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Women's Participation and Globalization

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Women's Participation and Globalization

Abstract

What effect does women's participation in national legislatures have on the levels of globalization, specifically economic and social globalization? I contend that women's participation in national legislatures will have differing effects on economic and social globalization. I expect that higher levels of women's participation in national legislatures will have a negative effect on levels of economic globalization and a positive effect on levels of social globalization. I demonstrate the plausibility of these relationships through an analysis of 194 countries between the years 1990 and 2017. Interestingly, my findings suggest that women's participation in national legislatures has a positive and statistically significant impact on both economic and social globalization.

Keywords

women's participation, economic globalization, social globalization, women's representation

Disciplines

International Relations | Political Science | Political Theory | Women's Studies

Comments

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Political Science 403

Professor Hartzell

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INTRODUCTION

Globalization is the process of increased interconnectedness among countries, individuals, and businesses with other actors. The growing interconnectedness of countries that has led to social and economic integration on a global scale. When we think of integration, we think about the communication that countries have with each other that allows for a variety of interactions to take place among them. We have seen the opening of the global economy with the resulting increase in globalization and trade among countries. But the system that supports globalization is built on man-made political institutions and, arguably, is a male-dominated system. Although we do see a very male-dominated institutions associated with globalization, there is a very strong literature that advances arguments regarding globalization's effects on women, with scholars identifying a mixture of positive and negative effects. For example, Richards and Gelleny (2007) find evidences supporting the assertion that economic globalization opens avenues by which women can enhance their status. They produce evidence that trade globalization has had a positive influence on women's status. Less well studied, though, is the effect that women have on globalization.

There is evidence that women tend to vote differently than men on a large number of topics related to globalization. As more women have taken on positions in government, we have seen the effect it has had on trade policy, with women identified as having a protectionist orientation toward trade. Although most literature supports this female protectionist theory, not many scholars have been able to find theoretical explanations for why it exists. The literature also lacks insight into women's impact on social globalization. Therefore, this paper will examine the effects that women's representation in national legislatures has not only levels of economic globalization, but social globalization as well.

Women are vastly underrepresented in decision-making positions in government, although we have seen some improvement in countries in recent years. In context of gender equality, gender parity in national legislation representation is still very far from being realized. Without the representation of women at this level, it is difficult for women to influence policy. National legislatures cannot be considered inclusive until they can increase the full participation of women in government. This is not just about women's rights, but also about using women's resources and potential to determine political and development priorities that benefit societies and the global community.

By looking at economic and social globalization, we can see the effect that women's role in national legislatures has on countries and whether their opinions could change the trajectory of the global community. Although I am looking at the effect of women's representation on both social and economic globalization, I do expect to see a different relationship between the two when looking at women's participation in national legislature. For economic globalization, I expect to see a negative relationship with women's participation in national legislatures. And for social globalization, I expect to see a positive relationship with women's participation in national legislatures. In the following section, I break down the growing literature that has focused on women's ideals and opinions that could have a serious effect on our global community. The recent literature will help to provide support for my expectations regarding the effects women's representation in national legislature has on economic and social globalization.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND GLOBALIZATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The relevance of this study has to do with the ongoing gender inequalities that still remain evident in the world today, despite much progress in recent years. Gender inequalities in the

allocation of resources including education, health care, nutrition, and more importantly political voice are relevant because of the strong association with well-being, productivity, and economic growth. Despite the growth in numbers, there are still fewer women than men that hold legislative seats collectively in every region of the world. Each month, the Inter-Parliamentary Union publishes rankings of the percentage of women in national parliaments (national legislatures). They suggest that women make up only 25% of members of national legislative bodies around the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2020). A very surprising statistic is that the United States of America was listed as 87th for the percentage of women in national legislatures. Interestingly enough, Rwanda, Cuba, and Bolivia are the only three nations that have reached gender parity. It is interesting to see that three developing countries might be moving towards gender equality at a faster pace than a world power like the United States of America. But it is also important to note that the size of a country's legislature is an important factor to consider as well. Rwanda has only 80 lower chambers seats in their national legislative body, while the United States has 435 lower chamber seats in their national legislative body. If countries are able to reach gender parity for women in their countries, it will give women the opportunity to voice their opinions and have an impact on not only domestic policies, but also international policies.

Economic globalization

Economic globalization is a movement towards an increase in the worldwide movement of capital, goods, services, and labor. It refers to the increasing interdependence of world economies as a result of a growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and services, flow of international capital and wide and rapid spread of technologies. The rapid growth of the world's economy in recent years is largely based on the rapid development of science and technologies (Shangquan 2000). As previously mentioned, although this global community has grown

immensely, it is a male-dominated community. Increasing female involvement in this global community could change the trajectory of how the global economy is run, as well as, change a lot of outcomes and outputs. Legislatures or members of Parliament create and pass laws that in turn can affect tariff levels and trade policies; in the absence of female representation, it is difficult for women to influence policy in any way. There has been growing literature focusing on how women's views and opinions could impact the decisions being made regarding economic globalization. This growing literature has sought to analyze why women may have different opinions and ideals when it comes to trade policy preferences.

One of the first studies on this topic was by Hall, Kao, and Nelson (1998), who examined the connection between female political influence and trade policy. They suggested that men were more factor-market participants, who were only concerned about the effect of policy on returns to their household's factor endowment, while women were product-market participants, who were only concerned about the effect of policy on the prices of consumption goods. In simpler terms, their belief was that women only cared about the price of consumer goods and therefore naturally favored free trade. Hall et al. (1998) were able to conclude that the granting of voting rights to women had the effect of lowering tariffs, which would assume that women were in support of free trade. But Hall's ideas were challenged by many scholars and public opinion surveys who found contradictory evidence pertaining to trade policy.

Numerous scholars have focused on trade protectionism as an explanation for the effect that women's ideals and opinions may have on economic globalization. Trade protectionism is the idea of protecting domestic industries from foreign competition by means of tariffs or other restrictions. When looking specifically at trade and tariffs, surveys have identified women voters and their opinions on globalization and trade policies. For example, Burgoon and Hiscox (2004)

found evidence that women are actually more likely to favor trade protectionism than men. Similarly, Mansfield (2015) concluded that women are systematically less likely to favor trade than men because of gender differences that were rooted in attitudes towards competition, relocation, and involvement in world affairs. In relation to the involvement of world affairs, Mayda and Rodrik (2005) similarly found that women were more likely to support trade protectionists, because of a strong association between feelings of national pride and the distrust of foreigners with support for trade protection. To add to the trade protectionist theory, De Bromhead (2018) examined the relationship between the granting of voting rights to women and protectionism during the interwar years. They were able to find that women and men do not have identical preferences when it comes to economic policies. The study concluded that women favored more trade protectionist policies than men. Similarly, O'Rourke and Sinnott (2001) focused on the apparent gender bias towards trade policy preferences and found that women tend to be more protectionist than men. But interestingly, they were also able to find a notable difference in the impact that age has for men and women, with age appearing to matter for men, while it didn't matter for women. When we look specifically at imports coming into countries, Blonigen (2011) was able to conclude that women were 10% more likely to favor new import limits for a country.

Interestingly, despite all of this literature regarding trade protectionism, scholars still can't seem to identify why women tend to be more trade protectionists or opposed to free trade. So why is there a 'gender gap' in ideas and opinions between men and women regarding this issue? Well, some have argued that the gender gap between men and women regarding their opinions on trade policy preference could be rooted in their attitudes towards risk. Burgoon and Hiscox (2004) found that women are more protectionist than men because they are more risk averse. Women are more skeptical of market-based solutions to economic problems. They do not want countries' economies

to be reliant or dependent on international trade. On a more psychological level, Croson and Gneezy (2009) also found that women were more risk-averse than men. One major factor that they used to explain this gender difference was their affective reaction to risk. Men differ in their emotions, in comparison to women, and are seen as more confident than women. As a result, men may have different perceptions of the probability distribution underlying a risk. Men also tend to view risky situations as a challenge, as opposed to a threat, which leads them to an increased tolerance for risk. With that being said, if women were in a governmental position, they might view trade policies and free market systems as too big of a risk to take that could jeopardize their country. As De Bromhead states, “if favoring domestic production is perceived as being less risky than having to rely on foreign goods, then consequently women may display a greater appetite for protectionism relative to men” (De Bromhead 2018, 25). Women are also more skeptical of market-based solutions to economic problems. They do not want countries’ economies to be reliant or dependent on international trade. In comparison to Burgoon’s findings, Beneria (1999) argued that women tend to be more sentimental, more risk-averse, and less competitive than men. As a result, women are less inclined to be appreciative of free-market economics.

In trying to explain why there is this ‘gender gap’ that exists pertaining to trade policy preference, there has also been literature referring to domestic policies that could in turn affect an individual’s stance on trade policy. Hiscox (2006) first suggests that there is a class divide over trade, since economies are well endowed with physical and human capital, yet poorly endowed with low-skilled labor. And this trade issue has pitted free-trade capitalists and skilled workers against protectionist blue-collar workers. Individuals employed or invested in export industries benefit from trade, while those attached to import-competing industries are harmed. But interestingly enough, Hiscox (2006) finds that gender shows up as a predictor of trade policy

preferences. He finds that women are more trade protectionist, even when controlling for education and industry variables. In trying to explain these findings, several studies have found that women are consistently more supportive of social welfare assistance, provision of public goods, and forms of income redistribution (Alvarez and McCaffery 2001; Iversen and Soskice 2001). And this gender bias in support of these social welfare policies is seen to directly be tied to the specific needs that women might have including maternity leave, child-care, health insurance, and employment protection. With regard to why women are more “pro—welfare” than men, women tend to be more compassionate than men in their attitudes towards less fortunate members of society. So instead of focusing on trade agreements and policies with other countries, women tend to rather focus their efforts on domestic policies that may in turn help the less fortunate. As there appears to be an apparent ‘gender gap’ between men and women regarding types of trade policies, it seems logical to expect that the percentage of women in national legislatures may impact or influence the levels of economic globalization we see in a country.

Social globalization

Social globalization focuses on the sharing of ideas, information and people between and through different countries. There is not as much literature on how women’s policy preferences might affect social globalization as there is on economic globalization. And much of the literature that does exist does not focus specifically on women’s policy preferences, but rather just the ideas and opinions women have on topics related to social globalization. In trying to define social globalization, we can say that it pertains to human interactions within cultural communities, encompassing topics including family, religion, and education. With regard to research, it has proved to be a challenge to get quantitative data that shows gender preferences regarding social globalization. While one can measure economic globalization via tariffs and trade agreements,

social globalization rather focuses on global interconnectedness between people, which is challenging to find a measure for. But there are several studies that can help explain the effect that the presence of women in national legislatures may have on social globalization.

One explanation that scholars have focused on to understand the effect that women's participation may have on social globalization are the political and social movements that have risen in recent years. As previously mentioned, women are vastly underrepresented in most sectors of the world. With that being said, women have been at the forefront of one of the biggest social movements in the world, International Women's Movement. With the increasing interconnectedness between countries, social globalization has helped to increase the knowledge and ideas that other countries are using and sharing with one another. Social globalization has allowed women to mobilize globally and fight for gender equality and their human rights. Former United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declared that "human rights are women's rights," and "women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure" (Bystrom and Burrell 2018, 673). Bell (2019) suggested that social globalization helps to increase the knowledge of global human rights, making it more likely that women will recognize their own human rights being violated, which will in turn mobilize them to strive for change. Howard-Hassman (2005) uses the term "leapfrogging" to describe how social globalization has been able to spread the ideas of human rights worldwide. If one country strives for change, then other countries will follow in their footsteps and join in the movement. With women being the subject of gender inequality in the world, women's participation in national legislatures could be expected to help to expand forms of social globalization even further in countries, so that countries can work towards gender equality and diminishing the gender inequalities that exist for women all around the world.

The equal education of men and women is also important to discuss when looking at women's participation in national legislatures and the effects this might have on social globalization. The gender gap in schools has definitely declined in recent years, but women are still not as educated as men are. The equal education of women and protection of their rights is a significant factor in changing global labor markets. The human capital model of education is one that has become worldwide. Under this human capital model, governments are encouraged to invest in equal education because it ensures economic growth. Springs (2008) suggests that the international push for women's rights and equal education is part of the Western ideology embedded in world culture. The concern with human capital and the knowledge economy had been contained in the objective of promoting lifelong learning for girls and women. We can also use this argument that relates to social globalization, as other another explanation for the effect on economic globalization. Many scholars have argued that women tend to be more trade protectionists than men because they do not have the same access or exposure to economic theory. The lack of knowledge on economic theory is based on the fact that women are not as educated as men. The presence of more women in legislatures would lead to more policies to promote the education of women and girls, which would in turn have a positive effect on social globalization through its impact on gender parity.

This review of scholarly literature has allowed us to gain a better understanding of how women might view certain topics related to economic and social globalization. With regard to economic globalization, we have seen that women tend to be more trade protectionist, which might lead to high tariffs. With regard to social globalization, we have seen that women want to fight for the human rights they deserve and ensure that women across the world obtain their right. The following section will lay out several mechanisms or explanations I will use to help support my

claims regarding the type of relationship I expect economic and social globalization to have with women's participation in national legislatures.

THEORY

A central question of interest to scholars is why exactly a women's role in national legislatures would affect the level of globalization in a country. Focusing on two types of globalization, social and economic, I examine several different explanations for why women's roles in national legislatures might affect globalization. As previously mentioned, numerous scholars have found several explanations for why women's participation in national legislatures has an effect on the levels of globalization in a country, specifically economic and social globalization. The recent literature has shown there is a huge gender bias when it comes to discussing economic and social globalization. We have seen a world controlled under male dominance. The underrepresentation of women in national legislatures and the growing literature that focuses on women's ideals and opinions puts into question what impact they could have on the global community. As previously mentioned, I expect to find a negative relationship between economic globalization and women's participation in national legislatures. On the other hand, I expect to find a positive relationship between social globalization and women's participation in national legislatures. I identify several mechanisms for both economic and social globalization to help support my claims.

In regard to economic globalization, one mechanism that I focus on to explain why women's participation in national legislatures would have a negative effect on economic globalization is trade protectionism. There is an overwhelming amount of literature that has pointed to the fact that women tend to be more trade protectionist than men (Burgoon and Hiscox 2004; De Bromhead 2018; Blonigen 2011). Trade protectionism looks to protect domestic

industries from unfair competition from foreign ones. The tools that are used in order to protect domestic industries are primarily tariffs. Tariffs are a tax on imports and exports that are traded between sovereign states. Tariffs put regulation on foreign trade and encourage or safeguard domestic industry. Women tend to believe that free trade threatens jobs and domestic companies at home. And when we relate the two concepts, we could assume that countries that have more female participations in national legislatures will also have higher rates of tariffs as well.

Another mechanism that I focus on to explain why women's representation would have a negative effect on economic globalization is risk-aversion. Studies have shown that women are more risk-averse than men when it comes to market-based solutions to economic problems (Croson and Gneezy 2009; Beneria 1999). While men view risky situations as a challenge, women view risky situations as threats. If women view encouraging domestic production as less risky, then it is safe to assume that they are going to be more in favor of trade protectionism than men. Trade policies and/or trade agreements could be viewed as very risky business in which women would not want to be involved in. Women also don't want countries' economies to be reliant and interdependent on international trade. With two strong mechanisms to help explain for the rationale for expecting a negative relationship to exist between women's participation in national legislatures and economic globalization my first hypothesis will be:

Hypothesis 1. The larger the percentage of women in a national legislature, the more likely the country is to have lower levels of economic globalization.

In regard to social globalization, one mechanism I focus on to explain why women's participation in national legislatures would have a positive effect on social globalization is the press freedom between countries that brings about political change. Press freedom pertains to the legal environment for the media, as well as political pressures that influence reporting and economic factors that affect access to news and information. Press freedom allows individuals in

different countries to gain access to and knowledge about to what is going on around the world. There has been a great deal of gender inequality when it comes to press freedom. Press freedom allows individuals to increase their knowledge of global human rights, making it more likely that individuals recognize their own human rights being violated, while also making it easier to mobilize global campaigns against human rights abuses. There are several freedom of the press indexes that not only look at countries that are in favor of press freedom, but also public opinions on press freedom as well (Press Freedom Index 2020; Freedom of the Press Index 2017). These press freedom indexes were able to indicate a gender bias in terms of opinions on press freedom, with women being more supportive of press freedom than men. With that being said, women in national legislative positions who have an impact on freedom of the press restrictions would presumably favor transparency between countries. There are many women that have many of their human rights violated, but they may not know their human rights are violated without seeing what is happening in other countries. Women in national legislative positions can be expected to encourage their countries to have very few restrictions on press and media, so that women in other countries can see that their human rights are being violated.

Another mechanism I focus on to explain why women's representation in national legislatures can be expected to have a positive effect on social globalization is gender parity. When looking at gender parity, we can specifically look at the ratio of girls to boys that are enrolled in tertiary education in either public or private schools. Gender discrimination diminishes women's access to education, economic power, and active participation in key economic and political decision making. By eliminating gender disparities in education, it will help women to increase the status and capabilities. Women in national legislative positions can be expected to strive for their country to reach gender parity in all aspects including education, income, and leadership

roles. With two strong mechanisms to help explain for the positive relationship between women's representation and social globalization my second hypothesis will be:

Hypothesis 2. The larger the percentage of women in a national legislature, the more likely the country is to have higher levels of social globalization.

RESEARCH DESIGN

I employ a time-series-cross-national data set. The QOG Basic time-series dataset covers the time period 1946-2018 (Dahlberg, Holmberg, Rothstein, Pachon, & Syensson 2019). My analysis includes only those years in which women held positions in national legislatures and changes in levels of globalization of different countries were accounted for an extended period of time. For this study, the time period covered is between the years 1990-2017, including 194 countries and my unit of analysis is *country-year*.

Dependent Variables

Economic Globalization

I employ Dreher's measure of both de facto and de jure *economic globalization* (2006) as my first dependent variable. In order to operationalize economic globalization, I use *dr_eg*, Economic Globalization. The economic globalization variable is scored on a continuous scale bounded between the values of 1 to 100. Values closer to 100 reflect higher rates of economic globalization in a country while a value closer to 1 indicates a lack of economic globalization in a country. Dreher characterizes economic globalization as long distance flows of goods, capital and services as well as information and perceptions that accompany market exchanges (Dreher 2006, 1092). He develops the measure by creating two indexes. The de facto index measures actual flows of trade and foreign direct investment. The de jure index measures restrictions on trade and capital using hidden import barriers, mean tariff rates, taxes on international trade, and capital controls.

Social globalization

I employ Dreher's measure of both de facto and de jure *social globalization* (2006) as my second dependent variable. In order to operationalize social globalization, I use *dr_sg*, Social Globalization. The social globalization variable is scored on a continuous scale bounded between the values of 1 to 100. Values closer to 100 reflect higher rates of social globalization in a country while a value closer to 1 indicates a lack of social globalization in a country. Dreher expresses social globalization as the spread of ideas, information, images, and people (Dreher 2006, 1092). He develops the measure by creating three categories: data on personal contacts (interpersonal globalization), data on information flows (information globalization), and data on cultural proximity (cultural globalization). Interpersonal globalization is measured within the de facto segment with reference to international telephone connections, tourist numbers, and migration. Interpersonal globalization is measured within the de jure segment with reference to telephone subscriptions, international airports, and visa restrictions. Information globalization is measured within the de facto segment with reference to international patent applications, international students, and trade in high technology goods. Information globalization is measured within the de jure segment with reference to access to TV and the internet, freedom of press and international internet connections. Cultural globalization is measured in the de facto segment with reference to trade in cultural goods, international trademark registrations, and the number of McDonald's restaurants and IKEA stores. Cultural globalization is measured in the de jure segment with reference to the focus on civil rights, gender equality and public spending on school education.

Central Explanatory Variable

I employ the World Bank's measure of the *percentage of women in national parliaments* (2016) as my central explanatory variable. To operationalize women's participation in national legislatures, I use *wdi_wip*, Percentage of Women in National Parliaments. The World Bank

develops the measure by looking at the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments which determines the number of seats held by women members in single or lower chambers of national parliaments. This measure is derived by dividing the total number of seats occupied by women by the total number of seats in parliament. The number of women is expressed as a percentage of all occupied seats.

Control Variables

While I am most interested in the effect that women's participation in national parliaments has on economic and social globalization, I recognize that it is not the only factor that shapes levels of globalization. In order to account for these other factors, I include control variables. First, I employ the World Bank's measure of *population* (2016) as my first control variable. In order to operationalize population, I use *wdi_pop*, Population Total. Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship. This variable is the logged size of a country's population. Many scholars have suggested that the possible impact of population growth on economic growth or globalization may not be uniform but varies depending on particular circumstances. Heady and Hodge (2009) found that declining population growth rates in high-income countries slow economic growth while high population growth rates in low-income countries lower their economic growth. For the purpose of this study, I anticipate the greater the population in a country the higher the levels of economic and social globalization there will be in a country.

Second, I employ the World Bank's measure of *GDP per capita* (2016) as my second control variable. In order to operationalize GDP, I use *wdi_gdpcapcon2010*, GDP per capita. This measure is derived by dividing gross domestic product by midyear population. This variable is logged value of annual GDP per capita. Devarajan (2020) suggested that countries were more

globalized, as a result of engaging in trade liberalization, if they had higher rates of GDP per capita. I anticipate that wealthier countries, as reflected in higher rates of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, will be more globalized, both economically and socially.

Third, I employ Cheibub, Antonio, Gandhi, and Vreeland's measure of *democracy* (2010) as my third control variable. In order to operationalize democracy, I use *chga_demo*, Democracy. This variable is a dichotomous variable scored from 0 to 1. A score of 0 indicates that a country is not a democracy, while a score of 1 indicates that a country is a democracy. A regime is considered a democracy if the executive and legislature is directly or indirectly elected by popular vote and multiple parties are allowed. Milner and Kubota (2005) suggested that democratization had a positive influence on trade openness and found statistically significant support for their claim. I anticipate that democracies will have a positive effect on both economic and social globalization.

Methodology

Since both my dependent variables are continuous, I employ a linear regression ordinary least squares (OLS) estimator to test my hypotheses. This extension of the ordinary least squares method allows me to account for the relationship between the percentage of women in national parliaments and levels of globalization, both economic and social. I will reject the null hypothesis if the p-value is greater than 0.05. All tests of statistical significance are based on standard errors to account for any heteroscedasticity, or unequal scatter, in the data.

ANAYLSIS

The results of my two tests appear in Table 3 and Table 4. Table 3 looks specifically at economic globalization, while Table 4 looks at social globalization. I test the effect that the percentage of women in national parliaments has on the levels of economic and social globalization. My expectation is that countries that have a higher percentage of women in national

parliaments should have lower levels of economic globalization. My expectation is that countries that have a higher percentage of women in national parliaments should have higher levels of social globalization. I separate my findings on economic globalization and social globalization into two sections.

Economic globalization

In regard to economic globalization, I find that the coefficient associated with the *percentage of women in national parliaments* indicator is positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. There are 1,995 observations and an R-squared value of .4456. R-squared is the proportion of variance in the dependent variable which can be predicted from the independent variable. This value indicates that 44.56% of the variance in economic globalization can be predicted from the percentage of women in national parliaments and the additional control variables. A one-unit increase in the percentage of women in national parliaments results in an increase in the mean level of economic globalization of 0.08578.

The control variables had a significant influence on the level of economic globalization. The coefficients associated with the *democracy* and *GDP per capita* indicators are, as anticipated, positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This suggests that countries that are classified as democracies have higher levels of economic globalization. A one-unit increase in *GDP per capita* results in an increase in the mean level of economic globalization of 0.000. The coefficient associated with the *population* indicator is negatively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This suggests that the larger a countries' population size, the lower the levels of economic globalization there will be.

Table 1. Effects of Percentage of Women in National Parliaments on Economic Globalization, 1990-2017.

Variable		
Percentage of Women in Parliament	.08578**	(0.030)
Population size	-0.000***	(0.000)
Democracy	3.8972***	(0.574)
GDP per capita	0.000***	(0.000)
N	1,995	
R ²	0.4456	

Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistical significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

Social globalization

In regard to social globalization, I find that the coefficient associated with the *percentage of women in national parliaments* indicator is also positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$. There are 2,094 observations and an R-squared value of .5717. This value indicates that 57.17% of the variance in social globalization can be predicted from the percentage of women in national parliaments and the additional control variables. This suggests that the total percentage of women's participation in national parliaments plays a meaningful role in increasing the level of social globalization. A one-unit increase in the percentage of women's participation in national parliaments results in an increase in the mean level of social globalization of .17027.

The control variables also had a significant influence on social globalization. Similar to the effects on economic globalization, the coefficients associated with the *democracy* and *GDP per capita* indicators are positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This suggests that democracies have higher levels of social globalization. A one-unit increase in

democracy results in an increase in the mean level of economic globalization of 12.120. A one-unit increase in *GDP per capita* results in an increase in the mean level of economic globalization of 0.000. The coefficient associated with the *population* indicator is negatively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This suggests that the larger a country's population size, the lower the levels of social globalization there will be. A one-unit increase in population size results in a decrease in the mean level of economic globalization of -0.000.

Table 2. Effects of Percentage of Women in National Parliaments on Social Globalization, 1990-2017.

Variable		
Percentage of Women in Parliament	.17027***	(0.030)
Population size	-0.000***	(0.000)
Democracy	12.120***	(0.606)
GDP per capita	0.000***	(0.000)
N	2,094	
R ²	0.5717	

Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistical significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

These findings suggest the women's participation in national parliaments does in fact have a significant effect on both economic and social globalization. I was not able to find support for both hypotheses, but I was able to find support for my hypothesis regarding social globalization. I also was able to find support for two out of three of my control variables. Both democracy and GDP per capita had a positive effect on economic and social globalization, while population had a negative effect. The following section outlines the findings of this study and discusses implications for future research.

DISCUSSION

This study has sought to identify the effect that women's participation in national legislatures has on economic and social globalization. The results of the regression models suggest that the percentage of women in national legislatures does have a statistically significant effect on both economic and social globalization. I only found support for one of my hypotheses. However, I do not necessarily interpret these findings in a negative light. In contrast to what I had hypothesized, the percentage of women in national legislatures actually had a positive effect on economic globalization, even with the overwhelming literature on women being more supportive of trade protectionism in regard to trade policies. In trying to understand why my findings do not line up the mechanisms of trade protectionism and risk-aversion, it is important to look at the research that contradicts these mechanisms. Maybe Hall et al. (1998) does have a strong argument, in that women might favor trade rather than trade protectionism. Women have been able to improve their status, as we saw in Richard's et al. (2007) study, in countries that were more economically globalized. This idea could help lead to future research on why women's participation in national legislatures has a positive effect on economic globalization, rather than a negative effect. If economic globalization is associated with increasing women's status, then women's participation in national legislatures would be more likely to support free trade and economic globalization.

In support of my second hypothesis, the percentage of women in national legislatures also had a positive effect on social globalization. These finding helps to support the mechanisms of press freedom for political change and gender parity. Women favor press freedom more than men perhaps because they hope to use the media to bring about political and social change for women. These findings also support the explanation of gender parity for women in all aspects of life. With gender inequality being a very heightened issue in our global community, this study urges

countries in the direction of gender parity. Women want to see gender parity within education, income levels, and political involvement. Women in legislative positions are likely to strive to make sure countries achieve their goals of gender parity.

Although there has been growing literature on women's opinions and ideals on economic and social globalization, this paper is the first to look specifically at the impact that women's participation in national legislatures has on economic and social globalization, and the real impact or influence women can have on international policy. Even though I found that the percentage of women in national legislatures actually had a positive effect on economic globalization, I found there to be a larger effect on social globalization. Although I did not find support for my hypothesis regarding economic globalization, these findings still suggest something intriguing for future research. The finding that the percentage of women in national legislatures has a positive relationship with economic and social globalization should give more incentives to countries to give women more opportunities to hold legislative positions. If countries want to become more globalized, both economically and socially, these findings suggest that women in legislative positions can help a country do that. Although there is convincing evidence that women's participation in national legislatures should have had a negative effect on economic globalization, this study has proved otherwise. Future research should build upon my findings and focus on explaining women's participation in national legislatures has a positive effect on economic and social globalization.

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Appendix:

Table 1: Summary Statistics for Economic Globalization

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Economic Globalization	1,995	54.69005	16.04213	15.25539	93.58852
Women in Parliaments	1,995	13.57699	9.674365	0	56.3
Population Size	1,995	3.67e+07	1.35e+08	40834	1.32e+09
Democracy	1,995	.6120301	.4874098	0	1
Electoral democracy	1,995	11739.32	17343.54	172.9109	111968.3

Table 2: Summary Statistics for Social Globalization

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Social Globalization	2,094	53.41108	19.69318	9.370086	90.73035
Women in Parliaments	2,094	13.58992	9.752151	0	56.3
Population Size	2,094	3.52e+07	1.32e+08	19175	1.32e+09
Democracy	2,094	.6120301	.4874098	0	1
Electoral democracy	2,094	11974.87	17832.18	172.9109	111968.3