakhstan	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
19	United Kingdom	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
20	Qatar	No	Yes/caveat	Yes	N/A
21	Indonesia	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.10
22	Azerbaijan	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
23	India	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
24	Oman	Restricted	Restricted	No	N/A
25	Argentina	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
26	Malaysia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
27	Colombia	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
28	Egypt	Restricted	Yes/caveat	Yes	0.90
29	Australia	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
30	Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
31	Ecuador	N/A	N/A	Yes	0
32	Syria	No	Restricted	Yes	0
33	E. Guinea	N/A	Restricted	N/A	N/A
34	Thailand	Yes	Yes	N/A	0
35	Vietnam	Yes	Yes	Yes	0
36	Congo (Brazzaville Rep.)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
37	Yemen	Yes/caveat	Restricted	No	0
38	Denmark	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A

Sources and scales: 2.5, 2.6, 2.7: Kelly and Breslin, 2010; Kelly and Breslin examine women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa. For Western and other countries, the author has answered "yes" or N/A (= data not available) depending on the availability of information.

2.8: Hausman et al., 2010; 0 = best score, 1 = worst score.

Appendix Detailed reports on civil, political, and economic freedoms

Scores, ranking, and descriptions in the various categories for 38 oil-producing countries

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

- 1.1 Freedom status
- 1.2 Electoral democracy [proxy]
- 1.3 Media freedom
- 1.4 Religious freedom
- 1.5 Economic freedom
- 1.6 Legal system and property rights (Fraser Institute)
- 1.7 Property rights (International Property Rights Alliance)
- 1.8 Corruption [proxy]
- 1.9 Judicial independence

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.2 Enrolment in primary education—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.3 Enrolment in secondary education—female-to-male ratio [proxy]
- 2.4 Paternal versus maternal authority
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices?
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission?
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission?
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation

Algeria

Production rank: 15th — over 2.1 million barrels per day

Algeria scores poorly on almost all measurements of human rights. Paul Marshall, editor of an index on worldwide religious freedom, notes that Algeria suffers from widespread corruption in the private and public spheres, and that journalists have been arrested for reporting human rights violations. Algeria's emergency law has impeded citizen's right to association and assembly; arbitrary and incommunicado detention, illegal searches, and nontransparent trials are widespread and torture continues. "Algeria's overall human rights record remains poor," concludes Marshall (2008: 61–62).

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

While most citizens are free to move throughout the country and abroad with little government interference, the authorities closely monitor and limit the movement of suspected terrorists. The long-standing state of emergency permits the government to restrict where certain people live and work. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Algeria is not an electoral democracy. However, Algerian parliamentary elections are more democratic than those in many other Arab states. The military still plays an important role in politics despite fluctuations in its prominence in recent years. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

The authorities banned a protest by journalists and others calling for more press freedom, scheduled for 3 May in Algiers, and briefly detained four of the organizers ... Journalists and human rights defenders faced defamation or other criminal charges apparently for criticizing state officials or institutions, or alleging corruption. (Amnesty International, 2011: 60)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The Algerian constitution ... declares Islam to be the state religion ... The law limits public worship and displays of religious beliefs and rituals other than Islam ... Only Protestant, Catholic, and Seventh-Day Adventist churches have been granted permission to operate in the country. (Marshall, 2008: 62)

1.5 Economic freedom: **5.5** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system + property rights: **4.5** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **3.7** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.9** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

- 1.9 Judicial independence: **2.8** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)
The judiciary is not independent and is susceptible to government pressure.
 (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.79** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.06** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes/caveat**
In theory, women may freely choose their profession. Article 55 of the constitution guarantees the right to work for all Algerian citizens, and ... women may stipulate the right to work as a precondition in their marriage contracts under Article 19 of the family code. However, women's rights activists argue that Article 19 could be used to undermine the constitutional guarantee, since husbands could argue that their wives gave up the right to work by failing to include it in the marriage contract. (Marzouki, 2010)
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Angola

Production rank: 16th — over 1.9 million barrels per day

Angola scores poorly on almost all measurements of human rights. Human Rights Watch describes the current government and situation in Angola in this manner:

Angola remains an example of the problems that plague a resource-rich state. It relies on a centrally controlled major revenue stream and is therefore not reliant on domestic taxation or a diversified economy to function. Its rulers have unique opportunities for self-enrichment and corruption, especially because there is not enough transparency or political space for the public to hold them accountable. There are enormous disincentives to relinquish political power because it is also a path to economic enrichment. This dynamic has a corrosive effect on governance and ultimately, respect for human rights. Instead of bringing prosperity, rule of law, and respect for rights, the existence of a centrally controlled revenue stream like oil can serve to reinforce or exacerbate an undemocratic or otherwise unaccountable ruler's or governing elite's worst tendencies, providing the financial wherewithal to entrench and enrich itself without significant pressures for accountability. It is no accident that the president of Angola, one of the world's major oil producers, is entering his fourth decade in power. (Human Rights Watch, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Angola is not an electoral democracy. Long-delayed legislative elections held in September 2008, while largely reflective of the people's will, were not free and fair. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **data not available** (Marshall, 2008)

Religious freedom is widely respected, despite colonial-era statutes that ban non-Christian religious groups. (Freedom House 2010a)

1.5 Economic freedom: **3.89** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **3.3** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **1.9** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary is subject to extensive executive influence, though courts occasionally rule against the government. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Protection of Angolan women's physical integrity is weak. The prevalence of violence against women is high, and can be attributed to several factors. Customary law gives men certain rights to exercise authority over their wives and daughters. To date, the Angolan government has not enacted specific legislation to protect women from domestic and sexual violence ... Angolan women have very little formal support in regards to obtaining a degree of financial independence. The law gives women and men equal access to land. However, land distribution follows traditional rules that treat men more favourably. In addition, women's rights to use land are often overlooked when previously displaced people are re-settled in rural areas. (OECD, 2011).

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.69** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.86** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.78** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.5** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Argentina

Production rank: 25th — 794,000 barrels per day

Argentina scores well on freedom indexes, less well on economic matters, the legal system, property rights, corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education, family, career opportunities, and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

The constitution grants all residents the right “to profess their faith freely” and states that foreigners enjoy all the civil rights of citizens. There is practical freedom to worship and to train and appoint clergy. (Marshall, 2008: 65)

1.5 Economic freedom: **5.99** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.45** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.4** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.9** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **2.6** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

[T]he tenure of scores of incompetent and corrupt judges remains a serious problem. Moreover, in February 2006, Congress voted to change the composition of the body responsible for selecting judges, making it less professional and more political. Police misconduct, including torture and brutality of suspects in police custody, is endemic. The Buenos Aires provincial police have been involved in drug trafficking, extortion, and other crimes. Arbitrary arrests and abuse by police are rarely punished in the courts owing to intimidation of witnesses and judges. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.0** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.12** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Australia

Production rank: 29th — 588,000 barrels per day
Australia scores highly on all measurements.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

The 1901 constitution provides explicit protections of religious liberty ...the constitution's guarantees are not held as individual rights; thus, generally, persons may not petition the courts for remedies to religious liberty violations ... more substantial protections exist in federal and state statutes. (Marshall, 2008: 72–73)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.9** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.3** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **8.2** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **8.7** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **6.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.0** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.02** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Azerbaijan

Production rank: 22nd — just over 1 million barrels per day

Azerbaijan scores poorly on most freedom indexes, moderately on matters relating to economic matters, the legal system and property rights, and poorly on corruption and judicial independence; measurements on the status of women are mixed with some indicators unavailable.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

President Ilham Aliyev consolidated his authoritarian rule with a March 2009 referendum that eliminated presidential term limits. Also during the year, the government increased regulatory restrictions on civil society groups and implemented a ban on foreign radio broadcasts. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Elections since the early 1990s have been considered neither free nor fair by international observers. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Threats, harassment, and acts of violence against journalists and civil society activists continued with impunity, leading to an increase in self-censorship. Criminal and civil defamation laws were used to silence criticism, resulting in prison sentences and heavy fines against journalists. (Amnesty International, 2011: 69)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The government is officially secular. Although the constitution guarantees religious freedom, the government treats religion as a potential threat and dominates it, as it does all society. State-sanctioned Islam, Russian Orthodox Christianity, and Judaism are considered “traditional” and their official bodies receive preferential treatment, but they, especially Islam, are subject to government scrutiny and control. (Marshall, 2008: 80)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.36** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.0** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.4** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption is pervasive in government and society. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary is corrupt, inefficient, and subservient to the executive branch. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.98** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.50** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Brazil

Production rank: 9th — almost 2.6 million barrels per day

Brazil scores well on freedom indexes, less well and moderately on matters relating to economic matters, the legal system, property rights, and poorly on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, family, career opportunities and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Brazil can now be added to the countries with improved rankings already observed in the South Cone ... It also owes its improved ranking to favourable legislative changes in matters relating to access of information and editorial freedom, such as the reaffirmation of the right to caricaturise in an election period. Lastly, Brazil is one of the world's most active Internet communities. The situation there would be better still if preventive censorship measures were not being imposed on certain media outlets. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 11)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

The constitution provides that freedom of conscience must not be violated, and at the legal level there is full religious freedom ... The principal barrier to religious freedom is the corruption and violence that permeates the society and impedes the practical manifestation of human rights of all kinds. (Marshall, 2008: 103)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.18** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.3** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.7** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.5** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The country's largely independent judiciary is overburdened, plagued by corruption, and virtually powerless in the face of organized crime. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.98** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.10** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Canada

Production rank: 6th — almost 3.3 million barrels per day
Canada scores highly on all measurements.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

- 1.1 Freedom status: **Free**
- 1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**
- 1.3 Media freedom: **Free**
- 1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**
- 1.5 Economic freedom: **7.95** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)
- 1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.3** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)
- 1.7 Property rights: **8.0** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)
- 1.8 Corruption: **8.9** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)
- 1.9 Judicial independence: **6.2** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

China

Production rank: 5th — almost 4 million barrels per day

China scores poorly on freedom indexes, including freedom status, electoral democracy, media freedom and religious freedom; China scores better but moderately on matters relating to economic matters; it scores poorly on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, family, career opportunities and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Unfree**

The Chinese government continued in 2009 to demonstrate high levels of insecurity and intolerance regarding citizens' political activism and demands for human rights protection. Aiming to suppress protests during politically sensitive anniversaries during the year, including the 60-year mark of the Communist Party's rise to power, the authorities resorted to lockdowns on major cities and new restrictions on the internet. The government also engaged in a renewed campaign against democracy activists, human rights lawyers, and religious or ethnic minorities, which included sentencing dozens to long prison terms following unfair trials. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

China, despite its dynamic media and Internet, remains in a low position because of non-stop censorship and repression, notably in Tibet and Xinjiang. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 8)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

Since the inception of [Chinese Communist Party] rule in 1949, religious expression has been suppressed to varying degrees. The party's consistent objective throughout this time was to make religion serve the interests of the communist state until it disappeared from Chinese society. This remains the dominant view. Under the leadership of President Hu Jintao ... Communist party policy regarding religions remains to "actively guide religion so it can be adapted to socialist society." (Marshall, 2008: 126)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.65** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Driven by rapid economic development and massive urban expansion, government-funded construction projects have been a hotbed for corruption in China ... In line with TI's policy of working with governments to improve transparency and anti-corruption measures, TI China is running training programmes for government officials. (Transparency International, 2011a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.0** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.94** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.97** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Colombia

Production rank: 27th — 685,000 barrels per day

Colombia scores moderately well on freedom indexes with “partly free” ratings on freedom status, media freedom, and religious freedom; it scores moderately well on economic freedom but poorly on protection of property rights, corruption, and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, family, career opportunities, and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

In February 2009, evidence emerged of a massive telephone, e-mail, and personal surveillance operation initiated in 2003 by Colombia's intelligence agency, the Administrative Security Department (DAS). Among its targets were journalists, nongovernmental organization workers, politicians, and Supreme Court justices. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

[H]avoc caused by the country's Administrative Department of Security (DAS) was accompanied by two murders of journalists (one of which involved a confirmed work-related motive). (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 10)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The constitution provides for freedom to practice religion (Article 19) ... official government policies towards religions are generally evenhanded; however, many non-Catholic faiths have reported discriminatory treatment ... Protestant churches are often required to pay local taxes except where they have been granted a special exemption by the local government, while the Roman Catholic Church is not. (Marshall, 2008: 139)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.19** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.0** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.5** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Other:

Colombia is considered the world's most dangerous country for organized labor. More than 2,600 union activists and leaders have been killed over the last two decades, with an impunity rate of over 95 percent. Labor leaders are frequently targeted by paramilitary groups, guerrillas, and narcotics traffickers. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.09** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Congo (Brazzaville)

Production rank: 36th — 274,000 barrels per day

Congo (Brazzaville) scores poorly on all freedom indexes; measurements on the status of women are generally unavailable in terms of scoring.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

President Denis Sassou-Nguesso secured a new term in the July 2009 presidential election, which was marred by the lack of an independent electoral commission, the disqualification of several opposition candidates, and the intimidation of journalists. Sassou-Nguesso subsequently eliminated the position of prime minister, further concentrating executive power in his own hands. A post-election demonstration by the opposition was forcefully halted by the police, and opposition leaders were barred from leaving the country. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **data not available**

1.5 Economic freedom: **4.75** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **2.1** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: **2.1** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **data not available** (Transparency International)
Congo's weak judiciary is subject to corruption and political influence.
(Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.93** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Denmark

Production rank: 38th — 262,000 barrels per day

Denmark scores highly on all freedom indexes; the status of women on all measurements is also high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

Freedom of religious belief is protected by the June 5, 1953 constitution ... There are no restrictions on missionary activities ... the state church enjoys a number of privileges not available to other faiths. (Marshall, 2008: 150)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.69** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.7** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **8.5** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **9.3** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **6.4** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.03** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Ecuador

Production rank: 31st — 485,000 barrels per day

Ecuador scores moderately on freedom indexes but poorly on matters relating to the legal system, property rights, corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, family, career opportunities and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Ecuador's rankings have lost ground because of the violent acts, intimidations and blocked activities fostered by a pervasive climate of media-related political polarisation. The situation is affecting the state-owned, as well as privately owned, media.

(Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 10)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

Ecuador enjoys religious freedom both in law and in practice. (Marshall, 2008: 154)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.07** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.0** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **3.9** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **2.0** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary, broadly undermined by the corruption afflicting all government institutions, has in recent years also been subject to significant political pressures. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.94** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.03** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Egypt

Production rank: 28th — 678,000 barrels per day

Egypt scores poorly on freedom status and electoral democracy, moderately better on media and religious freedom though with many caveats. The country does marginally better on economic freedom, poorly on its legal system, property rights, corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, is mixed but with poor scores on paternal versus maternal authority, career choices and on female genital mutilation though with improvements as of late. As of this writing, and after the “Arab spring” that toppled President Hosni Mubarak, national elections were scheduled for September 2011 (Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2011). The effect upon the country’s various rankings remains to be seen and possibly revised.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

[T]he military has also declared a ban on all strikes and protests that might “destabilize the country”—a dangerously amorphous category that easily paves the way for selective enforcement. Many large protests still go on anyway— including the big ones in Tahrir Square, though the armed forces have attacked even some of these—but the military is using the ban to break up protests that make them uncomfortable.

(Paul Marshall, 2011—as of May 31)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

In 1980, through an amendment introduced by Anwar Sadat, Article 2 [of the 1971 constitution] was changed to read that “Islam is the religion of the state. Islamic jurisprudence [sharia] is the principal source of legislation ... The Copts are threatened in varying degrees by terrorism from extreme Islamic groups, by the abusive and discriminatory practices of local police and security forces, by the frequent refusal of security officials to defend them or prosecute those who have attacked them, and by systematically discriminatory and restrictive government policies ... State Law 263, promulgated in 1960 and still in force, bans Baha’i institutions and community activities, while a 1961 presidential decree stripped Baha’is of legal recognition.

(Marshall, 2008: 158–59)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.9** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.0** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.1** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Muslim women are placed at a disadvantage by laws on divorce and other personal status issues, and a Muslim heiress typically receives half the amount of her male counterparts, though Christians are not subject to such provisions of Islamic law. Domestic violence is common, as is sexual harassment on the street. Spousal rape is not illegal, and the penal code allows for leniency in so-called honor killings. The government has been involved in a major public-information campaign against female genital mutilation, but it is still widely practiced. (Freedom House, 2010a)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.77** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.95** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.5** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Restricted**

The Labor Law (No. 12 of 2003) protects women from various aspects of gender discrimination, but also imposes certain gender-based restrictions ... Article 89 provides that the relevant government ministers may establish conditions under which it is inappropriate for women to work between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., while Article 90 allows the concerned minister to determine unwholesome or morally harmful areas of work for women, as well as jobs from which women are barred. Like many other countries in the Middle East and North Africa, these discriminatory provisions treat women as if they are unable to make sound decisions regarding their own safety and well-being. (Tadros, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes/caveat**

In 2000, the Supreme Constitutional Court (Case 243 of the 21st Judicial Year) ruled that women no longer needed the permission of their husbands or fathers to obtain passports and travel. However, a husband or father can still restrict a woman's travel if he obtains a court order to that effect, for example to prevent the woman's flight during a child-custody dispute. (Tadros, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0.9** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Egypt has one of the highest rates of FGM, with approximately 95.8 percent of women aged 15 to 49 having undergone the procedure as of 2005. Activists have worked for decades to eradicate the practice. A 1997 law prohibited FGM except when it was deemed medically necessary, offering a loophole for those who wished to evade the ban. However, after a young girl died in 2007 while undergoing the procedure, the resulting public outcry sparked a ministerial decree banning FGM altogether. Amendments to the child law in 2008 codified this prohibition and criminalized the act of carrying out FGM under Article 61. Practitioners now face a fine of 1,000 to 5,000 Egyptian pounds (US\$182 to US\$909) and up to two years in prison. (Tadros, 2010)

Equatorial Guinea

Production rank: 33rd — 346,000 barrels per day

Equatorial Guinea scores poorly on every component of every index available.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

[In 2011] Prisoners of conscience were convicted after unfair trials; several were released in a presidential pardon. There were further reports of politically motivated arrests and harassment of political opponents. Soldiers and other security personnel unlawfully killed, tortured and ill-treated detainees and others with impunity. Freedom of expression and the press remained restricted. (Amnesty International, 2011: 136)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **data not available**

1.5 Economic freedom: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

[President Teodoro] Obiang's Mongomo clan, part of the majority Fang ethnic group, monopolizes political and economic power. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.6 Legal system and property rights (Fraser Institute): **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: 1.9 (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Equatorial Guinea is considered one of the most corrupt countries in the world. [President Teodoro] Obiang and members of his inner circle have amassed huge personal fortunes stemming from the oil industry. The president has argued that information on oil revenues is a state secret, resisting calls for transparency and accountability. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **data not available**

The judiciary is not independent, and security forces generally act with impunity. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Constitutional and legal guarantees of equality for women are largely ignored, and violence against women is reportedly widespread. Traditional practices including primogeniture and polygamy discriminate against women. (Freedom House, 2010a)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.92** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.91** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Restricted**

All citizens are required to obtain exit visas to travel abroad, and some opposition figures have been denied such visas. Those who do travel are sometimes subjected to interrogation on their return. (Freedom House, 2010a)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

India

Production rank: 23rd — 877,000 barrels per day

India scores well on freedom status and electoral democracy, middling on media, religious, and economic freedom, the legal system and property rights, and poorly on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women is fair to poor, with the paternal authority score particularly poor.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

India slipped [in Reporters Without Borders' ranking] mainly due to extreme violence in Kashmir. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 8)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The constitution describes India as "a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic" and contains detailed provisions for religious freedom ... Personal law provision is made for the Hindu, Muslim and Parsi communities. The constitution does not recognize Buddhism, Jainism or Sikhism as separate from Hinduism ... Anti-conversion laws exists in [the states of] Orissa, Madhya, Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Himaachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Gujarat ... religious and national chauvinism inspired by Rashtriya Swayamsevak (RSS) has increased in recent decades ... Apart from the attacks on Muslims, assaults on Christians have increased significantly since 1998, fueled by the systematic anti-minority propaganda of Hindu chauvinists and despite an incoming federal government elected in 2004 with a greater commitment to religious freedom and tolerance. (Marshall, 2008: 198–200)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.51** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.9** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.5** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.3** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Government effectiveness and accountability are undermined by criminality in politics, decrepit state institutions, and widespread corruption. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.8** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.68** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)

- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.79** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Indonesia

Production rank: 21st — just over 1 million barrels per day

Indonesia scores well on freedom status and electoral democracy, middling on media, religious, and economic freedom, weak on the legal system and property rights, and poor on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women is good as regards literacy and school attendance but Indonesia scores poorly on matters of paternal versus maternal authority.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Indonesia is home to a vibrant and diverse media environment, though press freedom remains hampered by a number of legal and regulatory restrictions. There is a large independent media sector, but strict licensing rules mean that thousands of television and radio stations operate illegally ... In addition to legal obstacles, reporters sometimes face violence and intimidation. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Religious practice in Indonesia is a complicated mix of major world faiths and traditional rituals and beliefs ... Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim country, and its religious communities have traditionally coexisted peacefully ... News media are forbidden to carry and report an article that insults a religion ... Religious freedom in Indonesia is generally restricted by social rather than legal means. Since the late 1990s, there has been an escalation in Islamist activities in Indonesia, leading to abuses of religious freedom that received international attention ... Sharia activists have taken full advantage of Indonesian legislation passed since 1998 that favors decentralization and gives local communities more autonomy. Radicals have taken the law into their own hands to enforce sharia laws on a local level ... they force women to wear hijabs, threaten alcohol vendors, attack nightclubs ... Since the construction of churches usually requires local approval, such activists have blocked church construction in many parts of their country, especially Java. (Marshall, 2008: 202–04)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.44** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.8** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption remains endemic. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.8** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.68** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.79** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Iran

Production rank: 4th — almost 4.2 million barrels per day

Iran, one of the world's top producers of oil, scores poorly on the status of freedom, electoral democracy, media and religious freedom; it scores slightly better on economic freedom and property rights, and poorly on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by literacy and attendance at primary and secondary schools is high; the status of women is poor by every other measurement, including paternal versus maternal authority, the existence of adequate legislation punishing acts of violence against women, choice of careers, freedom to travel, and freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission. The country is also identified as a state sponsor of terrorism by the US State Department (United States Department of State, 2010). For textual analysis, I rely heavily on Nayereh Tohidi's analysis of Iran in Kelly and Breslin (2010).

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

[In 2010], the authorities maintained severe restrictions on freedom of expression, association and assembly. Sweeping controls on domestic and international media aimed at reducing Iranians' contact with the outside world were imposed. Individuals and groups risked arrest, torture and imprisonment if perceived as co-operating with human rights and foreign-based Persian-language media organizations. Political dissidents, women's and minority rights activists and other human rights defenders, lawyers, journalists and students were rounded up in mass and other arrests and hundreds were imprisoned. Torture and other ill-treatment of detainees were routine and committed with impunity. (Amnesty International, 2011: 172)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Iran is not an electoral democracy. The most powerful figure in the government is the supreme leader (Vali-e-Faghih), currently Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. He is chosen by the Assembly of Experts, a body of 86 clerics who are elected to eight-year terms by popular vote, from a vetted list of candidates. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Out of 178 countries surveyed annually by Reporters Without Borders (2010), Iran is near the bottom in press freedom (listed as 175—the higher the number, the lower the ranking).

Iran held its position at the bottom of the Index. The crackdown on journalists and netizens which occurred just after the disputed re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in June 2009 only strengthened in 2010. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 12)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

The notion of genuine religious (or political) pluralism is deemed unacceptable, and where it is required by international agreements, senior Iranian leaders denounce it as

a Western aberration ... Constitutional guarantees of freedom to non-Muslim faiths and nonconformist Muslims are crippled by additional words and phrases in the relevant articles that make the guarantees subject to the priority of Islam ... Christians in Iran endure discrimination, harassment, constant surveillance, arrests and imprisonment ... The Iranian regime regards ... the Baha'is as a heresy and persecutes them severely ... its adherents are regarded as "unprotected infidels" and have no legal right to seek defense against attacks; thus, they may be killed with impunity. (Marshall, 2008: 206–09)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.10** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.12** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: **2.2** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.8** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

The constitution and the sharia-based penal and civil codes, especially those sections pertaining to family and personal status, legalize the subordination of women, treating them as second-class citizens with unequal rights ... For instance, Article 19 of the constitution states: "The people of Iran regardless of ethnic and tribal origin enjoy equal rights. Color, race, language, and the like will not be cause for privilege." Note that while discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and race is prohibited, neither religion nor sex is mentioned. Other sections of the constitution directly address women's rights. Article 20 states: "All citizens of the nation, whether men or women, are equally protected by the law. They also enjoy human, political, economic, and cultural rights according to Islamic standards." This language carefully avoids a guarantee of equal rights for women, despite the pledge of equal protection, and the qualifier of "Islamic standards" effectively limits women's rights to those available under sharia. (Tohidi, 2010)

Article 630 of the penal code allows a man to murder his wife and her lover if he catches them having consensual sex. If the wife is being raped, he may only murder the man. A married man is legally allowed to engage in affairs under the guise of sigheh (temporary marriage) as many times as he wishes, whereas a married woman can be stoned to death or murdered in an "honor killing" for participating in a similar relationship. ... Head and body coverings for women are mandatory under Article 638 of the penal code, which stipulates that those who fail to comply with hijab shar'ee (sharia-based veiling) face 10 days to two months in prison or fines between 50,000 and 500,000 rials (US\$5 to US\$50). The law lacks specificity on what constitutes a violation, but in practice, women have been punished for all of the following: showing part of one's hair; using cosmetics, wearing sunglasses, wearing a tight or short manteau (coat or gown), showing skin above the wrist or ankle, showing neckline, and wearing boots over (rather than under) trousers. (Tohidi, 2010)

A smaller but more focused project is the Stop Stoning Forever Campaign. Other small-scale campaigns include the Women for Equal Citizenship Campaign, the Women's Access to Public Stadiums Campaign. (Tohidi, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.89** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Restricted**

Women's right to education and to enter into business contracts and activities are limited more by traditional societal attitudes than legal barriers. A husband can legally prevent his wife from working outside the home only if he can prove to the court that her occupation is incompatible with the reputation and well-being of the family. (Tohidi, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **No**

Women's freedom of movement is restricted by both cultural traditions and legal restrictions. A woman may not obtain a passport or leave the country without her husband's written permission. (Tohidi, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **No**

Women must secure their guardian's permission before undergoing serious surgical procedures. (Kelly, 2010: 16)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Women are protected by law from harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced marriage. Article 479 of the penal code establishes qisas [retaliation] for the cutting of women's genitalia; the amount of blood money owed to the woman depends on the extent of the damage done. In practice, however, FGM is sporadically practiced in certain parts of Iran, in particular Iranian Kurdistan. (Tohidi, 2010)

Iraq

Production rank: 12th — 2.4 million barrels per day

Iraq scores poorly on every available index. For an elaboration of rights relating to women, I have relied heavily on Huda Ahmed's analysis in Kelly and Breslin (2010).

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Iraq is not an electoral democracy. Although it has conducted meaningful elections, the country remains under the influence of a foreign military presence and impairments caused by sectarian and insurgent violence. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Legislation passed in 2006 criminalized the ridicule of public officials, who often file suits when journalists report on corruption allegations ... Violent retribution against journalists has hindered their ability to report widely and objectively. (Freedom House, 2010a)

[S]afety conditions for journalists improved substantially in the country, despite the fact that three had died between 1 September 2009 and 31 August 2010. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 12)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

The new constitution adopted in October 2005 contains two competing principles: one based on equal individual rights, the other on a system of Islamic law in which rights vary according to whether one is male or female or Muslim or non-Muslim. Individual rights may be subordinated to the interests of religious groups. While there are strongly worded provisions for religious freedom and equality, Article 2 provides "no law that contradicts the established provisions of Islam may be established" ... The constitution leaves open the crucial question of how to reconcile these conflicting provisions ... Radical Islamic groups in Mosul, including Al Qaeda, have published several fatwas against the Ezidis, sanctioning their killing on the grounds that they are "devil worshippers" ... Kidnappings of Christians and other non-Muslims by organized criminal gangs are a proliferating phenomenon ... In the northern Kurdish areas, where some 30 per cent of the Christian population lives, local authorities severely marginalize Christians, Ezidis, and Mandeans and have excluded their villages from US-funded water and sewage works, electrical systems, and other essential services, and many of their families have been forced to leave the country. Subsequently, their properties are often confiscated by the Kurdish inhabitants or local authorities. (Marshall, 2008: 212–14)

1.5 Economic freedom: **data not available**

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: **1.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Iraq is plagued by pervasive corruption at all levels of government, and most offenders reportedly enjoy impunity. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **data not available****Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women**

Women have succeeded in blocking implementation of a potentially harmful constitutional provision on personal status issues, but the last five years have largely been characterized by a stark contrast between constitutional guarantees and women's inability to exercise these rights in the face of widespread violence. (Ahmed, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.80** (female-to-male ratio)2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.86** (female-to-male ratio)2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.71** (female-to-male ratio)2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Restricted**

Iraqi women were early pioneers in the competitive and male-dominated world of commerce, but the country's long isolation from international trade and innovation severely limited the opportunities available to such entrepreneurs ... these women will face even greater risks once American forces withdraw from Iraq ... Iraqi female employees are allowed to work nightshifts in a small number of settings—such as public hospitals or university dorms—but not in factories or government offices, limiting their ability to compete in the job market. (Ahmed, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **No**

After 2003, the [Coalition Provisional Authority] issued a law guaranteeing all Iraqis age seven and older the right to obtain passports (through a guardian for children) and all adult women the right to travel without a male guardian. However, the Iraqi government changed the law in 2004; as a result, women are now again required a guardian's approval to obtain a passport. (Ahmed, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes/caveat**

Women are legally free to make independent decisions about their health ... but they are less able to exercise this freedom outside large cities. (Ahmed, 2010)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Female genital mutilation (FGM) occurs almost exclusively in the Kurdistan region, where more than 60 percent of women have undergone the procedure, according to a study conducted in 2008 by the German charity WADI. (Ahmed, 2010)

Kazakhstan

Production rank: 18th — just over 1.5 million barrels per day

Kazakhstan scores poorly on all freedom indexes except economic freedom (where it scores higher). It scores moderately on property rights depending on the index chosen, and scores poorly on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education, family, career choices, and health and as related to their treatment in law is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

[F]reedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of expression; and freedom of assembly. Kazakhstan continues to actively restrict the exercise of these rights. (Human Rights Watch, 2008: 1)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Kazakhstan is not an electoral democracy. The constitution grants the president considerable control over the legislature, the judiciary, and local governments. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Central Asia's prospects are dismal. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 4)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Kazakhstan is one of the most authoritarian ... of the former Soviet states ... It has a relatively healthy economy fueled by oil and gas and an ethnically mixed population. Both factors make Kazakh society less intolerant of religious freedom than some other states in the region. However, the Kazakh government shows increasing hostility to religious freedom generally and religious minorities specifically. In 2005, it passed "extremism" and "national security" legal amendments ... [that] ban unregistered religious activity, greatly curtail missionary activity, enhance state control over religious education, and permit the suspension of a religious organization, along with a ban on speaking to the media by members of that organization ... State officials do not believe that the constitution, laws, or international agreements ratified by Kazakhstan place limits on their actions ... Currently, the most high-profile attacks are those on the Hare Krishna community ... Muslims have been expelled for preaching in Mosques. At least one Baptist, Dan Ballats, was forced to leave the country for taking part in a Bible discussion. (Marshall, 2008: 233–34)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.06** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.0** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.3** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.9** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **2.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.02** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Kuwait

Production rank: 10th — just under 2.5 million barrels per day

Kuwait scores moderately well on freedom indexes. Kuwait is ranked “partly free” by Freedom House for freedom status, and media and religious freedom. Kuwait also scores well on economic freedom and legal and property rights. The country receives middling scores on corruption and an independent judiciary. The status of women as measured by literacy, school enrollment, and freedom to travel and have surgery without a male guardian’s permission is high, especially as compared with other countries in the region. Kuwait receives a poor ranking on matters of paternal versus maternal authority and is middling on matters such as freedom of career choices.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Kuwait is not an electoral democracy. The ruling family largely sets the policy agenda and dominates political life. The emir has overriding power in the government system and appoints the prime minister and cabinet. Under the constitution, the emir shares legislative power with the 50-member National Assembly, which is elected to four-year terms by popular vote. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Kuwait holds first place among Gulf states in terms of respect for individual freedoms, and particularly in respect of press freedom. Kuwaiti media are undoubtedly the freest in the region and have been closely covering tensions between the government and the parliamentary opposition that have shaken the emirate for more than two years. (Reporters Without Borders, 2011a)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The Kuwaiti constitution proclaims Islam as the state religion and refers to sharia as a main source of legislation ... Notwithstanding the prohibition on proselytizing to Muslims, foreign religious workers may serve non-Muslim congregations ... The laws are sometimes used to curtail wider religious freedom ... Proselytizing of non-Muslims is actively encouraged by the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. Many of the Protestant denominations as well as the Catholic Church have full recognition and can function openly including facilities; Buddhists, Hindus, and Sikhs are not allowed to build official temples of worship. (Marshall, 2008: 244–45)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.8** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **7.0** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.8** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **4.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Women voted and also ran for political office in Kuwait in 2006 for the first time in municipal and national elections. In 2009, they reached another milestone when four women were elected to the national Parliament. Women in Kuwait enjoy higher levels of economic participation than most of their counterparts in the region, but they remain barred from serving as judges or in the military. As is the case elsewhere in the Gulf, they cannot transfer their nationality to children or foreign-born husbands (Kelly, 2010: 17)

Since the 1960s, Kuwaiti women have enjoyed access to higher education and relative freedom to advocate for improved economic and cultural rights, particularly as compared to women in neighboring countries. Kuwait's first women's organizations actively lobbied for the broader involvement of women in the labor market, equal political rights, and greater cultural and educational opportunities. It was the 1990–91 Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, however, that arguably served as a catalyst for the eventual liberalization of women's political and social rights. (al-Mughni, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.98** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.98** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Restricted**

Women do not face any extraordinary obstacles in attending universities or enrolling in diverse courses of study, and they graduate at higher rates than men. At Kuwait University, however, female students are required to maintain significantly higher grade-point averages (GPAs) than men in order to be admitted into selected fields. For instance, female students must have a 3.3 GPA to be admitted to the engineering department, while male students need only a 2.8 GPA. (al-Mughni, 2010)

Certain gender-based restrictions govern women's working hours and conditions. Article 23 of the labor law restricts female employees from working at night and, under Article 24, in jobs that may be hazardous to their well-being. (al-Mughni, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Libya

Production rank: 17th — just under 1.8 million barrels per day

Libya scores poorly on freedom indexes where information is available, with the exception of religious freedom where it receives a ranking of “partly free.” It scores poorly on the legal system, property rights, corruption, and judicial independence; measurements on the status of women are mostly unavailable. At the time of writing, Libya was involved in a civil war between the existing government of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and opposition forces.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

Political parties have been illegal for over 35 years, and the government strictly monitors political activity ... The government does not uphold freedom of assembly. Those demonstrations that are allowed to take place are typically meant to support the aims of the regime. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The Libyan constitution of December 11, 1969, amended in 1977, declares that Islam is the state religion, but it also provides for general religious freedom, something the government often respects ... Societal attitudes towards minority religions are generally open and accepting. Christians worship openly in the few churches allowed to them. (Marshall, 2008: 262)

1.5 Economic freedom: **data not available**

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **3.7** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.2** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.1** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary as a whole remains subservient to the political leadership and regularly penalizes political dissent. Human Rights Watch, citing Libya's secretary of justice, reported in December 2009 that 500 political prisoners remained in custody despite having been acquitted of all charges or served their full prison sentences. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.85** (female-to-male ratio)

- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
The government briefly barred women from this right, but withdrew the measure after an outcry. (Kelly, 2010: 18)
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Malaysia

Production rank: 26th — 693,000 barrels per day

Malaysia has mixed scores on freedom indexes (partly free on freedom status and religion and not free on media issues and not an electoral democracy). Malaysia scores better on economic freedom though poorly on corruption and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by literacy and school attendance is high, but middling on paternal versus maternal authority.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

The government restricts academic freedom to the extent that teachers or students espousing antigovernment views may be subject to disciplinary action under the University and Colleges Act of 1971. Freedom of assembly and association is limited on the grounds of maintaining security and public order. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed but restricted in practice, although the scope of political discussion in the media expanded noticeably after the 2008 elections. The 1984 Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) gives the government the authority to revoke licenses without judicial review. It also requires that publications and printers obtain annual operating permits, encouraging self-censorship and limiting investigative journalism. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Under the federal constitution, Islam is “the religion of the Federation” ... Article 11 provides, “Every person has the right to profess and practice his religion and ... to propagate it.” In practice, the government has significantly restricted non-Sunni Islamic beliefs and systematically discriminated against non-Muslims. However, non-Muslims are generally free to practice their beliefs. The federal government opposes what it calls “deviant” interpretations of Islam. It prohibited over 50 deviant teachings, including Shiism and Transcendental Meditation ... In practice, Muslims are not permitted to convert to another religion. In several states, conversion is a criminal offense that can be punished by a fine or jail term ... In March 2007, the Islamic Religious Department took away a baby because the mother, Revathi Massoosai, though born a Muslim, was living as a Hindu. (Marshall, 2008: 272–73)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.72** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.2** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **6.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **4.4** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

The government and law enforcement bodies have suffered a series of corruption scandals in recent years, despite the BN's anticorruption campaign pledges. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Judicial independence has been compromised by extensive executive influence. Arbitrary or politically motivated verdicts are not uncommon. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.95** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.07** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.50** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Mexico

Production rank: 7th — 3 million barrels per day

Mexico scores well on freedom status and electoral democracy, mediocre on media and religious freedom, higher on economic freedom, and middling to poor on the legal system, property rights, corruption, and judicial independence; the status of women is high on the available indicators.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Violence against journalists in Mexico has remained extremely acute, while public condemnation of the attacks have decreased as a result of the large number of killings in the country directed against all sectors of society, and the lack of investigations instigated and carried out by Mexican state. (Article 19, 2011, May 11)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Mexico has a long history of church-state conflict and tension ... From its inception, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) took a strong anti-clerical line. In recent years ... Mexico has drawn closer to a system that basically respects religious rights, but many issues, theoretical and practical, await resolution ... Some Protestants continue to be mistreated by local government authorities ... In some southern states, such as Chiapas and Oaxaca, evangelical Protestants have been penalized with jail sentences or fines for refusing to participate in and fund public festivals that run against their beliefs. Their children have been refused admission to or expelled from public schools. (Marshall, 2008: 287–89)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.89** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.7** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.1** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Official corruption remains a serious problem. According to the 2009 Latinobarometro poll, 17 percent of Mexicans stated that they or a relative had been party to a corrupt act in the previous 12 months, though this represented a sharp decline from the 2002–05 average of 54 percent. Billions of dollars in illegal drug money is believed to enter the country each year from the United States, and there is a perception that drug money affects politics, particularly on the state and local levels. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.2** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Lower courts and law enforcement in general are undermined by widespread bribery, and a significant majority of crimes go unreported because the underpaid police are

viewed as either inept or in league with criminals. Torture, arbitrary arrest, and abuse of prisoners persist in many areas. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.97** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.03** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Nigeria

Production rank: 14th — just over 2.2 million barrels per day

Nigeria garners mediocre scores (“partly free”) on freedom status, media freedom, and religious freedom though this varies depending on the part of the country in question. Nigeria is not an electoral democracy, garners a respectable score on economic freedom, but scores poorly on the legal system, property rights, corruption, and judicial independence; the status of women is poor.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Nigeria is not an electoral democracy ... The Brussels-based International Crisis Group found that the general elections of April 2007 “in the view of Nigerians and the many international observers alike, were the most poorly organized and massively rigged in the country’s history.” (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

Violence against journalists, arbitrary police arrests and intelligence agency abuses explain why Nigeria [is] still in the bottom third [of African countries on media freedom]. (Reporters Without Borders, 2011)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Nigeria is officially a secular state ... Religious discrimination is forbidden by Articles 15 and 42, and Article 14 requires state governments to recognize the diversity of their people ... Despite these protections, by 2006, 12 states had or were in the process of implementing a widespread application of sharia, including in the penal code, effectively imposing Islam as the de facto official state religion in contravention of the constitution ... The expansion of sharia has led to the deaths of up to 60,000 people, mainly Christians and traditionalists ... [W]hile most violence stems from Muslim elements, some Christians, especially in Plateau state, have retaliated by attacking Muslims, including ones not involved in the original violence. (Marshall, 2008: 310–11)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.06** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.2** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **3.8** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.4** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption remains pervasive despite government efforts to improve transparency and reduce graft. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.5** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The higher courts are relatively competent and independent, but they remain subject to political influence, corruption, and inefficiencies. Certain departments, particularly

the Court of Appeals, have often overturned decisions on election challenges or allegations of corruption against powerful elites, raising doubts about their independence.
(Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.68** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.90** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.77** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0.19** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Norway

Production rank: 13th — over 2.3 million barrels per day

Norway scores well on all freedom indexes; the status of women is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

Norway has broad freedom of religion both in law and practice. (Marshall, 2008: 314)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.40** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.8** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **8.3** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **8.6** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **6.2** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Oman

Production rank: 24th — 816,000 barrels per day

Oman scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy, and media freedom, moderately better on religious freedom, higher on economic freedom, the legal system, and property rights, and middling on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education is high, but as measured by paternal versus maternal authority, polygamy, legislation that punishes acts of violence against women, freedom of career choices, and freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission, is poor; that noted, there are efforts at improvement in the area of women's rights.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Freedom of expression and democratic debate are limited, and criticism of the sultan is prohibited. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

The Basic Law proclaims Islam to be the religion of the state and sharia the source of all legislation. The freedom to practice religious rites, including for non-Muslims, is protected under this law as long as the practice does not "infringe on public order or decency." All religious groups have to register ... The sultan himself has donated land for non-Muslims to build places of worship. (Marshall, 2008: 317)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.5** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **7.4** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **6.5** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **5.3** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **5.1** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary is not independent and remains subordinate to the sultan and the Ministry of Justice. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Attempts by the government to incorporate a more liberal interpretation of women's rights and duties into the country's laws and practices have had mixed success. Oman was one of the first Gulf countries to provide women with political rights and begin integrating them into government structures. Women have been allowed to vote and stand in elections for the Majlis al-Shura (Consultative Council), the lower house of parliament, since 1994, when only select individuals approved by government leaders could

vote. Universal adult suffrage was offered for the first time in 2003. In November 2007, the sultan appointed 14 women to the 70-member Majlis al-Dawla (State Council), the upper house of parliament, doubling the number of female members from 2004. (al-Talei, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.90** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.03** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Restricted**

Women are legally entitled to choose their careers under Article 12 of the Basic Law. This decision, however, is usually made in consultation and negotiation with a woman's father, brothers, and/or husband, and women may face social obstacles if their choices are not supported by their male family members. The government does not interfere in family disputes concerning a woman's career choice, meaning that women are often forced to accede to the decisions of the family patriarch. (al-Talei, 2010)

Article 81 of the Oman Labor Law (No. 35 of 2003) prohibits women from working between 7:00 p.m. and 8:00 a.m. without permission from the minister of labor, although exceptions are made in certain instances, such as for health care professionals who need to work overnight. (al-Talei, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Restricted**

Legally, yes, but women must receive written permission from their husband to obtain a passport. (al-Talei, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **No**

Women in Oman must obtain the written consent of a male relative before undergoing surgery. (Kelly, 2010: 18)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Qatar

Production rank: 20th — just over 1.2 million barrels per day

Qatar scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy, and media freedom (though it is home to *Al Jazeera*), and is given no score on religious freedom (by Marshall, 2008). Qatar has no score on economic freedom or the legal system but scores relatively high on property rights, corruption, and judicial independence; the status of women as measured by education is high but freedom of career choices are restricted, legal freedom to travel exists with a caveat, and there is freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

Five years after agreeing to hold legislative elections for the Consultative Council, Qatar again failed to do so in 2009 ... Elections were held in 1999 for a 29-member Central Municipal Council, a body designed to advise the minister of municipal affairs and agriculture. The poll made Qatar the first state of the Gulf Cooperation Council to introduce universal suffrage for men and women over 18 years of age. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Despite the existence of privately owned newspapers, most of them belong to members of the ruling family. The balancing act that constitutes journalism here means that any critical analysis of decisions made by the Doha authorities or on Qatar in general is highly risky. Political and financial pressures weigh heavily on the editorial line taken by newspapers. (Reporters Without Borders, 2011b)

1.4 Religious freedom: **data not available**

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.4** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **6.8** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **7.7** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **6.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

[T]he Qatari legal system often treats leniently those men who commit acts of violence against women who, in their view, behave immodestly. In January 2007, the sentence of a Jordanian teenager convicted of murdering his sister was reduced by an appeals court from three years' imprisonment to a one-year suspended sentence. The sentence was

reduced because the court found there to be insufficient evidence to establish premeditated murder. This ruling overturned the lower court, which had held that it was a premeditated murder based on the suspect's admitted displeasure that the sister had been having a "telephone affair" with one of his friends. The lower court, however, stopped short of calling it an honor killing because the autopsy proved that the sister was still a virgin. (Breslin and Jones, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.47** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **No**

A woman's ability to choose her profession remains legally and socially restricted to fields that offer "acceptable" roles for women, and in practice, most women are employed as health care or education professionals or fill clerical jobs. (Breslin and Jones, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes/caveat**

Law No. 5 of 2007 permits adult women to obtain a passport without the permission of a male guardian and they are not legally required to have a male guardian's approval to travel abroad, but few women travel alone. Men can prevent female relatives from leaving the country by giving their names to immigration officers at departure ports, but women in this situation may appeal to the [National Human Rights Committee] to intervene on their behalf. (Breslin and Jones, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Russia

Production rank: 1st — over 9.9 million barrels per day

In 2009, Russia was the world's largest producer of crude oil. (Most years, Saudi Arabia produces more. In 2008, Saudi Arabia produced almost 10.8 million barrels daily while Russia's production was just shy of 9.8 million daily). Russia scores poorly on all freedom measurements, with the partial exception of religious freedom where it is categorized as "partly free." It scores in the middle on economic freedom, on the legal system and property rights, and poor on measurements of corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education and paternal versus maternal authority is high. Freedom for women on matters of career, travel, and health is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

Human rights defenders and independent journalists continued to face threats, harassment and attacks, and investigations yielded few concrete results. Freedom of assembly and expression continued to come under attack, including through the banning of demonstrations, their violent dispersal and the prosecution of individuals under anti-extremism legislation ... Across Russia, there were frequent reports of torture and other ill-treatment by law enforcement officials. (Amnesty International, 2011: 270)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Russia is not an electoral democracy. The 2007 State Duma elections were carefully engineered by the administration, handing pro-Kremlin parties a supermajority in the lower house, which is powerless in practice. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

The system remains as tightly controlled as ever, and impunity reigns unchallenged in cases of violence against journalists. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 4)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

There is wide variation in religious freedom across the country. While this variation may occur at the state level, more commonly, it occurs within the regions, even from town to town ... When religious communities do experience discriminatory or repressive state action, it rarely occurs on a legal basis ... religious freedom violations are for the most part covert and elusive. (Marshall, 2008: 344-45).

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.62** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.7** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.3** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.1** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption in the government and business world is pervasive. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **2.7** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary lacks independence from the executive branch, in part because judges are often dependent on court chairmen for promotions and bonuses and must follow Kremlin preferences in order to advance. Two members of the Constitutional Court were punished after decrying judges' lack of independence, with one forced to resign from the court in December 2009. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Saudi Arabia

Production rank: 2nd — almost 9.8 million barrels per day

In 2009, Saudi Arabia was the world's second-largest producer of oil and is normally the world's largest oil producer; in 2008, Saudi Arabia produced almost 10.8 million barrels daily. Saudi Arabia scores poorly on its freedom status, on the question of electoral democracy, media freedom, and religious freedom. It scores relatively well on economic freedom; on the legal system and property rights, it scores moderately well. On corruption and judicial independence, the country receives middling scores. The status of women as measured by literacy and school enrollment is high. Saudi Arabia scores poorly on every other measurement including paternal versus maternal authority, freedom of travel, freedom of career choices, and freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission. The country has no score on instances of female genital mutilation. On textual descriptions of the country's record on women's rights, I rely substantially on Eleanor Abdella Doumato's analysis in Kelly and Breslin (2010).

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

Saudi Arabia remains a country without the basic freedoms necessary for civil society to take root. Political parties are prohibited, there are no constitutionally guaranteed rights to free speech, press, religion, or assembly in the Basic Law of the Kingdom, and forming trade unions, striking, and engaging in collective bargaining are forbidden ... Women were prohibited from voting or running as candidates for municipal councils during Saudi Arabia's first elections for public office in February 2005. (Doumato, 2010)

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

Religious freedom does not exist. All citizens must be Muslim, and Islam is the official religion. There is no separation of religion and state, nor is there any recognition of religious freedom; the Wahhabi brand of Islam is adopted as state ideology and vigorously propagated by the state, both at home and abroad ... Saudi citizens are denied the freedom to choose or change their religion, and noncitizens, including Muslims, are severely hampered in the practice of their religious beliefs. All public practice of religions other than the officially sanctioned version of Islam is strictly forbidden ... Christians and Jews ... occupy an inferior, or dhimmi status, whereas Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and adherents of other religions are considered polytheists and therefore suffer even greater discrimination ... The Minority Shiite community ... suffers political, economic, educational, and government employment discrimination ... Sufism is frowned upon, and those engaged in Sufi practices or in the dissemination of Sufi material may be apprehended by the authorities. (Marshall, 2008: 347–48)

- 1.5 Economic freedom: **7.3** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)
- 1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.3** (From Al Ismaily et al., 2010; 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)
- 1.7 Property rights: **6.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)
- 1.8 Corruption: **4.7** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)
Corruption is a significant problem, with foreign companies reporting that they often pay bribes to middlemen and government officials to secure business deals.
 (Freedom House, 2010a)
- 1.9 Judicial independence: **5.2** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Freedom of movement for women in Saudi Arabia is limited by overlapping legal constraints and social controls, and as a result women may not drive cars, travel on airplanes, work, or be outside their own home without a guardian's permission.
 (Doumato, 2010)

The religious police are notorious for their abuses. When two people died in their custody in 2007, instead of punishing the individuals responsible, the Committee on Vice and Virtue created a Department of Rules and Regulations for future guidance of religious policemen. Meanwhile, in response to these deaths, the Ministry of the Interior issued a decree requiring that the committee surrender detained persons promptly to the regular police and to have no involvement with them from that point forward. This decree has not been enforced, however, and detainees continue to be abused at the hands of the religious police. The extent to which the religious police are insulated from governmental oversight is illustrated by an event that occurred in 2002, when members of the religious police refused to allow fleeing schoolgirls out of a burning building without their abayas (the cloak worn over clothing), and 15 girls subsequently died. Despite local and international protests, no one from the religious police force was punished.
 (Doumato, 2010)

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.90** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.08** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **No**
The female employment rate in Saudi Arabia is among the lowest in the world and, specifically, the Middle East ... The five-year development plan anticipates tripling the rate of women's employment within the plan period by increasing occupational training for women and "eliminating obstacles" to their participation. Two such obstacles include the prohibition of mixing the sexes in the workplace and the requirement that a woman's guardian give permission for her to work ... A new labor law enacted in 2005

does not include either requirement and appears to support women's right to work; as Article 3 states, "work is the right of every citizen" and "all citizens are equal in the right to work." Article 4 of the new law, however, requires that all workers and employers adhere to the provisions of sharia when implementing this law, implying that gender segregation remains in force. Article 149 says that women shall work in all fields "suitable to their nature," excluding jobs "deemed detrimental to health" and "likely to expose women to specific risks." (Doumato, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? No

Women's lack of mobility remains a salient point of contention in the kingdom, as they still are not allowed to drive a car. They are not allowed to travel abroad by airplane without the express permission of a male guardian, and their right to travel internally without a guardian's permission is subject to the arbitrary approval of airport personnel. (Doumato, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? Restricted

[Freedom depends on the type of surgery and hospital:] Women's access to health care and freedom to make independent decisions regarding their health and reproductive rights are curtailed by hospitals that require their guardians' permission before they may be treated. Although no law requires this, hospitals in Saudi Arabia consistently exercise the discretion to refuse treatment without guardian consent, thereby creating life-threatening challenges to women and ill children with absentee fathers. (Doumato, 2010)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: data not available

Sudan

Production rank: 30th — 486,000 barrels per day

Sudan scores poorly on every measure of freedom. On the few categories available to rank Sudan, the status of women is ranked as poor. The US State Department identifies Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism (United States Department of State, 2010). (Readers should know that at the time of writing, Sudan was separating into two countries.)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Freedom of assembly is restricted. The authorities have clamped down on public activities, lectures, and rallies related to the 2010 elections. The [Sudanese National Intelligence and Security Service] has broken up opposition party gatherings, denied permission for political meetings, and raided party offices. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

The temporary lifting of prior censorship on the print media in Sudan ... was just a smokescreen. It has fallen 24 places and now has Africa's second worst ranking, partly as a result of the closure of the opposition daily Rai-al-Shaab and the jailing of five members of its staff, but above all because of the return of state surveillance of the print media, which makes it impossible to cover key stories. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 6)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

Sharia law was imposed on the entire country in 1983 despite the existence of concentrated groups of non-Muslims, particularly in the south, and government institutions were used to promote an extreme Islamism ... In addition to Islamization there was a drive toward Arabization, both of which occasioned acts of genocide against the African people of southern Sudan, the Nuba mountains and more recently, Darfur.

Over 2 million people died, and nearly 5 million were displaced by the north-south civil war, the majority being Christians or followers of traditional African religions. Instrumental to the government's genocidal campaigns in the south and now in Darfur have been vicious militias, rape, and scorched-earth campaigns in which hundreds of thousands of people have died ... Of the 2 million people displaced from Darfur, the majority are non-Arab Muslims who follow Sufi Islam ... The overall state of human rights in most of the country remains dire. (Marshall, 2008: 376–77)

1.5 Economic freedom: **data not available**

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: **1.6** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Sudan is considered one of the world's most corrupt states. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **data not available**

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.76** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.82** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **data not available** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **data not available**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Syria

Production rank: 32nd — 400,000 barrels per day

Syria scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy, and media freedom, moderately better on religious freedom, middling on economic freedom, the legal system and property rights, and poor on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education is high, but as measured by paternal versus maternal authority and freedom of career choices, is middling to poor; freedom to travel is restricted; freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission exists. The US State Department identifies Syria as a state sponsor of terrorism (United States Department of State, 2010).

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No.**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

There is an identical situation in Syria ... and Yemen ... where press freedom is fast shrinking away. Arbitrary detentions are still routine, as is the use of torture. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 12)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Syria's religious population is diverse in confession ... In Article 35, the constitution stipulates that "(1) The freedom of faith is guaranteed. The state respects all religions. (2) The state guarantees the right to hold any religious rites provided they do not disturb the public order." It does not make Islam the official religion ... Except for Jews in relation to Israel, citizens can have contacts with coreligionists overseas ... Under Hafez-al-Assad and then under Bashar, Syria's Christians experienced some improvement in their overall lot ... Discrimination against Jews is widespread ... Jehovah's Witnesses have been banned by the government since 1964. (Marshall, 2008: 384–86)

1.5 Economic freedom: **5.7** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **4.7** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.9** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **2.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

While the lower courts operate with some independence and generally safeguard defendants' rights, politically sensitive cases are usually tried by the Supreme State Security Court (SSSC), an exceptional tribunal established under emergency law that denies the right to appeal, limits access to legal counsel, tries many cases behind closed doors, and routinely accepts confessions obtained through torture. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Patriarchal values in society and the authoritarian political system leave women vulnerable to gender-based violence, both inside and outside the home. Recent studies have shown that domestic violence is common throughout Syria, but such abuse is not specifically outlawed; spousal rape is excluded as a punishable offense under the legal definition of rape. Under the existing personal status law, women also lack full control over issues related to marriage, divorce, custody, and other family matters. A woman's husband can forbid her from working outside the home or from leaving the country if accompanied by her children. ([Anonymous], 2010)

A husband may legally prohibit his wife from working outside the home, and can withhold financial maintenance if she does so without his permission ... Women's inheritance rights are limited by law as well as in practice. In accordance with sharia, a woman receives only half of her brother's share of the parental estate. Male relatives from another branch of the family may compete for a share with the deceased's daughters if there is no direct male heir. ([Anonymous], 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.86** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.95** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.98** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0.50** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **No**

A husband may legally prohibit his wife from working outside the home, and can withhold financial maintenance if she does so without his permission. However, no laws prevent single women or married women with permission from their husbands from freely entering into economic contracts and activities ... women can also stipulate the right to work outside the home in their marriage contract. ([Anonymous], 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Restricted**

Women's ability to travel and move freely is subject to legal and social restrictions ... Married women face other restrictions on their freedom of movement under the personal status law. ([Anonymous], 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Domestic violence and rape

No laws prohibit domestic violence, and a 2005 survey of 1,891 rural and urban families indicated that it is a prevalent practice throughout Syria. Of the women surveyed, 67 percent said they had been "punished" in front of their families, either through verbal insults, revocation of pocket money, or, in 87 percent of these cases, physical beatings. (Kelly and Breslin, 2010: 11)

Women lack protection against gender-based violence that occurs outside the home, such as rape. Article 489 of the penal code provides a minimum sentence of five years of hard labor for rapists and 21 years in prison if the victim was less than 15 years old. However, under Article 508 of the penal code, the perpetrator can avoid punishment by marrying his victim, and the code's definition of rape specifically excludes the rape of a spouse. ([Anonymous], 2010)

Thailand

Production rank: 34th — 339,000 barrels per day

Thailand scores moderately well on measures of freedom related to freedom status and media freedom; it is religiously free but is not an electoral democracy. Thailand scores well on economic freedom, middling on the legal system and property rights, and poorly on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women is high on most measurements.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Partly free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

Thailand's 1997 constitution provides for religious freedom ... The constitution also requires that the monarch be a Buddhist and that the government "patronize and protect Buddhism and other religions" ... [T]olerant practices exist throughout most of the country's 76 provinces. However, Muslims in the southern provinces ... complain of religious discrimination in jobs, education and business opportunities ... The major problem for religious freedom is the Muslim-based insurgency in the south. Increased radicalization since the 1970s has prevented Buddhists and others in the southern provinces from practicing their faith freely. (Marshall, 2008: 395–96)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.06** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **5.9** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **5.2** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **3.5** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.13** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **data not available**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

United Arab Emirates

Production rank: 7th — almost 2.8 million barrels per day

United Arab Emirates scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy and media freedom. Religious freedom is not ranked (by Marshall, 2008); however, as with all of the region's countries save Israel, restrictions on religion exist that would be unacceptable in the West. UAE scores highly on economic freedom, the legal system and property rights, and middling on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education is high. However, as measured by paternal versus maternal authority, freedom of career choices, freedom to travel, and freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission, such status is poor or restricted. That noted, efforts have been made at improving women's freedoms as of late. For textual comments on women's freedoms, I rely on Serra Kirdar's analyses of the UAE.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

The government places limits on freedoms of assembly and association. In March 2009, Dubai outlawed public dancing, kissing, and the playing of loud music. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **data not available**

The constitution provides for freedom of religion. Islam is the official religion, and the majority of citizens are Sunni Muslims. However, the minority Shiite Muslim sect and non-Muslims are free to worship without interference. The government controls content in nearly all Sunni mosques. In March 2009, the Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, who also heads the National Human Rights Commission, rejected several recommendations by the United Nations for improving religious freedom in the UAE, including protections for citizens to convert or change religious beliefs. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.3** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **7.2** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **7.1** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **6.3** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **4.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

The judiciary is not independent, with court rulings subject to review by the political leadership. (Freedom House, 2010a)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

Women remained subject to discrimination in law and in practice ... In October [2010], the Supreme Court upheld a husband's right to "discipline" his wife and children, provided that it left no mark, effectively sanctioning domestic violence. The ruling stated that the action taken must not exceed limits provided for in Islamic law. (Amnesty International, 2011: 337)

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.02** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.99** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.02** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **No**

[T]he Labor Law (No. 8 of 1980) continues to place certain restrictions on women's employment options and rights based on gender stereotypes. (Kirdar, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Restricted**

Article 29 of the constitution guarantees all UAE citizens, men and women, freedom of movement and residence within the limits of law. However, in practice, some restrictions on freedom of movement for both Emirati and foreign women still exist. Women who are citizens may be restricted from leaving the country if they lack permission from their husbands or guardians. According to custom, a man may prevent his wife, children, and adult unmarried daughters from traveling abroad by confiscating their passports, and government institutions will not challenge a husband's right to do so. In addition, the courts have restricted freedom of movement for a small number of women who have left their husbands by ordering them to return to the marital home. (Kirdar, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Restricted**

Women in the UAE are free to make decisions regarding their own medical care except in regard to cosmetic procedures intended to "restore" their virginity, which requires a guardian's permission. However, such permission is not required for procedures related to child birth, such as caesarean sections. (Kirdar, 2010)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0.3** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

United Kingdom

Production rank: 19th — just over 1.5 million barrels per day

The United Kingdom scores highly on all freedom indexes. The status of women as measured by education, family, career, and health issues is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

- 1.1 Freedom status: **Free**
- 1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**
- 1.3 Media freedom: **Free**
- 1.4 Religious freedom: **Free** (Not measured by Marshall, 2008; assumed by author)
- 1.5 Economic freedom: **7.81** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)
- 1.6 Legal system and property rights: **8.1** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)
- 1.7 Property rights: **7.8** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)
- 1.8 Corruption: **7.6** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)
- 1.9 Judicial independence: **6.3** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.03** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

United States

Production rank: 3rd — over 9.1 million barrels per day

The United States scores highly on all freedom indexes. The status of women as measured by education, family, career, and health issues is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **Yes**

1.3 Media freedom: **Free**

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

Religious freedom enjoys substantial statutory protection ... Historically, the United States has afforded great latitude to citizens to worship and express their religious beliefs. (Marshall, 2008: 417)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.96** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **7.5** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **7.9** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **7.1** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **5.0** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.01** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **data not available**

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **data not available**

Venezuela

Production rank: 11th — almost 2.5 million barrels per day

Venezuela scores poorly on electoral democracy, is considered “partly free” in its freedom status, is religiously free, and not free as it concerns the media. Its economic freedom scores are all poor as are the scores on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women is high.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Partly free**

Politically motivated charges were brought against those who opposed government policies. Human rights defenders were attacked and intimidated. Human rights violations by the security forces were reported. Progress in combating violence against women was slow. (Amnesty International, 2011: 350)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

Venezuela is not an electoral democracy. While the act of voting is relatively free and the count is fair, the political opposition is forced to operate under extremely difficult conditions, and the separation of powers is nearly nonexistent. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Although the constitution provides for freedom of the press, the media climate is permeated by intimidation, sometimes including physical attacks, and strong anti-media rhetoric by the government is common. The 2004 Law on Social Responsibility of Radio and Television gives the government the authority to control radio and television content ... In 2009 the government issued new regulations that effectively provided additional opportunities for the cancellation or takeover of private outlets' licenses. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Free**

1.5 Economic freedom: **4.33** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **2.9** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **3.2** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.0** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

1.9 Judicial independence: **1.7** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

“Throwing a judge in prison for doing her job and issuing a decision that upholds fundamental rights protected under both Venezuelan and international law is not something you’d expect in a functioning democracy,” said José Miguel Vivanco, Americas director at Human Rights Watch. “Once again the Chavez government has demonstrated its fundamental disregard for the principle of judicial independence.” (Human Rights Watch, 2010b)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **1.00** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **1.12** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Vietnam

Production rank: 35th — 345,000 barrels per day

Vietnam scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy, media freedom and religious freedom; the country scores middling and moderately better on economic freedom and property rights (on one index but worse on another) but poorly on corruption and judicial independence. The status of women as measured by education is high by most measurements with the exception of paternal versus maternal authority, where Vietnam is poorly rated.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

[In 2009, t]he authorities also displayed a growing intolerance for political dissent, cracking down on democracy activists and critical bloggers. In September, a government ban on public criticism of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] took effect, leading to the closure of the country's only independent think tank. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

Vietnam's Communist Party—soon to hold its own Congress—and its open season against freedom of speech is responsible for its worse than mediocre ranking. (Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 8)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Unfree**

[T]he government has sought to closely restrict all religious activity independent of state control and replace some with parallel groups under government control ... the most violent repression, including imprisonment, harassment, and torture, is experienced by religious believers belonging to certain ethnic groups such as the Hmong, Giay, and Yao ... Better-connected religions such as Catholicism, urban Protestantism, and Buddhism, suffer more sophisticated and hidden methods of repression. These include ... the widespread use of house arrest, police surveillance, intimidation, and prohibitions on travel and communications in order to isolate religious leaders, especially Buddhists, from their followers ... Buddhism, as the most widely practiced religion in Vietnam, remains a special target of repression. (Marshall, 2008: 427–28)

1.5 Economic freedom: **6.15** (10 = most economically free; 1 = least economically free)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **6.0** (Fraser Institute: 10 = strongest; 0 = weakest)

1.7 Property rights: **4.5** (Property Rights Alliance: 10 = strongest; 0 = non-existent)

1.8 Corruption: **2.7** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption and abuse of office are serious problems. (Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **3.9** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

- 2.1 Literacy rate: **0.95** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.95** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.96** (female-to-male ratio)
- 2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)
- 2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes**
- 2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **Yes**
- 2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Yemen

Production rank: 37th — 287,000 barrels per day

Yemen scores poorly on freedom status, electoral democracy, and media freedom, moderately better on religious freedom. On economic matters, rankings are not available; Yemen ranks poorly on corruption. The status of women as measured by every available category is poor, with the exception of career choice and freedom to travel outside the country, both of which are still restricted or subject to a caveat. At least one source notes some positive trends on this latter matter in the last five years; however, child marriage, for example, is still permitted and recently occurred in the case of an eight-year old girl (details at the end of this section). For textual descriptions of the rights of women in Yemen, I rely heavily on analyses of Elham Manea in Kelly and Breslin (2010). At the time of writing, significant demonstrations against the government were regular occurrences.

Civil, political, and economic freedoms

1.1 Freedom status: **Not free**

1.2 Electoral democracy? **No**

1.3 Media freedom: **Not free**

There is an identical situation in Syria ... and Yemen ... where press freedom is fast shrinking away. Arbitrary detentions are still routine, as is the use of torture.
(Reporters Without Borders, 2010: 12)

1.4 Religious freedom: **Partly free**

Yemen's constitution ... declares Islam the official state religion but also provides for freedom of religion ... The government prohibits any open evangelism of Muslims with a view to their conversion ... and forbids non-Muslims from running in elections, although they are allowed to vote ... In recent times, the only visible religious tensions in Yemen have been those between the government and an armed Shiite group called 'Shaba al-Mou'mineen ... Most observers agree that the government's actions against this group were motivated more by politics than by sectarian differences.
(Marshall, 2008: 432–33)

1.5 Economic freedom: **7.3** (2007)

1.6 Legal system and property rights: **data not available** (Fraser Institute)

1.7 Property rights: **data not available** (Property Rights Alliance)

1.8 Corruption: **2.2** (10 = very clean; 1 = highly corrupt)

Corruption is an endemic problem. Despite some recent efforts by the government to fight graft, Yemen lacks most legal safeguards against conflicts of interest.
(Freedom House, 2010a)

1.9 Judicial independence: **data not available** (7 = entirely independent; 1 = heavily influenced)

Civil, political, and economic freedoms specific to women

The past five years have been marked by both positive and negative developments for women's status in Yemen. On the positive side, Yemeni nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and activists have been vigorously advocating for gender equality, fostering awareness of gender-based violence, and demanding a change in Yemeni laws, especially family laws, which are heavily biased against women. The 2008 court case of a 10-year-old girl who demanded a divorce from her adult husband caused a public debate that culminated in the parliament considering a minimum marriage age of 17. Some educational and executive institutions have allowed women to enrol in their ranks for the first time, and the Islamist party Islah undertook internal changes that led to the first election of women to its higher decision-making bodies. However, Yemeni laws still discriminate against women, treating them as inferiors or minors who need perpetual guardianship. (Manea, 2010)

2.1 Literacy rate: **0.54** (female-to-male ratio)

2.2 Enrollment in primary education: **0.83** (female-to-male ratio)

2.3 Enrollment in secondary education: **0.53** (female-to-male ratio)

2.4 Paternal vs maternal authority: **1.00** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

2.5 Legal freedom of career choices? **Yes/caveat**

According to the Labor Law (No. 5 of 1995) and the Civil Service Law (No. 19 of 1991), women have the same right as men to work and occupy public office. Yet the patriarchal nature of Yemeni society often restricts women's freedom to choose their profession. Women's male relatives often interfere with their decisions on such matters, and social norms dictate that certain professions, such as teaching, public administration, and medicine, are more appropriate for a woman ... The government has taken some measures to protect women from discrimination in employment. (Manea, 2010)

2.6 Legal freedom to travel outside country without a male guardian? **Restricted**

Freedom of movement for Yemeni women is restricted. A woman is unable to obtain a personal identity card or passport without the consent of her guardian, who is her closest male relative. This is not based on any valid law but is the customary practice of the authorities. A personal identity card is essential for a woman seeking to enter the workforce or access various state services. In a demonstration of the restrictions on foreign travel, female activists with the [Sisters' Arab Forum for Human Rights] were denied their passports at the Migration and Passport Department on June 1, 2008, because they were not accompanied by their male guardians. (Manea, 2010)

2.7 Freedom to have surgery without a male guardian's permission? **No**

On a legal and official level, women must get permission from their husbands before they can undergo an operation on the uterus—including a hysterectomy or a caesarean section—or obtain contraceptives. (Manea, 2010)

2.8 Female genital mutilation: **0** (0 = best score; 1 = worst score)

Other: child marriage permitted

Article 15 of the amended Personal Status Law of 1999 permits child marriage if there is “an interest” in such a union. The law is ambiguous in its wording and does not indicate what it means by an “interest,” nor does it specify whose interest should be taken into account. In practice, both girls and boys are subjected to child marriage, especially in rural areas ... However, due to economic factors, girls are more likely to be married off to adult men in exchange for dowries. The recent case of Nojoud, an eight-year-old girl who was married to a 32-year-old neighbor against her will, caused local as well as international uproar and illustrates the limited extent to which a child can negotiate her full and equal marriage rights. Although Nojoud repeatedly rejected the marriage, she was forced to consent under pressure. Her husband immediately consummated the marriage. Traumatized by this sexual abuse, the child went to a court alone in 2008 and, at the age of 10, demanded a divorce. Thanks to the combined support of her lawyer, Shatha Nasr, and the judge handling her case, Mohammed al-Kadi, Nojoud was able to get an annulment. (Manea, 2010)

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