# More Harm than Good?: The Differential Effects of Economic Sanctions on Women's Rights

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Indicator (source)	Women's Rights Indicator, Defined	Findings
POLITICAL	<ul> <li>Existence of laws enshrining</li> </ul>	• Small effect, decrease in political rights in poorest
	internationally recognized rights such as	countries (Drury and Peksen 2014).
(Cingranelli and	right to vote, hold political office, join	
Richards, CIRI	political parties, petition government	
Human Rights Data	officials.	
Project 2010)	<ul> <li>Effectiveness in enforcing said laws.</li> </ul>	





		0
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(Cingranelli and	• Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized rights such as right to vote, hold political office, join	Small effect, <i>decrease</i> in political rights in poorest countries (Drury and Peksen 2014).
Richards, CIRI Human Rights Data	political parties, petition government officials.	
Project 2010)	Effectiveness in enforcing said laws.	
ECONOMIC	<ul> <li>Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized rights such as</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Increase in economic rights when sanctioned by US (Gutmann et al, 2020) as women enter labor market</li> </ul>
(Cingranelli and Richards, CIRI	equal pay for equal work, employment without consent of male relative, equality	• <i>Decrease</i> in labor force participation rate (compared with men). (Drury and Peksen 2014)
Human Rights Data Project 2010)	in hiring and promotion practices, non- discrimination by employers.	<ul> <li>Decrease in economic rights: In poor target states (countries with GDP per capita lower than \$3,000),</li> </ul>
110,000 2010)	• Effectiveness in enforcing said laws.	increase in predicted probability of women's economic rights violations (compared with those of men). (Drury and Peksen 2014)



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(Cingranelli and Richards, CIRI Human Rights Data Project 2010)	Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized rights such as right to vote, hold political office, join political parties, petition government officials.  Effectiveness in enforcing said laws.	Small effect, decrease in political rights in poorest countries (Drury and Peksen 2014).
(Cingranelli and Richards, CIRI Human Rights Data Project 2010)	Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized rights such as equal pay for equal work, employment without consent of male relative, equality in hiring and promotion practices, non-discrimination by employers.  Effectiveness in enforcing said laws.	<ul> <li>Increase in economic rights when sanctioned by US (Gutmann et al, 2020) as women enter labor market</li> <li>Decrease in labor force participation rate (compared with men). (Drury and Peksen 2014)</li> <li>Decrease in economic rights: In poor target states (countries with GDP per capita lower than \$3,000), increase in predicted probability of women's economic rights violations (compared with those of men). (Drury and Peksen 2014)</li> </ul>
(Cingranelli and Richards, CIRI Human Rights Data Project 2010)	Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized rights for women such as equal inheritance, travel, obtain passport, equal marriage, divorce initiation, participation in community activities and education.  Enforcement of such laws	<ul> <li>Decrease in social rights. In poor target states (countries with GDP per capita lower than \$3,000), increase in predicted probability of women's social rights violations (compared with those of men) (Drury and Peksen 2014)</li> </ul>





Indicator (source) Women's Rights Indicator,	Defined Findings
<ul> <li>Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized right (Cingranelli and Richards, CIRI Human Rights Data</li> <li>Project 2010)</li> <li>Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized right right to vote, hold political off political parties, petition gove officials.</li> <li>Effectiveness in enforcing said</li> </ul>	ce, join rnment
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<ul> <li>Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized right women such as equal inheritation passport, equal marriage initiation, participation in compact 2010)</li> <li>Existence of laws enshrining internationally recognized right women such as equal inheritation passport, equal marriage initiation, participation in compactivities and education.</li> <li>Enforcement of such laws</li> </ul>	predicted probability of women's social rights violations (compared with those of men) (Drury and Peksen 2014)
• Life expectancy and its geno (US Census Data)	UN sanctions and US sanctions <i>reduce</i> life expectancy for both men and women. However, women are more affected by sanctions (women's life expectancy <i>decreases</i> more than that

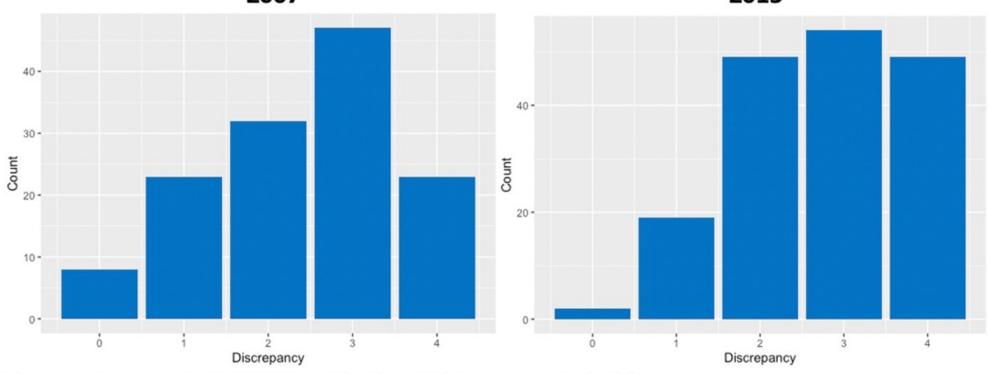




of men). (Gutmann et al 2021).

### Problem: Construct Validity of Dependent Variables

Figure 1: Discrepancy between National Law and Practice Concerning Women 2007



0=Laws are a) consonant with CEDAW and b) enforced (high government priority)

1=Laws are a) consonant with CEDAW and b) mostly enforced (government proactively challenges harmful norms)

2=Laws are a) consonant with CEDAW and b) somewhat enforced (government may or may not challenge harmful norms)

3= Laws are a) somewhat consonant with CEDAW and b) occasionally enforced (low government priority)

4= Laws are a) generally not consonant with CEDAW b) not enforced by government

Source: WomanStats Multivariate Scale #2





## Research Question

What is the impact of economic sanctions on various aspects of women's rights in the targeted country?





## Societal Rights: Legal Rights

 The existence of policies and laws available to women in the target country.





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- Total of 65 indicators, including all political, economic, and social rights covered in the Cingranelli and Richards database.
- (Daniel Hill and Sabrina Karim, forthcoming)





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- Total of 65 indicators, including all political, economic, and social rights covered in the Cingranelli and Richards database.
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- H1: The presence of sanctions in a given year will correspond with a DECREASE in women's legal rights in the following year.





## Societal Rights: Inclusion in Society

• The extent to which women are visible in public spaces.





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- 35 indicators, including graduation rate, landowner ratio, firms with female ownership, female political leaders. (Daniel Hill and Sabrina Karim)
- 3 parts: political, educational, economic





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- The extent to which women are visible in public spaces.
- 35 indicators, including graduation rate, landowner ratio, firms with female ownership, female political leaders. (Daniel Hill and Sabrina Karim)
- 3 parts: political, educational, economic
- H2: The presence of sanctions in a given year will correspond with NO CHANGE in women's inclusion in the following year.





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• Safety from harms like hunger, disease, violence and repression; and freedom to participate in society, make household decisions, and access reproductive health and rights.





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- Safety from harms like hunger, disease, violence and repression; and freedom to participate in society, make household decisions, and access reproductive health and rights.
- 45 indicators, including life expectancy ratio, fertility rate, contraceptive prevalence, household decision making, marital rape scale, murder scale.
- (Daniel Hill and Sabrina Karim, forthcoming)
- H3: The presence of sanctions in a given year will correspond with a DECREASE in women's security in the following year.





 Global Sanctions Database, years covered 1960-2019 (Country-year analysis)





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  - Three indicators for societal rights (forthcoming Hill-Karim gender scales)
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  - Binary variable: Sanction present (1, 0) for each year





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  - Binary variable: Sanction present (1, 0) for each year
- Controls (for each target country):
  - GDP (logged)
  - Governance capacity (Absolute Political Extraction measure from Relative Political Capacity dataset)
  - Regime type (Polity V score)
  - Trade openness (total imports+exports/GDP)
  - Multilateral sanctions (number of sanctioners imposing sanctions on the target country in a given year)
  - Site of conflict (UCDP/PRIO dataset)





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  - Site of conflict (UCDP/PRIO dataset)
- Methods: OLS regression with country-year fixed effects





## Results: Societal Rights

#### As predicted:

- Decrease in legal rights, decrease in security (indicated by increase in combined harm and indirect harm)
- Null results for overall inclusion in society; Increase in political inclusion.

Depend	ent	vario	ıbl	e:

	Legal Rights	Inclusion	Political Inclusion	Combined Harm	Indirect Harm	Direct Harm
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Sanctions	-0.063***	0.023	0.039***	0.099***	0.109***	-0.022***
	(0.010)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.007)
Conflicts	-0.064***	0.003	-0.095***	0.052***	0.058***	-0.048***
	(0.016)	(0.031)	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.009)
GDP (log)	0.045***	-0.078***	-0.018	0.025**	$0.021^{*}$	0.055***
	(0.010)	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Trade Openness	0.0002	-0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	0.002***	0.0001
	(0.0002)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)
Polity	0.034***	0.008***	-0.013***	-0.014***	-0.014***	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
APE	0.436***	0.581***	0.182***	-0.726***	-0.758***	$0.091^{**}$
	(0.050)	(0.099)	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.044)
No. of Sanctioners	-0.001***	0.0004	-0.002***	-0.001***	-0.001***	0.00005
	(0.0001)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)
Observations	6,565	5,647	6,428	6,570	6,570	1,468
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.207	0.018	0.040	0.067	0.072	0.054
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.180	-0.016	0.007	0.035	0.040	-0.067
F Statistic	236.483*** (df = 7; 6347)	13.970*** (df = 7; 5457)	37.354*** (df = 7; 6210)	65.497*** (df = 7; 6351)	70.315*** (df = 7; 6351)	10.661*** (df = 7; 1300)

Note:

\*p\*\*\*p\*\*\*\*p<0.01





# Inclusion results: 5-year lag

- Overall inclusion decreases
- Political Inclusion increases

What drives these conflicting results?

#### Dependent variable:

	Inclusion	Pol. Inclusion
	(1)	(2)
Sanctions	-0.041**	0.033***
	(0.019)	(0.012)
Conflict	0.036	-0.095***
	(0.030)	(0.020)
log(GDP)	-0.032	0.003
	(0.020)	(0.013)
Trade Open.	-0.002***	0.001***
	(0.0004)	(0.0003)
Polity	0.005**	-0.014***
	(0.002)	(0.001)
APE	0.249**	0.059
	(0.103)	(0.067)
No. of Sanctioners	0.001***	-0.002***
	(0.0003)	(0.0002)
Observations	5,161	5,988
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.012	0.048
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	-0.024	0.013
F Statistic	$8.866^{***} (df = 7; 4975)$	$41.713^{***}$ (df = 7; 5773)
Notes		**********

*Note:* \*p\*\*p\*\*\*p<0.01





 Economic Inclusion: Decrease. Women are pushed to seek employment, though in less secure jobs





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  - World Bank/ILO data (1990-2019)
    - Labor force participation
      - People who are currently employed or actively looking for work divided by all working age population
    - Wage Worker
      - Workers who have formal contracts and whose pays are not based on units sold or some other similar arrangement.





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    - Unemployment
      - Those who are actively seeking jobs and are unable to get them
  - Educational Inclusion: Decrease. Girls are pulled out of school due to economic pressure and/or lack of funding due to sanctions





## Results: Economic Inclusion (5-year lag)

TABLE 7 ECONOMIC INCLUSION INDICATORS (5-YEAR LAG)

Do	nond	ont	varia	hlo.
De	penu	$e_{ni}$	varia	vie.

	Labor Force Participation Female	Labor Force Participation Male	Vulnerable Employment Female	Vulnerable Employment Male	Unemployment Female	Unemployment Male	Wage Worker Female	Wage Worker Male
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sanctions	-0.186***	-0.312***	0.536***	0.641***	0.004	0.204	-0.600***	-0.561***
	(0.070)	(0.109)	(0.180)	(0.166)	(0.141)	(0.125)	(0.180)	(0.166)
Conflict	-0.096	-0.139	-0.196	0.388*	0.173	0.271*	0.311	-0.364*
	(0.092)	(0.143)	(0.234)	(0.216)	(0.183)	(0.163)	(0.234)	(0.216)
GDP (log)	-0.805***	-0.657***	-1.339***	-2.219***	-1.363***	-1.211***	1.144***	1.988***
	(0.091)	(0.141)	(0.233)	(0.215)	(0.182)	(0.162)	(0.232)	(0.214)
Trade Openness	0.001	0.006***	-0.016***	-0.020***	0.001	-0.0002	0.013***	0.017***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Polity	-0.050***	-0.065***	-0.118***	-0.120***	0.085***	0.027	0.141***	0.132***
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.022)
APE	-0.667	0.676	-4.266***	-8.401***	2.599***	2.170***	4.863***	9.673***
	(0.409)	(0.636)	(1.038)	(0.958)	(0.811)	(0.724)	(1.037)	(0.957)
No. of Sanctioners	-0.001	0.003**	0.003	0.006***	0.004***	0.001	-0.001	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	3,385	3,385	3,272	3,272	3,272	3,272	3,272	3,272
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.039	0.021	0.033	0.087	0.031	0.023	0.034	0.086
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	-0.016	-0.035	-0.023	0.033	-0.026	-0.035	-0.023	0.032
F Statistic	18.672*** (df = 7; 3200)	9.813*** (df = 7; 3200)	15.282*** (df = 7; 3089)	41.855*** (df = 7; 3089)	14.000*** (df = 7; 3089)	$10.281^{***}$ (df = 7; 3089)	15.471*** (df = 7; 3089)	41.385*** (df = 7; 3089)

*\*p\*\*p\*\*\*p*<0.01





## Health Rights: Life Expectancy

 Life expectancy at birth: The number of years a newborn would live if the mortality patterns in existence at the time of birth prevailed throughout the infant's life.





## Health Rights: Life Expectancy

 Life expectancy at birth: The number of years a newborn would live if the mortality patterns in existence at the time of birth prevailed throughout the infant's life.

 H4: Presence of sanctions in a given year will correspond with a DECREASE in the life expectancy in the following year. Furthermore, this decrease will be greater for women than for men.





## Health Rights:

## Maternal Mortality & Adolescent Fertility

- Maternal mortality ratio (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)
- Adolescent fertility rate (number of births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)





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## Maternal Mortality & Adolescent Fertility

- Maternal mortality ratio (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)
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- Access to health clinics, medical professionals, pre- and postnatal care, contraceptives, sexual and reproductive health education.





## Health Rights:

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- Maternal mortality ratio (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)
- Adolescent fertility rate (number of births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)
- Access to health clinics, medical professionals, pre- and postnatal care, contraceptives, sexual and reproductive health education.
- H5: Presence of sanctions in a given year will correspond with an INCREASE in the maternal mortality ratio and in the adolescent fertility rate in the following year.





## Results: Health Rights

#### As predicted:

- Decrease in LE
   at birth for
   both females
   and males.
   Larger
   decrease for
   females
- Decrease in MMR and adolescent fertility

#### Dependent variable:

	Life Expectancy at Birth Female	Life Expectancy at Birth Male	Maternal Mortality Ratio	Adolescent Fertility Rate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sanctions	-0.366***	-0.174**	10.291**	1.128**
	(0.089)	(0.085)	(4.268)	(0.482)
Conflicts	-0.115	-0.388***	46.403***	1.550*
	(0.147)	(0.141)	(5.798)	(0.798)
GDP (log)	0.651***	0.621***	-11.271*	4.298***
	(0.090)	(0.087)	(5.845)	(0.490)
Trade Openness	0.004**	0.009***	0.056	0.127***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.080)	(0.010)
Polity	0.137***	0.099***	-2.797***	0.107**
	(0.009)	(800.0)	(0.680)	(0.048)
APE	19.275***	17.869***	-387.098***	-23.840***
	(0.466)	(0.446)	(27.082)	(2.524)
No. of Sanctioners	0.001	0.003**	0.139***	-0.020***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.044)	(0.006)
Observations	6,598	6,598	2,643	6,598
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.249	0.229	0.135	0.057
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.224	0.202	0.073	0.025
F Statistic	302.763*** (df = 7; 6378)	270.368*** (df = 7; 6378)	54.928*** (df = 7; 2465)	55.567*** (df = 7; 6378)
17 /				* ** *** -0.01

Note:

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- No one standard measure for women's rights
  - Multiple societal rights and health rights
  - Some societal rights improve at the cost of health rights





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- Inclusion puzzle: Political/Economic/Educational
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- Women's experiences differ from that of men
  - Women's health outcomes are worse





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  - Political inclusion increases; economic inclusion decreases as women are forced into undesirable jobs
- Women's experiences differ from that of men
  - Women's health outcomes are worse
- Sanctions are not benign form of statecraft; particularly for vulnerable populations
  - Exacerbate gender inequality and poor health outcomes



