Lecture 14

Wielding Economic Power: Economic Sanctions & Foreign Aid
# Current U.S. Sanctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Declared U.S. Concern</th>
<th>Type of Sanctions (in force since)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>threat to democratic process, destruction of institutions</td>
<td>targeted restrictions on commercial transactions (2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burma (Myanmar)</td>
<td>military coup; human rights violations, repression</td>
<td>comprehensive prohibition of trade and investment (1997, 2003)</td>
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<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>human rights violations in the context of civil war</td>
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<td>restrictions on travel, remittances, commercial transactions, possible seizure of assets (1963)</td>
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<td>comprehensive prohibition of trade and investment, exc. carpets &amp; food ('87, '95, '08)</td>
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<td>hostility toward U.S.; sponsorship of int'l terrorism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>human rights violations; civil war</td>
<td>freezing of assets, geographically specific prohibition of trade, financial transactions (1997, 2006)</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
<td>assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister + 22 others</td>
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<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>repression; threat to democratic process</td>
<td>targeted prohibition of all commercial transactions</td>
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Source: U.S. Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control (http://www.ustreas.gov/ofac)
Positive & Negative Sanctions

• Country A imposes **negative sanctions** on country B when it actually deprives or threatens to deprive B of something that is valued and expected by B - as punishment for B's behavior - or to forestall a specified behavior (by threat)

• Country A imposes **positive sanctions** on country B when actually rewards or promises to reward B with something valued and not otherwise expected by B - as reward for B's behavior - or to induce a specified behavior (through promise)

• "[not] expected by B" => baseline expectations matter

• behavior may consist of taking an action or refraining from it
# U.S. Negative Economic Sanctions

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Source: U.S. Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control (http://www.ustreas.gov/ofac)
Negative Economic Sanctions

- Sanctions are usually influence attempts
- Sometimes declamatory politics

Various Kinds of Neg. Economic Sanctions
- targeted export/import tariffs or restrictions
- product boycotts; trade embargoes
- investment restrictions/prohibitions
- freeze or confiscation of assets
- travel restrictions
- freeze on preferential treatment; aid cut-off
(In)Effectiveness of Sanctions?

- *Imposed* sanctions successful in changing behavior in 1/3 cases during Cold War
- *Threatened* sanctions successful 50+% (Drezner)
- Probability of success equal or higher than rate of successful war initiation during Cold War
Why Do Sanctions (Sometimes) Work?

- Interdependence & Vulnerability
  => Economic Power is Political Power
- Early analyses of sanctions effectiveness:
  macro-level: relative capabilities, trade
- Logic of costly signals
- Newer literature: focus on domestic politics
  – regime type
  – breadth of domestic support/challenges of targeted leaders
- "Smart Sanctions" Theory
- Targeting innocent by-standers (Solomon Major)
Ethical Dilemmas of Sanctions

• Sanctions can rarely be precisely targeted
  => penalize innocent civilian masses
  for policies of governing elite?

• Perversely, worse in undemocratic target states
  (population = hostage?)

• Humanitarian & Political Costs:
  - suffering and death (Mueller & Mueller)
  - long-term reputational damage in target country?
Foreign Aid
Foreign Aid

- Development Aid
- Humanitarian Aid/Emergency Relief
- Military Aid
- Technical Assistance/Administrative Training
  - including for:
    - police forces
    - bureaucratic organization/administrative capacity (statistical offices)
    - economic policymaking (forecasting, central banking, antitrust enforcement)
    - engineering (esp. infrastructure: roads, bridges, etc.)
    - political institution-building, esp. in transition to democracy (building political parties, organizing elections)
Development Aid

• "official" vs. private development aid

• Official Development Aid:
  Financial or in-kind resources given by the government of one country to the government or other recognized actors (local gov, NGOs, private entities) in another country to support the latter country's social, economic, or political development.

• U.S. Agency for International Development (AID):
  "... extending a helping hand to people overseas struggling to make a better life, recover from a disaster or striving to live in a free and democratic country... ... U.S. foreign assistance has always had the twofold purpose of furthering America's foreign policy interests in expanding democracy and free markets while improving the lives of the citizens of the developing world."

• Economic Power is Political Power
Political Use of Aid: Examples

- U.S. aid to Egypt (post-Camp David Peace Accord)
- U.S. aid to Afghanistan (2002ff)
- Australian aid to Nauru (2000-2008)
- PR China aid to Nauru (2002ff)
- Taiwan aid to Nauru pre-2002
Aid to Developing Countries: Reasons to Give …

- Altruism, Pity, Improving Human Welfare
- Developing Markets Abroad for Exports
- Political Influence
  (positive sanctions or potential for negative sanctions)
- Hidden Subsidies
  for Donor Country Producers/Exporters (esp. tied aid)
Aid to Developing Countries: ... and Reasons NOT to Give

- Moral Hazard
- Aid Dependency "Trap"
- Political Influence
  (positive sanctions or potential for negative sanctions)
- Hidden Subsidies
  for Donor Country Producers/Exporters (esp. tied aid)
Aid to Developing Countries: The Numbers …

- 0.7% of GDP target for "official" development aid (agreed by OECD countries at 1992 Earth Summit in Rio)

- OECD-DAC Countries that met target in 2007 & 2008: Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands

- Average in 2008 (highest ever): 0.47%

- Below 0.3% in 2008:
  Portugal (0.27),
  Greece (0.2), Italy (0.2),
  Japan (0.18), United States (0.18)

- U.S. aid: 0.1% (2000), 0.11% (2001), 0.13% (2002), ...
  0.18% (2006), 0.16% (2007), 0.18% (= $26,008m, 2008)

Source: OECD Aid Statistics
### UNITED STATES

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<th>Net ODA</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>Change 2006/07</th>
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<td>Current (USD m)</td>
<td>23,532</td>
<td>21,787</td>
<td>-7.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant (2006 USD m)</td>
<td>23,532</td>
<td>21,231</td>
<td>-9.8%</td>
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<td>ODA/GNI</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
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<td>Bilateral share</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>87%</td>
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#### Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA (USD million)

1. Iraq                        | 4,266 |
2. Afghanistan                 | 1,459 |
3. Sudan                       | 725   |
4. Colombia                    | 562   |
5. Egypt                       | 541   |
6. Nigeria                     | 514   |
8. Pakistan                    | 465   |
9. Ethiopia                    | 344   |
10. Kenya                      | 304   |

Source: OECD - DAC; [www.oecd.org/dac/stats](http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats)
What Determines Government Aid Allocation? Findings from Statistical Analyses

• Recipient need (inconsistent, sometimes not significant)
• Military alliances
• Geopolitical strategic importance (during Cold War)
• UN voting record (prospectively or retrospectively)
• UN Security Council membership
• Trade (export opportunities for donor country)
• "Good governance" (low corruption, democracy, after CW)
Aid to Less Developed Countries: Useful Distinctions

• Assistance given directly (bilateral aid) or indirectly
  *indirectly*: via international organization,
  such as World Bank, EU

• grants vs. loans

• "official" (governmental) vs. private
Private Development Aid
Private Development Aid

- Large Number of Small Donations by Private Individuals, often collected & allocated by development NGOs
- Foundation Grants (Gates Foundation etc.)
- Business Charitable Giving, often "in-kind"
- Volunteer Time & Projects by Religious Groups
Private Development Aid: 2 Questions

- Private-source Humanitarian/Development Aid ↑
- Total U.S. Private Aid > Gov. Foreign Aid (Rollins 2006)
- No Systematic, Aggregate Data

1. What *Is* the Allocation of Private Development Aid Across Countries?
   - Demand > Resources

2. What *Explains* this Allocation of Private Aid?
Research Project

• 4 Inter-related development issue areas:
  - health
  - education
  - water/sanitation/sewerage
  - emergency

• Expert surveys: Largest, most important NGOs/issue
  - not-for-profit
  - operational; carrying out on-the-ground projects
  - US-based or US fundraising

→ 48 NGOs
  • Data for 40 of 47 (annual); 2001 total: $ 1.612 billion

→ aggregate, per capita private aid by country for 119 low/lower-middle income countries (WB definition)
Global Distribution of Private Development Aid
2 Perspectives on NGO Aid Allocation

- *IR Constructivism*: Norms $\Rightarrow$ identities/roles $\Rightarrow$ interests
  - Development NGOs as "principled issue-networks";
  - Deep normative commitment to helping the poor and needy;

Why?
Development NGO Discourses

• "Care strives to attack the underlying causes of poverty through health and education projects" (CARE USA, 2005)

• "[We] extend care and protection to refugee children" (Save the Children 2004)

• "Enabling the world's children to realize their god-given potential by tackling the root causes of poverty" (World Visions 2005)
Why?

2 Perspectives on NGO Aid Allocation

- *IR Constructivism*: Norms $\Rightarrow$ identities/roles $\Rightarrow$ interests
  - Development NGOs as "principled issue-networks";
  - Deep normative commitment to helping the poor and needy;
  - Anecdotal and some scholarly support.

$\Rightarrow$ "Idealistic View:" Allocation driven by objective recipient need.
Why?

2 Perspectives on NGO Aid Allocation

- **IR Constructivism**: Norms $\Rightarrow$ identities/roles $\Rightarrow$ interests
  - Development NGOs as "principled issue-networks";
  - Deep normative commitment to helping the poor and needy;
  - Anecdotal and some scholarly support.
  - "Idealistic View:" Allocation driven by objective recipient need.

- **Organization Theory**:
  - Organizational structure & competition $\Rightarrow$ instrumental pursuit of material resources and managerialist growth of the organization;
  - Project selection to maximize fundraising opportunities, given shifting public attention;
  - Support from practitioners' accounts and many scholars.
  - "Cynical View:" Allocation explained by media-driven *perceived* need.
Operationalization

• Cynical View:
  • Index of media coverage for each country (114/119)
  • based on qualitative content analysis of New York Times coverage (25,463 stories, LexisNexis keyword searches)
  • higher values = more frequent portrayal as place in need of humanitarian or development aid
  ➞ operationalized hypothesis: positive coefficient

• Idealistic View:
  • Level of economic development: GDP per capita (from WDI)
  • widely available (113/119 countries)
  • commonly used measure in analyses of (gov) foreign aid
  ➞ operationalized hypothesis: negative coefficient
# Key Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesized Explanatory Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Change in <em>per capita</em> private aid that results from a 1 std dev decrease from the mean</th>
<th>Change in <em>per capita</em> private aid that results from a 1 std dev increase from the mean</th>
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<tr>
<td>Media coverage</td>
<td>6 (net) stories suggesting need</td>
<td>– 13.3¢ [−41.3¢ +18.5¢]</td>
<td>+ 17.0¢ [−16.9¢ +61.7¢]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on OLS regressions that also controlled for:
- Christian population
- Political violence/instability
- Population size
- Latin America

**Notes:**
- Grey indicates: not statistically significant (we cannot be sure that the estimate captures real effect)
- In brackets: 95% confidence intervals (with 95% probability, actual effect is between the min and max)
- Estimates based on simulations using CLARIFY (King, Tomz & Wittenberg 2000)
Alternative Measures of Objective Need

- Share of Population Living on <$1/day ($2/day)
- Share of Population Below Local Poverty-Line
- Human Development Index
- Physical Quality of Life Index
- Human Poverty Index
Other Factors

- Immigrants from potential recipient country in U.S. (+)
- Recipient country government corruption (–)
- U.S. government development aid (–)
- U.S. military aid (–)
- U.S. military personnel, military alliance (+)
- UN Security Council membership (–)
- Trade (with U.S.: –)
- U.S. government sanctions (–)
2 Major Lessons (Wielding Economic Power)

• Economic Power is Political Power

• It Matters Who Wields Power in the Global Economy: NGOs Allocate Private Development Aid Differently
Thank you!

Spring 2010: PS158/PPS181
"Non-State Actors in World Politics"

2010/11:
PS113/PS213, "Int'l Political Economy"
PS240 "Politics of European Integration"
Low or "Lower Middle" Income Countries (2000-2001, World Bank Classification)

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N = 119; country name blue: no NYT coverage data; country name green: no GDP data
Development Aid NGOs
Identified via Expert Survey, included in Analysis

Academy for Educational Development
Action Against Hunger, USA
Adventist Development & Relief Agency International
Africare
Aga Khan Foundation, USA
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
American Jewish World Service
American Red Cross, Int'l Services
American Refugee Committee
AmeriCares
CARE USA
Catholic Medical Mission Board
Catholic Relief Services
Christian Children's Fund Concern Worldwide
Doctors Without Borders, USA
Family Health International
Helen Keller International
International Aid
International Medical Corps
International Planned Parenthood Foundation
International Rescue Committee
International Trachoma Initiative
International Youth Foundation
JHPIEGO
Lutheran World Relief
Mercy Corps
Oxfam, USA
Pathfinder International
Plan International, USA
Population Action International
Programs for Applied Technology in Health
Rotary International Foundation
Save the Children, USA
Sight First (Lion's Club)
Water Aid
Water for People
World Learning
World Relief
World Vision, USA

Total private-source development aid disbursed by these 40 NGOs in 2001: US$ 1,612 million
(also identified, but only started in 2002: Engineers Without Borders, USA

Identified NGOs Unwilling/Unable to Provide Financial Data

Action Aid, USA
American Councils (on International Education)
Church World Service
Population Services International

Samaritan's Purse
Winrock International
World Education
NYT Media Analysis

- 25,463 Stories for 114 Countries from 1/1/2000 - 12/31/2001 (LexisNexis kw searches)
  - Stories portraying country in need: 1,599
  - Stories portraying country w/ no need: 225
  - Stories with "neutral" coverage: 7,774
  - Stories with no substantive coverage of the country: 15,865