Cross-National Variation in Women's Rights: Europe and Civil War

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I found ataraxy to ride the wave of scholarly creativity, channel its crests and conquer its troughs to rise triumphant and ever more motivated to re-invent the wheel and contribute to paradigm shifts and push the quest for knowledge forward.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation evaluates the impact of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) on Women's Social, Economic and Political rights in post-Conflict countries. In order to evaluate the relationship with sound causal logic, I set out to study multiple relationships to understand the impact of the variables in question. Looking at the nature of the relationship required an evaluation in 3 ways, which culminated in the writing of 4 separate chapters. Chapter 2 demonstrates the importance of understanding Women's Rights and their role in economic development and peace building. This places women's rights in context to set the scene for the rest of the dissertation as I evaluated different women's rights as the dependent variable throughout. Chapter 3 tests the impact of FDI on women's social and economic rights, where the bilateral flow of FDI is the main independent variable in question. The results show that the bilateral context of FDI decreases women's economic rights directly and social rights indirectly for non-OECD countries. Chapter 4 lays the context for women's political rights in post-conflict countries. This relationship examines the impact of civil war on women's political rights, which subsequently spills over to gaining more rights in the social and economic spheres. The results show that civil war is a window of opportunity for women to gain their political rights, where this is evident after the second election period. Finally, Chapter 5 is an amalgamation of both chapters 3 and 4 to evaluate the main question of the dissertation. The impact of the bilateral context of FDI flow on women's social, economic, and political rights in post conflict countries is studied. The results of Chapter 5 show that FDI deteriorates women's political rights post conflict. As for women's social and economic rights, the results were insignificant.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IWSA	International Women Suffrage Alliance
ICW	International Council of Women
WWI	First World War
LN	League of Nations
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
WID	Women in Development
GAD	Gender and Development
GEI	Gender Equity Index
GGGI	Global Gender Gap Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GDI	Gender Development Index
HDI	Human Development Index
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
GII	Gender Inequality Index
CIRI	Cingranelli - Richards
WOSOC	Women's Social Rights
WOPOL	Women's Political Rights
WECON	Women's Economic Rights
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
DREAMS	Determined, Resilient, and Empowered
CTT	Climb to the Top
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
MNCs	Multinational Corporation
RTB	Race to the Bottom
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
MNEs	Multinational Enterprises
OSHA	Occupational Safety and Health Administration
ILO	International Labor Organization
OHS	Occupational Health and Safety
SRC	Sexual Reproductive Health
IIEAD	International Institute for Environment and Development
UN	United Nations
EPZs	Export-Oriented Zones
CIRI	Cingranelli - Richards
GDI	Gender Development Index
HDI	Human Development Index
WEF	World Economic Forum
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UCPD	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
2SLS	Two-Stage Least-Squares
Oprobit	Ordered Probit
Gologit	Generalized Ordered Logistic
M&A	Mergers and Acquisitions

IR	International Relations
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
WPDC	Wajir Peace and Development Committee
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
WIPNET	Women in Peace Building Network
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
NCA	Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
COW	Correlates of War
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CEE	Central Eastern European
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
GLS	Generalized Least Squares

Chapter 1

Introduction

Delving into the topic of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and women's rights has been fuelled by the ample anecdotal evidence of human rights abuses stemming from Multinational Corporations (MNCs); more commonly seen through news coverage of protests, clashes related to wages, factories burning down, and the list goes on. This led me to my first enquiry, the focus of Chapter 3, which is to corroborate the negative effects of FDI shown by anecdotal evidence with large N qualitative analysis and contribute to the debate in the literature on political economy and human rights. Studying FDI in literature is both a great starting point and a tool for understanding human development and developing methods to raise human rights standards across the world. My focus here however is to dig deeper into FDI and analyse its impact on women's rights.

Through my research it was evident that FDI is not explored in its multiple facets and broken down into its subtypes to be understood further. Where the amount of inflow shows that the majority in frequency of FDI transactions in brownfield investments go from affluent developed countries to poor developing countries (UNCTAD). This would explain the anecdotal evidence on poor human rights standards because the stories highlight abuses in factories in poor countries. Whereas the higher amount of investment (as a dollar amount) has been going from affluent developed countries to other developed countries as greenfield investments. This in turn explains the results of studies that claim FDI has a positive impact on human rights. Digging deeper into the relationship from this angle, I was further motivated to understand the role of FDI on women's rights in post conflict countries, given that developing countries are more prone to civil wars due to governance regimes and increased social grievances. To get to this final relationship, which is the major contribution of this dissertation, I had to explore the impact of civil war on women's political rights. I wanted to understand the interaction between civil war and FDI, since the former signifies change in institutions after its conclusion and the latter is a tool for sustainable institutions

and economic prosperity, which supposedly should prolong peace. I chose civil wars because they tend to end with some form of political reforms, in other words tangible and conscious decisions in post-conflict situations. These reforms, either directly or indirectly, influence both human capital and human rights in a country and set the ground rules for advanced or stunted growth and progress.

The motivation to delve into the question of the impact of the bilateral FDI flow on women's rights in post conflict countries is charged on multiple levels. Ample literature states the potential of civil conflict or war as being a conduit towards women's political empowerment and would spill over to the rest of their rights in the inflicted country. This literature holds true as many scholars have demonstrated how women's political representation has increased post conflict as well as the role the play during conflict and in peacebuilding (Campbell 2005; Darden, Henshaw and Szekely 2019; Heyzer, 2005; Marshall, 2000; Melinda, 2008; Mohan 2011; Najjar, 1992; Nduwimana, 2006; Norville, 2011; Pant & Standing 2011; Reif, 1986). These studies would hold true if only we see the developing countries living through prolonged peace periods with observed women progress and formal empowerment in practice. Legislation post conflict, tend to be more gender-inclusive, however looking at the country's long-term trajectory, women being in high decision-making roles, in powerful economic positions and those socially free to express their feminine presence without the pressures of patriarchy, is absent. This means that the formal efforts in legislation post conflict do not translate into enforceable institutional mechanisms to impose it in practice to change masculine institutions and mindsets. There are of course odd cases like Rwanda due to a huge demographic shift in population and Liberia's election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first female president due to the strong efforts of the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) movement. Expecting women to rise to power and change the face of policy for the social and economic spheres in a country post war cannot be stated as a general trend to be expected in

practice. This motivated me to look at the discrepancies between theory and practice. There are other factors in play that scholars need to consider in realizing such empowerment for women. One factor that I looked at is FDI. At the conclusion of a conflict, having a foreign intervention such as FDI impacts the peace process and expectations from the governing body and their constituents. Any foreign intervention has conditions that the host country must comply with. As war requires capital to commence, its structural and institutional damage requires high capital to rebuild. Hence, governments tend to be desperate and efforts to attract FDI or aid can be approved with unfavorable conditions for the host country (Biglaiser and DeRouen, 2005; Xing and Kolstad, 2002).

FDI for the rich is different than that directed to the poor. Developing countries tend to receive the more extractive types of FDI, where human rights standards are not a goal for those foreign companies. FDI to developing countries is usually attractive for those who have lenient regulation, tax benefits and high profits with quicker turnover (Clark, 2000; Voget, 2015). Profitability is what determines whether MNC decision makers invest in foreign markets. Businesses exist to turn a profit therefore financial success is paramount. Developing countries are called as such, due to their infancy with respect to their economic environment as compared to global markets. Such countries tend to have a disadvantage when attempting to compete on the global scale; seeking help is sometimes the best option. Developing countries do this by establishing business friendly environments to help attract foreign firms who bring a new level of expertise in research and development, managing global supply chains and establishing industry-wide best practices throughout their scope of operations. These initiatives have evolved over the years, they can be as simple as offering free land for specific business activities to the creation of tax-free havens and free trade zones. Some countries also compete to attract MNCs, especially those of extra-regional origins, which would accelerate the growth of the host country's global reach. Subsidies are

not a one-stop-shop solution for host countries to emerge onto the global market (Albornoz et al., 2007). Host countries need to create long-standing and sustainable plans that help increase the overall welfare of their sates, such plans should continue to bear fruit even after the exit of MNCs. Contrary to expectation, MNCs start looking for the most attractive host country in terms of lenient legislation, ease of getting permits, and increased feasibility of routing money in and out of the country without repercussions or large fees.

First, FDI directed towards extractive sectors such as mining and oil, is usually location-bound, meaning the impact is only focused on the location where the investment is in and for the period of the contract only (Onwudiwe, 2011). The purpose for this type of FDI is purely extractive without a sustainable long-term plan for any growth within the host economy itself. This type of FDI is associated with higher human rights abuses (Vadlammanati et al., 2020). This is a concern of mine, because the majority of extractive FDI is concentrated in developing countries that suffer from low to no women's rights (Onwudiwe, 2011). Scholars have also studied the various determinants of FDI in developing countries, by drawing upon more gender focused factors. One study for instance draws a strong correlation between higher adolescent fertility rates and FDI inflows. The study explores the lower levels of bargaining power young mothers have in the workforce and highlights how MNCs are attracted to these markets, due to the ample access of low wage labor (Güvercin, 2019).

Second, there has been ample literature on the notion of self-interest, economic policy and political behavior within governments and corporations alike, where the costs and benefits of a certain action is weighed before decision-makers act upon a decision and this usually stems from pure self-interest (Downs 1957; Kramer 1971; Lipset 1960). Governments constitute actors working together towards remaining in power. This power comes in many facets within the different regime types. With Authoritarian regimes, where most of the extractive and exploitative FDI lies, the ruling coalition is usually concentrated with a few whose main

concern is maintaining the status quo to prolong their reign; human rights and collective development is not entirely an item on their agenda.

The second connection to the primary question leads me to discuss the Selectorate theory to explain my stance towards women not benefiting from FDI when conflict is in the picture. This points to a survival strategy that leaders gravitate towards, where their primary concern is to stay in power and finding ways to prolong this power. Those in power utilize private goods to fulfil alliances to sustain their power. This means that any motivation for reforms post-conflict tend to be towards the goal of maintaining the status quo and any improvement if existing would be as a by-product and would only occur as long as it is benefiting the small winning coalition (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2004). Leaders would produce 'good' policy that sustain a short period of time for a certain desired outcome and enforce 'bad' policy to stay in power for decades (Kennedy, 2009). The policy itself can be beneficial or harmful to the collective. The type of policy does not really matter, rather the motivation behind it is first and foremost to stay in power. Hence for this reason and many other theories on self-interest and authoritarian regime governance, I hypothesize that after a war, the way the decision to utilize FDI, the focus on FDI sectors, and the spill over effect to human development and institutional progress would be focused on governance longevity for the small winning coalition rather than for women's rights.

Primary Questions and Dissertation Structure

Does the bilateral FDI improve women's rights in post conflict countries? This is the primary question of the dissertation, which is answered in Chapter 5. I will further explain the structure of the dissertation by introducing the last substantive chapter first and continuing in a descending manner to demonstrate how I arrived at my primary question. Chapter 5 tests out the impact of the bilateral context of FDI on women's social, political, and economic

rights in post conflict countries. This chapter includes all OECD and non-OECD countries and attempts to provide a more generalizable argument for the negative impact on women's rights provided by the interaction between FDI and civil war. The scope is limited to the lesser period of the 2 substantive chapters since it combines both approaches together to produce the methods of this final chapter, which is from 1990-2011.

Chapter 4 has several questions: does civil war provide a window of opportunity for women's political empowerment? If so, then when is it felt? And finally, as a tool for political empowerment, is the adoption of a quota system influenced by post-conflict reform? The latter is essential to answer, because it is not enough to establish a relationship that shows a negative/positive impact from civil war to women's political rights, but it is imperative to understand why. Is the adoption of a quota system a factor required for women political empowerment? This will also show the reason behind the need to empower women post-conflict. Is it due to damaged institutions and a real paradigm shift in governance? Or is it more of a necessity to satisfy new legislation imposed on the citizens for a myriad of factors that could be explored beyond this dissertation? This chapter gives a better understanding on the impact of civil war when interacted with another factor to test the impact of FDI on women's rights in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3 provides the final piece of the puzzle that would aid in answering the main question of Chapter 5. There is one main question in this chapter. I set to explore what is the impact of the bilateral context of FDI on women's social and economic rights? The impact of FDI on human rights standards and human development in the host country has been substantially argued yielding mixed results with viable opposing stances. This chapter adds to the argument of the Race to the Bottom by testing out the impact of FDI in its bilateral context. Looking at the origin country's women's rights standards and comparing them to how those standards have fared in the host country due to the investment, is a more focused

argument to parse out the influence of the large scope of FDI as a measure that yields multiple interpretations. Chapter 3 contributes to understanding the bilateral context of FDI in order to interpret the results of Chapter 5 more accurately knowing prior the kind of impact FDI has on women's social and economic rights in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2 provides a general overview of women's rights, their role during conflict and their participation in peacebuilding. I discuss further the effects of economic growth on women's rights. This section provides a rationale for looking at the relationship between FDI and women's social and economic rights in Chapter 3. I also provide a discussion on the effects of war on women's rights, which provides the rationale for examining the relationship between civil war and women's political rights examined in Chapter 4.

Europe as a continent, is referenced throughout the dissertation as the benchmark for women's rights evolution and FDI. The reason for this stems from the need to provide a reference point where the case of women's rights and FDI has been observed and recorded for decades and centuries. This allows for more accurate observations and the claims I make can be so confidently, due to the information and data obtained from and by a reliable region that FDI activity and women's rights historical evolution has existed historically with substantial literature and case studies easily accessible. Women's rights movements through the 2 world wars as well as the suffrage movement which sparked to the rest of the world, largely came from Europe. Hence, using Europe as the base of contention to rely on is the motive for utilizing Europe throughout the dissertation.

Finally, the last chapter provides a conclusion to the dissertation. Chapter 6 is an overview of the main results and contributions of the preceding chapters. It also provides lessons learned and recommendations by interpreting the results to what it means in the real world. Every research is intended to enhance our world view through more informed decision-making. Hence, I attempt to not only contribute to the current literature but to also

give insights for better governance and impactful policy recommendations for host countries, investor countries, multinational corporations, women, and international organizations such as the United Nations in their role for setting legislation for human rights protections and programs enhancing women's role in society.

Principal Findings

The chapters combined point at one main statement of finding, which is that the theoretical does not necessarily corroborate real-world applications. Chapter 5: The Impact of FDI on Women's Rights in Post Conflict Countries: The European Case, voids that positive impact civil war has on women's political rights as noted in Chapter 4. It also demonstrates that war might provide a window of opportunity for women's role in the political sphere, but the motivation for FDI either from an MNC seeking short term profits or the leadership of the host country prioritizing its survival, overshadows the benefits of civil conflict for women. This is further demonstrated by introducing the case of post-soviet countries and how Chinese-owned MNCs were brought as a stimulus to revitalize the economy and re-build its infrastructure, negatively contributed to women's economic, political and social opportunity to benefit in the post-conflict environment.

Chapter 4: The Impact of Civil War on Women's Political Rights, demonstrates that civil war indeed provides opportunity for women to take charge of their lives and play an active role in society within the political sphere. This opportunity is only realized after the second election period, which could be attributed to the fact that gender-inclusive legislation post-war take time to realize within society. The percentage of women's representation in the legislature whether in the lower or single house increases after the second election period. This means that women's participation during the war and in post-conflict peace building might be influencing the push towards more formal participation in society long-term. Moreover, it is important to highlight a substantive finding of this chapter, which is the role

civil conflict had on the adoption of quota systems within the inflicted country. Unlike the majority of the literature, this chapter shows that civil conflict does not influence the adoption of quota system and that the increased women's political participation is not necessarily aided by the existence of a quota system. On the contrary, civil war positively impacts women's political representation regardless of the existence of a quota system in the country. This chapter is substantive because it has the largest scope, which provides a longer period of study for better generalizability. This period is from 1960-2018, longer than most literature looking at this subject.

Chapter 3: Cross-national Variation in Women's Social and Economic Rights: The Impact of FDI, shows that the bilateral context of FDI, demonstrate that the Climb to the Top (CTT) argument does not necessarily hold true when FDI is examined in its bilateral context looking at how the origin country impacts the host country's women's rights standards. On the contrary, the CTT argument is countered by further evidence of FDI deteriorating women's economic rights for non-OECD countries and negatively impacting women's social rights indirectly; further adding to the RTB argument, which is my stance in the chapter. Another finding, which is also a lesson learned regarding the data and methodology, is that a larger scope period is definitely needed to further expand the scope of contention and provide more reliable and generalizable data, which was largely limited by the choice of women's rights variable obtained from the Cingranelli-Richards human rights database. This database provides a simple interpretation to women's rights and is easily accessible, but the data only starts at 1990 and ends in 2011. A more recent dataset for women's rights is important.

The approach taken in the dissertation provides a great roadmap in the causal procession to arriving at the main question tackled in Chapter 5. This approach provides a deeper understanding of each of the three major variables: women's rights, civil war, and FDI and their interaction with one another. Each chapter delves in detail on the impact of the

independent variables on the main dependent variable, which is women's rights in its political, social, and economic dimensions.

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Chapter 2

The Development of Women's Rights – European Origins and Global Spread

Abstract

Understanding the evolution and historical precedence of women's rights within the suffrage movement and post the world wars paves the way to more research on accurately evaluating the impact and progress of those rights on economies, leadership and development. I set out a historical account of women's rights evolution in Europe and its spillover to the rest of the world. This chapter lays the ground to a better understanding of the different types of rights and how to accurately measure those rights as set by previous literature and measurement metrics. Based on the chapter's evaluation, I chose the Cingranelli - Richards human rights dataset for its simplicity and ease of access.

The Effect of Economic Growth on Women's Rights

This research echoes the words of Kofi Annan; the former United Nations secretary-general who stated that there is no tool for development that is more effective than women's empowerment (Porter, 2013). Promoting the rights of women promotes family decisions at the micro-level (Mikkola, 2005). It is significant to look at what transpires at the micro-level to understand the significance of granting and increasing women human rights at the macro level. At these micro-levels, the economic empowerment of women enhances the status of the family. This was evident by a natural experiment conducted by the UK Medical Research Council in the late '70s where the government shifted child allowances from husbands to wives. There was a significant change in supply from men's clothing to children's and women's clothing as a repercussion, leading to the growth of the retail industry observable to date (Craig et al. 2017). The introduction of FDI into host country economics by way of MNCs not only creates opportunities for women but also helps establish better work environments across the board. Studies have shown that an increase of FDI and the enhancement of women's economic autonomy go hand in hand. These jobs created by MNCs generally provide more roles for women, with better working conditions and higher wages

than what exists pre-FDI in domestic markets (Lee and Shin, 2020). The positive spill over effects is a factor in understanding the relationship between FDI and women's economic autonomy. In short, better wages and working conditions, leads to better standards of living and access to platforms for establishing gender equality. This in turn influences the advancement of women in the socio-economic sphere.

Also, the promotion of women's human rights has increased the number of women in the labor force; - notwithstanding the wage gap and quality of jobs available - the high involvement of women in the national workforce resulted in overall economic development (Morrisson and Jütting, 2005). Countries like Sweden and Finland have actively enhanced the rights of women, with women holding about a third of ministerial positions, which is observable in the economy in terms of high yields in their economic growth and lower observed social grievances (Potter, 2014). These micro-level changes and their positive outcomes are not limited to developed countries. Kenya and Ethiopia for instance are among the fastest-growing economies in Africa, which have been actively promoting women's rights, demonstrating that women's rights and development go hand in hand (Mikkola, 2005).

Women's role in economic growth extends not only from the expansion of formal markets but the establishment of stable informal markets as well. Women are a source of labor and talent that remains underutilized. Despite the challenges encountered by women in small businesses in developing countries, their effort extends the family's lifeline as well as a foundation of networked economy for the generations in the future. Scholars have argued that women are more patient investors compared to men who increase their returns, and they are more open to seeking advice on investments (Jawahar et al., 2016). Women's empowerment over time has led to the global development of innovative ways of advancing gender empowerment and equality, accelerating the vision 2030 agenda of building momentum for implementation of the new United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (IFAD, 2016).

For instance, development of the International Women's Day 2019 with the theme "Think equal, build smart, innovate for change" is one of the milestones achieved by the improvement of women's human rights, where women now have a platform to be heard for constant improvements. Although women's opportunities still lag in the 21st century behind men's worldwide, the historic and current role played by women in the developing communities is indisputable. Therefore, empowerment of women to access leadership positions and other opportunities such as property ownership can accelerate the growth of economies for the current and future generations (Gran, 2019). The Millennium Development Goals by the UN have recognized the importance of empowering women by establishing a connection between the vitality of gender equality and the goals of development. Apart from children, women are among the groups singled out in the UN Development Goals for special attention. Due to the reproductive burden of women, their role is acknowledged in the goal #5 of the UN Development Goals on maternal mortality, which requires reduction of mortality rates and enhancement of maternal health (Kabeer, 2005). This is based on the acknowledgment that women experience discrimination impacting their chances to prosper as active members of society.

The under-utilization of women's labor and talent is one of the factors that have derailed economic growth in developing countries (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009). Women are downgraded to informal work on small farms or even do not get the same employment opportunities as their male counterparts. According to the pollution theory, men are more likely to leave certain jobs if women join those very jobs because they feel that these positions are no longer prestigious for men (Massey, 2007). Greater empowerment would overtime break down the stigma seen by men towards working women. Participation of women in the workforce can be increased by dismantling social and legal restrictions against women due to their gender, which would enable women to work productively making a

significant contribution to the country's economic expansion. This leads to job creation due to greater investment in workforce expansion initiatives. According to Yamaguchi (2017), closing the gap in the workforce between women and men in developing countries by 25% would lead to the creation of 100 million jobs for girls and women by 2025. Case in point, by attenuating legal restrictions for women joining the labor force in countries such as Rwanda, Uganda, and Zambia the economic output of those countries would increase by 25% (Kabeer, 2011). The gender gap can be closed in early childhood which would be a remarkable step towards closing the gap later in life. Women with an education are likely to have fewer children, which imply that the mortality rate would decrease as well as providing their children with better education and nutrition (Gran, 2019). Therefore, the reforms for improving women rights do not only target women but also the wellbeing of their children. When the role of women in society is expanded, the diversity of viewpoints and skillset will prove beneficial in both political and economic sectors. These positive spill over effects rolls into overturning gender bias cultural norms that are hindering the advancement of women's rights (Zahidi, 2018). Greater potential of innovation and creativity is realized when women are given equal opportunities in the affairs of the country, such as equal participation in the workforce. Cultural norm as more and more women emerge into global markets.

The Significance of Women's Rights and Their Role in Development

Women have constituted approximately 50% or more of the entire world's population (Abdoulie, 2012), yet they have continued to be oppressed and undermined despite their majority status. Finding and highlighting the reasons as to why women are faced with such challenges is important in understanding how to shape the future of gender equality. It is for this reason that this dissertation explores the consequences of economic factors such as foreign direct investment and political factors such as civil conflict on women's social and

economic rights. It is essential to note the changes that take place due to such events within a country, on half of its population. As we have shown, women's human rights play a notable role in contributing to a growing workforce, which can be internationally competitive, where the female share in the workforce today is at 45.4% (Gran, 2019). Improvements in women's human rights has led to the exponential expansion of the role of women in the urban and rural workforce in recent decades. The consequences or influence of women empowerment goes beyond the economic sphere, where granting women their human rights also means that other areas of society are bound to improve, such as political stability. WIPNET for instance played an integral role in not only ending the 14 year long civil war in Liberia but also reshaping Liberian society as a whole (Johnson, 2012). Furthermore, examples from post conflict efforts in Latin America have notably demonstrated the strong role that women play in the stability and restructuring of their countries post conflict (Nduwimana, 2006; Melinda, 2008). Women, when empowered, have shown to play a huge role in reforming laws, building diplomatic ties with other factions of society and contributing heavily to the continuation of peace post conflict. This greatly contributes to long-term sustainable state stability within a country as women's political representation acts as a balancing rod to understand the social and economic needs of the other half of the population.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of an organization increases by the diversity of its leadership; particularly its gender diversity. In politics, female policymakers and voters tend to support the policies that are aimed at reducing the gender gap, and therefore reforms to giving women equal rights in voting in developing countries can boost economic growth. According to the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI, 2019), if countries can advance towards gender parity at a uniform rate, the GDP of the world would grow by $12 trillion. Despite being an extremely ambitious objective, it demonstrates that women have untapped potential that can help developing countries fight poverty; in turn contributing to the potential rise in

the socio-economic status quo. The commitment of developing countries in fighting for gender parity in governmental entities, the workforce and education will correct great injustices as well as erode global poverty. Finally, empowering women and promoting gender equality creates effective ways of combating hunger, disease, and poverty, and stimulating economic growth in developed and developing countries.

The Effects of War on Women's Rights

To understand the progress of women's movements and their role in peace-building, Europe is the main point of departure. Europe is among the most developed continents, and more importantly has a remarkable history of the struggle for female suffrage and women emancipation, which can be observed to give valuable lessons for movements following it. The continent was affected by the First and Second World Wars, which caused immense damage to the economy, and gave birth to the transformations of political and social systems. This came at the expense of fundamental human rights, particularly women's rights, which required rebuilding of the foundation of human rights; for instance, the Soviet Union which sought a centralized economic system as a one-party state, included its advance to "feminist deviationism" which undermined women's quest for social and political rights (Ghodsee, 2019). Looking at the role of women in conflict and peacebuilding in Europe provides a model suitable for studying the trajectory of women's rights in developing countries and how they would take advantage of conflict to solidify their role as state-building forces.

Women build strong grassroots movements at the existence of civil unrest due to their concern for survival (Marshall, 2000). This combined with the ability to organize made the suffrage movement spread throughout what is known today as the developed world. To start, the adoption of universal voting rights was pioneered by Finland in 1911 followed by the Soviet bloc post WWI (Teele, 2020). New-Zealand became the first self-governing country in

the world that extended voting rights to its women in 1893 (Hudson et al. 2010). Afterwards, suffrage was witnessed on a gradient of implementation throughout regions where some adopted it gradually and others imposed it universally at once (Teele, 2020). Today, European women have gained political representation and full incorporation in historically male-dominated establishments in both social and economic spheres. The role of women in Europe has significantly changed, particularly in entering the labor market and political participation.

Women's Movements Stemming from Civil Unrest

Feminist movements in Europe began in the late 18th century, with feminist ideas driven by both women and men. Women's emancipation or feminists' movements in the 1970s are defined by researchers as women's organized efforts to achieve political and legal equality (Evans, 2012; Offen, 2000; Gianoulis, 2015). The concept of the 'women's emancipation movement' was used synonymously with the "women's rights movement," and it was accepted as such in the 1980s (Pietro-Ennker, 1999). The movements were driving contemporary and historical expressions of demands and feminist efforts for social needs and matters of policies regarding women's livelihoods (Evans, 2012). These movements advocated for women's rights to pursue education and exercising their rights as active individuals in the public sphere as well as the formal market. They were organized in the framework of the nation-state, and thus structured on the international scale. However, the two world wars promoted nationalism in European countries and threatened to weaken the global momentum of women's movements.

Starting back at the French Revolution, between May 1789 and November 1799, which catalyzed the debate about women's emancipation; equality was granted to all human beings by "The Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen" in August 1789. Although women participated in the successive assemblies during revolutionary times, it did not grant

women's political equality. Women were confined in the domesticated sphere where family duties resided, and they were deprived of their fundamental rights in the assembly and participation in the making of political decisions by the First French Republic.

The political women's club which was founded during the French Revolution was banned during the reign of the Emperor. Legal dominance of men over women in matters of marriage was cemented by the Napoleonic Code; and it spread throughout the European countries with the Napoleonic Wars (Grab, 2003). Male dominance had received unprecedented attacks during the French Revolution, and thus the reactionary period served as an effort to more firmly control women than before (Offen, 2000). This politicized contention led to the development of specific forms of women's rights movements in the 19th century. The women's emancipation movement was not merely pursuing explicit political demands, but the demand to reform systems of education to accommodate women and improve the economic and legal positions of women.

During 1815, the Congress of Vienna introduced a new European order that constrained the establishment of reform movements, including the women's movement (de Graaf, de Haan, and Vick, 2019). Later, in 1848, women began demanding equality and the right to participate in state affairs, freedom in marriage, divorce, and education. For instance, in Vienna, Prague, Milan, Cologne, Stockholm, Frankfurt, Paris, and Venice, women formed democratic clubs and conducted protests (Lesthaeghe, 1983). The inception of political movements in England led to the stability of the parliamentary system, including the establishment of a solid foundation of liberalism (Connell, 1990).

In the 1860s, women's rights movements were organized in Central and Western Europe including in Bohemia, France, and Germany. Scandinavia and the Netherlands joined in the 1870s and 1880s with their organizations (Offen, 2000). The women fought for

employment opportunities and education, including civil rights improvements. There was the demand for women's suffrage in 1880, which was at the same time of the movement for social purity in Britain, which was spreading abroad. The organizational process of the women's emancipation movement was also enabled by diverse women's magazines; for instance, Neue Bahnen and Le Droit des femmes published in 1869. The published magazines were instrumental in expanding the circle of female activists and as influential forums for knowledge exchange. Up to 1880, the women's rights movement made slow progress in Poland, Hungary, Spain, Greece, and Russia, since no organization could practice their activities for continuous periods of time without interruption or dismantling in eastern, southwestern, and southeastern Europe. Charitable organizations existed in Hungary, Poland, and Russia that sought to address women's education at the time. These organizations were led by women and their objectives entailed women's empowerment beyond the social sphere (Pietro-Ennker, 1999). Women's emancipation in Spain involved structures such as that of Concepcion Arenal which defended the access to any level of education by women.

The restrictions of women in Spain are an example of how political conditions combined with an agrarian-feudal social structure hindered the women's rights movements. Also, women were restricted from participating in politics through political repression that prevailed in the Habsburg Empire, Germany, and central Europe; for instance, the 1850's Law of Associations that forbade the participation of women in any political associations (Berkovitch, 1999). In the same period, Germany passed antisocialist laws which served until 1890. These laws banned any meetings or groups that aimed at spreading social democratic principles, and illegalized forms of trade unions. Before the antisocialist laws, some European countries like Germany, women experienced general freedom of thought, right to assemble and freedom of speech. In the Third Republic France, women experienced a sense of democracy in 1871 more than other European countries (Evans, 2012). The survival of women's rights

movements in Europe depended on the specific social and political parameters that would allow them to expand and yield long term sustainable results.

The support of Lord Henry in 1868 led Members of Parliament of Knaresborough, England, to pass the Matrimonial Causes Act 1857 to facilitate divorce, but women's personal property could not yet be dispossessed following a divorce. Poland, Russia, Spain, and Hungry responded to women's movements in the early 1900s. Russia instituted the All-Russian Union for Women's Equality in 1905 calling for women's suffrage (Pietro-Ennker, 1999). The women's movements focused on the agenda of reforming education for girls and reducing subjection in marriage. Other demands included law reforms, access of women to occupations and universities, and the reforming of sexual morals. Before the Great War across Europe, the law had granted women dominant freedom to vote and women used their positions as feminist legalists to vie for political seats. The women mobilized their support through press campaigns that sought to promote women's courses of action.

In Northern Ireland, women formed an official political party where they were able to secure a couple of seats to be present at the negotiating table, where the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) existed (Marshall, 2000). The NIWC guaranteed their role in being formally incorporated into decision-making and positions of power. This example provides Examples of women coming together to enforce change demonstrating their strength in grassroots movements extend beyond Europe. Women's interests must be included in negotiations and decision-making since they encompass more than half of the population (Norville, 2011).

Latin America is another good example of the spread and influence of women's role during conflict. Women in this part of the world resonated in transforming the role of women from victims to actors for change and from protesters for peace to builders of peace

(Marshall, 2000). The role of women in Latin America was not confined to the conventional political realm, for example women in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala played active roles in guerrilla movements (Reif 1986). Women in these cases demonstrated the potential impact that mothers could have on amplifying their causes for their sons and families to bring peace to society. Mothers mobilized for a cause that the rest of society could relate to, which became charged by pure emotional triumph, rather than a political ideology charged by self-interest. The disappearances of their sons and the brutality of the governance that has been taking away the males of the family, made women and men unite together in their efforts to get answers for their lost sons. This shared cause spread out through Latin America championing the efforts of mothers to reunite families and movements became strong in building peace and re-establishing the core of society, which is the family unit. There are more than 21 groups in more than 11 countries around the region extending such efforts for peace (Marshall, 2000). This spilled over to becoming an official space in the political arena and on political agendas for parties that wanted to gain the votes of those who believed in the mothers' movements. The mother figure became more than just a role within the private family sphere, but it transcended into public life as a platform to voice their concerns with some protection from any state repression (Marshall, 2000; Reif, 1986). Women today, regardless of their parenting status, have used the mothers' movements to charge their own causes as inspiration to transform more traditionally masculine institutions with 'safe' demands. As these are seen as not challenging the status quo, rather are seen in the light of cultural and 'feminine' demands for a better life privately within the family unit. In reality, such efforts have greatly influenced the gender roles in Latin America. Where the once seen harmless demands of mothers to find their sons, sparked as a powerful political movement to ignite a paradigm shift of how women can operate within the formal market, social life and in political talks.

The substantial work of European and Latin American women alike over the years has created a strong headway, which has achieved milestones and paved the way for the rest of women around the globe. However, their work is not enough to set a lasting change to elevate women's status. Continuous collective global action should be taken in order to elevate women's socio-economic rights across the globe. It is evident with the marginal effect the United Nations Security Resolution 1325 obtained for women participating in global security, despite it being more than a decade of its ratification (Norville, 2011). Women remain underrepresented in peacekeeping and negotiation missions.

First wave feminism

The high point of the first wave of feminism in Europe occurred between 1890 and 1910. The period marked the Era of Feminist Congresses, which was characterized by the development and emergence of women's movements in the nation state framework. These movements developed in areas dominated by ethnic diversity, particularly in areas featured in multi-ethnic states. Women's movements were established in nationalist movements and addressed the specific role of women's capability for national culture transmission in countries such as Bulgaria, Bohemia, Ukraine, and Poland (Offen, 2000). Other women's movements embedded in anti-slavery, pedagogical, unionist, socialist, liberal, pacifist, hygienist, and religious social contexts. The complex and numerous links of these movements became well established during international congresses which hosted the various activities on a European, regional scale. For example, the International Women Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) created in 1905, and the International Council of Women (ICW) created in 1888. The ICW consisted of 7 million women from 24 countries and sought to address women's professional training, education, women's legal status, social institutions, and employment. The IWSA promoted the universal character of women's rights and presented itself as a movement for human rights (Carrington, 1952). The women's demands were temporarily halted by the First World War

(WWI). The declaration of war suspended women's internationalism and each country was prompted to mobilize efforts to serve patriotism and the nation. Women's demands for their rights and women's movements resumed from 1917, amid the World War. Their agenda consisted of working conditions for women and participation in the political sphere.

During the post-war period, from 1920 to 1960, the women involved in the war challenged the masculine characteristics of power representation and strength and redefined strength outside the boundaries of patriarchy (Prianti, 2019). These changed the fashion and systems of social norms, leading to some women becoming financially independent from the 1920s; however, women in this category were still the minority. The feminist movements in the aftermath of WWI are attributed to the transformed political systems shaped due to the conflict (Doner, 2013). The capability of women's suffrage was also facilitated by the emergence of democratic and liberal parties after WWI. Yihan (2014) argues that the forms of women's movement after WWI were not shaped by the cultural and political environment of individual countries but by the fact that European feminist protests were embedded within a collective international struggle, and their platforms adjusted due to peer pressure from other countries and a shared historical dependence. The author posits that countries located in a single region may imitate one another, and this allows viewing of the suffrage movement in Europe from a general approach and reveals that the movements for women's rights were influenced more by political factors at the international level and not the cultural factors of the individual countries' (Yihan, 2014).

The rise to power of Alexandra Kollontai in (1917-1952) and Inessa Armand (1914 - 1920) led to the revolution which gave women equality in marriage, divorce by consent, maternity leave from work, and easy access to abortion. Also, the Family Code reforms were introduced in 1926 and promoted the economic and political empowerment of women, which

also led to a change in gender relations. However, in the Soviet Union, which existed between 1922 and 1991, there emerged a revolution in Russia known as the “Great October Socialist Revolution” which was led by Bolshevik Party. The ideology of the party was having a centralized economic command and one-party state. The emergence of a new Stalinist ideology embarked on seeking to control natalist policy in the 1920s; Soviet authorities intended to restore family order of “feminist deviationism” and decreed that women’s issues have been resolved, including closing the Central Committee of women (Ghodsee, 2019).

In many European countries, the goal of women's emancipation was achieved quickly after a few decades during the 20th century. According to Paletschek (2005), the war elevated women’s role in society as active and needed individuals, and because the war changed the political systems of countries, women took advantage of it. The liberal and social democratic parties were the new forces; they fronted and influenced feminist demands for women’s suffrage. For the majority of women's rights movements in Europe, WWI was a huge turning point for emancipation. On achieving the franchise, many feminist leaders became active in politics. They joined political parties since the restriction had ceased. However, a standstill was reinforced in other European countries by restorative and authoritarian political regimes in the period between the first and the second world wars which frustrated the efforts of women’s emancipation (Offen, 2000; Riley, 2005).

During the 1930s, the recently granted rights in Spain (abortion and divorce) were abolished or largely evaded, in favor of a pro-family and natalist policy. Also, in the 1920s the women’s rights to vote were mobilized, which continued until the Second World War; for example, in Italy and France. Women's opposition to “masculine tyranny” in the 1930s revolved around economic emancipation, particularly their rights in the workplace and gender equality in the formal market.

In 1932, the pacifist women in Europe redoubled their efforts to change the order of international relations and prevent dangers caused by arms proliferation. For instance, the League of Nations (LN) rallied women in European countries to petition disarmament in 1932. In Nazi Germany and Italy, Fascist regimes sought to control women by abolishing feminist associations in 1938 in Italy and 1933 in Germany (Offen, 2000). Women's rights during the Second World War sought to address sexual violence. However, during the post-war, women were pursuing political rights as their priorities shifted due to the political situation; this was observed in Belgium, Italy, France, Albania, Yugoslavia and Croatia.

The UN Charter in 1945 was the first international declaration that referred to women's equal rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 recognized gender equality in marriage; for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and France by 1949 (Doner, 2013). The Soviet Bloc was amongst the strongest supporters in their own right looking at the human rights struggle as a bottom-up approach (Weitz, 2019). The declaration was undoubtedly a landmark in the women's rights internationalization because even men supported peace and fundamental human rights contained in the UN Charter. The principle of nationality was intended to secure post-war peace in 1919, but human rights were viewed as a critical approach to tackling forms of chauvinism that condoned belligerence (Copenhaver, 2002). Despite the Soviet Union shifting their strategy to focus on the global human rights agenda, the UN Charter was adopted as a Western-led international network of feminist efforts since the mid-19th century. Despite its promotion of universal suffrage, temperance, social reform, and peace, the efforts were set into disarray by the massive political and social transformation of Europe after the Second World War (Doner, 2013).

Second wave feminism

The second wave of feminism started in the 1960s, challenging and demanding changes to patriarchal society and emphasizing the liberation of reproduction rights for women (Molony, 2017). These involved civil rights activists who mainly explored the origins and aspects of women oppression and sought to address these through theoretical perspectives. The diversity of women's rights movements during the second wave was a product of ideas from radicalism, liberalism, and socialism (Yihan, 2014). The first wave of feminism involved political aspects whereas the second wave was more ideological and cultural.

Second-wave feminism, between the 1960s and 1980s, was marked by the “Movement Years” in which communist countries in Europe developed ideologies that promoted liberalized abortion and work-family balance such as in Hungary, Romania, USSR, Bulgaria, and Poland. However, this led to the stigmatization of feminism as "bourgeois" and hence are viewed as exclusive to certain socio-economic status of women. The rights of women at the international level in European countries were promoted by the “Women’s International Democratic Federation” (WIDF). The federation focused on women from recently decolonized states (Ilic., 2011). Its goal was to achieve equality in marriage and the family sphere, including women’s cultural and material “liberation.” Women's movements in the 1960s were favored by the media and were mobilized and popularized to movements such as “The French Women’s Liberation Movement.” Following these mobilizations, 1975 was declared by the UN as the “Year of Women” where it was later followed by the adoption of the “Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women in 1979” (Assembly, 1979).

Further, the revival of women activists in Europe began in the 1990s which have continued to address women’s rights in all aspects of life. Some of the ideologies include protection against sexual violence, access to qualified occupations, abortion, and political

participation. One of the major roles of women at the forefront of women's rights movements in Europe since the 1990s was political decision making, which prompted legal reforms to ensure gender parity or quotas in political representation. Recently, the feminist movements in Europe have led to another intersection of gender identity struggles of LGBT (Offen, 2000). The current gender discourses in Europe revolve around gender fluidity, exploitation of sex workers, and acceptance of the freedom of expression in the post-feminist period. Although women have gained substantial rights in Europe, there are persistent observations of gender inequality, particularly in the intersectional perspective of "class" and "race" (UN, 2020). For instance, gender violence to the female migrant population in Europe is still something that is challenging the development of women's right (Carbó, et al. 2016).

Defining Women's Rights

Women's human rights are social, legal and ethical entitlements which form the basic rules about what is allowed or owed to women (Pala, 1977). These fundamental and normative rules form the basis of the feminist movement in the 20th Century or what is popularly known as the women's rights movement in the 19th Century. Women's human rights are different from the broader concepts of human rights through claims of bias and discrimination on the rights of girls and women in favor of the male's (Bunch, 1990). In all aspects, women and girls are entitled to enjoy all the fundamental human rights and basic freedoms as any other human being. It should be noted that women's human rights differ substantially with regards to the region, country, culture, race, ethnicity, political status, and many other aspects that define a particular group of people in a given population. Gender equity, a perspective that promotes fairness in the treatment of the female gender and male gender according to their respective needs, has been viewed as a result of improved democracy and economic growth (ILO, 2000 p48). Apart from gender equity, there has been another concept in addressing women's human rights known as gender equality. Gender

equality is distinctly different from gender equity in that it stands for equal treatment of both genders. Both women and men are at liberty to individually develop their freedom and abilities to make choices without any discrimination where the entitlements of women and men are equally considered, favored and valued (ILO, 2000). For the purposes of this research, I will be using the concept of gender equality, for the ease and availability of data on measuring the improvements, shortcomings and standards of women's social, economic and political rights across countries. Gender equity can be complicated to grasp and capture as a comparison across the globe, henceforth, gender equality will be the measure elected throughout this research.

For many years, the United Nations has been at the forefront of promoting human rights through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other agreements, missions, resolutions, and reporting mechanisms. As a philosophical concept, human rights are necessities inherent to all humanity for personal security and wellbeing regardless of their gender, nationality, religion, political status, race or any other status (IERM, 1993). Women's human rights, on the other hand, have become an inviolable, constitutive and an inseparable part of universal human rights. Women's wellbeing has become of international significance to have equal inclusion in socio-economic, political, civil, and cultural platforms. This was aimed at eliminating all forms of gender-based discrimination at national, regional, and international levels (Hodgson, 2002). According to Bunch (1990), a notable portion of the population in the world has routinely been affected by mutilation, humiliation, starvation and even terrorism due to the mere fact that they are female. Bunch indicates that if these forms of criminal activities were practiced against their male counterparts, then they would be categorized as political emergencies or even gross violations of humanity as opposed to being normalized as a social construct.

Over the years, it has always been of concern that universal human rights are one-sided. The definition of these rights, whom they address and whom they protect has always varied in the context of social, historical, and political interests (IERM, 1993). As Oloka-Onyango and Tamale's (1995) work on an African perspective on international feminism concluded that "[there is] no nation in the world where women are treated with similar standards as men", many countries in the world have recorded different levels and forms of inequality (p.695). The deep-rooted discrimination and inequality in world systems and laws have resulted in what is known as a double standard for the female gender in terms of treatment and capacity-building in the workforce and beyond. The highest levels of women discrimination have always been recorded in developing countries as reported by Morrisson and Jütting (2005).

The aim of attaining equality and equity between men and women and the removal of all manner of discrimination against women and girls has sparked different movements and declarations over time. This goal has been one of the fundamental values of the United Nations as women around the globe suffer a variety of violations and discrimination of their human rights (Hodgson, 2002). In the 1960s and 1970s, different feminist protests have led to various declarations and laws that encouraged the treatment of women and men equally under the law, equality in employment opportunities and the workplace. Feminism refers to the school of thought that women and men should be treated morally and politically equally (Ritzer et al., 2010). However, as much as the efforts of feminist groups and women's rights activist groups tend to bear fruit, there have been several setbacks and backlash from critics. Whereas political and legal equality has a particular framework and indices of measurement, social equality is difficult and complicated and seems immeasurable (Okin, 1998). This seems much more complicated since it is not a question of dealing with a legal framework or

institutions but with people's perceptions influenced by cultural norms which vary widely around the globe.

The issue of women's empowerment is sensitive warranting its inclusion in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) which states the international goals for development by the year 2015 following the UN's 2000 Millennium Summit. However, women's empowerment, especially on social and political issues, continues to face criticism from different centres (Aronson 2004, p.35-37). Promoting women's empowerment and gender equality is considered as an end rather than the means to an end and it is more of an intrinsic rather than an instrumental goal (Charles, 2014). While empowerment of women in education, politics, and employment can be measured, their success depends on the existing social relations that govern the access to the resource in question that will determine the degree to which the potential is achieved.

Comparison of rights in developed and developing countries

There is a great difference between how women's human rights in developed and developing countries are measured because of the variation in culture, economic development, political and social contexts (IERM, 1993). For instance, the right to education for girls is paramount and has been emphasized in many international conventions, such as, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women which emphasized on the value women's education has in improving families' wellbeing and society at large. While this is the case, many women in developing nations are yet to witness a manifestation of the same opportunity as their counterparts. A study by Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam (2006), show how there are high levels of illiteracy in Northern Africa and the Middle East. While social equality may be a reality in economically progressive countries, the abuse and exploitation of women or even outright violence against women is normalized in developing countries. In these cultures, women are deemed to be of

lower social status by formal and customary law, which makes the abuse justifiable. The poverty coupled with existing customs in some developing nations results in extended families imposing their generational norms of society in the household, which derail social and cultural progression. This makes the younger generations more subordinate and incapacitated in the face of archaic traditions and cultural values of their grandparents and parents, therefore, making it difficult for normative changes to occur (Cohen 2006).

Women in developing countries have also been neglected and not well protected under inherently masculine laws. The big gap between formal and customary law with regards to dowry, land ownership, and honor killings has left many women defenceless. Honor killings which have been recorded in Islamic dominated nations against women have received backlash for their lack of respect for human rights, which reflects on the stark contrast between world standards based on Western societies and those of developing countries in terms of what is acceptable for women representation and treatment as justified by cultural precedence for example (Cohen, 2006). However, this freedom has been criticized by many scholars due to the high level of divorce in developed countries (Härkönen, 2014). The increased freedoms of women, for example, the United States Married Women's Property Acts constituted of laws passed by various states which gave women property rights and the freedom to sue men for divorce have contributed to increased divorce rates (Evans, 2009).

In developed countries such as the U.S, women's human rights are measured in terms of their full participation in all spheres of society, including access to power and participation in the process of decision-making in the political sphere. These are fundamental in achieving empowerment for the population at large, societal development and equality in the U.S. The statement by former president, Barack Obama, "the government is taking steps to encourage girls and women to pursue career dreams, provision of additional support to women entrepreneurs and provide support to working families" defined women's empowerment as a

priority issue in world politics beyond the fundamental rights given to all (UN Women, 2016). In response to the expectations set by the former statement, the US allocated resources towards apprenticeships and job training for women to qualify in better-paying jobs and additional resources to tackle gender violence (Montgomery et al. 2015). Both the government and civil society in the U.S have joined hands in supporting innovative working conditions for the betterment of their societies and ensuring that women and girls enjoy freedoms and rights not jeopardized by discrimination (Montgomery et al. 2015). Recently, the U.S government has created the White House Council on Girls and Women, and Ambassador at Large for Global Issues of Women, Advisor on Violence Against Women and the appointment of two women in the Supreme Court, as well as appointments of strong teams of women to the white house staff and the cabinet (WFW, 2017). These initiatives indicate that the focus of what constitutes women's human rights is required on a holistic scale to reach all aspects of society and stretches beyond the fundamental rights of shelter, education, and safety, where how many women work is not as much a concern as the quality of that work and the opportunity for mobility within managerial sectors.

Women's health and the level of exposure to violence is another measure used by the U.S government for women's rights (Härkönen, 2014). In response, the government established terms and regulations in the Affordable Care Act that hinders insurance companies from imposing high premiums based on gender (Härkönen, 2014). In combating violence against women in the U.S, the former president signed a reauthorization of the Violence against Women Act, which enacted provisions to protect Native American Women, especially in learning institutions and for immigrant survivors (ACE, 2014). In contrast, in Latin America, laws against sexual harassment, sexual violence, and domestic violence have led to reduced arrests and detention (Asaolu et al., 2017). These indicate that the level of violence against women is a key factor to the improvement of women's rights. According to

the report by the Pan American Health Organization, one out of three Latin American women is abused in her lifetime; between the ages of 15 and 44 (PAHO, 2012). Political representation and reproductive rights are measures of women's rights in Latin America (The Latina Feminist Group, 2001). The region is a home to the most draconian laws against abortion. Despite these laws, unsafe procedures are used in abortions in countries such as Colombia where women have inadequate access to legal help or safe medical procedures (Heaton, 2015). Similarly, countries such as Jamaica, Nicaragua, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic use women violence and access to health facilities as a measure of women's rights (Manzel and Baten 2009). For example, illegal abortions are the subject of increased mortality rates in these countries. The use of different measures for various countries shows how differently women's rights are perceived and this is a clear indication that women's rights are dependent on factors such as culture, political and economic advancement as precedence to how improvements are predicted in the future.

In developing regions such as East Africa, West, Southern, and Central Africa, the participation of women in the labor force and access to healthcare are aimed at empowering women, which are key measures of women's rights. Violence against women is viewed in these countries as violence between intimate partners in marriage or cohabitation, especially in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, and Ghana (Alesina et al. 2016). Violence is justified in these countries as insults, partner infidelity, and neglect (IPPFAR, 2018). The high prevalence of sexual and physical violence between partners can be attributed to the prevalence of the justification of violence in these countries as a norm. According to Peterman et al. (2015), sexual or physical partner violence ranged from 11.5%, 25.9% and 33.1% in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, and Mozambique respectively. Socio-economic development and the health of women are majorly affected by domestic violence. This implies that women empowerment is measured by the level of which they attain socio-

economic development in society. Violence against women, therefore, intersects the domain of empowerment, which is in measuring health and development (Lagdon et al., 2014). Participation of women in the labor force is another measure used in developing countries to determine women's rights, which implies that economically empowering women is linked to the country's economic and social development. Across all sub-Saharan Africa, empowerment of women is stalled by low attainment of education by women and cultural practices which usually places domestic work on women and therefore becomes a stumbling block in accessing equal opportunities as men in the formal market (Tripp, 2001). Some customs in these countries foster sexual harassment and denial of rights to own property (Ouida et al., 2017). Customary laws including family codes, inheritance, and land ownership rights are prioritized for men locking out women who would have played a major role in development if given a chance. This is worsened by the fact that the customary laws in many African communities view women and children as property hence exposing them to gender-based violence and inequality since customary law holds de facto position over formal law (Hallward-Driemeier et al. 2012).

Healthcare targeting women is also a significant measure of women's rights and empowerment in developing countries. Relatively high rates of morbidity and maternal mortality in this region can be linked to proximal causes such as unsafe abortion, haemorrhage sepsis as well as distal causes related to gender inequality including the absence of autonomy of women in making knowledgeable decisions about their health care (AU, 2003). In developing countries, women face financial constraints that cause a delay in accessing medical facilities, seeking care and delay in receiving care, unreliable transportation and far distance led to delayed healthcare. According to the WHO (2015), the expenditures of African governments to improve the outcomes of healthcare was about 4% of GDP. These countries, therefore, have limited government funds due to high-out-of-pocket

expenses impeding the provision of healthcare to women (Datta and Kornberg, 2002). The reduction of healthcare barriers in countries such as Rwanda, Kenya, and Ethiopia through the provision of increased government spending on healthcare and a national health insurance strategy is a measure that shows the improvement of women's rights in these countries (EIU, 2017). Furthermore, the U.S has responded to the global pandemics of HIV/AIDS, especially in countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Swaziland which helped change the course of the pandemic in saving lives (Gries, 2014). Partners from private sectors and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) are investing significantly in African countries through AIDS-free, Safe (DREAMS), Determined, Resilient and Empowered partnerships which aim at reducing the infections of HIV to young women and girls in these countries (Li et al., 2014). This indicates that the healthcare of women is one of the key measures for women empowerment and attainment of rights in developing countries.

Overall, utilizing a measure of women's empowerment that can be generalized across developed and developing economies can be problematic, since women's status are on different plains and progression to be paralleled in comparison. Lumping women in one category and not parsing out the socio-economic status in subgroups can prove problematic in getting unbiased and clear results. The complexity of this topic continues to show that more work by scholars is definitely needed in the present and future.

Conclusion

Looking at the past can often help predict the future. The development of women's rights in Europe and the start of liberation of women played an important role in the continent's political and economic structure. Woman's right is a fundamental element of human rights and its history in Europe is a suitable model for developing countries. It is difficult for developing countries to inherit the ideology of women's rights due to cultural

norms and subsequently their historical path dependence However, looking at the advancement that was created in the rest of the world Europe can be seen as an important steppingstone to influential advancements for women around the globe. The overall political, economic, and social growth of participating countries has shown extraordinary improvements following the impact of such a movement. Ignoring the importance of granting women their rights could be a potential setup for more damages and loss for developing economies. It was only after WWI that the progress of women's emancipation started however the developments and advancement that came about are visible to this day. The development of women's rights in Europe can be used as a lesson to lead effective liberation of women in the future.

The evolution of women's human rights indicates that women have been included in the development objectives of many developing and developed economies; however, their progress seems limited by discriminating policies based on societal and customary laws. The inclusion of women in the Millennium Development Goals regards parenthood as a shared obligation; however, societies in developing countries fail to recognize that goal number four of reducing infant mortality rate falls directly on the role played by women which shows how the burden is shared disproportionately. The long-term exclusion of women in decision making continues to delay the countries' development. While developing countries have done much in integrating women experiences in the conversation of human rights and development, the current situation and the condition of women in these countries indicate that the knowledge gained has not been fully implemented and enforced to lead to the improvement of women's lives and the livelihood of society at large. The lack of accountability by the developing states in delivering women's human rights continues to undervalue them, which continue to negatively impact the development of the country.

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Chapter 3

Cross-national Variation in Women's Social and Economic Rights: The Impact of FDI

Abstract

The impact of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) on women's rights has been contested for years within the literature. This chapter sets out to evaluate the Climb to the Top (CTT) hypothesis by developing a new variable following the bilateral context calculation from Greenhill et al. (2009). I evaluate the impact of the bilateral flow of FDI on women's social and economic rights to shed light on the debate between the CTT and the Race to the Bottom (RTB) arguments. I provide more evidence to support the RTB argument by studying the bilateral flow of FDI instead of just overall FDI flow or stock accumulated in the host country and its impact on the specific women's rights. To evaluate this impact, I utilize a dataset that includes 151 countries from 1990-2011. Using generalized ordered logistic regression models and Two-Stage least squares regressions, I conclude that the bilateral FDI flow decreases women's economic rights directly. There has been a negative but not significant impact on women's social rights, which means that the impact of the bilateral FDI context on women's social rights might highlight an indirect relationship since it is difficult to quantify social rights unless explicitly stated within legislation or any other records that link economic activity with women's social rights in terms of the host country's economic progress due to such investment.

Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to add more evidence to the Race to the Bottom (RTB) argument, which has been developed as a response to scholars' Climb to the Top (CTT) and Vogel's 'California effect' arguments by reiterating the anecdotal evidence seen on the mainstream media and written about in ample articles showcasing the negative impact of multinational corporations (MNCs) on the respect for women's rights standards in the host country. MNCs and other forms of investments categorized as FDI have shown that foreign countries with higher human rights standards do not necessarily contribute to higher standards

in the host country once FDI flow starts pouring from the developed economy to the developing host country (Vadlamannati et al., 2020). Due to such evidence, I corroborate the anecdotes by quantifying such cases in a large-N data approach to further evaluate the probability of such stories to becoming a trend due to FDI. In other words, I set to test whether the stories on sweat shops employing underage females, factories burning down due to poor safety infrastructure and the banned protests from female workers bound to low skilled labor and human rights abuses are not just odd cases heard on the media. My motive to take the stance of the RTB argument is not only charged by anecdotal evidence but is also inspired by the many theories that explain how extractive industries ignore any human development, authoritarian regimes tend to prioritize private goods for their small winning coalition to stay in power and businesses existing for profits first and not for human rights. All of these are directly related to how the impact of FDI can be negative for women's rights.

Climb to the Top (CTT) Hypothesis Expectations

The CTT argues that FDI provides an economic boost for the recipient or host country. The CTT regards FDI as a tool for economic prosperity and acknowledges its ability to generate higher respect for human rights in the recipient country. Multinational corporations (MNCs) operate under a highly regulated environment, with rigorous demands for improved resources/labor and other business obligations that account for higher human rights standards (Kerr, 2019; Guthrie, 2012; Moran et al., 2005; Vogel, 1995). Host countries will then shift regulations in the business environment to align to the rigorous standards of investor firms and countries. As a result, host countries that adapt to investor country-regulations become more favorable to attract investment from outside.

CTT's theoretical argument expects numerous social improvements, especially the improvement of the host country's regulatory structure. The hypothesis suggests that there is a positive relationship between FDI and the rights of workers, an increase in labor rights

standards causes the host country to be more appealing to investor countries', which in turn promotes increased levels of FDI. High standards are likely to favor various stakeholders because with compliance, standards are brought up to the level of other states where the firm invests, thus lessening its regulatory compliance costs by harmonizing the regulations across jurisdictions. There is a relationship between regulation-based lobbying and FDI. MNCs tend to lobby for more socioeconomically favorable regulations and an overall increase in protection of the social structure. Host countries respond by streamlining their laws to ensure they do not lose market share or access. Recipient countries ensure that they are at par with investor nations, thus beginning the climb to the top (Vogel 1995).

The CTT can also be achieved through a collective and cooperative turnaround. Institutions make a good case for changes and underlying interests, like obtaining FDI and increasing exports, influence CTT and the expected outcome. Upward pressure does not necessarily result from competitive dynamics (Genschel and Plumper, 1997). Notably, globalization or international cooperation can lead to the management or complete elimination of competition through collective action. The case of international banking regulation in the Basel Accord demonstrates the ability of collective action by a small group of major players to successfully turn around a failing international banking system by regulating the banking environment.

Vogel's Three Conditions

Vogel's (1995) conditions of trade-ups as opposed to trade-offs are tied to the CTT hypothesis, which explains that trade liberalization strengthens regulatory standards through facilitation of transfer of stricter regulations and encouragement of the adoption of strict domestic standards (Vogel 1995). The extent of complying with stricter measures by the host country is associated with the size of market, while gaining market-share is also subject to developing environmental standards that give recipient firms and subsequently the recipient

countries a competitive advantage. Specifically, the role of institutions at the international level, the power that internationally oriented producers possess, and the several international environmental agreements are the conditions that the author prompts to be examined with respect to CTT.

Contradicting Outcomes of the CTT Hypothesis

Most empirical studies have shown contradictory conclusions. While examining the degree to which recipients' actual labor laws and practices are swayed by investors, Greenhill et al. (2009) find strong legal safeguards of collective labor rights in the recipient countries. Labor rights are not aligned to the investor countries' stringent labor regulations. Other investor countries have faced relatively little scrutiny regarding their production standards. Neither the U.S nor the E.U. sought to leverage its market to pressure China to shift environmental practices on its exports (Vogel, 1997). In some instances, the U.S. and the E.U. threatened to withdraw specific Israeli exports' market access after requiring compliance with the new European and American environmental manufacturing standards (Vogel, 1997). In 1991, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), now known as the WTO, ruled to discourage developed countries from using stringent measures to restrict imports from developing countries based on standards of production (Zaelke, Orbuch and Housman, 1993). These contradict CTT's expectations with regards to the relationship between FDI and increased labor rights standards.

The contradicting outcomes of the CTT theory can be explained by the structural and institutional differences found among participating nations in FDI. According to the findings of Genschel and Plumper (1997), unanimous agreements are difficult, especially in the face of diverse interests, preferences, and perceptions. It is more likely that conflicts arise and prevent full acknowledgement of regulations from either side. Regulations may trigger a strategic situation that would demand higher regulations in the host country giving investor countries

more control over imposing their own regulatory standards. On the other hand, regulations in the recipient countries may limit the investor countries' activities, such that rules are ignored for the benefit of both parties regardless of labor standards. Under CTT's hypothesis we see diverse outcomes of FDI's impact on host countries' labor standards.

In Chapter 3, I seek to address the puzzle between the expected outcomes of the CTT hypothesis and the contradictions that exist by adding to the RTB argument with more evidence to show that FDI in its bilateral context contributes to decreasing women's rights standards in the host country. I do that by closely looking at FDI as the independent variable and its impact on women's human rights as the dependent variable. The independent variable has an impact on social structures and systems of host countries. Methodological issues arise among the CTT studies as to the extent of the impact that FDI has on women's rights. In particular, the different mechanisms by which it has been tested in past literature. As a main contribution of this chapter, I focus on exploring an under-studied theoretical mechanism of FDI's influence on women's rights, which is the bilateral flow, which identifies investor and recipient countries of such investments. Since there have been a large number of cases showing women's rights abuses due to FDI and trade throughout global markets by using data that looks at country-to-country investment, I will show that respect for women's rights is contingent upon the transactional activity investor and recipient countries exchange. The abuses and anecdotal evidence to be discussed later in the chapter, indicate flaws in the CTT theoretical expectations as it pertains to how theory reflects on real world applications. The second contribution of this chapter is narrowing down the dependent variable from the studies looking at women's rights in general and their labor law changes, to looking at two specific women's rights: social and economic.

Race to the Bottom (RTB) Hypothesis Expectations

The race to bottom (RTB) hypothesis holds that the deregulation of business environments by the local governments is aimed at improving economic integration in the recipient country. Since FDI is an economic activity that triggers deregulation of business environments, it deteriorates the existing structure of human rights in the host country, especially when the local government allots more power to MNCs (Kaufman & Segura-Ubiergo, 2;01; Levitsky 2003; Murillo, 2001).

The role of NGOs in mitigating domestic regulations can also be evaluated to assess the conditions under which MNCs influence the host country's regulations (Prakash and Potoski, 2006). The "fair trade" regulations ensure that such multinationals are not disadvantaged by stringent regulations in host countries. This creates a problem, as we see in developing countries that subject exports under the process-based regulations of developed countries , which to highlight is disallowed by WTO (Prakash and Potoski, 2006). To resolve this problem, the authors introduce the dimension of trade and regulations of NGOs in the recipient country. Unravelling the bilateral flow to identify the impact trade and labor rights demonstrates the role of global networks on the transmission of labor practices between trade partners (Greenhill et al., 2009; Clark et al., 2018). When labor regulations are initiated by the recipient countries for the multinationals, the problem of corporate social responsibility (CSR) emerges, especially due to social settings of the recipient country. While not an essential aspect of FDI, I consider CSR its by-product due to market expansion on a global level which requires the adoption of equal standards for human rights across trading partners. CSR is related to labor standards, labor rights, and human rights in the workplace – socially responsible business practice and leadership (Compa, 2008).

RTB and Women's Social and Economic Rights

Women's social and economic rights have been considered as the driving forces of development leading to prosperity and stability in countries (Lemmon, 2011; Wong 2012). Disempowerment of women leads to detrimental losses and staggering of human capital, economic activity, and loss of productivity (Mathew, 2019; Coleman 2010). FDI is considered a vehicle through which international technology is channelled and introduced, presenting tools for improving financial deficits and eventually contributing to growth for both the investor economies and women in host countries.

As FDI is viewed by governments in developing countries as a tool for economic growth, they are concerned with establishing a friendly climate to attract more FDI. The link between economic integration, market liberalization, and women's social, and economic rights has been drawing more attention in the literature (Lemmon, 2011; Brzozowski 2013; Kinoshita and Campos 2003; Braunstein 2006). Studying women's social and economic rights in terms of FDI is important since foreign investors may unfairly utilize gender disparity in the recipient countries to maximize their profit by pooling low-skilled labor among women. Furthermore, it may also lead to wage discrimination, which is another concern of the RTB hypothesis. In such scenarios, the country may compete favorably in the global economy, but lag behind with a wider gender gap in terms of earnings (Seguino, 2010). There has been limited and weak evidence of spill-over-effects of the FDI relatedness to women social and economic rights. This weakness may be attributed to methodological shortcomings in the past literature. Despite the noted weaknesses in evidence, it is imperative to study women's social and economic rights as a variable.

Quantifying Women's Social and Economic Rights

Quantitative literature examining large-N data on this specific variable (women social and economic rights), is lacking. A variety of literature has indeed evaluated the effects FDI

has on women's rights qualitatively through numerous case studies and descriptive results that are either region-specific or country specific. In such cases, the main lens of contention is anthropological, sociological, or in the critical feminist theory. Other quantitative literature in the economics and political economy fields have focused only on women's labor rights as representative of economic empowerment and not on their economic or social rights in general.

In this chapter, I examine all countries from 1990 to 2011 that either gave or received FDI. I hypothesize that the bilateral FDI context deteriorates women's social and economic rights. The results show that FDI in its bilateral context in fact deteriorates women's economic rights directly and has an indirect and negative relationship on women's social rights, which opposes the empirical results found in previous literature.

FDI Mechanisms and their Role in Accurately Representing Women's Social and Economic Rights

As an economic tool, FDI has direct and indirect effects on women's social and economic rights. There are several ways in which FDI can affect those rights, including economic and financial pathways for human development and by regulating and influencing policy of the recipient country. FDI is usually targeted towards economic revitalization and development, which in turn not only impacts the domestic economic opportunities and labor market, but it also influences trade regulation and policies that determine trade openness and human development. This is a mechanism that impacts the extent the recipient country respects human rights.

Firstly, free trade, deregulation and economic integration are viewed by some as an impediment to international shielding of human rights and to the realization of economic and social rights (Clapham, 1999). The state as the traditionally recognized party responsible for human rights and human development, is seen as losing some control over the process of

globalization (Hataley & Leuprecht 2018). Other players such as transnational corporations and financial institutions are the ones shaping these developments by influencing policy (Hataley & Leuprecht 2018). The concept of FDI lacks a clear-cut definition when measured, and different authors approach this concept differently. One common understanding of FDI is that it leads to the increased inter-linkage and inter-influence of global and local markets, which intensifies economic and social relations beyond the state borders (Väyrynen, 2001). The bilateral context of FDI is contingent upon economic integration and trade openness. Such integration entails removal of investment and trade barriers and increasing flow of capital across national extremities. In economic integration, deregulation and liberalization of activities are essential processes while the emergence of new strong actors in the economic sphere is an observable outcome. Thus, FDI has no presumption of reforming domestic social, economic, or political policies in terms of human rights standards, but these are a by-product implemented by organizations and governments. When evaluating the impact of FDI on women's social and economic rights, I look at the changes of these rights as a result of the bilateral context.

FDI affects women in different parts of the world and within social groupings differently. For example, regions with industries that are export-driven lead to establishment of new firms that create job opportunities that impact women and men differently. For instance, empirical evidence shows a notable increase of women employment rates in countries such as Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Bangladesh; however, the opportunities offer low remuneration and poor working conditions (Tejani and Milberg, 2016). For developing countries, such job opportunities do not offer a chance for higher living standards or a better quality of life, which in essence does not contribute to the betterment of women's social rights. Low standards of living, poor education, lack of social security and affordability of housing, among others still persist (Lipumba, 1999).

In contrast, for developed countries, FDI is featured with two-edged impact. FDI contributes to the formation of dominant policies that help in combating inflation and facilitating economic growth. On the flipside, FDI inflows may create a platform that promotes income polarization, leading to higher levels of unemployment and social exclusion across the society. (Bakker, 1999). This causes markets to shift from being more socialist to more capitalist in nature. Initiating a downsizing of the welfare system causes displacement of the functions of public welfare to the home and market. This increases socioeconomic burdens on women, particularly in their tendency to the laboring of their efforts in the invisible economy (Orford, 1998). Some studies link the increase of women sexual exploitation in the form of trafficking for prostitution, especially in countries experiencing rapid economic transformation, to poverty (Coomaraswamy, 2000). Social and economic rights are jeopardized when addressing women's position in the global economy in the face of market liberalization and hence FDI. Measuring FDI's impact on women's social rights specifically can be challenging since the impact is an indirect consequence to the economic opportunity that FDI presents. Looking at the bilateral context of FDI as the independent variable might help limit the potential factors that influence women's social rights due to trade openness. Treating FDI as one concept -which encapsulates different types of investments-, contributes to the inaccuracies representing the impact on women's rights, specifically within the literature. The stance investor-country's take with respect to women's rights in a recipient country demonstrates the debates and inaccuracies in literature. Through more robust empirical results we are able to tell a clear story and explain the incongruity in findings. Secondly, a change in male terms of exit in the face of globalization will shift the balance of power between the genders given that work and wages matrix is structured to challenge the traditional gender roles (Beneria & Roldan 1987; Kabeer 2004; Roldan 1988; Tiano 1994; Kusagoet al. 2001; Agarwal 1994). The shift in gender roles showcases FDI's impact on women's economic rights, which

subsequently influence their social rights. This means that the shift in women's social rights is closely intertwined with their economic rights. An example of this is with the entry of multinational enterprises (MNEs) in the recipient economy. MNEs create a tough environment with high competition to domestic companies, which depending on the industry, creates fluctuations in the gender wage gap. Focusing only on gender discrimination, would mean that women and men have equal productive capacities, equal skill sets and present perfect substitutes to each other across all sectors. Foreign firms requiring specific skill sets, based on their respective sector, would drive the demand for either gender. This variance in demand would differ greatly from the needs of domestic firms. FDI inflows can foster and influence significant inter-industry forces on the gender wage gap (Oostendorp, 2004).

Thirdly, examining the ways FDI impacts women's social rights is complicated because in most cases it is an indirect consequence to reforms. To accurately measure visible or tangible shifts in social rights, scholars need to look at the different mechanisms that can affect those rights. Unless legislation shows that some laws directly addressing social rights have changed due to the FDI a country has received, scholars cannot directly measure the impact. FDI impacts social rights through spill over effects of changes in economic rights standards, as different mechanisms empowering women and men economically, allows them to change their social status in a country. Factors such as legislation giving women autonomy to obtain a passport without a man's permission can be credited to women having more economic freedom and financial authority. A shift in gender norms in the household occurs as well. Ultimately, demand can grow for such cultural liberalization, which is an indirect impact of FDI on the economy.

Laws giving women autonomy and shifting gender roles require change of normative culture and ending practices of discrimination, which may be ineffective with legislation alone. Strong focus on equal rights may shadow the many entrenched and active assumptions

about gender, which inform societal practices, and systematically continue to handicap women. Therefore, any austerity measures and economic crises would continue affecting women in a disproportionate manner, especially those with low income. Women who publicly speak about issues of gender equality find themselves on the receiving end of the attacks, ranging from gender-specific stunts to rape threats (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) due to resistance to cultural change. Women in public are often assessed not by their professional amplitude but by their impression or appearance, and these are usually held to gender-specific qualities or value, which diverts the attention from the actual issue. A woman's status is treated by society as an impediment to reaching certain goods in the professional or social context. Studies Looking into the limitations of social change and gender stereotypes show the convictions that harden the gender stereotypes founded in cultures. (Smith, 2014). In attempting to reform the gender-stereotypes, policy or legislative intervention must acknowledge the strong forces restraining such changes, especially the ingrained cultural unorthodoxy. Recognizing such particularities and complexities in the social and economic context help in reducing fragmentation to support cultural liberalization as an indirect impact of FDI.

In many developing countries, economic empowerment and the expectation that come with economic openness aim to supersede the existing cultural diversity. Increased cultural diversity is regarded as an important indicator and a barrier to positive development. Countries with higher levels of cultural diversity, particularly linguistic and ethnic fractionalization, are typically "affiliated with poorer conditions of governance and institutions" (Kolo, 2012). Ethnic diversity is tied to higher levels of corruption, which erode institutions and render them incapable of effectively providing public goods. The corrupt institutions, particularly the "gendered institutions," generate resistance and backlash to the impact of FDI on women's social rights (Kolo, 2012). Ethnic fractionalization encourages violence and crime, which facilitates conflict in social organizations. Cultural diversity leads to civil wars, which

polarizes ethnic groups and perpetuates poverty, making economic progress challenging (Goren, 2014). This in turn impacts women's rights, particularly in marginalized groups. Language diversity increases the cost of transactions which lead to development of policies that restrain growth as well (Grafton et al., 2004). Typically, the barriers of communication in a social institution prevent the exchange of ideas and lead to competing demands, inefficiencies, and distrust, which undermines the utility of FDI. FDI may thus fail to have a positive impact on social rights in countries with cultural diversity. Clearly, ethnic fractionalization would stunt the impact of FDI on social rights as the heightened conflict between ethnic groups distorts the social rights already available for women in these ethnic groups. Determining the impact of FDI on women's social rights requires examining those rights across diverse ethnic groups since social rights are enjoyed differently by different groups of women.

On the other hand, FDI could encourage a more liberal culture. Advocates of globalization assert that focusing on gender equality and opportunity for women is 'smart economics', (Berik & Rodgers 2012). Since new channels for revenue generation are introduced, many women choose to own their own businesses and start initiatives conveniently situated around their family demands. Women tend to engage in self-employment when paid employment opportunities are scarce (Misra, Welsh and Fang, 2014). However, women's entrepreneurship is another factor affected by FDI, which is not the subject of contention in this chapter. However, to realize the positive impact of FDI on women's social rights, the complexity of such relationships cannot be ignored.

Labor Policies and Women's Rights in Relation to FDI

Reform of labor policies can help reduce gender inequality by addressing the civil liberties of laborers, particularly working in labor-intensive positions, and addressing the procreative obligations of female employees. FDI in return is seen as a tool to shape policy,

which can impact civil liberties for female laborers in the receiving countries. As mentioned previously, the theoretically expected returns for women in the face of Foreign Direct Investment's economic and social opportunity do not reflect the actual expectations. For example, in Bangladesh, countless deaths and inhumane working conditions have been attributed to such investment stemming from FDI. Majority of the employees in the garment industry in Bangladesh are poorly paid women since they mainly work in the most available opportunities as expendable subordinate staff without career growth opportunities. Several giant multinationals such as Walmart, H&M, Gap, and Nike among others obtain their supplies from the garment industry in Bangladesh (Hrw.org, 2019). Workers in those industries are exposed to harsh working conditions especially when the firms fail to meet the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) requirements. By failing to comply with these guidelines, the multinational companies in the recipient countries breach labor regulations and policies, especially regarding minimum wages, work, health, and safety. In the event of accidents, the workers suffer harm or death which is not compensated by the company. For example, 1,100 workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh, died following the collapse of a factory in 2013 (ILO, 2013).

When multinationals offer extremely low wages for their female workers, contrary to the labor regulations, it reflects the disadvantages of FDI to the host country. Early in 2019, 5,000 workers, mostly women in the giant garment industry in Bangladesh were fired for protesting low wages (Bain, 2019). In response to the quest of firing the workers, the representatives of these factories accused the workers of vandalism and looting and not protesting. Multinationals usually resist reforms in labor laws that benefit workers where companies such as H&M were dissatisfied with the government's decision to raise the monthly minimum wage in Bangladesh from $63 to $96 (Hrw.org, 2019). Although the H&M representatives affirmed their commitment to freedom of association and human rights, their

actions like many other multinationals have shown contradictory responses to their declared support for human rights in general and gender equality specifically (Hrw.org, 2019).

Further evidence shows that the segmentation of the labor market by gender has led to the concentration of women employees in textiles, garments, and electronics industries, where labor cost is low due to the fierce competition in the global market (UNCTC/ILO, 1988; Starnberg Institute, 1989). Transnational corporations prefer employing women to men due to the low demand of unit labor cost (Elson & Pearson, 1981). Typically, women's wages are relatively lower than men's, especially when women have less access to education and training and are perceived by employers as more 'productive' in the available low-skilled jobs (Birdsall and Richard Sabot, 1992). Another feature acknowledged by potential employers in the garment industry and textiles which attracts hiring to women are their 'nimble fingers', which makes them more obedient and hence more reliable for tedious work. (Lin, 1985; Anker et al., 1985; Fernández-Kelly, 1983). This shows a reluctance for career advancement in the global market, which emphasizes a social stigma for what women are capable of contributing to the market, creating gender discrimination in the context of women's social and economic rights advancement.

Changes due to trade openness and market liberalization, of which the bilateral context is a product, tends to affect both genders' stability unequally in terms of employment. Increased women employment in the export-oriented firms reflects the weak bilateral flow of FDI in the initial or least chain of production. In other words, the shift in the firms' economic position is affecting the status of employment for both men and women differently because both genders are utilized varying positions and skills in the chain of production. Women are also employed at the earliest chain of production bearing in mind their low level of education and expertise compared to men's. At the initial stage, the firm may be building its capacity in terms of technology and expertise; a typical position when bilateral FDI context is weak. At that point,

women are massively recruited in these firms. However, following the advancement or expansion of the firm's capacity and intensive use of technology due to globalization -the bilateral context of FDI flow strengthens - firms replace women for higher skilled workers, of whom are typically men. As a result, women lose employment, and are marginalized, implying deterioration of women's economic and thus social rights.

Scholars in the international political economy literature relied on a superficial concept of women's economic rights, where they focused solely on FDI's impact on labor rights specifically and labeled it as a sufficient variable to indicate women's economic rights. Such empirical studies have focused on what the International Labor Organization (ILO) deems fundamental rights such as forced labor and employment discrimination (Neumayer & Soysa, 2007). As such, focusing on labor rights as the sole unidimensional determinant of FDI's impact on women's economic rights does not explain the human development factor of a country, where misrepresentation of economic rights impedes the explanation of how women benefit in all dimensions of economic empowerment due to FDI. Labor rights alone do not capture the overall country's respect for women's economic rights and involvement in human development. In other words, literature has been lacking in quantitatively measuring nonmarket work for women, such as fertility, urbanization, educational access, and public provision of childcare, which affect women's labor rights and market supply in a multitude of ways. For instance, women are prone to infertility issues in developing countries due to poor maternal care, unsafe abortions, and lack of health insurance. Infertility creates annihilating social stigma, which is rooted in the stereotypes of gender. (In)fertility implies the respect for multiple human rights particularly in planning for the spacing and timing to have children, reproductive and sexual health, informed consent and non-discrimination, childcare facilities, and opportunity to enter the market due to familial support for mothers.

Infertility is a major issue as it affects millions around the world. Access to information and treatment by individuals is difficult due to inadequate assisted reproductive, awareness and communications tools. The lack of prioritization of health conditions such as (in)fertility in the making of labor policies and regulations, especially in the workplace undermine the rights of workers with such conditions. The application of Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) in firms may require an intersectional approach that incorporates issues of Sexual Reproductive Health (SRC), among others like sexual orientation, gender identity, and social class.

Additionally, developing economies in Africa are undergoing unprecedented urban growth sponsored by FDI, and these present greater social and economic opportunities, notwithstanding problems of welfare and safety to women. The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) acknowledges that urbanization can provide women with the ability to engage in paid employment, lower the rates of infertility, access better social services, and have the freedom from rigid social norms and values which define women as subordinates to men in the family setting (International Institute for Environment and development, 2013). In contrast, urbanization can be accused of escalating social inequalities in cities, which place women and girls on the receiving end of the associated risk. For instance, UN-HABITAT (2008) showed about 40% of African people living in towns and cities, and 50% of these live in the slums. Thus, governments are burdened with maintaining the infrastructure and services that support the most vulnerable populations – women and girls. The transportation services in urban areas hinder women's mobility due to high cost, and therefore they are prompted to live in poor housing with unsanitary conditions to offset urbanization cost. Hence, the detriments of women's social and economic rights stem from the shortcoming of urbanization influenced by FDI.

In contrast, FDI reinforces higher education and training standards for the employed, particularly the women working for multinationals, to meet the educational job requirements,

allowing them to enjoy their rights fully. Education opens access for the individual to participate in society, and therefore is a significant tool that empowers women socially and economically (UN Women Rights, 2010). The contrast between enjoying such economic rights and having sufficient social rights is stark, because women might not be able to fully utilize educational opportunity when sufficient childcare and family support is not available; hence restraining them from fully participating in economic progress. They take precarious work or part-time leave to balance work and caregiving, which places them at the risk of financial dependence and poverty (Larkin M. & Milne A., 2013). Furthermore, women with low agency without the ability to make their own decisions may be less likely to enter the labor market due to male dominance in the family unit (Braunstein & Folbre, 2001). The multi-level spill over effects on targeting women's economic rights through FDI have not been adequately assessed to show the link between those standards and women's subsequent social rights.

Some of these are identified as effective forces that alter social settings and structures that otherwise restrain women from participating in the labor market. Trade and globalization have led to the accessibility of employment opportunities for women due to favorable time factors; however, the quality of the available positions compares unfavorably with that of their male counterparts (Barrientos et al., 2004; Berik et al., 2009; Bodea, 2018; Dollar & Gatti, 1999). Such observations suggest that the FDI literature might have swept the trend of positive impact on women's economic rights while highlighting misguided results. Hence, measuring the impact of FDI on women's social and economic rights could be divided into the 'ought to be' versus 'what is' in policy implementation.

The impact of globalization is traceable to the corporations' business structure in a corporate responsibility platform. Measuring the actual outcome of the female population's realized opportunity is not studied in the globalization literature. Studies show that FDI leads to gender inequality when women secure opportunities to participate in the labor force because

many firms are increasingly opting for unskilled informal labor (Braunstein, 2006; Ouedraogo et al., 2018). Women are more willing than men to take these positions as they have fewer options. In some cases, informal employment in developing countries is the only form available to women. The inconsistency could be due to scholars not accounting for all aspects of the economy that FDI impacts and the related measures. Informal work is not inherently adverse as most women find these jobs better than unemployment. Informal work also accounts for women's reproductive role, thus enabling them to work and be caregivers (Barrientos et al., 2004). This does not necessarily mean equality for women, yet it makes informal jobs, regardless of their quality or effectiveness, increase exponentially and be the only option readily available to women.

Women are restrained from participating in the labor market by increased gender-wage inequality (World Bank, 2006), which by default is caused by them assuming unpaid labor and childbearing responsibilities (Berik, Rodgers, & Seguino, 2009). The ILO and the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization have been calling for more research to identify the ways of making globalization more gender inclusive (Berrientos, Kabeer & Hossain, 2004). Considering the concerns raised by these organizations, this chapter is important in unravelling and addressing the problem of women's social and economic rights based on the impact of FDI.

FDI's Impact on Women's Social and Economic Rights in a European Context

Trade at a global level has led to socio-economic progress and environmental sustainability due to the interconnectedness of global governments (OECD, 2019). The participation of nations in FDI creates various channels of resources that range from technology to finance, which improve productivity, create jobs, increase exports, enhance knowledge, boost innovation, and improve the quality of life.

The United Nations' guidelines that govern FDI measures utilized by European countries provide a holistic approach demonstrating the diverse impact on both investor and recipient countries. Specifically, indicators and metrics that are used to measure FDI's impact on recipient countries focus on items derived from the United Nations' (U.N.) sustainable development goals. They include productivity and innovation, gender equality, environmental sustainability through carbon footprint monitoring and the quality of employment in general (OECD, 2019). These metrics are a complimentary aspect of OECD's effects, which has a strong role in shaping policies in the respective environment. This also encourages a positive impact of private investment regarding social benefits, especially through the OECD Guidelines for MNEs. This indicates that FDI measures and indicators do not allow for trade-offs between the economic, social, and environmental aspects of a country's sustainable development. FDI assessment qualities in the European context are important since they create a comprehensive picture of the relationship between recipient and investor countries, policies, as well as policy-making processes (OECD, 2019). As a result, these quality indicators become significant assessors of FDI's role in national policy objectives, challenges, and areas in need of policy action in relation to women's social and economic rights. Western European and subsequently, advanced European economies are a great benchmark and point of comparison when arguing for women empowerment as relates to economic progress in developing economies. Europe as a whole has had years of experience ahead of other economies, which scholars can observe, measure and adapt for other economies around the world. Therefore in this chapter I look at Europe's progress in terms of FDI's impact on women's rights as the region always offers 'lessons learned' for others to implement. Finally, Europe has been an innovator in adopting reforms and policies, where its metrics and experiences of such is seasoned for better predictions as opposed to younger economies of today.

Bilateral FDI Context and Women's Social and Economic Rights

Examining FDI through its bilateral context allows for better representation of the causal story; specifically, when evaluating how FDI has affected women's social and economic rights standards in the recipient country (Gopalan & Rajan, 2016). FDI investor countries tend to have different standards of women's social and economic rights especially that investor countries are categorized as developed economies. The countries with lenient standards can only impose similar expectations on the recipient countries, which means that the theorized positive impact of FDI on their women's rights standards would not be realized. Mainstream IR literature has not adequately addressed the bilateral flow of FDI in different contexts to understand the causal story of the impact on women's social and economic rights. Examining FDI through the country's bilateral flow would help in understanding the influence such investment has on the receiving country, which is essential for effective policy advocacy (Gopalan & Rajan, 2016; Haftel, 2010; Tobin & Busch, 2010; Hattari & Rajan, 2009; Kerner, 2009).

The solution I propose for the misalignment between theoretical expectations and actual observations in the CTT hypothesis can be addressed through exploring the relationship between the two countries involved in FDI and developing a more comprehensive outlook for women's social and economic rights in participating countries. Specifically, looking at country-to-country investment flows is the factor that could address the micro-level causal relationship regarding the occurrence of economic participation levels and which country is responsible for which outcome. Such observation has been identified by scholars as the 'push' and 'pull' factors that host and investor countries exert on one another, which ultimately influence the outcome of both players' investment and economy (Khan, Mughal, Ahmed, & Cai, 2017). Looking at the specific bilateral context would help scholars understand the social and economic impact on women's rights, but it also helps identify the investor's intentions to

invest for any strategic interests. For example, scholars have found that BRICS countries were identified as tax havens and became the main targets for investor countries, where their tax legislation resulted in the strengthening of the recipient country's emerging market and economic opportunity for women (Gopalan & Rajan 2016).

Cross-sectional data will help scholars view the macroeconomic and macro-social context for applicable generalizations in the literature. Since different observations have been made on the impact of both the investor and recipient country (OECD, 2008) like changing market conditions and increasing/decreasing wages due to market demand, examining the bilateral flow becomes even more important to minimize the causal factors to the observed relationship (Busse & Nunnenkamp, 2009). While the literature has been mixed with positive and negative impact on women's social and economic rights, one factor that could shed light on the debate would be examining the bilateral FDI context; especially when the literature has shown that the impact on women's economic rights were mixed (Blanton & Blanton, 2015). This could mean that FDI's target and impact differs according to the country giving and receiving the investment; especially when developing countries have received about 50% of the global FDI as compared to 26% in 1980 (UNCTAD, 2014).

As FDI aims at economic growth, the bilateral context could also shed light on the discrepancies between countries' level of economic empowerment within their female population. As many of the developing countries stagnate or are in what is known as the 'gender inequality trap' (Hiller, 2014), women tend to be disproportionately disadvantaged due to limiting social conditions that have not allowed for economic prosperity. There are bound to be regional and geographical differences that contribute to the variation in economic growth through FDI and its subsequent impact on women's social rights in particular. For example, it has been noted that women's rights to equal inheritance of land and property is directly related to a country's economic growth (Scalise, 2009). Hence, parsing out the significant factors

affecting women's social and economic rights through the bilateral flow of FDI is essential. Ignoring such discrepancy could present a bias in empirical testing, where FDI's statistics on women's rights in developed countries can overshadow that of developing countries. Results cannot be lumped together without disaggregating the origin.

The literature has mainly focused on regional effects in terms of the impact of FDI on women's social and economic rights (Ver beek 2001; Neumayer & Soysa, 2007; Yu et al., 2019). Many of these analyses shed light on the idea that FDI is a channel by which women can enhance both their social and economic standards. The bilateral flows of FDI and women's economic rights can be conceptualized in terms of female employment, especially in countries with sizable FDI inflows, such as parts of the Caribbean, East and Southeast Asia, and Latin America. Evidence shows a huge share of women employees in export-oriented, labor-intensive manufacturing sectors and related factories (Braunstein, 2006); however other studies show a decline of women employment in the export sector by region/country; for instance, the decline of women employees in export-oriented zones (EPZs) from 1980 to 1990 in the Philippines, Korea, and Malaysia (Joekes, 1999). We can use FDI inflow to understand its causal effects on the decline/incline of women's employment in the host country.

The Mexican maquiladora industry demonstrates the high impact of FDI on women's social and economic standards (Fussell, 2000; Dominguez et al., 2019). The 1980s debt crisis forced firms to downsize and take measures to save their operations, which implies a shift in FDI flows. Women took employment in export-oriented firms in India at the least valued chain of production, and later were furthest removed when formal employment opportunities emerged (Fussell, 2000; Dominguez et al., 2019). It shows that export-oriented firms at their critical stage of economic decay, particularly during the weak bilateral context of FDI flows, are likely to have more women in their labor force in the most unfavorable working conditions.

In sum, I argue that inconsistent theoretical claims and empirical findings on the FDI-women's social and economic rights relationship in previous literature could be rectified by examining the bilateral context of FDI flows. Based on the aforementioned discussion and theoretical expectation, I present the following hypotheses to test.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a: *As the bilateral FDI context increases, women's economic rights are likely to deteriorate in the recipient country.*

Hypothesis 1b: *As the bilateral FDI context increases, women's social rights are likely to deteriorate in the recipient country.*

Research Design

Variables and Data

Dependent Variable

To evaluate the impact of the bilateral FDI context on women's social and economic rights, I utilize a dataset that includes 151 countries from 1990-2011. As for the dependent variables, I use two specific women's human rights variables from the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) human rights dataset; namely women's economic rights and women's social rights (Cingranelli, Richards & Clay, 2014). I elect to use specific rights rather than a broader index or measure that combines many conditions and rights to quantify an overall status of women empowerment. CIRI data provides more simplicity in obtaining direct results without parsing out multiple indices that went into creating the variables themselves. The CIRI database is a Human Rights database that contains quantitative information on government respect for 15 internationally recognized human rights that are standards-based. This was collected for 202 countries annually from 1981 to 2011. This database aids in developing theories around

questions of the causes and consequences of human rights violations in various contexts. The indicators collected are physical integrity rights index, disappearance, extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, torture, empowerment rights index, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of foreign movement, freedom of domestic movement, freedom of speech, electoral self-determination, freedom of religion, worker's rights, independence of the judiciary, women's economic rights, women's political rights, and women's social rights. This research focuses on the indicators specific to women's rights.

The reliability of this database allows for an adaptation of a larger-N sample for better generalizability as well as a clear cross-sectional time series modelling to see how women's human rights have progressed throughout the years. As I attempt to respect the complexity of measuring women's rights, the CIRI database is lucrative for its ease of access and simpler interpretation.

The measure of women's economic rights is constructed of internationally recognized rights such as equal pay for equal work, the right to obtain employment without a custodian or guardian's consent, equality in hiring and promotion practices, job security, non-discrimination by employers, and the right to work at night. The index is on a scale from zero (0) to three (3), where the latter posits that women have almost all their economic rights guaranteed by law. This measure also indicates that in practice, the government strictly enforces those laws and the tolerance to discrimination is almost entirely non-existent against women. As for the measure for women's social rights, this index includes the right to equal inheritance, the right to travel abroad, the right to obtain a passport, and the right to initiate a divorce among others. The index includes zero (0), where there are no social rights for women under the law and there exists systematic discrimination based on sex that may be apparent within the law, and three (3), where nearly all the women's social rights are guaranteed and protected under the law. The government also adheres and enforces those protections in practice. Unfortunately, this

measure has been discontinued by the CIRI data reporting in 2007, therefore, there might be a limited number of observations that may hinder accurate results for the relationship in question.

It is essential here to take time to shed light on the complexity of women's human rights in terms of adequately measuring those in a way that does not compromise the complex interplay of what makes up social and economic rights for women. In every region, due to cultural, religious, and historical path dependencies, social rights specifically are placed on a huge spectrum that homogenizing them in one measure would result in great misrepresentation of the reality on ground.

Scholars have identified women's rights within three broad categories: political, social, and economic. Each category coincides with a plethora of complexity when it comes to defining and assessing such rights. The United Nations identifies women's rights in terms of global gender equality within the economic, political, and social spheres developed through the gender development index (GDI) (Human Development Report, 2014). This index was developed together with the Gender Empowerment Measure in 1995 in the Human Development Report by the UN Development Program (Klasen, 2006). The GDI measures factors constituting gender equality such as a gender dimension within the Human Development Index (HDI). This index mostly focuses on the impact of human development on existing gender gaps in the three components of the HDI: life expectancy, education, and income (Human Development Report, 2014; Klasen, 2006). It is essential to note that the GDI cannot be used on its own as a measure for gender gaps and it has to be accompanied by the HDI.

Following this development, scholars have used other measures to accurately test their hypotheses in different countries as well as to use measures that can exclusively test women's rights without the dependency of other indices. Contingent upon the research question, Hudson

et al. (2012) for example developed a novel dataset on women and violence in their book, where the measure created new avenues of testing women's rights in terms of violence, aggression, and civil war. This database known as *WomenStat* was added to the GDI measures in terms of legal and cultural practices in 174 countries. Others focus on a single measure such as life expectancy and how civil conflict affects that within the gender gap (Plumper & Neumayer, 2006).

In the development and economic literature, access to quality jobs, wages, and labor rights for women has been the focal measure on gender equality and women's rights (Siegmann, 2006; Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013; Cruces et al., 2005). Access to political positions in the government and civil service are also other measures used. Looking at a recent measure that has been offered as a remedy in evaluating the gender gap on a global scale is the World Economic Forum (WEF). Established in 2006, the global gender gap offers a stable measure that updates based on yearly analysis of measured results. The 2018 World Economic Forum report showed a slight improvement in the gender gap, but women's political empowerment lagging behind. The main four sub-indices that the forum measures are: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. The measures are not very different from the traditional measures used for human rights and women's human rights in the GDI, however, the three concepts that the forum relies on is a novel approach for the measure (World Economic Forum, 2018). Those concepts guide the user on their scale and how the data should be treated. The data shows a focus on gaps instead of levels, outcomes instead of inputs, and measure gender equality instead of women's empowerment. Still remains the question about formulating each measure to fit the myriad of diversity within developing countries. Women in developing countries have different cultural norms and behavioral expectations that act as unique path dependencies to the paralleled measures generated from observing women in developed countries. This lack of

disaggregation yielded the plethora of literature in comparative politics, critical theory, and more to focus on segments of women in specific regions; hence the increased number of qualitative data on the subject and the scarcity of literature in the IR field with large-N quantitative data.

Explanatory Variables

The key explanatory variable in the study is the bilateral FDI context. This variable is calculated by taking the average women's human rights scores in each area of a country's investment origin and weighing those by the volume of investment received from each origin country in a given year. For instance, countries that receive FDI from investing countries with high women's economic rights score high values on the *Bilateral FDI Context* variable and the opposite applies with countries receiving FDI from investors with low women's economic rights scores, which will have low values on the variable. The *Bilateral FDI Context* illustrates the specific nature of a country's investment ties to show the investment-related causal mechanism for the transmission of women's human rights. I also include *FDI stock* as another variable to control for the impact of accumulated FDI on women's human rights. FDI data was taken from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2017).

Similar to Greenhill et al. (2009), the calculation of the variable can be expressed as follows: $BilateralInvestmentContext_i = \sum_1^j \quad Womenrights_j \times \frac{Investment_j}{Totalreceivedinvestment_i}$

where $Investment_j$ represents the volume of investment sent from country *j* to country *i*, $Total\ received\ investment_i$ represents the total volume of investment country *i* receives from all its investment partners, and $Women\ rights_j$ refers to the relevant women's rights score for investment sender *j*.

Control Variables

I have included several control variables that explain women's human rights conditions, which are also associated with FDI flows. Economic performance, while it is associated with both FDI flows and respect for women's human rights, I include GDP per capita variable as a control for the level of economic development. The level of trade openness is likely to be associated with FDI flows, which in return contributes to changing economic and social conditions domestically, hence affecting women's human rights standards. For this factor, I include the sum of exports and imports of goods and services as a percentage of GDP as a measure of the level of trade openness. Trade and GDP per capita data comes from the World Bank and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These two variables are expected to have positive effects on women's human rights.

Population data comes from the World Bank. As the population of a given country increases in size, the likelihood of respecting human rights in general and women's human rights in particular decreases due to the increased cost of social provisions as governments need to meet demand. The population variable is log-transformed. I also include government expenditure as a proxy for government preference to regulate Multinational Corporations (MNCs), as it is the norm following other literature in this field (Kim & Trumbore, 2010). Government expenditure is likely to be positively associated with women's human rights.

Regime types are closely tied to women's human rights and FDI flows (Jensen, 2003; Olson, 1993; Li & Resnick, 2003). Democracies are more likely to have higher scores for respect of women's human rights than non-democracies. The democracy variable is measured using the Polity IV dataset (Marshall, Gurr & Jaggers, 2013). To simplify the interpretation of the variable, I add ten (10) to the original values, with the new scale for this measure varying from zero (0) for least democratic to twenty (20) for most democratic. As regime types equate

to stability and in return explain conflict in a country, I utilize a dataset produced by Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCPD) and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) to control for the influence of conflict on women's human rights (Gleditsch et al., 2002). International or internal conflict is also believed to be correlated with FDI flows (Bussmann, 2010; Jensen, 2006; Maher, 2015) and can deteriorate women's human rights conditions. This variable is coded as zero (0) for no conflict, one (1) for international or internal conflict with 25 to 999 battle-related deaths in a given year, or two (2) for at least 1,000 battle-related deaths.

To account for regional differences in women's rights standards, I also include regional dummies for countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, countries in other regions such as Oceania are in the reference category. Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1. In addition, a dummy variable for OECD countries was incorporated in the data set that was used as a filter when running models for OECD and non-OECD countries.

Estimation

To account for reverse causality, since women's human rights conditions in a recipient country may affect FDI inflows (Blanton & Blanton, 2007; Busse & Hefeker, 2007; Harms & Ursprung, 2002), I utilize an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression. The existence of reverse causality may cause biased and inconsistent estimates of the model. A viable instrumental variable that I use is calculated by the sum of the inverse of bilateral inter-capital geographical distance between the host country (noted as i in the formula) and the twenty richest economies (as j) in the world multiplied by their GDP per capita, hence the Remoteness variable as calculated by Pinto and Zhu (2016). The GDP per capita is based on purchasing power parity, constant 2011 international dollars; the formula is denoted as follows:

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
Women Social Rights	6,015	0.290	0.719	0	3
Bilateral FDI Context (women social rights)	6,015	0.229	0.664	0	3
FDI Stock (women social rights)	6,015	0.179	0.576	0	3
Women Economic Rights	2,017	2.499	0.625	0	3
Bilateral FDI Context (women economic rights)	6,015	0.527	0.908	0	8
FDI Stock (women economic rights)	6,015	0.450	0.834	0	3
Democracy	4,089	12.079	7.111	0	20
Government Spending	3,162	16.181	7.613	0.911	135.794
GDP Per Capita	5,340	7.901	1.590	4.028	11.394
Population	5,340	8.463	2.149	2.099	14.109
Trade	4,240	80.931	48.325	0.021	531.737
Conflict	4,095	0.194	0.494	0	2
Western	6,015	0.179	0.383	0	1
Europe	6,015	0.241	0.428	0	1
Africa	6,015	0.242	0.428	0	1
Middle East	6,015	0.119	0.323	0	1
Asia	6,015	0.149	0.357	0	1

$$Remoteness_i = \sum_{j=1}^{20} \frac{1}{distance_{ij}} \times GDPpercapita_j$$

A good instrumental variable should be a strong predictor of FDI inflows but theoretically not associated with women's human rights standards in a recipient country. This variable is positively associated with FDI inflows but is not supposed to be correlated with women's human rights standards. Moreover, to further reduce the bias from possible reverse causality, all right-hand variables in the equation are lagged by one year.

I employ the ordered probit model estimation to account for the measure of the dependent variables being ordinal. Lastly, since I utilize an instrumental variable method with the 2SLS, I generate bootstrapped samples with 1,000-time iterations as a way to obtain consistent standard errors. From the model, clarify software was utilized in simulating the result and testing the effect of bilateral FDI, on women's rights. The output from the analysis is presented as graphs.

In the analysis phase of the research, Ordered Probit (Oprobit) regression model has been selected because the responsive variables were ordinal. Running an ordered probit regression model and having valid results is associated with the model meeting set assumptions. The omodel and brant methods were used to test the proportional odds assumption. After testing for the assumptions, it was found that the ordered probit models evaluating women's economic and social rights, did not meet the proportional odds assumption and the parallel regression assumption. Table 2 presents the test of assumption result for brant and omodel methods, in which both methods show that the assumptions were violated.

As the ordered probit model violated the assumptions, a generalized ordered logistic (gologit) model using gologit2 was considered as it allows for testing the association of the dependent and independent variables with less restriction as compared to parallel-lines models. Vincent Fu's generalized ordered logistic regression model routine played an important role in

the development of gologit2 (Williams, 2006) that facilitated analysing data using generalized ordered logistic regression model. The adoption of generalized ordered logistic regression model was also to evaluate if violation of assumptions by the ordered probit model would impact the estimation of the impact of bilateral FDI on women's rights.

Results and Discussion

Assessing the Association of the impact of FDI on women's social and economic rights through Ordered logistic models

Assessment of the effect of bilateral FDI on women's economic and social rights provided interesting empirical results that warrant further analysis to unfold the causal relationship. Unlike most previous studies, I found positive and negative relationships between bilateral FDI and women's rights. The study recognized that bilateral FDI drives down and in rare cases improves women's rights conditions in FDI recipient countries when ignoring the ordered probit regression assumptions.

As Table 3 shows, bilateral FDI was found to have statistically significant negative impact on women's economic rights for non-OECD countries, and a positive but not significant impact in OECD countries when controlling and not controlling for trade openness and conflict as shown in models 1.1 through 1.4. This means that FDI drives down women's economic rights standards in recipient countries except for OECD countries. This association of bilateral FDI with women's rights is not accurate as the model violates the proportional odds assumptions. For OECD countries, an increase in the bilateral FDI by 1 unit result in increase in the log odds of a country increasing respect to women's economic rights by 0.037 and 0.047 when not controlling and controlling trade openness and conflict respectively. Even so, this increase is not significant. Therefore, even with relaxing of the assumption of ordered probit, FDI does not have a significant influence on women economic rights in OECD countries.

Table 2. Results on violation of the odds ratio assumptions

		Women's economic rights model			Women's Social rights model		
		chi2	**p>chi2**	**df**	**chi2**	**p>chi2**	**df**
	All	214.35	0.000	26	369.08	0.000	22
Brant Test	Bilateral FDI Context	42.45	0.000	2	24.61	0.000	2
	Bilateral FDI Stock Context	4.23	0.121	2	8.86	0.012	2
	Democracy	5.6	0.061	2	14.85	0.001	2
	Government Expenditure	34.48	0.000	2	65.49	0.000	2
	GDP Per Capita	56.8	0.000	2	156.33	0.000	2
	Population	8.69	0.013	2	6.95	0.031	2
	Trade	3.08	0.215	2	1.68	0.432	2
	Conflict	2.34	0.310	2	8.86	0.012	2
	Western	11.19	0.004	2	27.63	0.000	2
	Europe	9.05	0.011	2	58.38	0.000	2
	Africa	3.96	0.138	2			
	Middle East	9.63	0.008	2			
	Asia	3.2	0.202	2	11.55	0.003	2
Omodel	chi2(26) = 192.68				chi2(24) = 480.53		
	Prob > chi2 = 0.0000				Prob > chi2 = 0.0000		

Note. A significant test statistic provides evidence that the parallel regression assumption has been violated.

For the non-OECD countries, increase in bilateral FDI is associated with deterioration of women's economic rights with the decrease being significant. For instance, when controlling for trade openness and conflict, an increase of bilateral FDI by 1 unit result in decrease of the log odds of a country respecting women's economic rights by 0. 154, and by 0.158 when not controlling for the two factors in non-OECD. Therefore, when relaxing of ordered probit regression model assumptions, increase in bilateral FDI in a non-OECD recipient country leads to deterioration of women's economic rights.

Ignoring the assumption violation, table 4 presents the estimation result of the effect of bilateral FDI on women's social rights. The bilateral FDI context was found not to have any significant effect on women's social rights for recipient countries irrespective of it being under OECD or Non-OECD. Bilateral FDI had a negative effect on women's social rights for OECD countries and a positive effect for non-OECD countries.

Women's social rights are difficult to grasp in models as such due to their varying implications and visibility in society, where they tend to be practiced outside the written governmental law in more traditional familiar customs, tribal traditions, and religious covenants; hence capturing a direct relationship that would yield statistically significant results in this model would be challenging. The empirical results provide support for my expectations on the control variables. Democracies are likely to maintain higher levels of women's human rights than non-democracies. The level of economic development is also positively associated with women's human rights conditions and standards. Finally, countries with larger population sizes tend to have lower women's human rights standards than countries with a small population.

Table 3. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context on Women's economic Rights, 1990-2011† for OECD and non-OECD countries

	OECD		**Non-OECD**	
Variables	**Model 1.1**	**Model 1.2**	**Model 1.3**	**Model 1.4**
Bilateral FDI Context	0.037(0.148)	0.047(0.152)	-0.158(0.047) ***	-0.154(0.049) ***
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	-0.027(0.109)	-0.035(0.109)	0.06(0.04)	0.054(0.039)
Democracy	0.053(0.11)	0.045(0.102)	0.018(0.005) ***	0.019(0.005) ***
Government Expenditure	0.071(0.02)***	0.074(0.021)***	0.024(0.006)***	0.025(0.006)***
GDP Per Capita	1.334(0.157)***	1.318(0.159)***	0.148(0.029)***	0.114(0.03)***
Population	0.02 (0.05)	-0.001(0.077)	-0.19(0.02)***	-0.16(0.021)***
Trade		0 (0.002)		0.001 (0.001)*
Conflict		0.375(0.271)		-0.183(0.051)***
Western	-0.278(0.291)	-0.315(0.301)	0.095(0.261)	0.084(0.27)
Europe	-0.882(0.229)***	-0.872(0.222)***	-0.083(0.257)	-0.098(0.264)
Africa	0 (0)***	0 (0)***	-0.525(0.258)**	-0.553(0.265)**
Middle East	-0.418(0.491)	-0.912(0.6)	-0.864(0.266)***	-0.809(0.277)***
Asia	-3.681(0.74)***	-3.615(0.772)***	0.263(0.261)	0.215(0.272)
N	566	566	2195	2183
-2LL	-353.67301	-352.38189	-1704.7336	-1686.5775
χ^2-statistic	146.25***	140.6***	392.92***	392.39***
Pseudo R2	0.286	0.2886	0.1272	0.1289

† Ordered Probit estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05, *p ≤ 0.10. Models 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5 are without conflict and trade variables, while Models 1.2, 1.4, and 1.6 incorporates conflict and trade.

Table 4. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context and Women's social Human Rights, 1990-2011† for OECD and non-OECD countries

	OECD		NON-OECD	
Variables	**Model 1.1**	**Model 1.2**	**Model 1.3**	**Model 1.4**
Bilateral FDI Context	-0.151(0.198)	-0.19(0.21)	0.013(0.064)	0.01(0.066)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0.007(0.135)	0.009(0.143)	0.029(0.053)	0.032(0.055)
Democracy	0.171(0.082)**	0.174(0.086)***	0.006(0.006)	0.007(0.006)
Government Expenditure	0.137(0.023)***	0.138(0.023)***	0.005(0.005)	0.005(0.005)
GDP Per Capita	0.845(0.142)***	0.849(0.147)***	0.084(0.033)***	0.057(0.036)
Population	-0.053(0.058)	0.028(0.096)	-0.22(-0.022)***	-0.201(0.025)***
Trade		0.003(0.003)		0(0.001)
Conflict		-0.265(0.246)		-0.193(0.053)***
Western	-1.049(0.547)*	-1.203(0.507)***	-0.271(0.33)	-0.264(0.326)
Europe	-0.955(0.494)***	-1.085(0.43)***	-0.227(0.339)	-0.227(0.329)
Africa	0(0)***			-1.377(0.341)***
Middle East	-1.536(0.599)***	-1.279(0.65)***	-2.4(0.363)***	-2.355(0.359)***
Asia	-3.871(0.63)***	-4.037(0.571)***	-0.421(0.346)	-0.422(0.344)
N	371	371	1510	1503
-2LL	-241.425	-240.32527	-1180.5927	-1171.1516
χ^2-statistic	173.46***	160.35***	448.61***	451.24***
Pseudo R2	0.337	0.34	0.2111	0.2143

† Ordered Probit estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Model 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5 are without conflict and trade, while Model 1.2, 1.4, and 1.6 incorporate conflict and trade variables

Assessing the Association of FDI on women's social and economic rights through Generalized Ordered Logistic Regression models

The evaluation of the association between bilateral FDI and women's human rights was tested through the generalized ordered logistic (Gologit) regression models as the result of ordered probit models were not reliable due to the models violating the proportional odds assumptions. The generalized ordered logistic regression models' results are more reliable as the regression assumptions are met and are used to evaluate the association of FDI on women's social and economic rights.

The output of the analysis was interesting, and it provided new insights that require further discussion of the impact of FDI and FDI stock on women's economic and social rights. The adoption of the generalized ordered logistic model has further improved the uniqueness of the empirical results discussed in evaluating the effect of bilateral FDI on women's rights. The results captured the impact of bilateral FDI on women's social and economic rights for OECD, non-OECD and European countries.

Women's economic rights for non-OECD and OECD countries

For the sake of ease of interpretation, the economic rights variable is coded under 4 categories according to the CIRI dataset. The categories are as follows:

Zero (0): Where there are no economic rights for women under the law and there exists systematic discrimination based on sex that may be apparent within the law;

One (1): Where women have some economic rights under law and the level of societal discrimination is moderate;

Two (2): Where women have some economic rights under the law, and they are enforced by the government;

Three (3): Where nearly all the women's economic rights are guaranteed and protected under the law.

As the section progresses, I will be referring to the extent to which each group of countries respects women's economic rights in terms of the four categories: Zero (0), One (1), Two (2) and Three (3).

Models 1.1 through 1.4, presented in table 5 detail the association between women's economic rights and bilateral FDI for Non-OECD and OECD countries respectively. In models 1.2 and 1.4, I included conflict and trade openness control variables to assess their impact on the respect of women's economic rights.

Under generalized ordered logit model 1.1 and 1.2, bilateral FDI has a significant negative impact on the differences in respecting women's economic rights in non-OECD countries when comparing countries with no respect to women economic rights (0) and another group of country with have some economic rights under law (1) to full women economic rights protected under the law (3). As shown, bilateral FDI significantly reduces the probability of respecting women's economic rights, even when countries have scored low on their economic rights categories in non-OECD countries. Instead, it significantly increases the probability of fully restricting women's economic rights. Bilateral FDI did not have a significant effect on creating differences when comparing countries without economic rights for women under law (0) or with some women economic rights under the law but not enforced (1), and countries with some economic rights with the government enforcing them (2), or all economic rights for women guaranteed under law (3). The same result was reported when comparing a group of countries scoring at 3, and a group of countries scoring at the other categories. Controlling for trade and conflict variables did not change the difference between the group of countries assessed as shown in model 1.2. in respecting women's economic rights.

When evaluating OECD countries, bilateral FDI was found to have a significant negative impact on creating a difference on respecting women's economic rights when comparing two groups of countries, one group having a score of 1 and another group scoring

at 2 or 3 as shown in model 1.3. In the comparison, log odds of restricting women's economic rights increase by 1.218. Bilateral FDI did not cause any significant difference between countries that had a score of 3 and countries that had a score of 2 or 1. Similar findings were found when controlling for conflict and trade as presented in model 1.4. Therefore, the countries that received less bilateral FDI were more likely to have higher respect for women's economic rights as compared to those that received more bilateral FDI. From the models, it was evident that the influence of bilateral FDI on women's economic rights differed depending on the degree of respect for women's economic rights in a country for both OECD and non-OECD countries.

Women's social rights for non-OECD and OECD countries

Table 6 presents the result of the generalized ordered logistics regression model estimation for women's social rights for OECD and non-OECD countries. Each of the models 1.4 to 1.8 is represented by three equations. For non-OECD countries, bilateral FDI was identified not to have a significant impact on the difference between the group of countries without women's social rights guaranteed by law (0) and those with some women's rights under the law or those with fully respected women's social rights. Moreover, bilateral FDI was found not to have a significant impact on the differences between a group of countries without women's rights or have some women's rights in laws and not enforced, and those that have some women's rights under the law and enforced by the government or those that have all women's social rights incorporated under the law. In addition, similar findings were identified when comparing countries with full women's rights protection in law, and countries with some women's rights protection in law or those with no women rights in law.

Table 5. The Bilateral FDI Context and Woman's Economic Rights, 1990-2011 †

		NON-OECD		OECD	
	Equations	**Model 1.1**	**Model 1.2**	**Model 1.3**	**Model 1.4**
Bilateral FDI Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.698 (0.132)***	-0.695 (0.146)***		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.143 (0.098)	-0.149 (0.101)	-1.218 (0.389)***	-1.24 (0.432)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. 3	0.774 (0.417)	0.819 (0.485)	0.383 (0.276)	0.325 (0.267)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.123 (0.0942)	0.125 (0.098)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.123 (0.078)	0.1251 (0.081)	0.142 (0.268)	0.15 (0.278)
	0, 1, 2 vs. 3	0.123 (0.495)	0.125 (0.51)	0.1422 (0.180)	0.15 (0.179)
Democracy	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.042 (0.021)**	0.046 (0.02)**		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.042 (0.012)***	0.046 (0.012)***	0.349 (0.257)	0.37 (0.265)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.042 (0.055)	0.046 (0.062)	0.349 (0.392)	0.37 (0.421)
Government Expenditure	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.021 (0.015)	0.017 (0.015)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.053 (0.009)***	0.058 (0.01)***	0.179 (0.101)	0.19 (0.108)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.204 (0.059)***	0.221 (0.063)***	0.179 (0.038)***	0.19 (0.045)***
GDP Per Capita	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.094 (0.096)	-0.029 (0.115)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.369 (0.070)***	0.23 (0.068)***	2.659 (0.440)***	2.641 (0.492)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.142 (0.358)	0.075 (0.471)	2.659 (0.362)***	2.645 (0.409)***
Population	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.350 (0.072)***	-0.403 (0.083)***		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.350 (0.042)***	-0.222 (0.048)***	0.041 (0.208)	0.089 (0.274)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.350 (0.219)	-0.027 (0.254)	0.041 (0.114)	0.090 (0.174)
Trade	0, vs. 1, 2, 3		0.003 (0.005)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3		0.003 (0.001)**		0.002 (0.006)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3		0.003 (0.008)		0.002 (0.003)
Conflict	0, vs. 1, 2, 3		-0.237 (0.149)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3		-0.575 (0.170)***		0.359 (1.807)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3		-14.509 (8.251)		0.359 (0.457)
Western	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	2.899 (4.053)	3.267 (2.789)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.520 (0.500)	-0.636 (0.481)	-11.217 (2.125)***	-12.097 (2.311)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	12.224 (1.870)***	13.039 (1.673)***	-0.938 (0.568)	-1.119 (0.620)
Europe	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	2.509 (3.983)	2.801 (2.496)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.846 (0.504)	-0.965 (0.477)**	-14.236 (1.441)***	-15.225 (1.597)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	11.082 (1.781)***	12.188 (1.559)***	-2.017 (0.464)***	-2.079 (0.497)***

Table 5. Continued.

Africa	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.503 (3.898)	0.712 (2.449)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-1.407 (0.509)***	-1.494 (0.493)***		
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	8.221 (6.152)	9.159 (6.719)		
Middle East	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.0217 (3.926)	0.511 (2.492)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-1.760 (0.533)***	-1.666 (0.524)***	-12.220 (1.974)***	-13.582 (2.833)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	9.526 (6.702)	11.849 (6.980)	-12.220 (1.977)***	-13.582 (2.173)***
Asia	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	2.138 (3.880)	2.579 (2.486)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.020 (0.515)	-0.209 (0.503)	-19.459 (1.606)***	-20.364 (1.716)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	12.712 (1.900)***	13.88 (1.694)***	-19.459 (1.930)***	-20.364 (1.985)***
_cons	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	3.590 (4.142)	4.538 (2.661)		
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-1.412 (0.860)	-2.210 (0.867)**	-19.597 (6.714)***	-19.711 (7.644)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-18.772 (4.714)***	-22.669 (5.122)***	-38.552 (9.607)***	-39.551(11.080)***
N		2195	2183	566	566
-2LL		-1640.2511	-1614	-334	-333
χ^2-statistic		501.79***	526***	371.45***	395.29***
Pseudo R2		0.1602	0.1663	0.3255	0.3267

† General Ordered Logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Model 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5 are without conflict and trade, while Model 1.2, 1.4, and 1.6 incorporate conflict and trade variables

Similar findings were realized when controlling for trade openness and conflict. In all the models for OECD, increase in the bilateral FDI was associated with deterioration of women's social rights. Even so, the deterioration effect is not significant. Therefore, for OECD countries, bilateral FDI had no significant effect on the level of a country's respect for women's social rights. Consequently, irrespective of the amount of bilateral FDI an OECD country received, it will not have any significant influence on women's social rights.

The effect of bilateral FDI on women's social rights for non-OECD countries is presented in model 1.7 and 1.8. In model 1.7, bilateral FDI was identified to have significant negative impact on women's social rights when it comes to the difference between two groups of countries, one being countries that do not have any respect to women's social rights in law, and the other group of countries which have some women's social rights protected by law or have all social rights of women guaranteed in law and enforced by the government. Moreover, bilateral FDI has a significant positive impact on women's social rights when considering the difference between two groups of countries, one group being countries that do not have any respect for women's social rights in law or some have women's social rights in law but not enforced by the government, and another group of countries which have some women's social rights in law that are enforced by the government or have all social rights of women guaranteed in law and enforced by the government. However, Bilateral FDI did not have a significant impact in creating a significant difference between the two groups of countries, one with all social women's rights guaranteed in law and being enforced, and another group that have some women's social rights protected under the law and enforced by the government, or not enforced by government, or not having women's social rights protected under the law. In model 1.8, while incorporating trade openness and conflict, findings on the effect of bilateral FDI on women's social rights are the same. The influence of bilateral FDI on women social rights in non-OECD countries is dependent on the level of respect of social women that a country has.

In comparison of 0 verses 1,2,3 social women rights, the influence is negative that means the bilateral FDI result in significant deterioration of women social rights. On the other hand, comparison 0, 1 verses 2, 3 social women rights groups, bilateral FDI result in significance improvement of the countries respecting of women social rights. Therefore, Bilateral FDI can cause both negative, and positive impact in difference in respecting of women social rights among different groups of countries.

From the generalized ordered logistic regression model, the effect of bilateral FDI on women's social rights was both positive and negative. Therefore, there is no clear trend on the influence of bilateral FDI on women's social rights. The lack of a clear link can be associated with FDI being an economic stimulus that affects economic rights more directly than social rights.

You can say that there is no clear trend to be found in the relationship. Since FDI, as an economic factor, affects economic rights more directly than social rights, it is bound to be difficult to find a direct relationship for social rights unless it is explicitly written in the law and interpreted as such. There might be a conditional factor(s) that affect the link between FDI and women's social rights. Further examination of this possibility is warranted for future research.

The Impact of FDI on women's economic and social rights in Europe

The chapter also evaluated the effect of bilateral FDI on women's economic and social rights in Europe. The choice for Europe is because a previous study by Neumayer and De Soysa, (2007) found that western European countries enjoy more economic advancements as compared to other regions. My approach here aims to assess whether the bilateral FDI context contributes to the improvement of women's rights in a region seen as economically advanced with a longer historical legacy of human rights reforms.

Table 6. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context and Women's social Rights, 1990-2011† for OECD and non-OECD countries

		OECD		NON-OECD	
	Equations	**Model 1.5**	**Model 1.6**	**Model 1.7**	**Model 1.8**
Bilateral FDI Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-3.274 (2.96)	-4.276 (3.074)	-0.457 (0.164)***	-0.474 (0.144)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.718 (1.809)	-1.024 (2.003)	0.491 (0.153)***	0.518 (0.135)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.319 (0.401)	-0.282 (0.429)	0.473 (0.781)	0.166 (0.614)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.121 (1.996)	0.12 (2.261)	0.233 (0.145)	0.248 (0.120)**
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.121 (1.048)	0.12 (0.947)	-0.147 (0.136)	-0.154 (0.109)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.121 (0.263)	0.12 (0.2914164)	0.266 (0.392)	0.294 (0.330)
Democracy	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.107 (0.78)	0.173 (0.8961)	0.001 (0.016)	0.006 (0.015)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.078 (0.656)	0.0464 (0.888)	0.021 (0.015)	0.017 (0.015)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	1.524 (0.515)***	1.479 (0.493)***	0.198 (0.174)	0.244 (0.087)***
Government Expenditure	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	3.639 (0.737)***	3.944 (0.792)***	-0.019 (.01)**	-0.016 (0.009)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.462 (0.288)	0.483 (0.246)**	0.045 (0.011)***	0.045 (0.010)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.258 (0.05)***	0.258 (0.049)***	0.225 (0.18)	0.272 (0.098)***
GDP Per Capita	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-6.069 (2.575)**	-6.909 (2.22)***	0.173 (0.1)	0.032 (0.088)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	2.246 (1.239)	2.336 (1.183)**	0.173 (0.079)**	0.219 (0.086)**
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	1.299 (0.322)***	1.292 (0.337)***	0.1728 (1.056)	1.755 (0.745)**
Population	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	1.567 (6.442)	-0.211 (6.95)	-0.413 (0.072)***	-0.404 (0.047)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.769 (0.63)	-0.211 (1.299)	-0.413 (0.062)***	-0.404 (0.047)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.178 (0.112)	-0.211 (0.193)	-0.413 (0.228)	-0.404 (0.047)***
Trade	0, vs. 1, 2, 3		-0.034 (0.099)		0.002 (0.002)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3		0.007 (0.074)		0.001 (0.002)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3		-0.000 (0.006)		-0.022 (0.007)***
Conflict	0, vs. 1, 2, 3				
	0, 1 vs. 2,3				
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3				
Western	0, vs. 1, 2, 3			-0.27 (4.797)	-0.287 (1.031)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3			-2.994 (0.673)***	-2.935 (0.618)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3			-18.111 (4.631)***	-18.368 (1.065)***
Europe	0, vs. 1, 2, 3			1.406 (4.826)	1.409 (1.059)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3			-1.079 (0.69)	-1.107 (0.617)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3			0.031 (4.425)	1.567 (1.036)

Table 6. Continued.

Africa	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-14.367 (17.872)	-17.603 (15.697)	16.44 (4.759)***	16.541 (1.026)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	1.946 (1.807)	2.564 (2.460)	-1.212 (0.661)	-1.236 (0.594)**
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.538 (0.557)	-0.501 (0.593)	-1.822 (4.761)	-4.066 (1.567)***
Middle East	0, vs. 1, 2, 3			-2.172 (4.798)	-1.904 (1.031)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3			-3.85 (0.796)***	-3.963 (0.731)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3			-17.358 (166.104)	-18.957 (1.825)***
Asia	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	10.603 (4.708)**	12.97 (5.95)**	4.016 (6.871)	4.189 (1.428)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	4.767 (3.077)	4.578 (3.383)	-1.076 (0.679)	-1.023 (0.597)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.93 (0.723)	-0.810 (0.823)	-1.374 (4.46)	-2.568 (1.117)**
_cons	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	12.569 (50.313)	34.209 (63.543)	4.456 (4.933)	5.062 (1.267)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-23.052 (16.304)	-30.079 (23.03)	1.604 (0.993)	1.077 (0.935)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-46.052 (11.301)***	-44.809 (10.852)***	-7.644 (14.113)	-19.281 (8.182)**
N		371	371	1510	1503
-2LL		235.27	236	1116.981	1101.41
χ^2-statistic		97.17***	140.38***	1223.42***	23526***
Pseudo R2		0.3539	0.3491	0.2536	0.2611

† General Ordered Logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Model 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5 are without conflict and trade, while Model 1.2, 1.4, and 1.6 incorporate conflict and trade variables

Economic liberation as seen, yields higher respect for women's rights. Furthermore, economic development initiatives that focus on empowering women throughout various industries help push the women's social rights agenda by giving them a platform to claim and voice their opinion on their social and economic status in society (Mishra et al., 2020). However, as logical as this theoretical explanation might sound, it is essential to look at European economies to understand whether such respect for women's rights is affected by the recipient or investor country type and what this match means for women's rights in terms of FDI.

Table 7 presents the results of the association between bilateral FDI, and women's economic and social rights based on the generalized ordered logistic regression models. Mode 1.9 and 1.11 do not incorporate trade openness and conflict variables, while 1.10 and 1.12 do. For the association between bilateral FDI and women's economic rights for European countries presented in model 1.9 and 1.10, bilateral FDI resulted in negative but not a significant difference when comparing 2 groups of countries, one scoring at 0 and the other scoring at 1, 2 or 3. Similar findings were found when comparing countries with a score of 1 and the other group scoring at 2 or 3. When comparing countries with full respect for women's economic rights in law (3) and a group that have some women's economic rights in law enforced by governments (1,2) to not having any women's economic rights in law (0), bilateral FDI was found to have positive but no significant impact on women's economic rights. Similar findings were reported when controlling for trade openness and conflict as shown in model 1.10.

The effect of bilateral FDI on women's social rights for European countries is presented in model 1.11 and 1.12. Bilateral FDI had a positive but not statistically significant impact on women's social rights in Europe both when controlling, and not controlling for trade openness and conflict. A comparison between the countries in different groups of women's social rights was not necessary as all equations from the model had similar coefficients shown in table 7.

The findings on the association between bilateral FDI with both women's economic and social rights concurs with my expectation where no significant influence was expected. Therefore, from the findings, it was evident that for European recipient countries, irrespective of the amount of bilateral FDI received by the country, it had no significant influence on the degree of respecting women's economic and social rights.

Conclusion

By examining bilateral FDI flows, I have addressed parts of the puzzle in the literature of FDI as they have presented inconsistencies between reports of positive effects of FDI on women's social and economic rights and conflicting trends of deterioration of those rights among recipient countries. Giving attention to the flows of foreign direct investment based on the investor country, I have evaluated the role that FDI has as a vehicle for transferring women's human rights standards from investing to recipient countries. This unique way of addressing the inconsistencies of past studies has offered an answer to the puzzle. This chapter shows that FDI does in fact have different impact on women's human rights standards in both developed and developing countries. In general, bilateral FDI results in the deterioration of women's economic rights for both OECD and non-OECD for the recipient countries, and women's social rights for non-OECD countries only, with no clear influence identified for women's social rights for OECD countries. The findings differ from common claims in previous studies. One of the reasons previous literature failed to find similar results is overlooking the importance of evaluating the bilateral FDI context, which resulted in an over (under)estimation of its CTT (RTB) effects on women's social and economic rights. Since previous arguments demonstrate a link between investor country's women's human rights standards spilling over or affecting the standards in the recipient country through FDI flows, it is essential to examine such relationship quantitatively and look at the origin of FDI as well as

the quantity of the investment in studies of foreign direct investment-women's human rights nexus.

The results imply that increased international economic cooperation and trade between countries has promoted lenient and lax regulations on adherence to women's human rights practices. The need to increase economic cooperation and promote trade and economic development has led to jeopardizing the social context of populations' prosperity in terms of their women's human rights in both developed and developing countries, which begs the question of whether promoting economic efficiency on a global level comes at the expense of deteriorating women's social and economic rights. Careful and further examination of the FDI-women's human rights relationship and its domestic political and economic conditions need to be evaluated in future studies.

Examining the impact of FDI on women's human rights may also vary depending on the type or the sector that FDI exists in. For example, looking at mergers and acquisitions (M&A), which addresses brown-field investment may further dissect the relationship to better understand the varying effects of such investment on specific areas of women's human rights. Future research will benefit from examining whether the results found in this study are consistent with results yielded from research showing the impact of M&A or other types of FDI on women's economic and social rights.

An increase in bilateral FDI resulted in significant deterioration on women's economic rights for non-OECD countries and OECD countries. The increase in bilateral FDI resulted in an increase in the probability of OECD and non-OECD countries to fully restrict women's economic rights. Likewise, an increase in bilateral FDI resulted in the decrease of women's social rights in non-OECD countries but no clear influence was identified for OECD countries. For European countries, bilateral FDI was found to have no significant influence on both women's economic and social rights.

Table 7. The Bilateral FDI Context and Women's Economic & Social Rights (European countries), 1990-2011 †

		Women's economic rights		**Women's Social Rights**	
Variables	**Equations**	**Model 1.9**	**Model 1.10**	**Model 1.11**	**Model 1.12**
Bilateral FDI Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-1.268 (71.836)	-1.341 (862.637)	0.606 (5.906)	0.488 (7.264)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.231 (0.288)	-0.290 (0.297)	0.606 (0.578)	0.488 (0.642)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.505 (0.285)	0.419 (0.296)	0.606 (0.482)	0.488 (0.485)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.084 (21.241)	-0.056 (254.539)	-4.896 (4.114)	-4.890 (5.199)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.084 (0.205)	-0.056 (0.215)	-0.210 (0.355)	-0.162 (0.374)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.084 (0.217)	-0.056 (0.218)	-0.159 (0.318)	-0.139 (0.317)
Democracy	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.384 (32.592)	-0.479 (217.579)	0.603 (0.898)	0.326 (1.099)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.170 (0.067)**	0.176 (0.080)**	0.025 (0.062)	0.0199 (0.060)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.294 (0.247)	0.302 (0.267)	1.446 (0.571)**	1.549 (0.589)***
Government Expenditure	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	0.168 (24.294)	0.172 (166.551)	3.459 (0.832)***	3.371 (0.823)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	0.168 (0.044)***	0.172 (0.048)***	0.113 (0.059)*	0.101 (0.069)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	0.168 (0.047)***	0.172 (0.051)***	0.207 (0.047)***	0.216 (0.045)***
GDP Per Capita	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	1.155 (43.178)	1.141 (222.753)	-14.720 (2.622)***	-12.393 (2.130)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	1.155 (0.153)***	1.141 (0.152)***	1.533 (0.210)***	1.546 (0.217)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	1.155 (0.288)***	1.141 (0.269)***	1.550 (0.254)***	1.468 (0.262)***
Population	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	-0.110 (78.032)	-0.027 (512.124)	-3.951 (1.542)***	-3.649 (2.232)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-0.110 (0.083)	-0.027 (0.108)	-0.022 (0.137)	0.199 (0.190)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-0.110 (0.099)	-0.027 (0.135)	0.132 (0.100)***	0.376 (0.156)**
Trade	0, vs. 1, 2, 3		0.004 (11.524)		0.010 (0.093)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3		0.004 (0.004)		0.010 (0.010)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3		0.004 (0.003)		0.010 (0.005)**
Conflict	0, vs. 1, 2, 3		-1.746 (236.846)		1.209 (5.203)
	0, 1 vs. 2,3		0.078 (0.691)		-1.044 (2.242)
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3		-13.296 (26.449)		-0.632 (32.037)
_cons	0, vs. 1, 2, 3	1.430 (758.980)	2.331 (7279.062)	132.667 (29.902)***	111.907 (26.476)***
	0, 1 vs. 2,3	-14.758 (1.823)***	-15.886 (1.999)***	-15.229 (2.765)***	-17.768 (3.829)***
	0, 1, 2 vs. ,3	-21.904 (6.040)***	-23.058 (6.572)***	-49.844 (12.257)***	-54.273 (12.998)***
N		736	736	489	489
-2LL		-493.37889	-490.59741	-330.1278	-323.8371
χ^2-statistic		154.1***	175.12***	183.54***	204.08***
Pseudo R2		0.3271	0.3309	0.3898	0.4014

† General Ordered Logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Model 1.1, 1.3, and 1.5 are without conflict and trade, while Model 1.2, 1.4, and 1.6 incorporate conflict and trade variables

Finally, the critique of what women's rights are and how to quantify them remains a substantial subject of inquiry in literature. Scholars tend to downplay the differences in the perception of women's rights in regions that could not be lumped together with a uniform global standard for women; as well as ignoring the difference in the socio-economic status of women themselves as a population. Each country is at a different stage of development and has heavy cultural applications hindering a uniform formula for all. Hence, defining specific women's rights that are comparable on a global scale is one thing that is lacking with the methodological approaches in the existing literature.

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Chapter 4

The Impact of Civil War on Women's Political Rights

Abstract

It has been extensively evaluated through literature that civil war and conflict gives way to reforms, peacebuilding opportunities and a different perspective on human rights post-conflict. This chapter looks deeper into the window of opportunity that civil conflict offers for women's political representation. Women have been active during conflict and have led many initiatives for post-conflict reconstruction whether formally through enacted legislation or informally through networks and neighborhood efforts. I examine the impact of civil war on women's political representation and find that civil war is a conduit to gaining more traction with real outcomes for women in the political sphere evident strongly after the second election period. The scope of the study was from 1960 to 2018 with a dataset developed from data obtained from different sources to examine 58 non-OECD countries. An interesting insight discovered in this chapter is that civil war is not necessarily a trigger to the adoption of a quota system and that regardless of the existence of any quota system prior or post war, the impact of civil war on women's political representation is still significant and positive. This further emphasizes the importance of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in highlighting the important role women play in peacekeeping and long-term development in a post-conflict country.

Introduction

In the wake of the 21st-century, women and gender issues have gone from a taboo to a prioritized topic in the political, economic, and social spheres, which is evident with the trend in the civil war, critical theory, and feminist literature. This paradigm shift might suggest that women's issues have not been of importance before this time. However, women's issues have been relevant to humanity's stagnation or prosperity long before this shift. We see this in the early 1850s women's rights conventions regularly held. Women have had a strong influence on advocacy for nation-building and growth (National Women's History Project). While the

inclusion of women and gender might be novel to the field of International Relations (IR), the role and influence of women in real politics is certainly not new. Since civil war can and has brought significant changes to women's rights, it is important to understand how civil war can generate changes for women and what consequences such changes can bring to the society post war. There has been insufficient systematic analysis of the common or cross-cutting themes influencing women empowerment, coupled with the absence of measurement systems that accurately represent the level to which the processes of empowerment are successful. Diverse arguments on what are the drivers to women's political empowerment remain a mainstream debate. Due to the multitude of variation in women's conditions globally, issues pertaining to localization and inclusion, developmental policies, projects, and programs have left the discourse with a blind spot that would be valuable to my examination of civil war (Mackenzie 2009). In this regard, this chapter explores how the relationship between women and civil war has been presented historically so we can systematically evaluate how civil war affects women's political rights.

The Significance of exploring the Nexus between Civil war and Women's Political Rights

Women's Role in State-Building

Women and children are identified as the most vulnerable and deeply affected factions of the population by violent conflict (Agbalajobi 2012). Almost in every other case of civil war, women are deliberately targeted through specific forms of violence. Examples of this include the Rwandan genocide, where Hutu women were subjected to violence by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), as vengeance for violence perpetrated by the Hutu men (Newbury 1998). Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo were victims of rape every week during the Congolese Civil War (Mzvondiwa 2007).

As the previous paragraph indicates, the role of women in civil war literature resides in the space of describing women using terms of vulnerability, voicelessness, and victims in need of saving. This has stripped women of their agency and subjected historical accounts based on the other perspective, which usually translates to male-dominated winning parties. This is fulfilled by portraying women as sex slaves and rape victims. The literature therefore has omitted an important factor in the causal chain of civil wars. Only recently did scholars focus on the active role of women as combatants, instigators of conflicts and pioneers of reform post-conflict (Darden, Henshaw and Szekely 2019).

Two strands of theoretical approaches emerge. One is the normative argument, where mainly feminist scholars, argue that women inherently have the right to be men's equal. They have the same standards and expectations as a man, in terms of being a full citizen that has the same impact on society (Meintjes, Pillay & Turshen 2001). The second theoretical argument, which this paper focuses on, is the pragmatic one. This approach asserts that regardless of the circumstances preceding war or any other conflict, it is imperative to have the full force of society to rebuild their country regardless of gender (Mohan 2011; Najjar 1992; Campbell 2005). Given the decline in male population, because of their active role in the conflict as soldiers and targets, women are often left to rebuild both society and the state. It is on this basis that I proceed with my examination of women's representation in post-conflict societies.

Women's rise to leadership in post-conflict processes, in this pragmatic approach, is a result of the context in which the women find themselves. This literature postulates that women tend to be post-conflict activists, mobilizers, caretakers, community builders and heads of households (Mohan 2011; Heyzer 2005; Najjar 1992; Campbell 2005; Pant & Standing 2011). Specifically, it argues that women usually take a more future-oriented approach to this transition, which greatly contributes to the post-conflict rebuilding processes

(Mohan 2011). Whether this is due to a necessity to survive or a desire to move forward, the literature demonstrates that women's representation in post-civil war is in decision-making and nation-building.

After the conclusion of a conflict, constitutional reforms take place and are usually more progressive and gender-sensitive than the original state norms. Countries such as Liberia, Rwanda, Mozambique, and Guatemala had post-conflict constitutional reforms which included specific articles outlining women's inclusion and anti-discriminatory laws (Mohan, 2011). These and other cases show that regardless of women's role during the actual conflict, the new government or the winning rebel group usually enacts more gender-equal policies and redistributive initiatives.

Scholars of the pragmatic approach encourage others to see transitional justice in conflict resolution as the opportunity for women to gain access to more rights (Demeritt, Nichols & Kelly 2014). Civil war is a window of opportunity for women to seize, which allows them access to increased economic, political, and social representation. Just as scholars acknowledge that civil war can reinforce women's marginalization and at times can lead to increased repression, there is also an essential window where women can ascertain their existence in society and pursue reforms. For example, women in El Salvador organized grassroots movements such that at the end of the war there were more than 30 women's organizations calling for gender reforms, each with their distinct platforms petitioning women's inclusion in the labor force. Nicaragua is another example of women's organizations coming together to ease the negative effects of conflict by creating food distribution networks, childcare services, and medical clinics (Demeritt et al. 2014). Rwanda has set an example for scholars to strengthen their argument on greater involvement in politics where women hold most of the legislative seats and have the highest rate of gender parity in government (Issifu 2015).

Mainstreaming women in post-conflict has been under-theorized, where the post-conflict phase can be seen as a phase for policymaking and a window for reform (Chaney 2016). Hence, looking at the civil war's impact on women's political rights post-conflict can present a causal story for reconstruction and development rates in certain countries.

The Importance of Having Women Represented in the Political Sphere

The benefits from granting women formal political authority be it in the legislator or other committees range from equal representation for the betterment of society to enacting legislation that would spill over to greater economic activity by mobilizing a larger portion of the population. High political representation for women is not contingent upon the economic development of a country nor is it a by-product of liberal economies; it is seen in even the poorest countries in the world. The number of women legislators in African parliaments for example, has tripled between 1990 and 2010 (Hughes et al 2015). In fact, Africa as a continent holds a higher percentage of 22.4% of women legislative seats than the world average at 21.8% (IPU, 2014).

Not only do women tend to sponsor legislation that serves women (Yoon, 2013), but they also tend to support bills that benefit society at large such as higher spending on social welfare (Bolzendahl and Brooks, 2007) and better healthcare outcomes for economically disadvantaged countries (Swiss, Fallon and Burgos, 2012). Political representation is not limited to regime type such as democracies for us to see these outcomes as seen in Uganda, where increasing women representation led to the increase in their rights as a whole (Wang, 2013).

Civic engagement for women is influenced by the rising women's representation in the formal political sphere, which in turn positively impacts their self-esteem and how men see women's potential in state and nation-building (Barnes and Burchard 2012; Johnson, Kabuchu and Kayonga 2003). Just like in 2018, Abiy Ahmed; Ethiopian prime minister drew

veneration from different parts of the globe for his transformative governance of filling the country's cabinet with 50 percent female ministers. While the decision might appear as a mere public relations stunt to increase popularity, it is important to note that having a gender-balanced cabinet is a powerful message enough to demonstrate the shift towards more gender-inclusive political structures. It requires a lot of strength and enthusiasm for a male leader to opt to have a gender-balanced cabinet in a highly patriarchal society (Allo, 2018). Nonetheless, it is worth noting that such progress on women empowerment and women's rights is not an independent outcome, it has been influenced by the prolonged seventeen-year-old civil war.

Earlier civil conflicts have not been positively associated with increased political representation for women and progressive institutional reform (Hughes et al. 2015). It was after 1995 at the UN Women's World Conference that women activists challenged the status quo and demonstrated their role in bringing formal and long-lasting change post-war (Hughes et al 2015). This step reflected on the true impact women play during war and their needed role post it.

Anecdotal evidence: Women's involvement in post-conflict reform

Women's involvement in post-conflict includes Kenya's Wajir women leading a movement after the 1991 violent conflict that caused more than 1200 deaths (Tongeren 2013). The women established the Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC) as their peace-building effort, which played an instrumental role in maintaining a level of peace in Kenya. In the post-apartheid period in South Africa, local women organized to earn menial income to develop their communities and build peace in the face of extreme poverty and trauma, where the Harambee Women's Forum was established to start the conversation on peace and redevelopment (Noma, Aker & Freeman, 2012). After the 1994 Rwandese genocide, women contributed to building shelters for orphans, caring for genocide survivors,

and building homes for ex-combatants as they re-assimilated back to society. The Rwandese women's effort has demonstrated their relentless commitment to peacebuilding. Another case is in Liberia, where women as part of their peacebuilding commitment consolidated a three-month ‘Mass Action for Peace' campaign that advocated for a ceasefire. They also held hostage parties at the Liberian Peace Talks in the Eastern Region of Ghana, Akosombo, by barricading the entrance to the venue of the talks to prevent parties from walking away when negotiations dragged on, which delayed settlements (Alaga, 2010).

After the seven-year war to overthrow President Samuel K. Doe of Liberia, his successor Charles Taylor did not prove to be any better. Hence the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) took over in 2003 to enact reforms. The Association of Female Lawyers of Liberia grew stronger and brought new legislation for education. Rights for women married under customary law and civil law were homogenized under one system (Mohan 2011). Women emerged powerfully and started asserting their rights that were non-existent before the war. Liberia is noted as an example of the first country in Africa to have a female head of state (Mohan 2011). The Women in Peace Building Network (WIPNET) were instrumental in electing Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The WIPNET launched November 2001 which aimed at the capacity for women to lead in post conflict building.

Mozambique is another example of a civil war that greatly achieved women empowerment at its resolution. The country has suffered a sixteen-year civil war for independence. After the Peace Accord in 1992, the country witnessed a series of reforms. Because land has been an essential asset to which the conflict was addressed, the Land Law not only addressed the problems, but it also included clauses where land rights extended to women as well. Men and women are now considered equal in economic and social affairs and land rights would be inherited without discrimination based on gender (Mohan, 2011).

Women activists gave way to new family laws that recognize women as heads of household and gave rights in non-civil marriages and inheritance even with cohabitation. These laws are considered progressive even for developed and western societies. Women have mobilized as a result of the legacy left by the Marxist-Leninist vision, where one can see the change realized with an influence of a largely patriarchal society (Disney, 2008).

Guatemala is another case that follows the same scenario in terms of post-conflict reforms. Land policy has become more inclusive with specific clauses on customary and civil law to women. The Eritrean people finally got their independence with a referendum in 1993 with more than 30% of forces consisting of women guerrilla groups and front-line soldiers (Campbell 2005). The EPLF also included women in superior offices, soldiers, fundraisers, operatives, medics, and car mechanics (Iyob 1999). They also sought advice from women in military and political positions, which gave women a voice in the operations of the struggle for freedom. For the first time in Eritrean history, women were able to marry outside the customarily arranged marriage principles. Inheritance laws became more progressive and inclusive. Anti-discrimination laws came into effect to allow equal marriage benefits to both sexes as well as inheritance rights in case of spousal death. Land rights were reformed to give equal authority to men and women in terms of land tenure systems and ownership.

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, has been experiencing civil strife after gaining independence in 1948 from the United Kingdom. Insurgents mainly from the gendered communists and ethnic minorities started opposing the newly formed government, stating that they were being unfairly excluded from governing the country. The communists became organized into armed insurgents against the government. As successive governments make reforms, they are countered by ethnic-based insurgents that continue to date (UNDP, 2011). During the political reforms taking place between 2011 and 2015, eight insurgent groups signed the landmark Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) to negotiate for the peace

agreement. Nonetheless, two other insurgents joined the peace talks in February 2018, presenting a bleak future to an already dire situation.

These examples are just a few of the many countries across regions that have witnessed major reforms post-conflict with more gender-equal policies. The policy areas that appear the most are inheritance rights, marriage equality and greater jurisdiction in the household. Other changes seem to stem indirectly from women organized movements and activist agenda. Increased women representation in politics also appears to be a by-product of post-conflict reform. All the cases mentioned have witnessed an increase in women's representation in parliament or government positions post-conflict. There is no doubt that several factors can account for this change or surge in political representation, but the occurrence of conflict should not be disregarded or marginalized as a major factor in the causal relationship. Looking strictly at the type of reform enacted after a conflict as a means of the resolution shows that a basis for women political involvement is set and seeing women involved in the political sphere is an inevitable truth.

Civil War: The Conduit to Women's Political Empowerment

Ample anecdotal evidence is seen in how women's participation during and post conflict contributes to the development of society. The question hence arises as to the formal participation of women. Is this captured through quantitative measures? and how are governments coping with the increased informal involvement of women in post-conflict reform? The chapter sets out to explore the extent to which the high number of anecdotal evidence of women's involvement in peacebuilding reflects laws and legislation post war through the measurement of women's political representation. Studies focusing on the African continent have shown a positive correlation between the increase in representation of women in government and war (Fallon, Swiss and Viterna 2012; Paxton, Hughes and Painter 2010). Conflicts such as civil wars, which seek to challenge the current rules of the political

environment, bring about a significant increase in this representation. This catalyst lays the foundations for a more gender inclusive legislation in society. By focusing on the effects of civil wars, we are able to draw correlations that build upon the works of past literature. The end of WWII for example, has triggered a rapid adoption of women's franchised rights in North America and Europe as the first waves of universal suffrage was adopted (Teele, 2020). Suffrage can come in many ways depending on the country's path dependency and regime type that would impose a different face of universal suffrage. Teele, for example has demonstrated a great gradient of the adoption of suffrage depending on whether a country had it enforced upon by the occupying power at the end of a war or the overall direction towards democratization which usually parallels policies for more economic liberalization (2020). This means that many factors would affect women's political representation, but more notably, war or civil unrest accounts for a big part of the causal logic behind such rights in recent literature.

The theoretical logic behind this claim is that war skews the demography of the population placing women as heads of the household and attending to pressing matters domestically while their counterparts tend to battle. Women, therefore, take on leadership roles not by choice but out of necessity (Gurses et al., 2020). Since the burden now falls on women, a state would not want to hinder any chance of development due to incapacitated gender force that has not been educated or adequately integrated into society as a productive part. Hence, governments tend to have the incentive to invest in their female labor force to balance society and rebuild whatever is left after a conflict. It could be argued that the inclusion of women as part of a normative argument for democratization, gender equality and common courtesy is a given because women are human beings (Meintjes, Pillay & Turshen 2001). It is also evident through the enactment of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, that women's role in re-building society contributes to long term peace and higher reform

progress post-conflict. This resolution was legislated to ensure formal inclusion of women in peacebuilding and post conflict reforms.

Women are seen as more manpower to keep the operations of the country going. The need for women and the attention given to gender concerns stem from practical appeasement logic given that decision-makers and leaders are rational actors focusing on retaining power after restoring a fully functioning country. Kagame, for example, has remained in power due to strong support from the women in the RPF despite being anti-democratic (Hunt, 2014). Regardless of the harsh truth that might dull normative optimism, it is nevertheless an opportunity that women must seize, and scholars realize that conflict allots a path to gender equality and a more progressive society. Conflict could then be argued as a step towards economic prosperity since it gives way to gender equality and a more open society. However, observing the number of women's political participation alone does not allow for full disclosure of the causal relationship for better policy recommendation. Scholars need to know more about the nature of this political participation to understand the long-term impact of such empowerment. Spur of the moment movements might give way to future political reforms, but civil war itself, I argue, is the driver for increased women's political representation whether through enacting quota systems and other types of legislation, which would enforce long-term sustainable growth and social development or by other means.

The cases of El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Liberia, and Mozambique present post-conflict states that resulted in the more gender-equal policy. Each of those cases are diverse in their procession and peacebuilding stories, but all led to gendered political reform. Whether it was an action instigated by a foreign government like Guatemala's US-supported military coup or a government with its people against colonial power in the case of Mozambique, each case had varied results on actual political participation and other

implemented rights for women after conflict. However, they differ in the type of political participation and quota systems.

The way the war ends might have an impact on how strong the reforms are for women's participation in the political sphere. However, some argue that it does not matter how the war ends, the dynamics post war always generate different realities and new traditions where gender-equal norms are encouraged (Gruses et al., 2020). The intensity of war, moreover, can be a determining factor to how quick or strong the change to more women empowerment post-conflict.

In conclusion, the impact of liberal and more progressive reforms in peace processes have yielded mixed results on when and how does civil war promote women's political rights? The duration, intensity and/or the type of foreign intervention (Gruses et al., 2020) has been identified as driving factors for positive women empowerment post-war. I examine, however, the impact of civil war on women's political rights through post conflict reforms. Such reforms are quota systems and other women's political participation tools. This question highlights the existence of potential positive outcomes to otherwise violent and tragic political phenomena. Advocates for war being a conduit to women empowerment are yet to realize strong causal logic on the many factors that contribute to long term progress for women. Hence, in this chapter, I theorize that civil war increases women's political representation and presence in the political sphere due to the conflict circumstance, with a substantive role in future nation-building after the first election period. Real change can be seen when reforms start to take shape within the newly developed legislation. Hence, seeing actual change impacting the populace would not be seen immediately.

Civil War and Women's Legislative Representation

Peace treaties are usually examined as tools to help layout the groundwork for positive peacekeeping for post-conflict nation-building. This means that both parties or some

parties are motivated to determine long-term economic progress and universal reforms. As tools with caveats for further legislation influence, have not always promoted desired outcomes. Countries where the termination of conflicts were not dependant on peace agreements have shown a greater increase in women's political rights as opposed to those which did rely on peace agreements (Joshi et al., 2021).

Gender reform is usually attributed to traditional approaches such as education and labor markets, where scholars theorize that gender stratification comes from such institutions and change can be enacted through those as well (Blumberg 1984; Chafetz 1990). However, we have seen through anecdotal evidence that gendered political change in societies can also come from social disruption such as war. Any unrest beit political, social, or economic, we observe women rising to lead change (Beckwith 2009; Hughes 2015). The Security Council Resolution 1325 is a landmark that further demonstrates the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in nation and state building (UNSC, 2000). Incorporating women's perspective in peace efforts is ratified by many asserting global agreement on the importance of laying down fundamental legislation to ensure economic progress, state resilience and stability through an essential factor, granting women full participation and protection under strong legislation within countries.

Looking at civil war's impact on women's political representation, means that war or civil unrest can be seen as a disruption to systemic change in gendered institutions. Afterall, war has brought women to power such as the Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Looking at civil war's impact on the creation of quota systems and formal legislative representation is also another factor that this chapter examines to better understand the systemic and formal change that women go through for more empowerment in post conflict countries. Enacting a quota system can be argued as a tool to enforce positive change to women's formal political representation in a country. For example, in regions with high

levels of civil war such as African post-conflict countries, women occupied an average of 27% of parliamentary seats compared to 14% in their more stable counterparts (Hughes et al 2015). In this case it is worthy to note that due to war, women's political representation increased through an enactment of various tools such as quota systems.

The majority of literature addressing women empowerment evaluates women's political representation in terms of legislation and percent of women's presence within political spheres (del Campo 2005; Fallon, Swiss and Viterna 2012; Hughes 2009; Viterna, Fallon and Beckfield 2008). This cross-national research stipulates that the increase in women's political representation can be attributed to democratization efforts and reform towards the implementation of more liberalized policies (Bush 2011; Lindberg 2004; Tripp and Kang 2008; Yoon 2004). Scholars however have only scratched the surface on civil war as a conduit to this change, specifically in regard to women empowerment in the political sphere in its many faces in the formal and informal scenes. Claims on the impact of civil war on women's political representation were not as substantiated in 2009 than they are today (Hughes 2009) with still much more to go to fully make accurate claims on the impact in the long term. Later studies have dug deeper into the question of the impact of civil war or conflict on women's political, social and economic rights, where they focus on specific variables that could have a significant impact on explanation the causal story such as the insurgent group's ideology; particularly to look at social rights as they are more difficult to reach a clear and direct effect (Gurses et al., 2020) and the severity or intensity of war as it affects those rights (Bakken et al., 2020). I set out to continue the work done recently to highlight the actual effects of civil war as a major social force in impacting gendered institutions and ultimately increasing women's political rights in post-conflict countries by controlling for and looking at the possible role of quota systems.

Regardless of looking at quota systems or other types of legislative systems to enforce women's representation, I hypothesize that civil war independently affects women's political representation. A country does not have to have a quota system for society to witness a shift in women's political representation, rather, civil war in itself as a social phenomenon influences women's political representation regardless of the electoral system in place. Following the recent literature, this chapter takes a step further to not only focus on one continent such as Africa – which have been a focal point for the majority of literature due to the ample civil unrest examples -, but to test the impact of civil war on women's political representation in all non-OECD countries. My approach helps scholars understand further how gendered- structures change in countries causes war to be seen as a tool for drastic change to age-old patriarchal institutions.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1*: Civil war increases women's political representation in non-OECD countries*

Hypothesis 2*: Civil war has a significant impact on the adoption of a quota system in non-OECD countries*

Research Design

Variables and Data

Dependent Variable

To evaluate the influence of civil war on women's political rights, the scope of the study was from 1960 to 2018 with a dataset developed from data obtained from different sources. There were 58 non-OECD countries under study. OECD countries were out of the scope of this chapter. The main dependent variable is women's political rights measured as the percentage

of women representation in the legislature (lower house or single chamber) of the non-OECD countries that were selected. The women representation dataset was obtained from the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) website (https://data.ipu.org/). The data was obtained as women representation for an election period of the individual country considered. The election period was the main unit of measure for the data due to different periods to elections taking place. The measure of women representation was calculated by finding the proportion of women in the legislature in a specific election period. The score ranged from 0 to 63.75%.

Explanatory Variable

The key explanatory variable in the research was civil war. All the non-OECD countries that were considered in the study had encountered civil war at some point in their history within the scope of the study (1960-2018). The variable was determined by presence or absence of civil war for the period preceding an election. Civil War data was obtained from the COW database (The Correlates of War Project). The variable measured conflict that took place within a country that resulted in armed confrontation and loss of life. For a civil war to occur, at least two rival participants were to be involved in the intra-state war. For a state to qualify as a participant, it had to either suffer 100 battle related combatant deaths or commit at least 1000 troops to the war. For non-state participants, the requirement under the COW dataset is slightly different due to their size and lower resources to participate in a conflict. A non-state actor is considered to be a participant if it suffered 25 battle related combat deaths or committed 100 armed personnel in the war. The description was used to determine if there were civil wars or not for a country in the different election periods. The civil war variable had three categories: 0 for an election period where there was a civil war, 1 for an election period where the average annual deaths was between 25 and 999, and 2 for an election period that had a civil war resulting in an average annual death of above 999. For

robustness check, a similar category (0,1,2) was used in defining civil war using the total deaths that took place within an election period of a country.

Although the association between civil war and women representation is hypothesised to exist, literature points to the fact that the effect is not felt immediately but rather after two election periods (Hughes and Tripp, pg. 1521, 2015). End of the civil war was identified to lead to sweeping changes in women representation for countries. Even so, the changes taking effect and influencing women's representation takes time and are not felt immediately. Therefore, in the current research we aimed to evaluate the effect after one election period and above, and not immediately after the civil war. In this effect, civil war should not be measured as having immediate effects, rather as a component changing the trajectory of the country in question in the long-term.

For the purpose of the models that were run, two variables of civil war were generated. One is Civilwar_1, which was a civil war lagged by one election period (t-1). The second civil war variable was Civilwar_2, where the civil war was lagged by 2 election periods (t-2).

Control Variables

I have included several control variables that explain women's human rights conditions. First, I included the Quota system variable in the model to assess the difference in women representation between non-OECD countries that have adopted the quota system and those that have not. The data for the quota system was obtained from the International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) database. The reserved and legislated quota system types were selected. These refer to a system in which a country has reserved gendered seats to increase gender representation. The researched quota system variable was measured as a binary variable of 0 when the country did not have a quota system and 1 for the election period when the country had a reserved quota system. Legislated quota system refers to where legislation exists requiring political parties to nominate or present a certain number of women candidates

in the election period, although not fully guaranteed women representation in legislature. The variable was measured as a binary variable where 0 is when the country did not have a legislated quota system and 1 for the election period when the country had a legislated quota system. To facilitate getting the data, the year a country adopted each type of quota system was identified from the database. The quota system adoption date was not disaggregated based on whether it was prior to or post conflict. This is because with the hypothesis, I am concerned with the period a country had quota system and whether this signified higher women representation in the political sphere. Therefore the quota system variable used is binary. The challenge with disaggregating the variable would be with countries that experienced multiple civil conflicts, it would be difficult to parse out if the influence was from the adoption of a quota system or not. For example, if a country adopted a quota system in 2000 and experienced civil war in 1988 then another conflict in 2003, then will the adoption of the 2000 quota system be the influencing variable on women's political rights? Will this signify an adoption of a quota system before or after civil war? Due to this discrepancy, I chose to keep the variable as binary.

I included the GDP per capita variable as a control for the level of economic development and named it GDP growth variable. The GDP per capita data was obtained from the World Bank database. To get the GDP per capita for an election period, I took the average of GDP per capita of the year leading to the election. The second control variable that I added was trade openness which could influence economic and social conditions domestically, hence affecting women's human rights standards generally and women's political rights specifically. Trade openness is the sum of imports and export services and goods that is measured as a percentage of GDP. Trade and GDP per capita data comes from the World Bank and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These two variables are expected to have positive effects on women's human rights and women's political rights.

Population data comes from the World Bank. As the population of a given country increases in size, the likelihood of respecting human rights in general and women's rights in particular decreases with more oppressive policies due to the increased cost of social provisions as governments need to meet demand (Boland, 1997; Hazem, and Luciani, 2015). The population variable is log-transformed. Regime types are closely tied to women's political rights (Jensen, 2003; Olson, 1993; Li & Resnick, 2003). Democracies are more likely to have higher scores for respect of women's rights than non-democracies. The democracy variable is measured using the Polity IV dataset (Marshall, Gurr & Jaggers, 2013). To simplify the interpretation of the variable, I add ten (10) to the original values, with the new scale for this measure varying from zero (0) for least democratic to twenty (20) for most democratic. To account for regional differences in human rights standards, I also include regional dummies for countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, countries in other regions such as Oceania are in the reference category.

Analysis

In the analysis phase of the chapter, xtgls linear regression model was selected to assess the association of civil war and women's political representation. I chose the model, because the dependent variable was a continuous variable that is measured in percentage. Xtgls is a linear model that estimates regression coefficients based on generalized least squares (GLS). Therefore, the xtgls model fits panel data by utilizing GLS. The model also allows for estimating an existence of a correlation with option corr(ar1). In the models, I incorporated panels (heteroskedastic) which utilizes heteroskedastic but uncorrelated error structure. This allows to specify a heteroskedastic error structure with no cross-sectional correlations. The model is also considered corr(independent) which is utilizing the independent autocorrelation structure within the model. In other words, the model did not have autocorrelation in the fitting of the panel data. The adoption of heteroskedastic regression was to overcome the challenge of

heteroskedastic error making testing of hypotheses possible by enhancing consistency in the estimates of regression slopes. I also used a regression model to assess the association of civil war on women quota system adoption. In the analysis, xtprobit regression was adopted as the quota system variables were binary. Xtprobit regression model aims to fit a random effect for binary dependent variables. Similarly, the Xtgls model allows for controlling for correlation, which was incorporated in the model. The output of the models is presented in the results section.

Results and Discussion

The association between women's political representation and civil war through xtgls models and assessment of the effect of civil war on women's political rights provided interesting results as presented in table 8. From the result in the no quota system Model, civil war was found to have negative but not significant influence on women's political rights after one election period but had a positive and significant impact on women's representation after the second election period. Civil war was found to increase women's political representation by 1.009 percent for countries that had a civil war at a level of 1 (25-999 deaths) and a 2% increase in women representation for countries that had civil war resulting in more than 1000 deaths (coded as lever 2) as compared to periods where countries did not experience civil war. Countries that had higher intensity of battle deaths, which equates to a higher coded variable of more than 1, were found to have higher women's political representation as compared to those that did not have civil wars. Since I am arguing that civil war is a catalyst to increasing women's political representation, it is a tool for long-term effects. Henceforth, it is natural to see that the effects of the war would only be visible after the second election period due to political and institutional reforms taking longer to be drafted and enacted. Society would not see the impacts of reformed legislation until the second election period where there has been enough time lapsed to measure the impact of such reform.

Table 8. Estimation result for the impact of the Civil War on Women's political Rights, when controlling and not controlling for quotas system types in non-OECD countries, 1960-2018

	No quota system Model		***Legislated model***		***Reserved Model***	
Variables	***Coef.***	***Std. Err.***	***Coef.***	***Std. Err.***	***Coef.***	***Std. Err.***
Civilwar_1	*-0.337*	*0.431*	*-0.167*	*0.39*	*-0.299*	*0.376*
Civilwar_2	*1.009***	*0.43*	*0.971***	*0.389*	*0.795***	*0.372*
Democracy	*0.24****	*0.062*	*0.134***	*0.059*	*0.166****	*0.055*
Population	*0.618***	*0.275*	*0.711****	*0.257*	*0.463*	*0.244*
Trade	*0.062****	*0.012*	*0.058****	*0.011*	*0.057****	*0.011*
GDP Per Capita	*0.126***	*0.058*	*0.078*	*0.049*	*0.122***	*0.05*
Quota system			*12.553****	*1.043*	*19.478****	*1.606*
Western	*-0.644*	*1.134*	*-2.538***	*0.996*	*1.656*	*1.066*
Middle East	*-4.727****	*1.13*	*-5.276****	*1.022*	*-4.29****	*0.92*
Europe	*-2.438***	*1.157*	*-2.366***	*1.05*	*0.148*	*1.057*
Asia	*-3.719****	*1.095*	*-3.937****	*1.038*	*-1.673*	*0.992*
Africa						
_cons	*-4.926*	*4.541*	*-5.758*	*4.275*	*-3.381*	*4.07*
N	*457*		*457*		*457*	
Number of groups	*51*		*51*		*51*	
Obs per group:						
min	*1*		*1*		*1*	
avg	*8.961*		*8.960784*		*8.960784*	
max	*30*		*30*		*30*	
Wald chi2(11)	*119.07****		*312.46****		*326.68****	

*xtgls regression estimation with two-tailed tests; standard errors in parentheses; ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Legislated model is where control for legislated quota is done while the reserved model is where the reserved quota is controlled.*

In table 8, the moderating effect of the quota system on women's political representation was controlled by including the reserved quota system and legislated quota system in the models represented by legislated model and reserved model. Civil war might influence women's representation through influencing countries to adopt quota systems. The chapter therefore aims at evaluating whether the effect of civil war on women representation was also through its influence on the adoption of the quota system. I used a regression model where the quota system was controlled with the output as shown in table 8 as legislated model and reserved model, where I controlled for legislated quota system and reserved quota system respectively.

As shown in the models, civil war had negative but not significant influence on women's political representation following the conflict by one election period. Civil war, however, had a positive and significant influence on women's political representation in lower chambers in the second election period after the civil war for both models when quota system was controlled.

Controlling for the legislative quota system, I observed that the impact of the civil war coefficient on women representation reduced to 0.971 as compared to their coefficient without controlling for the quotas system. Therefore, when controlling for quotas, civil war increased women's political representation by 0.971 percent when civil war score is at 1, and by 1.942 percent when the civil war score is at 2, after the second election period as compared to periods without civil war. Legislative quota in the model also was found to have a positive and significant impact on women's political representation. Election periods when the country had adopted women's legislated quota had a 12.553 percent increase in women's political representation in the legislature as compared to periods when legislative quota had not been adopted.

Controlling for the reserved quota system reduced the impact of civil war on women's political representation. After controlling for reserved quota, an election period that had a civil war with a score of 1 had 0.795 percent, and that with a score of 2 had 1.59 percent more women's political representation after two election periods following a civil war as compared to a period without civil war. Moreover, the reserved quota system also was found to have a positive and significant impact on women's political representation. An election period during which the country had a quota system had 19.478 percent higher women's political representation in chambers as compared to periods when there was no reserved quota system. From both table 8, civil war is found to have a positive and significant impact on women's political representation. Therefore, I fail to reject the hypothesis that civil war increases women's political representation in non-OECD countries. Civil war was also seen not to influence the adoption of a quota system, where it is evident that civil war has a direct impact on women's political representation. I found however, that countries or years where a country had a quota system had higher women's representation when compared to the period when the country did not have a quota system.

From the data of women representation, the range was from 0 to 63.75. As the models revealed civil war results in an increase in women representation by 1 or 2%, the range of women representation will be increased to a range of 1% to 65.75%. In other words, in the 2015 election period in Nigeria, the percentage of women representation was at 5.56%; that is 20 women occupying seats in the lower house out of the total chamber members of 360. An increase of 1% will increase women representation to 6.56% which is an increase to 24 women in the lower house. In terms of women political representation in Nigeria, this is a 20% increase. The percentage increase, no matter how nominal, has to be seen in terms of the actual seat occupancy that shows a significant increase to realize gender equality in the country. This is a

significant step towards granting women their equal share in reaching the goal of 50% representation in legislature in developing countries.

The impact of civil war on women's representation is magnified by the number of election periods that experienced civil war. Countries that experience one civil war of score 2, will have a 2 percent increase in women's representation while a country that has multiple civil wars will have the two percent multiplied by the number of civil wars. For example, Russia experienced a civil war in the periods leading to both the 1999 and 2003 elections with a level of 2 coded for civil war intensity, that is the civil war in the country had battle deaths exceeding 1000 annually for the duration of the conflict. Based on the regression model, civil war with a score of 2 leads to a 2 percent increase in women's representation. Therefore, for Russia, the civil war variable coded at an intensity level of 2 would lead to 4 (2 multiplied by 2) percent increase in women's representation. In the 2011 elections, Russia's lower house had 450 representatives of which 61 were women accounting for 13.56% representation. An increase by 4% would lead to 17.56% of women's representation, which means that women increased representation by 18 to equal to a total of 79 women occupying seats in the lower house. To conclude, civil war would lead to a 29.5% increase of women's representation in the lower house.

Georgia also had 2 civil wars within the study period leading to the 1992 and 1995 elections. The score of the civil war intensity for Georgia in both periods was at 2, hence we expect a lead of a 4 percent increase in women's representation in the country. Georgia's last election of 2016 had 17 women in the single chamber, an 11.33% representation of women out of 150 total chamber numbers. An increase in women's representation by 4% would lead to 15.33% representation accounting for 23 women in the chamber. It is therefore a step towards achieving equal gender representation in legislation.

Another example is Angola. During the study period, it had gone through 4 civil wars within the period from 1960 to 2018. All the wars had a score of 2 in intensity which means that, if each period increases women's representation by 2%, the 4 civil wars will lead to an 8% increase in women's representation in the country's single house legislature. As of 2017, Angola had 30.9 percent women's representation in the single house, that is 68 women out of the 220 representatives. An increase in the representation by 8 percent will lead to 38.9% representation increase for women, accounting for 86 women in the chamber. That is 18 more women in parliament or a 26.47 percent increase from the 68 that were in parliament prior.

The association between civil war and quota system

From the models in table 8, both civil war and quota system types were found to have a significant impact on women's political representation in the lower or single chambers. It was crucial to assess if the influence of civil war was contributed by the association between civil war and quota system types. This is because the quota system is another tool by which we can measure and analyze representation within political environments. Looking at what constitutes political representation, a quota system is well situated as a tool to inform us to better understand the relationship between civil war and women's political empowerment. Therefore, I ran two models with the two measures of quota systems, reserved and legislated quota systems, as the dependent variables. From the models in table 9 it was evident that there was no significant association between civil war and reserved and legislative quota systems adoption. The results point to the fact that civil wars do not influence countries to adopt quota systems, and in turn influence women representation. Therefore, we reject the hypothesis that civil war has a significant impact on the adoption of a quota system in non-OECD countries. The finding means that although civil war has significant influence on women's political representation in non-OECD countries, the influence is not through the effect of civil war on the adoption of a quota system. Therefore, the quota system does not

moderate the effect of civil war on women representation. This is an interesting finding, because this opens the discussion for further analysis on not only how civil war affects women's political representation but why it affects it. If the adoption of a quota system is not facilitated by the resolution of a conflict or a war, then there must be another variable responsible for a conflict triggering such change in women's political representation.

Conclusion

The idea of civil conflict positively affecting women's status in society is not novel. This chapter corroborates such results in literature, but it also adds more to this relationship in terms of the scope of the study, which covers 1960-2018. This scope is broader than most studies within literature (Hughes et al., 2015; Gurses et al., 2020; Tripp 2000; Tripp 2015). A broader scope allows for higher predictability and a wider angle of contention when looking at future trends. Another contribution of this chapter is its addition to the limited quantitative and large-N data studies of conflict and women empowerment, where most of the literature in this subject holds a case-study approach (Gurses et al., 2020). Furthermore, this chapter sheds light on the impact of civil war and parses out that the influence is not through the adoption of a quota system. This chapter demonstrated that civil war does not influence the adoption of a quota system in non-OECD countries, unlike other scholars' arguments (Anderson et al., 2014; Paxton et al., 2010; Fallon et al., 2012).

Women continue to be marginalized in political decision making in non-OECD countries. The political sphere in most countries remains male-dominated, with some nations being entirely a men's domain. As such, women's true political empowerment is yet to be realized. Even in the most developed countries that are considered as democratized, the active role in decision-making for women is still lagging behind that of men.

Table 9. Estimation result for the impact of the Civil War on quota system adoption, 1960-2018 for non-OECD countries

	Reserved quota system Model		***Legislated model***	
Variables	***Coef.***	***Std. Err.***	***Coef.***	***Std. Err.***
Civilwar_1	*-0.275*	*0.164*	*0.129*	*0.173*
Civilwar_2	*0.152*	*0.147*	*0.179*	*0.169*
Democracy	*0.079***	*0.024*	*0.039*	*0.025*
Population	*0.14*	*0.101*	*0.101*	*0.114*
Trade	*0.008***	*0.003*	*-0.001*	*0.003*
GDP Per Capita	*0.005*	*0.018*	*0.032*	*0.024*
Western	*0.509*	*0.381*	*-5.257*	*252.712*
Europe	*0.184*	*0.415*	*-5.826*	*1772.497*
Asia	*-1.611****	*0.56*	*-1.959****	*0.527*
Africa	*-0.159*	*0.352*	*-0.307*	*0.288*
_cons	*-5.013****	*1.792*	*-3.213*	*1.961*
N	*462*		*462*	
Number of groups	*51*		*51*	
Obs per group:				
min	*1*		*1*	
avg	*9.1*		*9.1*	
max	*30*		*30*	
Wald chi2(11)	*46.65****		*17.18*	

*xtprobit regression estimation with two-tailed tests; standard errors in parentheses; ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05. Legislated model is where control for legislated quota is done while the reserved model is where the reserved quota is controlled.*

This chapter has examined the impact of civil war as a key driver for women's political involvement following women's active role in reconstructing their nation and gaining more influence in the political sphere. The participation of women in reconciliation processes and reforms after the war is a driver for women to further champion their rights in the political arena.

I have concluded that civil war does indeed have a positive and significant impact on women's political representation in non-OECD countries. Although the impact is not seen immediately, it is still seen strongly after two election periods. I have noted that after the first election following the civil war, women's political representation reduced slightly but not significantly, which suggests another causal story for what the immediate effects of war are. Institutional reforms do not happen immediately. There will be an increase of informal avenues for women to participate in nation building as the state of normalcy returns. Those informal channels constitute activist groups, micro-level aid focused on neighbourhoods (close to women networks) and other efforts by women on the individual-level. Such informal efforts cannot easily be captured quantitatively in large N data sets, rather they can be concentrated in more qualitative niche case studies. Another factor that can be discussed as to the immediate impact of war on women's political participation, is the smaller rebel group formations and violent breakouts due to the economic impact that war had on society itself. We might witness violent incidents and more protests right after war with certain demands from opposing factions or activist groups. This will greatly affect the direction for enactment of reform and women's political participation in the long run.

Although the positive and significant impact is seen as a nominal percentage increase, it is nonetheless a great step, because the ultimate aim is to achieve equal representation which constitutes a 50% representation in the legislature: henceforth, a 2% increase results in more actual seats for women in political representation. This means that women indeed have

a higher opportunity to voice their concerns through a formal channel to progress society following the resolution of a civil war.

It is interesting to note that controlling for the quota system, civil war still had a significant impact on women's political representation. This means that even without a quota system adoption, civil war is still a positive and significant driver to greater political representation for women. In other words, the impact of civil war on women's political representation is not facilitated by the quota system enacted in a country. Consequently, civil war's impact on women's political representation is associated with other factors and devoid of a quota system. Further research should be undertaken to evaluate the mechanisms through which civil war positively impacts women's political representation in non-OECD countries.

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Chapter 5

The Impact of FDI on Women's Rights in Post Conflict Countries: The European Case

Abstract

The purpose of this chapter is to collate my findings and highlight the negative effects that FDI has on women's rights in post conflict countries. This chapter constitutes the substantive contribution of the dissertation. This relationship has not been fully contested and studied within the current literature. The variables of civil conflict, women's rights, and FDI in parts have been studied but independently from one another. The data has been combined from Chapter 3 and 4 of the dissertation and the study period was from 1990-2011. FDI was seen to deteriorate women's political rights in post conflict countries. Interestingly, the positive impact that civil war had on women's political rights post-conflict was reversed when FDI came into the picture. Further research on this finding is warranted.

Introduction

The majority of the literature examined the relationship between civil war and women's rights, FDI and human rights and FDI as a tool for peace building. However, there is hardly any literature that addresses the role of FDI on women's political, social, and economic rights in war-torn countries. The major contribution of this chapter is the marriage of the two previously examined relationships. In this chapter, I look at FDI's impact on women's rights when civil war is a factor in play.

While civil war was seen to promote women's political rights only after the second election period, it is interesting to examine the impact when FDI is also considered. Will civil war's positive impact on women's political rights be hindered by the extent of FDI flows? Or will FDI's negative impact on women's social and economic rights be abated due to civil conflict's positive impact on women's political role in society? The anecdotal evidence points to the initial question, where civil conflict's positive impact would reverse with the existence of war profiteering FDI efforts that tend to be short-term opportunities for higher

profits. This is hypothesized based on the selectorate theory and maintaining the status quo of the small winning coalition by providing private goods to stay in power. This discussion is unpacked further below.

Cambodia, for example, is a great case-in point. Large FDI given from Chinese-owned firms post conflict witnessed high volumes of garment industry investment, which employed majority female staff. It shows that these firms are not invested in higher human development where less than 30% of top and middle management are from the local population (Kubny & Voss, 2010). The local Cambodian population would not obtain any opportunities for career growth, wealth accumulation or betterment of their quality of life. Women in this case were affected the most, since the majority of such investment is in the garment industry which employs 90% females. Since the managerial positions are occupied by Chinese nationals, the language and cultural differences acted as barriers to any knowledge exchange or progress in labor standards (Kubny et al., 2010). The motivation that MNCs hold to operate in post-conflict countries are argued to be politically charged and not necessarily for economic prosperity and trade. In fact, since the 1990s, FDI has been focused on countries with higher fiscal benefits and other incentives (Gohou & Soumare, 2010). This example is not limited to Chinese-owned investments, rather it reflects on much of the FDI coming to post-conflict developing countries, which shows that FDI, as a tool for reconstruction and prolonged peace, might not be accurate or positive for women's rights standards.

Based on the arguments and findings of the previous chapters, we can expect that although FDI deteriorates women's economic rights (as seen in Chapter 3), its negative impact may decrease in post-conflict countries. This is because the negative impact of FDI on women's economic and social rights could be alleviated by enhanced women's political rights in some post-conflict countries (as found in Chapter 4). However, I argue that this is

not the case. When FDI flows into post-conflict countries, it can be detrimental to the efforts of political reform and reconstruction of the society. Political leaders in post-conflict countries may utilize FDI as private goods to maintain the status quo and resist demand for political reforms. Political leadership will use FDI as a tool to allocate necessary resources to key groups and factions to ensure their survival (Licht, 2010). By doing so, leaders will continue to further their political goals. These conclusions add to studies conducted by Bueno de Mesquita et al., which highlights the realities faced within selectorate theory. Realities where political leaders manipulate FDI or other forms of aid to limit political reform and maintain their established status quos (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2005). This ultimately leads to the establishment of political regimes that experience little to no reform throughout their tenure. FDI may promote political stability and/or economic development. But, in terms of women's economic, social, and political rights in post-conflict countries, FDI is expected to generate negative effects.

Chapter 5 facilitates the final relationship between the variables and the substantive contribution of the dissertation. This chapter bridges the 2 relationships addressed previously in chapters 3 and 4 to test the impact of bilateral FDI flow on women's rights in post-conflict countries. Looking at this argument allows for greater understanding of FDI and its impact on women's progress and status in society through their rights in war-stricken countries. I have concluded previously that civil war positively impacted women's political rights, which can be seen after the second election period, largely attributed to the ambitious reforms post-conflict brings to the inflicted country. Since the bilateral FDI flow was seen to deteriorate women's economic rights and indirectly impacts social rights, it is interesting to see whether this economic revitalization tool can also be used as a tool for peace and prosperity post-conflict. This chapter sets out to test whether FDI going to war-stricken countries is motivated by further reforms and an investment on human development and women's status

as widely contested or to keep the status quo of the small winning coalition and the provision of private goods, which disregards the long-term human development of the host country. This can be seen through the impact of FDI on women's political, social, and economic rights in the host country post-conflict.

Bilateral FDI, Civil War and Women's Rights Nexus

In this chapter, I combine both datasets from chapters 3 and 4 to take the bilateral FDI a step further and test its impact on women's social, economic, and political rights in post-conflict countries. Since FDI was determined to have a negative influence on women's social and economic rights, while civil war had a positive impact on women's political rights, I will test to see whether civil war would have a pacifying influence on FDI's negative impact or whether FDI's impact will reverse the positive window of opportunity that women witness post conflict to be more active in society through more political rights. Civil war as a phenomenon is seen as negative but yielded positive results for women's political rights, henceforth looking at its impact on the rest of women's rights with the existence of FDI might yield differing results.

Depending on the way FDI is tested, its impact could be negative on civil war, which would then decrease the positive impact civil war was seen to have on women's political rights. The existing literature has exhausted the two relationships separately but did not combine the relationship together to test whether FDI as a tool for post-conflict reconstruction can be positive [negative] for women's social, economic, and political rights.

FDI as a Tool for post-conflict reconstruction

The literature has highlighted the important role FDI plays in the post-conflict reconstruction of countries. From the revitalization of markets to the complete reconstruction

of important infrastructure arteries, such revitalization comes with its own set of short- and long-term effects on the local scene. For instance, when Multinational Corporations (MNCs) invest in post-conflict zones, they bring with them technologies and workplace practices that bring about untapped levels of efficiency. In the short term, locally established businesses tend to lose their respective market shares due to the influx of these new efficiencies. However, in the long term, these previously negatively affected businesses grow to embrace the practices of MNCs, which in turn raises the overall quality of the domestic market's goods and services (Turner, 2008). This also should spill over to the health and safety practices and the higher respect for human rights in the workplace and eventually to the community at large. However, as we determined in chapter 3, the bilateral flow of FDI demonstrated negative effects on women's economic rights. Henceforth, it might be beneficial for the male population but certainly not females when it comes to positive investment in their human development. Post-conflict zones, however, might yield different results for women's rights in terms of the investment FDI provides in societies.

FDI is seen as a tool not only for post-conflict reconstruction, but also as a possibility to prolonged peace-periods (Polachek et al., 2012). The majority of countries that go through violent conflicts and civil wars are deemed amongst the poorest in the world and are more prone to reverting back to conflict after the resolution (Turner, 2008). Trade through FDI is seen as a tool that can aid poor economies to build in a healthy and steady way, so grievances are addressed in a sustainable manner post-conflict. Social and political restoration will then follow due to FDI pushing for the rebuilding of accountable governance mechanisms, because a lot would be at stake in terms of investment inflows if there were not institutional mechanisms governing the use and flow of investment internally. It is essential to note that FDI should be seen by countries as a tool to restore reliable governance mechanisms and efficient institutions as opposed to it being an end. It is only as effective as the efforts taken

to utilize it domestically to ensure longer peace and higher human development in the long run. If economic policies within the host country were not carefully drafted, this may displace the cash inflow and create discriminatory practices where investment could be concentrated in the hands of the few and wealth distribution becomes unequal, further fuelling economic grievances and instigating civil strife and violence once more due to the very tool that was used to abate conflict and prolong periods of peace.

As scholars have looked at determining factors that attract FDI, civil conflict was determined as a deterring variable while post-conflict opportunity tends to attract it (Joshi & Quinn, 2020). FDI can be a great tool for reconstruction and state-building while countries scramble to re-build their institutions and revitalize their economies. As political violence deters FDI, peace processes and the end of conflict seems to attract it. Governments tend to pull great efforts to attract such funding keeping in mind the post-conflict reconstruction process and the great support they would need to re-establish themselves in power and resonate trust across the citizenry (Kishi, 2017; Joshi & Quinn, 2020). FDI takes on the shape of a potential peace-keeping tool where governments are motivated to involve foreign investment whether through multinational corporations or other forms of investment to help in the negotiation of the conflict in the hope for greater financial support to rebuild the economy. As a tool, FDI from the UNCTAD has increased drastically in the last 3 years (Joshi & Quinn, 2020). It is interesting to note that civil war itself as a phenomenon does not mean a total deterrent of FDI. On the contrary, the end of such wars is mediated by the possibility of attracting FDI. However, there has been much contention on the topic and results have been presented on both sides of the argument (Schneider & Frey, 1985; Jensen, 2008; Berden et al., 2013)

Studies have shown empirical data that concludes civil wars deter FDI initiatives and post-conflict environments attract FDI (Joshi and Quinn, 2020). As such, conflicts threaten the risk of MNC's returns on investment, which arise due to the obvious uncertainties regarding both political and economic instability. This uncertainty is further fueled by the destruction of industrial assets and key intra-country infrastructure (Li. Et al, 2017). This fluctuation of FDI throughout a country's history also dictates the types and levels of FDI. The key to attracting this FDI back into conflict ridden zones is how these conflicts end such as government victories, rebel victories, and various types of settlements to name a few (Joshi and Quinn, 2020). Foreign firms in turn are more likely to move into and invest in countries where the economic future is easily predictable, again based on the way conflicts have concluded.

The type of war also matters in terms of FDI's role in reconstruction. Multinationals profit during conflict, which might place generating profit over human development as the motivator for such investment. Extra-state conflict signals that the country has enough resources and internal stability to go to war and so FDI is more prevalent in these types of wars. In fact, MNCs are seen to profit the most in the host country within such a type of war (Chen, 2017) giving way to even more human development and human rights standards. Increased FDI flow within a developing country act as a motivator for state-led violence against opposition to secure such investment and maintain power (Kishi et al., 2017). Interstate and intrastate conflict directly affect the domestic stability of a host's economy, which places greater unpredictability for investment profitability. Extra-state wars are argued to attract more FDI since there is a positive correlation between such investment and a company's growth in the host country (Chen, 2017). This also alludes to the fact that MNCs with prior experience in war-situations, operate better and provide more support to the local population when involved in post-conflict reconstruction. In other words, a firm's prior

experience of war is more beneficial for the host country's investment in its people than a firm that has no prior experience in a war-torn country. This interesting observation was taken from a study on 693 UK-originated companies in 212 countries on FDI during 1999-2008 (Chen, 2017). This begs the question of whether FDI in general is a positive reconstruction tool for prolonged peace, or conflict focused FDI with prior experience should be the focal point when countries spend efforts to attract FDI for reconstruction?

Conflict Resolution and FDI

Prior to the initiation of investment, attachés being sent to potential host countries, MNCs will examine the means by which conflicts came to an end. These conflict-conclusions fall into 3 main types: peace agreements, military victories, and low-activity cases (Stedman, 2001; Kreutz, 2010; Joshi and Quinn, 2020). The first contain the broad spectrum of ceasefire, partial and comprehensive agreements. The second being either government or rebel victories. The last, conflict that has ended with no clear winner on either side. Ultimately an end caused by the inefficiency of efforts of either side to achieve their ultimate goal, control (Joshi and Quinn, 2020).

Investment seekers, regardless of being risk tolerant or averse, will examine the profitability of their potential investment based on a host country's stability during the proposed investment term. Investors will study their optimal return by taking into consideration both the political and economic future. In general, indications of higher levels of political and economic stability will lead to longer investment terms. On the flipside, lower levels of stability will only entice investors for shorter terms of investment, sometimes also leading to higher returns, high risk, high return. Post-conflict country leadership establishments tend to lean more towards implementing policies that attract investors (Kishi et al., 2017). Initiatives such as a turn towards establishing a democratic government and enforcing secured property rights,

in turn leading to more coherent contract enforcement policies, positions a country to receive FDI (Asiedu and Lien, 2011; Li and Resnick 2003; Biglaiser and Staats, 2010; Jensen, 2003, 2008; Lee et al., 2014; North and Weingast, 1989; Olson, 1993; Oneal, 1994; Staats and Biglaiser, 2012).

European countries provide a gradient of maturity in terms of determinants for attracting and receiving FDI. The patterns of economic and institutional maturity are what determines FDI's role in the country itself (Benacik et al., 2014). The end of a civil war is usually followed by drastic institutional rebuilding and constitutional reforms, which can determine the future status of women's rights in the host country. The impact of such reforms can be influenced by the involvement of FDI.

Much of the literature looking at political risk and its impact on FDI yielded mixed results (Harms, 2002; Benacik et al., 2014). Political risk is also connected with civil conflict, political instability, and heavy institutional change, which results in FDI taking on different objectives in terms of its impact on human capital, which results in observing further the impact on women's political, social and economic rights in the host country. The long-term factors that seem to make FDI resilient to instability are price stability, absence of price controls and low inflation (Benacik et al., 2014). These factors are attributed to more developed and stable countries, which is why we see FDI's long history of economic integration and shared institutional set-up in more developed countries, which also makes it less sensitive towards any political risk factors or civil strife. This long-term existence of FDI indicates a greater impact for human development, which can produce higher human rights standards. These are more seen in developed countries, where FDI is mostly green-field and is meant to build new structures and institutions, whereas countries with high political risk would attract short-term

investment. These high political risk countries are usually poor and developing with increased civil conflict susceptibility.

FDI: The road to democratization and higher human rights standards

One argument stipulates that FDI should reduce civil conflict since it contributes to gender equality, which bridges the gap of grievances and decreases the probability of civil strife (Bussmann, 2010; Joshi & Quinn, 2020). However, in chapter 3, I concluded that the bilateral flow of FDI decreases women's economic and social rights, which does not seem to be a conduit to lowering the gap of gender inequality.

Sierra Leone is an example of a war-torn country that witnessed FDI's impact the local community. Anecdotal evidence from Sierra Leone's residents who are experiencing an FDI initiative towards rebuilding their agricultural sector show that human rights abuses and racism have been the progeny of such investment (Miller, 2015). Price instability upsets profitability, which in turn affects the foreign firms' investment in human capital, because their concern would be to stabilize their profits to be competitive in the market of the post-conflicted country. Businesses with the resources and personnel to initiate large FDI projects in post-conflict settings are not incentivized to worry whether their projects contribute to peace or conflict, to stability or to protest, to post-conflict restoration, or intergroup animosities, because their future operations are at stake for their own prosperity and reputation in their home country as they function as an extension of the investor country (Miller, 2015).

In the case of Sierra Leone and many other African countries in similar situations, the firms failed to anticipate the strong patron-client relations and the political corruption legacy that was left post conflict and the instability of political factions in relation to global influence. The transitional justice and post conflict restoration literature argues for FDI as a hopeful tool to rebuild the war-torn country and revitalize its economy and eventually its

social capital. However, looking at the complexity of FDI's objectives, obligations, and expectations in the face of heavily shaken institutions, such investment can be detrimental for the host country's local population.

As the political stability of the host country matters for FDI flows, proximity is also a larger determinant for FDI when Europe is in question. Looking at FDI pouring into European transition economies, mainly from the European Union (EU), proximity affects FDI flows more than the host's political risk factors (Bevan et al., 2004). In fact, the promise of accession to the EU due to better economic support and financial stimulus packages, makes countries produce more progressive legislation and higher human rights practices. In this case, the potential of FDI becomes a motivator to end conflict, increase human rights standards and reduce political risk factors for host countries. This announcement motivated countries to transition from socialism to capitalism and has democratized the Central and Eastern European countries into the global economy through trade and capital flows.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1*: FDI has a negative impact on women's economic and social rights even in post-conflict countries*

Hypothesis 2*: The positive impact of civil war on women's political rights disappears as the volume of FDI inflows in post-conflict countries increases*

Research Design

Variables and Data

Dependent Variable

The main dependent variables in the chapter are women's rights, which include social, economic, and political. Social rights and economic rights data are as in Chapter 3, which was extracted from Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) human rights dataset. The political rights data was obtained for CIRI as well. The political rights variable is an ordinal measure on a

scale of 0, 1, 2 and 3, where 0 is no political rights for women under the law and there exists systematic discrimination based on sex that may be apparent within the law, and 3, where nearly all women's political rights are guaranteed and protected under the law (Cingranelli, Richards & Clay, 2014). All the datasets for women's rights were for the period from 1981 to 2011.

Explanatory Variables

The explanatory variables include bilateral FDI context and civil war. For the bilateral FDI context, the variable was developed as explained in Chapter 3 using the calculation described by Greenhill et al. (2009). For the civil war variable, the data was extrapolated from Chapter 4, which was obtained from the COW (correlates of war project) database with a slight modification for this chapter. Civil war was measured as a binary variable of 0, meaning absence of civil war in a particular year, and 1 meaning the presence of civil war in a particular year. Three civil war variables were developed, namely civil war (t-1) that is lagged by 1-year, civil war (t-2), lagged by 2 years, and civil war (t1or2) which was the civil war lagged by 1 year or 2 years. The reason for the multiple civil war variables is due to the finding in Chapter 4, where the civil war's impact was felt after the second election period. Hence, civil war's impact on women's rights might not be observed immediately. The civil war data was from 1981 to 2011. In addition, an interaction term between FDI and civil war was included in each of the models. The term evaluated if there is significant interaction effect between FDI and civil war on women's economic, social, or political rights.

Control Variables

Various control variables were also utilized in the models, including GDP per capita, trade openness, population data and government expenditure. The democracy variable is measured using the Polity IV dataset, conflict variable measured as 0 or 1, and regional

dummies for countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Western Hemisphere which are all discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, a dummy variable for OECD countries was incorporated in the data set that was used as a filter when running models for OECD and non-OECD countries.

Estimation

The model estimation was undertaken using the ordered logistic model for the three dependent variables: political, social, and economic rights. Initially, the generalized ordered logit model was used in the simulation but there were convergence issues with the model that yielded unreliable results, and in some cases no result at all. I went further to utilize maximization methods in improving the convergence in the model but still the models had no convergence, hence the results were not reliable. The ordered logit regression model was selected as it provided reliable results. The results of the ordered logit regression model are limited by not relaxing the parallel line assumption. Parallel line assumption is related to the odds ratio assumption in the logistic regression. The assumption posits that the estimate of slope between any 2 points of the outcome is assumed to be the same. The coefficient of each category of the predictor should have consistency or parallel slopes. Furthermore, I used a t-test to evaluate the association of FDI and the interaction term in each of the models.

Results and Discussion

The ordered logit regression model yielded interesting results that need further evaluation for future research. The results are presented below.

Women's Economic Rights

The influence of FDI and Civil war interaction on women's economic rights was evaluated first. Table 10 presents results for the non-OECD countries on the influence of the

FDI and Civil war interaction on women's rights. From the table, FDI was identified to have a negative and significant impact on women's economic rights. In the presence of civil war, the deterioration effect of FDI on women's economic rights increases, and the increase is significant when lagging civil war occurrence by two years and controlling for trade and conflict. Therefore, the interaction between FDI and civil war may result in a significant deterioration of women's economic rights in non-OECD countries.

Civil war did not have any significant impact on women's economic rights in non-OECD countries. This might be due to economic factors being felt in the long term for women, especially in war-torn countries where substantial institutional reforms are seen first, which is why we can see political impact and not necessarily economic consequences post-conflict in 1 or 2 years. The *t-test* analysis utilized for the association between FDI, and the FDI and civil war interaction term was found to be significant in all the models. FDI and the interaction term jointly had an impact on women's economic rights. The finding supports the null hypothesis that FDI has a significant effect on women economic rights even in post-civil war period, hence we fail to reject the null hypothesis.

For the OECD countries, 2 models were significant. From table 11, the interaction term had a negative but not significant impact on women's economic rights. Therefore, it is evident that the presence of civil war leads to deterioration effect of FDI on women economic rights in OECD countries although the effects is not significant when compared to periods when there is no Civil war. Moreover, the t-test undertaken on the association between FDI, and the FDI and civil war interaction term was insignificant in all the models. Therefore, FDI and the interaction term do not jointly influence women's economic rights.

Table 10. Estimation results for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context, civil war, and their interaction on Women's Economic Rights, 1990-2011† for non-OECD countries

	Without trade and conflict			**With trade and conflict**		
Variables	**Civil war (t-1)**	**Civil war (t-2)**	**Civil war (t1or2)**	**Civil war (t-1)**	**Civil war (t-2)**	**Civil war (t1or2)**
Bilateral FDI Context	-0.278(0.095)***	-0.228(0.096)***	-0.279(0.091)***	-0.256(0.093)***	-0.202(0.098)**	-0.219(0.095)**
Civil war	-0.11(0.185)	-0.25(0.193)	-0.21(0.179)	0.325(0.236)	0.023(0.238)	-0.364(0.226)
Civilwar#Bilateral FDI Context	-0.101(0.185)	-0.293(0.178)	-0.295(0.18)	-0.191(0.195)	-0.39(0.182)**	-0.255(0.18)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0.087(0.074)	0.071(0.078)	0.109(0.071)	0.077(0.074)	0.058(0.077)	-0.038(0.074)
Democracy	0.037(0.009)***	0.036(0.01)***	0.038(0.009)***	0.038(0.01)***	0.037(0.01)***	0.036(0.009)***
Government Expenditure	0.047(0.009)***	0.047(0.01)***	0.047(0.009)***	0.049(0.01)***	0.049(0.01)***	0.04(0.009)***
GDP Per Capita	0.283(0.052)***	0.263(0.054)***	0.272(0.05)***	0.225(0.057)***	0.211(0.056)***	0.381(0.049)***
Population	-0.341(0.037)***	-0.329(0.036)***	-0.333(0.035)***	-0.293(0.039)***	-0.285(0.04)***	-0.158(0.04)***
Trade				0.002(0.001)***	0.002(0.001)	0.001(0.001)
Conflict				-0.36(0.118)***	-0.224(0.117)	0.025(0.118)
Western	-0.02(0.42)	-0.103(0.463)	-0.064(0.412)	-0.049(0.442)	-0.127(0.448)	-1.176(0.27)***
Europe	-0.316(0.424)	-0.425(0.461)	-0.378(0.404)	-0.347(0.44)	-0.453(0.445)	
Africa	-1.147(0.423)***	-1.296(0.465)***	-1.177(0.41)***	-1.186(0.448)***	-1.334(0.453)***	-2.237(0.291)***
middle	-1.708(0.453)***	-1.809(0.49)***	-1.729(0.432)***	-1.626(0.467)***	-1.752(0.47)***	-2.901(0.316)***
Asia	0.349(0.439)	0.243(0.472)	0.336(0.415)	0.233(0.457)	0.116(0.465)	-1.211(0.306)***
N	2135	2064	2195	2123	2052	2013
Replications	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Wald chi2(12)	459.61***	407.7***	442.99***	377.32***	399.91***	518.56***
Pseudo R2	0.1308	0.1324	0.1318	0.1319	0.1324	0.1502
Test				0	0	0
chi2(2)	11.18	10.99	15.85	10.91	12.81	10.08
Prob > chi2	0.0037	0.0041	0.0004	0.0043	0.0017	0.007

Ordered logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05.

Table 11. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context, civil war and their interaction on Women's Economic Rights, 1990-2011† for OECD countries

Variables	**Civil war (t-1)**	**Civil war (t-2)**
Bilateral FDI Context	0.106(0.234)	0.073(0.238)
Civil war	1.935(2.084)	2.654(1.909)
Civilwar#Bilateral FDI Context	-0.501(1.996)	-2.563(1.688)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	-0.103(0.178)	-0.044(0.177)
Democracy	0.114(0.045)**	0.11(0.045)**
Government Expenditure	0.172(0.03)***	0.172(0.03)***
GDP Per Capita	1.173(0.145)***	1.144(0.137)***
Population	-0.019(0.091)	0.014(0.091)
Trade	0.003(0.002)	0.004(0.002)
Conflict	-0.382(0.452)	-0.497(0.435)
N	710	684
Replications	944	974
Wald chi2(12)	145.87***	149.1***
Pseudo R2	0.3118	0.3111
Test		
chi2(2)	0.27	2.34
Prob > chi2	0.8716	0.311

Ordered logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05.

Women's Social Rights

The association of women's social rights with FDI, civil war, and the interaction between FDI and civil war was tested in models with and without conflict and trade as presented in table 12 for non-OECD countries. From the results, FDI, civil war, and the interaction between FDI and civil war did not have any significant influence on women's social rights. FDI was found to have a negative effect on women social rights in non-OECD countries although the effect was not significant. In the presence of Civil war, the negative effect of FDI on women social rights increased in non-OECD countries although the increase was not significant. The influence was found when I lag civil war by 1 year, 2 years and 1 or 2 years, and when controlling or not controlling for trade and conflict. Therefore, occurrence of civil war result in higher deterioration effect of FDI on women social rights. Moreover, the t-test analysis between FDI and the interaction term (FDI#civil war) was not significant. Therefore, FDI and the interaction term are not jointly significant in their influence on women's social rights. The finding does not support the null hypothesis that FDI has a significant impact on women's social rights even in post-conflict, hence I reject the null hypothesis.

For OECD countries, all the models omitted the interaction term, therefore I was not able to ascertain if the interaction term had a significant impact on women's social rights. The omission could be associated with a low number of observations of OECD countries that witnessed a civil war.

Table 12. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context, civil war, and their interaction on Women's Social Rights, 1990-2011† for non-OECD countries

	Without trade and conflict			**With trade and conflict**		
Variables	**Civil war (t-1)**	**Civil war (t-2)**	**Civil war(t1or2)**	**Civil war (t-1)**	**Civil war (t-2)**	**Civil war(t1or2)**
Bilateral FDI Context	-0.087(0.129)	-0.039(0.126)	-0.07(0.129)	-0.087(0.125)	-0.037(0.127)	-0.07(0.13)
Civil war	-0.133(0.178)	-0.174(0.184)	-0.106(0.176)	0.273(0.233)	0.16(0.23)	0.285(0.218)
Civilwar#Bilateral FDI Context	-0.131(0.216)	-0.141(0.242)	-0.176(0.221)	-0.177(0.226)	-0.195(0.235)	-0.217(0.231)
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0.163(0.108)	0.111(0.108)	0.153(0.107)	0.171(0.105)	0.117(0.11)	0.159(0.103)
Democracy	0.024(0.012)**	0.025(0.012)**	0.024(0.012)	0.025(0.012)**	0.026(0.012)**	0.026(0.012)**
Government Expenditure	0.008(0.009)	0.006(0.009)	0.009(0.009)	0.011(0.009)	0.009(0.009)	0.012(0.009)
GDP Per Capita	0.075(0.063)	0.057(0.062)	0.083(0.061)	0.03(0.069)***	0.011(0.07)	0.041(0.071)
Population	-0.432(0.042)***	-0.433(0.044)***	-0.444(0.04)***	-0.402(0.045)***	-0.398(0.049)***	-0.416(0.047)***
Trade				0.001(0.001)	0.001(0.001)	0.001(0.001)
Conflict				-0.351(0.125)***	-0.3(0.124)***	-0.374(0.121)***
Western	3.253(0.327)***	3.225(0.31)***	3.29(0.324)***	3.204(0.321)***	3.175(0.326)***	3.237(0.329)***
Europe	3.317(0.305)***	3.261(0.303)***	3.319(0.313)***	3.242(0.307)***	3.185(0.316)***	3.248(0.313)***
Africa	1.312(0.265)***	1.264(0.277)***	1.368(0.271)***	1.234(0.267)***	1.184(0.28)***	1.293(0.277)***
Asia	3.16(0.287)***	3.141(0.279)***	3.195(0.28)***	3.044(0.306)***	3.008(0.318)***	3.1(0.311)***
N	1468	1421	1510	1461	1414	1503
Replications	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Wald chi2(12)	443.26***	464.22***	467.15***	474.32***	441.29***	443.47***
Pseudo R2	0.1895	0.1892	0.1909	0.192	0.1914	0.1937
Test				0	0	0
chi2(2)	1.1	0.62	1.23	1.4	0.96	1.65
Prob > chi2	0.5764	0.7345	0.5402	0.4954	0.6191	0.4388

Ordered logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05.

Women's Political Rights

The effect of FDI and civil war, and their interaction on women's political rights was also evaluated using the ordered logit regression model. Table 13 presents the results of the association for non-OECD countries. From the tables, all the models showed that FDI and civil war have a positive and significant impact on women's political rights in non-OECD countries. For instance, when lagging civil war by 1 year, increase in 1 unit of FDI result in increase in the log odd of a non-OECD country to respect women political by 0.657 when all other factors are kept constant. The log odd increases to 0.664 when civil war is lagged by two years while not controlling for trade and conflict. When controlling for trade and conflict, an increase in FDI by 1 unit influence increase in the log odds of country respecting women political rights by 0.649 when lagging civil war by 1 year, and 0.656 when lagging civil war by 2 years. Similar effects were found for civil war, where the log odds of a country respecting women political rights increase by 0.599, one year after civil war, and 0.672 after two years following civil war when not controlling for trade and conflicts, while it increases by 0.55 and 0.678 after one and two years after civil war respectively when controlling for trade and conflict.

The influence of civil war on the association between FDI and women political right as explained by the interaction term was evaluated. The interaction term of FDI and civil war had a significant and negative coefficient in all the models presented in table 13. The result point that in the presence of civil war, the influence of FDI on the respecting of women political rights decreases one year as well as two years after the civil war, with the effect being significant. The effect of civil war on the influence of FDI on women political rights decreases both when controlling and not controlling for trade and civil war. Therefore, in countries with civil war and with FDI, we will witness a deterioration of women's political rights. Furthermore, the *t-test* of FDI with the interaction term revealed the existence of a significant association which points at both FDI and the interaction term to be jointly significant in their

influence on women's political rights. The null hypothesis of the chapter was "The positive impact of civil war on women's political rights disappears as the volume of FDI inflows in post-conflict countries increases" which is supported by the result finding and therefore I fail to reject the null hypothesis. The presence of Civil war result in deterioration of the effect of FDI on women political rights for non-OECD countries.

For OECD countries, all the models that were used omitted the interaction term due to a few civil war incidents recorded. The coefficient for the FDI and civil war interaction term was 0, hence I was not able to assess the influence of the interaction term on women's political rights in OECD countries.

The Former Soviet Bloc: Bosnia and Herzegovina

The former Soviet bloc is a great case study to evaluate the impact of FDI on women's rights and progress post-conflict. With the large ethnic fractionalization, Bosnia, and Herzegovina (BiH) witnessed significant humanitarian and social difficulties. Thousands of people perished, and a considerable faction of the population sought asylum. The war continued from 1992 to 1995 until the Dayton Peace Accords was signed between the two parties in Paris in December 1995 (Malcolm, 1996). After the war, efforts were focused on rebuilding infrastructure, legal institutions, and administrations as priorities for the country's stability. The key element of the Dayton agreement was to harmonize the multi-ethnic society in a split country with two states jointly ruled by a central administration. As a starting point to enter the global market, liberalizing the economy and pushing market-oriented reforms took place to establish a strong capability for sustainable growth (Kaminski et al., 2001). FDI became impactful for BiH's position in international trade, which increased the countries' chances for the EU Central Eastern European (CEE) accession. Through FDI, the CEE states were able to enter the EU markets. FDI was also seen to encourage the emergence of certain sectors into international markets.

For instance, the services sector, which mainly employs women, has influenced the internal country's growth and rebuilding. Whereas the industrial sector faired negatively in its proximity to other industrialized European countries, which meant that the motivation to enter such markets due to competition was offsetting the potential positive impact for state-building and human development (Resmini, 2000).

Bosnia's major challenge was its ethnic polarization. Genocide, nationalism, and ethnic fractionalization, were growth stunting for its economic liberalization. However, FDI pushes countries to progress or at least show they are progressing. Initially, the first steps were taken with the Stabilization and Accession Agreement in 2008, where BiH committed itself to gradually harmonize its system in accordance with EU law. Since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, BiH eventually began adopting the legal framework provided by the United Nations and therefore the EU as a part of its own legislation, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All sorts of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1998) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). As ambitious as this move might seem, the Bosnian constitution did not integrate these enforcements into the domestic activities of citizens and businesses. For the ethnic dimension, the Bosnian constitution doesn't mention an obligatory representation of other social groups in any areas of public life or state institutions. The fruits of the efforts were not materialized in the short-term post-conflict, therefore women empowerment did not take place until recent years in the literature. This begs the question of the motivation behind initial FDI flows within Bosnia.

Table 13. Estimation result for the impact of the Bilateral FDI Context, civil war, and their interaction on Women's Political Rights, 1990-2011† for non-OECD countries

	Without trade and conflict			**With trade and conflict**		
Variables	**Civilwar (t-1)**	**Civilwar (t-2)**	**Civilwar(t 1or2)**	**Civilwar (t-1)**	**Civilwar (t-2)**	**Civilwar(t 1or2)**
Bilateral FDI Context	0.657(0.09)***	0.664(0.095)***	0.661(0.088)***	0.649(0.089)***	0.656(0.09)***	0.653(0.088)***
Civil war	0.599(0.251)***	0.672(0.277)***	0.606(0.241)***	0.55(0.275)**	0.678(0.296)**	0.594(0.27)**
Civilwar#Bilateral FDI Context	-0.612(0.174)***	-0.587(0.184)***	-0.554(0.164)***	-0.613(0.17)***	-0.592(0.179)***	-0.557(0.167)***
Bilateral FDI Stock Context	0.068(0.082)	0.067(0.08)	0.07(0.076)	0.066(0.077)	0.066(0.08)	0.069(0.074)
Democracy	0.055(0.012)***	0.053(0.012)***	0.058(0.011)***	0.055(0.011)***	0.053(0.011)***	0.057(0.011)***
Government Expenditure	0.03(0.011)***	0.031(0.011)***	0.03(0.011)***	0.03(0.011)***	0.032(0.011)***	0.031(0.011)***
GDP Per Capita	-0.104(0.061)	-0.119(0.06)**	-0.102(0.059)	-0.153(0.068)**	-0.169(0.068)**	-0.156(0.067)**
Population	0.186(0.047)***	0.183(0.045)***	0.191(0.046)***	0.221(0.05)***	0.219(0.048)***	0.23(0.047)***
Trade				0.003(0.001)**	0.003(0.001)**	0.003(0.001)**
Conflict				0.077(0.132)	0.023(0.134)	0.047(0.132)
Western	3.083(0.245)***	3.158(0.243)***	3.089(0.235)***	3.146(0.234)***	3.212(0.242)***	3.151(0.236)***
Europe	1.989(0.225)***	2.017(0.221)***	1.983(0.21)***	1.984(0.215)***	2.005(0.226)***	1.971(0.221)***
Africa	2.036(0.213)***	2.072(0.218)***	2.033(0.194)***	2.011(0.211)***	2.04(0.222)***	2.005(0.21)***
Asia	1.54(0.185)***	1.543(0.191)***	1.537(0.175)***	1.383(0.191)***	1.384(0.205)***	1.367(0.199)***
N	2155	2090	2216	2143	2078	2204
Replications	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Wald chi2(12)	453.11***	465.74***	497.52***	494.14***	466.18***	521.01***
Pseudo R2	0.1826	0.1863	0.1849	0.1852	0.1888	0.1877
-2LL	-1345.4543	-1306.4009	-1376.9383	-1335.8102	-1297.0592	-1366.9195
Test						
chi2(2)	57.42***	51.71***	59.02***	58.33***	54.5***	56***

Ordered logistic estimation with an instrumental variable method with the two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regression; two-tailed tests; Bootstrap standard errors in parentheses; Bias-corrected confidence intervals, ***p ≤ 0.01, **p ≤ 0.05.

A strong link between gender and state-building post conflict has been established and greatly contested (Inger, 2001). Including a gender perspective during the peace building process is necessary to positively impact the peaceful transition of post conflict progress. A form of victimized and ethnicized femininity was observed that pushed away healthy peacebuilding processes. As the peace talks are relaxed by necessity, due to more pressing issues on the survival of the state itself in the global perspective, a disregard for women's issues is prone in this instance. However, equal participation in the peace process, transparency and accountability are essential for sustainable state building (Björkdahl, 2012). The Dayton Peace Accords were seen by scholars as a weak and fragile attempt at making peace (McMahon et al., 2009). There was no celebration at the peace agreement signing and the discussions were conducted mainly in secret (Björkdahl, 2012). In the matter of foreign assistance, BiH witnessed 10 years of assistance and support from the international community for the peacebuilding process. During this process, women were not mentioned and mostly neglected within decision-making (Inger, 2001; Björkdahl, 2012).

More recently, in the political sphere, gender inequality became a subject on political parties' agendas; especially during pre-elections to win more of the female vote. For example, Women's Forum of the Social Democrats developed a platform for the economic empowerment for women with the aim to spotlight gender inequality within the labor market and to solve the large unemployment rates for women in Bosnia (Održan Seminar 'Mlade Žene u Politici 2017). Bosnia's 2007 Labor Law showed promise by explicitly highlighting age, disability and sexual orientation as prohibited grounds based on discrimination. Despite the push, women still face discrimination due to pregnancy, where there are many restrictions on maternity leave which discourage women to work in the first place (The Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2017). Traditional gender roles still plague the

economic progress with women outnumbering men in the ‘feminized’ sectors such as education and health sectors (Demir, 2015).

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were more prominent in this region to act as intermediaries facilitating human rights and women’s status in society. Debates on equality, antidiscrimination and fair labor rights were largely encouraged and facilitated in the NGO arena (Rošul-Gajić, 2016). NGOs tackled issues of women in education, fair work practices for women in the workplace and the social status of women at home and in society (Walsh, 2000). As they were aligned with global best practice and international laws, it was easier for NGOs to gain traction and support to push for implementation of anti-discrimination laws. As the role of the government in protecting women and girls in BiH became more evident, the adoption of the National Action Plan to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2010 marked as a crucial step towards protecting women’s status. This also made the international arena and strong actors notice such a move, which is largely attributed to the efforts of women-focused NGOs and their allies (Rošul-Gajić, 2016).

The UNSCR 1325 encouraged an active civil society to implement the efforts of national and international stakeholders into gender-processes. These efforts facilitated the establishment of legal gender-equality institutions to elevate women’s issues and rights across BiH. The strong Bosnian women organizations grew stronger mostly because of their long history of advocacy since 1997 and the strong international support they received (Rošul-Gajić, 2016). A strong campaign in 1997 played a major part in disenfranchising women’s voices and tackle their deep marginalization in decision-making, popularized with the slogan of “There are more of Us”, ended in the adoption of 30% quota for women on every part list (Borić, 2005). The strong presence of NGOs coupled with the establishment of the Gender Centers gave women the opportunity to solidify their presence in society and gave

them a lasting voice. However, NGOs' impact is as good as the domestic institutions and the governmental support given to enforce such efforts.

Conclusion

An interesting interaction and an unlikely result were observed in testing how FDI interacts with civil war on its role in affecting women's social, economic, and political rights. Logical procession of thought points at an obvious negative impact of civil war on human capital, but surprisingly, the results in Chapter 3 show that civil war is positively associated with higher political representation for women and the possible spill over effect to economic and social empowerment due to gender inclusive post-conflict legislation. The interaction of FDI as a liberal and progressive tool for peace and state-building would seem to aid women's empowerment in their role in the economy, social life, and political spheres. However, the surprising impact of the interaction of FDI with civil war has shown that women's political rights deteriorate, which explains the negative effect observed in Chapter 2 for non-OECD countries for economic and social rights. If we argue that one right for women can act as a conduit to the others in a spill over effect as a natural procession of progress, then observing that the majority of non-OECD countries are poor and developing, and host higher occurrences of civil conflict due to increased grievances, then having the fundamental political rights for women deteriorate at the inception of any reform due to FDI's existence, means that further evaluation on this relationship is imminently needed to unveil the underlying assumptions for women's empowerment in society.

Although women's social and economic rights are impacted negatively with the interaction of FDI and civil war, there is no significant difference in the impact before or after war due to the interaction term being insignificant. This means that both variables are not jointly responsible for the negative impact of women's social and economic rights. However, with political rights, FDI deteriorates them after a civil war. This also sheds light on further

research for the conclusion of conflict and whether peace treaties, concessions, or any other form of conflict resolution result in women's rights' deterioration when FDI is involved. Comparing the conclusion of a conflict with cases that witnessed the intervention of FDI and those that did not might be a good next step to understand further the deterioration of women's political rights. More research on women's rights in these scenarios is needed not only because increased amounts of FDI flow towards industries that mainly employ women, but also due to the shift in political power dynamic in today's leading powers and their female governing positions in many of the developed and affluent economies.

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Chapter 6

Conclusion

Lessons and Future Outlook

This section is divided into 2 distinct themes. One is about lessons learned from the chapters and future research questions fuelling further scholarly work. The other theme tackles real life applications and provides recommendations for the impacted actors such as, women, host country decision-makers and MNCs.

Challenges and future recommendations for scholarly work

Diving into the impact of FDI on women's rights in post conflict countries proved to be a complex task. Especially when the task required unearthing a few more layers of the relationship to further understand the impact of civil war on women's political rights and how FDI impacts women's rights in general to begin with. Careful analysis of factors including the existence of a quota system whether legislative or reserved, parsing out OECD from non-OECD and testing European countries only played a crucial role in developing my conclusions.

When I first set out to explore the FDI and women's rights nexus, it was clear to me that the way FDI has been measured in the majority of literature tends to skew the results to show the positive impact on women's economic and social rights. This is mainly due to FDI being seen more commonly as an economic enhancement tool. Liberal markets and open trade policies are also seen as by-products of such a tool which in turn spill over to higher human development due to its investment in human capital and subsequently higher women rights standards. The reason why this is skewed, is because FDI is only looked at as a variable measured in one way. FDI itself might show a positive impact on human development because it encompasses brownfield and greenfield from and to OECD and non-OECD countries. This means that to lump a measure without differentiating the investor and recipient as well as the type of FDI would provide an inaccurate depiction of the impact. The investment given from a developed economy to another developed one differs in size, frequency, and objectives from that given from a developed country to a developing one; especially when recovering after a conflict. Parsing out FDI to its different types proved to be more daunting due to the time constraints required to formulate such variables and to effectively gather and create the information

desired. However, creating the bilateral flow was easily attainable and provided a great first step towards unravelling the FDI measure. In the future I would like to tackle FDI further and distinguish the different facets and types of investments; brown field, green field and the various other extractive and non-extractive sectors.

The majority of challenges faced were in the data availability and the methodology. The main challenge being that not all variables were available for all countries in the time period chosen for analysis. This unfortunately limited the possible number of observations and relationships that could be studied. For example, the CIRI data was limited between 1990 and 2011, which resulted in having to limit the scope of analysis to the data set's years. This also affected the information available for women's social rights. Since the data collected has been discontinued, it placed me at a disadvantage when using this particular variable. Finding an alternative women's social rights measure from a different dataset and formatting it to be compatible with the measures of the rest of the rights provided by the CIRI database was limited and difficult to achieve. Especially finding one containing the dimensions of social rights, which overlaps with the progression of the other rights and is at times difficult to highlight quantitatively, since social rights especially in developing countries stem from normative and tribal law and unwritten legislation influenced by religion and other cultural factors unique to each country. Fortunately, the results gave way to interesting questions to be explored for future research. Such as understanding why the bilateral FDI context had a negative but not significant impact on women's social rights in non-OECD countries. Future research should aim at understanding why it was negative and what would make it significant to analyze the relationship further with accurate recommendations.

Sources for women's rights were available through case studies from Europe, Asia, and Africa. Additionally, ample anecdotal evidence was also included in the scope of my research. However, trying to quantify the impact to provide a further perspective on women's rights was difficult to corroborate, because for women, their rights and status in society varies in their respective countries, because they are very path dependent on the country's history, religion and other factors that impact women's status in society. The difference between developing and developed countries is

also stark in how women's rights should be approached. It is more difficult to evaluate those rights on a global level using a uniform standard given the starting point of those rights in each country is at a different level. Women as a unit of analysis, moreover, is complex and should be parsed out into different types as results may show interesting causal stories when women are broken down into different socio-economic groups, education levels and even age.

The majority of the literature looking at FDI uses an instrumental variable to account for any reverse causality, endogeneity and other biases between the dependent and independent variables. This variable is 'remoteness'. Although not widely contested and has been accepted as a viable option, it does not suffice as scholars delve into the question of FDI and understand its impact further on different variables such as women's rights. The currently used remoteness variable does not account for the women's rights in the investor country for it to be compared to the standards in the host. A new variable should be developed to account for the reverse causality with FDI and women's rights for more accurate results.

Chapter 3 civil war data had many missing observations for OECD countries due to a very limited number of civil wars and conflict recorded for the scope period studied. This extremely limited the output for the chapter but at the same time shows that OECD countries generally have fewer civil conflicts for a reason. This could be ascribed to the democratic peace theory since the majority of the OECD countries are considered as more democratic. This reason is beyond the scope of this dissertation however there is ample literature discussing economic progress, governance and democracy as associated with peace. For this dissertation, the COW data that I extracted the civil war variable from had a lot of missing observations, where the number of deaths was not present for all civil war cases, therefore, I was limited to evaluating the civil war variable as binary (0,1) where the presence and absence of war was recorded rather than the intensity. This unfortunately might have limited the scope of my findings, as battle intensity can be a determining factor for how a country attracts FDI and how the women's status is affected during and post war. It also tells a deeper story on the financial capability of the fighting factions and the extent of the need for reforms and foreign investment to the country post-conflict.

Further research is needed to evaluate the effect of FDI on women's social and economic rights using data other than CIRI, and for a wider scope extending beyond 2011. Looking at expanding the analysis period would yield interesting results especially with the current waves of reforms taking place around the world allowing women to take on more impactful roles in society. Such as Iceland pushing women to be in decision-making roles in all banks, the UAE mandating that every publicly listed company must have at least one female on the board of directors and Saudi Arabia allowing women to drive. The results of such research would shine more light on the impact of trade liberalization policies and economic tools like FDI on how women's status in society changes. Women's rights, moreover, can have a spill over effect when an economic right for instance, influences the other rights, which is also interesting to study to aid in a country's future policy planning. It is essential to understand when the progress would take place for long-term sustainability in human development; when one right is fully supported by legislation and how well does it support to push further rights for women and when can a country realize its full potential of larger women empowerment. For example, political rights may need to precede for social and economic rights to follow. This research has been a blessing to my understanding of global economic investment trends and its complex impacts on human development in general and women's rights standards specifically. I have just scratched the surface in understanding the complexity of the relationship, especially after the life-changing lessons that the COVID-19 pandemic has shown us; we have a deeper appreciation of how important human capital is for world economies.

The future for women

Women have played and continue to play an essential role during conflict and through cohesive peacebuilding initiatives. However, as civil conflict appears to provide a window of opportunity for women to seize long-term roles in society. It is imperative that women are aware of the factors that could deter such opportunities, such as FDI, and learn how to solidify their efforts in the negotiation process while leading peace efforts.

For women to sustain long term development and secure their role in society to continue to influence policy, play an active role in the economy and solidify their social

presence, more organized women networks such as the WIPNET are needed. This organization and others have proved to yield great results for the women's future. Further education and support from global organizations and women's networks is imperative for women to regain the lost time from being a passive part of society while men have gained experience in effective contribution to society. The knowledge transfer and know-how from networks of men and women alike, is a key part in preparing and equipping women to catch up and integrate effectively as active and productive members of society with full rights. Women's rights should become a subject of the past, this could only be possible with the aid of strong, gender-inclusive legislative institutions. Networks that would help women advance to focus more on the collective social progress and think of future advancement at a calibre as an equally capable member of society without the need to compare with their counterparts.

The future for MNCs

For us to sustain long term development initiatives in developing host countries, MNCs must be tasked first to ensure their FDI programs are not gender biased and their platforms are aimed at bettering the quality of life for the communities they operate in. Creating equal opportunities and growth programs for men and women alike is key. As seen earlier in the dissertation, economic autonomy for women is the door by which economies can advance further and attract more substantive FDI. These initiatives should not be limited to the workplace alone, MNCs should play an active role in developing the communities they operate in. Government-led subsidy plans, such as the land grabs seen in the past throughout Asia and Africa, should be awarded only if MNCs operate within strict guidelines that support the host country's socio-economic environment. The recent rise in green technologies has pushed many large organizations to attain a competitive advantage with respect to their environmental impact. From electric car feats to powering cities with solar panels, MNCs of the future should also place societal development at the forefront of their strategies.

The future for host countries

Depending on the governance regime of a country, it is safe to predict the motive of attracting FDI. Many developing countries lack the infrastructure required to become global players, therefore, the only reasonable way to get on board is by learning from the efficiencies of MNCs. However, as we have seen, there is a fine line between host country exploitation, for the financial benefit of the MNCs, and socio-economic development. Although easier said, host countries need to focus on building strong legislative foundations that support societal development. A system which would benefit from all aspects of attaining a global market reach. Host countries should also adopt more strict and stringent regulations for FDI to ensure outcomes that do not cause the government to lose influence over its domestic environment. This would push the standards of the host country to align with global best practice and hence attract a more specialized FDI like in the technology sectors and specialized service sectors. This type of FDI usually employs highly skilled labor and provides a bigger investment on human capital for the high cost of obtaining efficient and effective operations to the global market. This investment in turn, establishes long-term relationships with MNCs, where even civil conflict will not deter the inflow of investment.

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