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Understanding Women's Political Empowerment in a Globalized World

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Abstract

Although women comprise over half of the world's population, there is still a considerable gap in the scholarly literature, as well as in policymaking communities, regarding the impact globalization has had on women. While scholars have attempted to examine the relationship between globalization and women's rights and empowerment, there is little consensus on whether globalization harms or benefits women. Through my research, I seek to clarify the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment, specifically women's political empowerment. I divide this paper into six sections. I first evaluate the existing literature on the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment, identifying arguments regarding the positive and negative effects globalization has been found to have on women. Next, I introduce my theory regarding the ways that various types of globalization impact women's political empowerment. In the following sections, I discuss my research design and present my results, as well as multiple tests for robustness. Finally, I conclude by discussing the implications of my research as well as other avenues for further study.

Keywords

Globalization; Women's Political Empowerment; Women's Rights; Social Globalization; Economic Globalization; Political Globalization

Disciplines

Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies | International Relations | Political Science | Women's Studies

Comments

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Understanding Women's Political Empowerment in a Globalized World

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Political Science 403: International Relations Capstone
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Introduction

Since the end of World War II and the creation of the Bretton Woods system, increasing globalization has forever altered ways of life around the world. As the integration of goods, capital, trade, and markets has expanded, there are few areas of life not touched by globalization in one way or another. While there is a prevailing sentiment among proponents of globalization that all nations and individuals benefit from liberalization and integration, globalization's impact on marginalized communities and groups, including women and girls, is often neglected. Although women comprise over half of the world's population, there is still a considerable gap in the scholarly literature, as well as in policymaking communities, regarding the impact globalization has had on women. While scholars have attempted to examine the relationship between globalization and women's rights and empowerment, there is little consensus on whether globalization harms or benefits women.

Through my research, I seek to clarify the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment, specifically women's political empowerment. I divide this paper into six sections. I first evaluate the existing literature on the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment, identifying arguments regarding the positive and negative effects globalization has been found to have on women. Next, I introduce my theory regarding the ways that various types of globalization impact women's political empowerment. In the following sections, I discuss my research design and present my results, as well as multiple tests for robustness. Finally, I conclude by discussing the implications of my research as well as other avenues for further study.

Beneficial or Harmful? The Debate on Globalization and Women's Empowerment

The body of literature examining the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment is vast and contradictory. Given the generality of both globalization and women's empowerment, there is no consensus within the literature about how to best measure these concepts. As a result, each piece of literature on the topic operationalizes these terms in differing ways, leading to differing results. In general, however, the literature on globalization's effect on women's empowerment generally falls into one of two categories. Scholars either find support that globalization helps women or support that globalization harms women. However, within these two broad categories, the research methodology and results become much more nuanced.

The Argument Against Globalization

The view that globalization harms women is well supported by the literature and is a prevailing viewpoint within the global feminist community, with some calling globalization a complex system of oppression (Hawthorne 2004). While this is a common critique, it only holds water in a specific set of instances. This is demonstrated by the fact that the pro-globalization literature largely examines the issue from an economic standpoint. From a more qualitative standpoint, the World Bank's narrative of economic globalization generating gender equality is easily contradicted by the lived experiences of women in the global South (Lindsey 2014). This anecdotal evidence is also supported statistically. For example, Akhter and Ward (2009) find that high levels of commodity concentration and FDI lower women's access to the formal and informal labor force and curtail decision making power. Examining another economic component of globalization, Seguino and Grown (2006) find that trade liberalization can expand access to women's employment but that this is significantly overshadowed by the rights concerns that come with new employment opportunities. They find that even though women enjoy

expanded access to work, the jobs they find are unstable and extremely low-paid (Seguino and Grown 2006).

Pyle and Ward (2003) find similar issues with women's labor opportunities in an increasingly globalized world. The authors speak of similar working conditions for women "characterized by long hours, a fast pace of work, few breaks, harassment, unsafe and unhealthy workplaces, and no opportunities for advancement" as a result of globalized production (Pyle and Ward 2003, 467). In addition, when examining the globalization of trade, the authors find that while some women become employed by MNCs, many other women have lost their small businesses or have been forced out of agricultural production. Furthermore, over the past three decades, more women have become sex workers, domestic laborers, workers in export production, or recipients of microfinance to deal with a changing economy due to globalization. Although these are job opportunities for women, they are low-wage jobs that can often be dangerous. Despite these issues, the authors argue that policymakers and financial institutions such as the IMF still do not include women in policy discussions and have furthered policies that strengthen the gender division in labor, with women on the losing side (Pyle and Ward 2003).

Building on this critique of international institutions and NGOs, in a study specifically of IMF programs and policies, Detraz and Peksen (2016) find that these programs harm women's economic rights. The programs examined include policy reforms of privatization and public spending cuts and are representative of heavily criticized neoliberal policy changes as a result of globalization. Unsurprisingly, the authors find that these programs generate significant backlash and political instability, leaving governments unwilling and unable to protect women's economic rights.

Backlash: Global Women's Movements in Response to Globalization

Interestingly, it seems that backlash to globalization has created opportunities for women's organizing and empowerment. Scholars in this realm of the literature do not dispute the detrimental impacts of economic globalization on women's economic rights. However, they argue that the harmful, neoliberal economic policies associated with globalization have served as an impetus for women's organizing (Bergeron 2001; Dufor and Giraud 2007; Metcalfe and Rees 2010; McGovern 2007; Moghadam 2000). While international feminism has been a longstanding concept, increased globalization has led to more transnational efforts and the creation of what Moghadam (2000) calls 'transnational feminist networks' or TFNs. These TFNs focus on transnational organizing around common issues impacting women around the world, such as the impact of economic globalization on the lives and livelihoods of women. Moghadam argues that new social movements have arisen as globalization has increased and that the process of globalization itself may assist in developing transnational identities (Moghadam 2000).

This process may be directly linked to the issues with globalization, namely the harmful impact of neoliberal policies (Metcalfe and Rees 2010) and the shrinking role of the state in providing social services and protection for workers, especially women (Bergeron 2001). Because of the global nature of the issues women are facing, their responses and resistance must be similarly global (Bergeron 2001). For example, women's NGOs have been essential in encouraging countries to join international treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and have spearheaded efforts to improve working conditions and employee rights worldwide (Metcalfe and Rees 2010). While it is essential to recognize the unique cultural contexts of women from different countries, there has also been a push towards global feminism and cross-cultural organizing. This philosophy is

reflected in demonstrations such as the 2001 World March of Women which galvanized women from around the globe to demand an end to poverty and violence and the creation of a more just global order (Dufor and Giraud 2007).

Similarly, in more local contexts, women have also organized against oppressive economic policies. For example, in Tanzania, women rallied against deindustrialization and austerity measures by creating formal and informal collective economic strategies to protect women's livelihoods from the effects of transnational capital. These women opened cooperative stores and became involved in crafting and agricultural projects (Bergeron 2001). Peruvian women also employed a similar strategy by selling handmade goods to fair trade retailers in the United States and Europe. Rather than find work with a TNC in Peru, these women were able to make their own profits which they partly reinvested into their communities, thus protecting themselves from the harmful impacts of trade agreements (McGovern 2007).

As globalization has also led to increased migration, migrant workers have also found opportunities for organization. This is in direct defiance to the stereotype that migrant workers, especially women workers, will inevitably be exploited by the global labor market (McGovern 2010). As these and other women's movements demonstrate, globalization has had an unexpected impact on women's empowerment as it relates to organizing. By mobilizing women's movements and integrating women's rights concerns into economic, social, and political reform, globalization has created opportunities for women to make their voices heard (Metcalf and Rees 2010).

The Argument in Support of Globalization

As demonstrated above, the majority of studies that find a negative relationship between globalization and women's rights focus primarily on economic forms of globalization. Generally,

studies that find a positive relationship between globalization and women's rights will focus on other aspects of globalization, such as social or political measures of globalization. However, some studies do find a positive relationship between globalization and economic empowerment. For example, Richards and Gelleny (2007) find that women's status in a country (as measured by the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and the CIRI economic, political and social rights indicator) is tied to that country's global integration. Furthermore, they find the strongest relationship between economic globalization (as measured by FDI, trade openness, portfolio investment, and structural adjustment policy implementation) and women's status. While these findings are compelling, it is important to note that the authors find that sixty-seven percent of statistically significant globalization coefficients are associated with an improvement in women's status. Although this does indicate more support for globalization's benefits, this relationship is still not definitive.

For other studies that find a positive relationship between economic globalization and women's empowerment, there is typically a specific causal mechanism at work. For example, Black and Brainerd (2004) find that globalization as measured through trade and market competition can improve women's status but specifically by driving out discrimination and improving wages. While this does indicate some improvement for women, the authors focus on a narrow aspect of empowerment and fail to take into account the human rights concerns associated with economic globalization.

Similarly, both Powell and Schroeder (2016) and Rees and Riezman (2012) find that globalization can have varying impacts on women's empowerment depending on the way globalization is operationalized. Rees and Riezman (2012) find that not all aspects of globalization are created equal. More specifically, their study finds that globalization can help

women, but only if the economic policies associated with globalization are created with gender in mind and are targeted towards influencing women. Taking a more international approach, Powell and Schroeder (2016) find that the treatment of women in one country can be influenced by how women are treated domestically in the trade-partner country. Their study suggests that globalization can benefit women but only if nations are engaging in trade with nations that uphold and further women's rights domestically.

Adding further support to this causal mechanism, Neumayer and de Soysa (2011) argue that the behavior of other countries can influence whether globalization can benefit or harm women. The authors determine that as countries with higher women's rights become connected to countries with lower women's rights through trade and FDI, there is a spill-over effect and diffusion of these rights, which they call spatial dependence. In this case, FDI and trade are not as directly responsible for an increase in women's rights. Rather, Neumayer and de Soysa argue that the diffusion of rights is more related to the proximity between countries that comes with economic globalization. This is consistent with prior research on global advocacy networks that name and shame problematic behaviors and put pressure on countries to change their policies and practices (Keck and Sikkink; Neumayer and De Soysa 2011).

While these studies find that economic globalization can benefit women in certain contexts, the majority of the literature that suggests globalization benefits women focuses on non-economic measures of globalization. Specifically relating to women's political empowerment, Alves and Steiner (2017) find that the global spread of information and technology contributes more to women's political representation than economic globalization. Utilizing women's participation in government as a measure of empowerment, the authors suggest that technology combined with pressure from international organizations and global

women's movements can improve women's representation. While Potrafke and Ursprung (2011) do acknowledge that economic globalization can improve gender equality, they also study the impact of social globalization, an aspect that is frequently overlooked in the literature. By not utilizing traditional measures of globalization such as trade policy restrictions, exposure to international trade, and FDI penetration, the authors present a more comprehensive look at globalization. The authors find that social globalization is the primary influence on gender equality by way of its impact on existing institutions and the influence of other nations and organizations.

Cho (2011) also examines the impact of social globalization on women's rights, finding that social globalization improves women's rights while economic globalization has no effect. Although previous studies do find that economic globalization impacts women's rights, Cho argues that social globalization (eg. information flows, personal contacts, culture sharing across countries) is more influential as it can promote the spread of ideas and norms worldwide. Finding support for a similar causal mechanism, Pandian (2019) argues that integration in global society not only shapes national outcomes relating to gender but also finds evidence to suggest that social and political globalization can shape individual attitudes on gender. Her research draws from world society theory, which emphasizes the importance of INGOs and other transnational actors in shaping norms. Using this framework, Pandian utilizes the diffusion and influence of INGOs globally as a measure of social and political globalization. Even when controlling for domestic factors such as female labor force participation and GDP per capita, Pandian finds that social and political globalization can positively impact individual attitudes towards gender.

It is clear from the literature that the relationship between globalization and women's status is complicated and far from clear. I posit that the lack of consensus when defining both

globalization and women's empowerment contributes to the lack of clarity within the literature. As demonstrated by the various studies on the issue, the way globalization is defined can have drastic impacts on whether globalization truly does benefit or harm women. Although the relationship between globalization and women's empowerment is likely too complex to fully understand through any one particular study, an expansion of the concept of globalization will provide a better understanding of the relationship.

Theory: Social and Political Globalization as a Catalyst for Women's Political Empowerment

I posit that social and political aspects of globalization exert a positive influence on women's political empowerment. To determine the causal relationship between globalization and women's political empowerment, I examine multiple types of globalization to understand which mechanisms bolster political empowerment. While economic globalization may have an impact on women's financial empowerment, social and political globalization has the potential to spread feminist ideology and place pressure upon governments to empower women politically.

Forms of Globalization

As previous studies have demonstrated, both globalization and women's empowerment can be defined in several ways. In an attempt to clarify the concept of globalization, I examine globalization from three lenses: social, political, and economic. Although I examine the impact of all three of these types of globalization on women's political empowerment, I posit that social and political globalization will have the greatest impact. Many factors determine a country's level of social, political, or economic globalization. Social globalization, for example, is determined by interpersonal, cultural, and informational globalization. I expand on the exact

components of this measure in the following section but these aspects include elements such as internet connectivity, international travel and migration, and human capital. Political globalization is more narrow, encompassing participation in IOs and NGOs as well as international treaties. Finally, economic globalization refers to the globalization of finances (eg. FDI, portfolio investment) and trade (eg. trade arrangements, tariffs, etc.).

Social and Political Globalization and Women's Political Empowerment

Women's empowerment is a similarly broad concept. While many studies choose to define women's rights or empowerment as wage levels or domestic decision-making power, fewer opt to examine the political element of women's empowerment. I do so by taking into account fundamental civil liberties for women, women's open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and representation of women in political positions.

I argue that globalization has a significant role to play in increasing levels of women's political empowerment worldwide. As stated above, I posit that social and political globalization will have the strongest impact on levels of political empowerment for women. This theory rests on multiple well-established assumptions. Firstly, governments are largely rational actors, meaning that they will act in their self-interest, making only the changes that benefit them whether that benefit is direct or indirect. Therefore, any formal change in women's political empowerment (ie. laws ensuring political freedom, gender quotas for elected officials, etc.) or informal change (ie. government tolerance of women's movements and protests) will benefit the government in some way. I argue that social and political globalization creates ideal conditions for women's organizing and for international actors to place pressure on governments to support women's political empowerment. As a result, a rationally acting government will eventually cede

to such pressures to maintain an international reputation, gain access to international organizations, or even maintain trade partners.

Specifically, regarding social globalization, I argue that the spread of ideas, the movement of information, increased mobility of people, and access to foreign goods, services, and education all serve to bring women together on a global scale. While many scholars assume that there is a spread of feminist ideas from the global North to nations in the global South, many feminist movements have originated from countries in the developing world. However, social globalization allows women from around the world to become involved in these movements and stand in solidarity with their organizers. This theory is similar to that of Cho (2011), which posits that information flows, personal contacts, culture sharing across countries promotes the spread of ideas and norms that are beneficial to women's empowerment. With this theoretical framework in mind, I propose the following hypothesis.

***H1:** Countries with higher levels of social globalization will see higher levels of women's political empowerment.*

Turning now to political globalization, I argue that access and proximity to IOs and NGOs as well as participation in international treaties can lead to gains in political empowerment for women. One of the key measures of women's political empowerment is the participation of women in civil society organizations. I theorize that the presence of IOs and NGOs in a particular country provides opportunities for women to become involved in civil society. Also, as both Keck and Sikkink and Neumayer and De Soysa (2011) posit, international actors can place pressure on governments to change their policies and behaviors. While Neumayer and De Soysa (2011) discuss economic globalization, the same spatial dependence (spill-over or diffusion effect) could be at play with social globalization. In addition, these scholars cite Keck and

Sikkink's (1998) work on the use of naming and shaming by NGOs and other international actors to shape the actions of governments. Thus, an increased presence of international actors like NGOs could have a significant impact on government support for women's political empowerment. Finally, an important component of political globalization is participation in international treaties. In recent decades, there have been multiple treaties and conventions relating specifically to the status of women, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Although many countries are imperfect in their implementation of these treaties, the very fact they are signatories can shape the levels of political empowerment for women. These theoretical assumptions underlie my second hypothesis.

***H2.** Countries with higher levels of political globalization will see higher levels of women's political empowerment.*

Finally, as indicated by the literature, economic globalization appears to have varying impacts on women's rights. I argue that while economic globalization may impact women's wages, employment opportunities, or labor rights, social and political globalization likely have a greater impact on women's political empowerment. However, I suggest that the desire to maintain or gain new trade relationships or FDI opportunities may incentivize countries to promote women's political empowerment. Drawing on these assumptions, I propose my final hypothesis.

***H3.** Countries with higher levels of economic globalization will see higher levels of women's political empowerment.*

While I expect to see a positive correlation for all three hypotheses, I predict that social and political globalization will have the most significant impact, which I will measure by examining the size of the correlation coefficient for each form of globalization.

Research Design

I utilize data from the Quality of Government Institute (QOG), a cross-national, time-series dataset. The compilation of datasets within the QOG dataset covers the time period of 1946 to 2018. While this dataset covers 1946 to 2018, the KOF Globalization Index covers the period of time from 1970 onward. My paper examines all data available for all countries in this time period. For this paper, the unit of analysis is the country-year.

Dependent Variable

My measure of women's empowerment comes from the Varieties of Democracy dataset. Specifically, I employ the women's political empowerment index. Women's political empowerment is defined by greater choice, agency, and participation in decision-making on a societal level. The index is an interval variable, ranging from 0 to 1. Country scores closer to 1 indicate a higher level of women's political empowerment and scores closer to 0 indicate lower levels of political empowerment. The index itself is an aggregate measure of three separate measures of political empowerment. The first aspect of the index is the measure of women's civil liberties. This component accounts for freedom of domestic movement for women, freedom from forced labor for women, property rights for women, and access to justice for women. The second aspect of the index is the measure of women's civil society participation. This aspect accounts for freedom of discussion for women, women's participation in CSOs, and female journalists. The third aspect of the index is women's political participation. This is defined by the indicators for lower chamber female legislators and power distributed by gender.

Central Explanatory Variables

To fully measure the aspects of globalization, I utilize variables within the KOF Globalization Index developed by the KOF Swiss Economic Institute. Within the KOF Globalization Index, I employ the economic globalization, social globalization, and political globalization variables. While all three variables are operationalized in different ways, they are all continuous variables, bounded by the values of 0 and 100. Values closer to 100 indicate higher levels of that type of globalization, while values closer to 0 indicate lower levels of globalization.

Economic Globalization

Economic globalization is measured by a variety of factors that fall into one of two larger categories: trade globalization and financial globalization. Within the category of trade globalization, the variable accounts for both de-facto and de-jure measures of trade globalization. The de-facto measures are trade in goods, trade in services, and trade partner diversity. The de-jure measures are tariffs, trade agreements, trade regulations, and trade taxes. Generally speaking, countries with greater levels of trade and fewer restrictions on trade are considered to be more economically globalized.

The variable also measures financial globalization, also accounting for de-facto and de-jure measures of financial globalization. The de-facto measures are foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, capital account openness, international debt, international reserves, and international income payments. The de-jure measures are investment restrictions, capital account openness, and international investment agreements. Similar to trade globalization, greater levels of foreign investment and fewer restrictions on investment indicate higher levels of financial

globalization. Both the trade and financial measures of globalization are combined and weighted equally to determine a country's overall level of economic globalization.

Political Globalization

Political globalization is also characterized by multiple different measures that are split into de-facto and de-jure political globalization. The de-facto measures of political globalization are the number of embassies, personnel contributed to UN peacekeeping missions and the number of international NGOs operating within a country. The de-jure measures of political globalization are the number of international organizations of which a country is a member, the number of international treaties signed and ratified by a country, and treaty partner diversity. The larger categories of de-facto and de-jure political globalization are weighted equally in the overall measure of political globalization.

Social Globalization

Finally, social globalization is measured by three categories with both de-facto and de-jure measures within each category. The first category of social globalization is interpersonal globalization. The de-facto measures of interpersonal globalization are international voice (telephone) traffic, interpersonal transfers of goods, services, and income, international tourism, percentage of international students, and migration. The de-jure measures are telephone subscriptions, freedom to visit a country, and the number of international airports. Both the de-facto and de-jure components of interpersonal globalization are combined and weighted equally in the overall measure of social globalization.

The second category of social globalization is cultural globalization. The de-facto measures of cultural globalization are trade in cultural goods, trade-in personal services, international trademarks, number of McDonald's restaurants, and number of IKEA stores. The

de-jure measures of cultural globalization are gender parity as measured by the ratio of male to female enrollment in primary schools, human capital as measured by education levels, and civil liberties. Both the de-facto and de-jure components of cultural globalization are combined and weighted equally in the overall measure of social globalization.

Finally, the third category of social globalization is informational globalization. The de-facto measures of informational globalization are used internet bandwidth, international patents, and high technology exports. The de-jure measures of informational globalization are television access, internet access, and freedom of the press. Both the de-facto and de-jure components of informational globalization are combined and weighted equally in the overall measure of social globalization.

Control Variables

In addition to my central explanatory variables, I also employ three control variables. I utilize variables that measure a country's quality of government, a country's level of democracy, and a country's GDP per capita as measured in 2010 dollars. My first control variable comes from the International Country Risk Guide and measures the quality of government, as defined by corruption, law and order, and bureaucracy quality. Because previous studies have found that higher quality governments with less corruption foster women's rights, I expect that this indicator will have a positive effect on women's political empowerment (Stockemer 2011). The variable is scaled from 0-1 with higher values indicating a higher quality of government.

My second control variable comes from the Varieties of Democracy dataset. This variable measures the extent of electoral democracy in each country, which may have an impact on women's political empowerment. Because previous studies have suggested that democratic institutions are important for the success of women in politics, I expect that this indicator will

have a positive effect on women's political empowerment (Siaroff 2000; Stockemer 2011). The concept of electoral democracy is considered an element of any other type of representative democracy — liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or others. This variable is scaled from 0-1 with higher values indicating higher levels of democracy.

My final control variable is GDP per capita as measured by the World Bank. This variable measures GDP per capita in 2010 US dollars. It is well established in the literature that wealthier countries with higher GDPs per capita score higher on indicators of women's rights (Doepke et al. 2012). I also create the square of GDP per capita to examine whether there is a curvilinear relationship between GDP per capita and women's political empowerment.

Methodology

I utilize ordinary least squares regression to test the impact of various forms of globalization on women's political empowerment. I run three separate regression models, one for each variety of globalization, and control for the same three variables. I reject the null hypothesis at $p < 0.05$.

Results and Analysis

Table 1. Effects of Social Globalization on Women's Political Empowerment, 1970-2018

Variable		
Social Globalization	0.004001***	(0.0001572)
Quality of government	0.0714885***	(0.0132611)
Electoral democracy	0.4780535***	(0.008719)
GDP per capita	-5.99e -06***	(0.000)
GDP per capita (squared)	4.59e -11***	(0.000)
N	3,801	
R ²	0.7292	

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

Table 2. Effects of Political Globalization on Women's Political Empowerment, 1970-2018

Variable		
Political globalization	0.0015175***	(0.0001229)
Quality of government	0.0848923***	(0.0140693)
Electoral democracy	0.5409298***	(0.0087755)
GDP per capita	-1.57e -06***	(3.57e - 07)
GDP per capita (squared)	9.22e -12***	(4.25e -12)
N	3,801	
R ²	0.6953	

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

Table 3. Effects of Economic Globalization on Women’s Political Empowerment, 1970-2018

Variable	
Economic Globalization	0.0020948*** (0.0001524)
Quality of government	0.0861521*** (0.0139678)
Electoral democracy	0.5715147*** (0.0084095)
GDP per capita	-2.82e -06*** (3.80e -07)
GDP per capita (squared)	1.66e -11*** (4.31e -12)
N	3,770
R ²	0.7038

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

Table 4. Summary Statistics

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Women’s political empowerment	3,770	0.7143943	0.2016858	0.1277933	0.958749
Social globalization	3,770	51.62927	21.32404	7.539023	90.73035
Quality of government	3,770	0.5476409	0.2255724	0.04116667	1
Electoral democracy	3,770	0.5490755	0.2735306	0.0191634	0.9399808
GDP per capita	3,770	13122.92	18207.74	115.7941	111968.3
GDP per capita (squared)	3,770	5.04e+08	1.23e+09	13408.28	1.25e+10

Globalization and Women's Political Empowerment

The results of my tests appear in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Each table shows the impact of social, political, and economic globalization, respectively, on women's political empowerment. I expected that more socially and politically globalized countries would experience significantly higher levels of women's political empowerment. I expected a similar correlation between economic globalization and women's political empowerment, although I predicted that economic globalization would play a less significant role in determining women's political empowerment.

In the case of social globalization, the coefficient was positively signed and was statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This result indicates that as levels of social globalization increase, women's political empowerment also increases. A one-unit increase in social globalization increases the mean of women's political empowerment by 0.004001. This model also indicates that roughly 73% of the variation in women's political empowerment is due to variation in social globalization. As expected, social globalization was the form of globalization with the greatest role in explaining increases in women's political empowerment due to the size of the coefficient.

The coefficient associated with political globalization was also positively signed and statistically significant at the $p > 0.001$ level. This indicates that as countries become more politically globalized, women are also likely to experience higher levels of political empowerment. A one-unit increase in political globalization increases the mean of women's political empowerment by 0.0015175. The model also indicated that 69.53% of the variation in women's political empowerment could be explained by an increase in political globalization. Although these results prove the general trend of my hypothesis regarding political globalization, I expected political globalization to have a greater magnitude of an effect on women's political

empowerment. Surprisingly, political globalization had the weakest explanatory power of the three measures of globalization due to its coefficient being the smallest of the three.

Finally, the coefficient associated with economic globalization was also positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. Similar to the other measures of globalization, these results indicate that more economically globalized countries are also likely to have greater levels of women's political empowerment. A one-unit increase in economic globalization increases the mean of women's political empowerment by 0.0020948. This model indicated that 70.38% of the variation in women's political empowerment can be explained by variations in economic globalization. Although I expected economic globalization to have a positive relationship with women's political empowerment, I estimated that there would be a much smaller effect. According to my results, economic globalization accounts for more of the changes in women's political empowerment than political globalization. However, as expected originally, social globalization has the greatest impact on women's political empowerment.

Control Variables

Quality of Government

For all three types of globalization, the coefficient of quality of government was For all three types of globalization, the coefficient of quality of government was positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. These results indicate that as the quality of government increases, women's political empowerment also generally increases. This is consistent with my expectations and prior research which indicates that quality of government, as measured by levels of corruption, law and order, and bureaucracy quality, is an important condition for women's political empowerment.

Electoral Democracy

The coefficient associated with electoral democracy was also positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ levels for all three measures of globalization. This indicates that countries that are more electorally democratic also experience higher levels of women's political empowerment. These results are consistent with my expectations and prior research on the relationship between democracy and women's empowerment.

GDP per Capita

Finally, GDP per capita proved to have a curvilinear relationship with women's political empowerment. The standard GDP per capita variable was negatively signed, while the squared GDP per capita variable was positively signed. Both variables were statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level. This indicates that while increasing GDP per capita is associated with increasing levels of women's political empowerment, this trend reverses with countries with the highest GDPs per capita. This result was not consistent with my expectations or prior research that suggests that increasing GDP per capita is associated with increases in women's empowerment. However, there are some possible explanations for this effect. Research by Eastin and Prakash (2013) finds that there may be a 'gender Kuznets curve.' Their study indicates that there is a curvilinear relationship between economic development and gender equality.

However, their research indicates three phases- improvement in gender equality, a plateau or decline of gender equality, and a rise again in gender equality. My results do not indicate this final rise, perhaps due to the influence of wealthy oil-exporting nations, many of which happen to have some form of sharia law and fewer opportunities for women's political empowerment. In these countries, scholars argue that oil production limits women's participation in the labor force and thus hinders progress towards gender parity (Benstead 2016). In light of

these discrepancies, more research is necessary to determine the effect of GDP per capita on women's political empowerment.

Case Study: Globalization and Women's Political Empowerment in Morocco

Some of the greatest struggles for women's political empowerment have taken place in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. While progress has been slow in the MENA region overall, Morocco has made tremendous strides in gender equality. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, Morocco has made many legislative changes that have bolstered women's rights. Decades later, Morocco now has the largest support in the region for women in political power (Benstead 2016) and the most progressive set of family laws in the region (Castillejo & Tilley 2015). Although Morocco is not a full democracy, the current king, Mohammed VI, has supported women's rights movements and helped to foster these changes. However, this support itself does not entirely explain Morocco's progress. I suggest that some of the causal mechanisms I explore are at work within Morocco and that globalization has fostered women's political empowerment.

Economic Globalization

As in many other countries, Moroccan economic globalization has had a mixed impact on women's rights and empowerment. Before the 1980s, the previous Kings of Morocco had made education, health, and work for women a national priority. During King Mohammed V's regime (1956-1960), state feminism was established and expanded during future regimes. However, in the 1980s, Morocco's economic globalization subjected the country to many of the neo-liberal, Western economic reforms, such as structural adjustment policies. As a result of these policies, the role of the state shrank, with economic and social services diminishing as well. This greatly

impacted many working and middle-class Moroccan women who had relied on state-sponsored resources (Ennaji 2016).

While these policies did negatively impact women in Morocco, economic globalization did bring benefits to women's political empowerment. As Morocco began to open to the global economy, they faced international pressure from the United States, European allies, and the IMF to improve conditions relating to human and women's rights. While some of this pressure was more political, IMF loan requirements meant that Morocco had to make reforms in these areas. These pressures spurred women's mobilization in Morocco and many women's groups took advantage of this opportunity to push for their policy agendas (Castillejo & Tilley 2015).

Political Globalization

As Morocco has become more politically globalized, the pressure to guarantee women's rights also mounted. In 1993, Morocco ratified CEDAW and retracted all reservations in 2008. This element of political globalization required the government to commit to ending discrimination against women and gave Moroccan women leverage in their negotiations with the government. Although the provisions in CEDAW were not universally implemented in Morocco, by entering into the agreement the government signaled an international commitment to women's rights and could thus be held accountable by international actors.

The impact of political globalization also applies to Morocco's bilateral relationships with other countries. Throughout the past few decades, Morocco has sought to strengthen its relationships with Europe and the MENA region. Specifically, Morocco was interested in proving its worth as a partner and an ally. Responding to international political pressures, Morocco needed to demonstrate a commitment to Western ideals of individual freedom, space

for civil society, and gender equality. In the 1980s and 1990s, legislation was passed that helped women enter formal politics and augmented women's political voice.

In the early 2000s, King Mohammed VI focused especially on appealing to the United States to respond to the rise of political Islam and the backlash against countries in the MENA region. Scholars posit that the King's promotion of women's rights was largely a product of this political pressure. In 2004, the Moudawana- the Moroccan family code- was reformed and the King joined the US-led 'war on terror,' thus subjecting the country to more action on human rights and women's empowerment (Castillejo & Tilley 2015).

Social Globalization

Finally, social globalization has played an important role in the struggle for gender equality in Morocco. As Morocco has modernized and become more integrated with the global community, women's groups have utilized these opportunities to mobilize transnationally. Scholars frequently reference the transnational, broad approach of Moroccan feminists as a key component in their success. Specifically, the strongest women's movements in the MENA region have involved coordination between women in Morocco, Egypt, and Tunisia. Not only have women engaged with domestic NGOs in these countries, but they have also consulted international networks of women and become part of the international feminist movement, obtaining international funding for their work. Other elements of social globalization were also key to women's mobilization, including access to media for women and opportunities for foreign travel and study, all of which supported the development of more egalitarian views on gender and bolstered women's movements (Castillejo & Tilley 2015).

Conclusion

I ultimately find support for all three of my hypotheses, concluding that there is a statistically significant relationship between globalization and women's political empowerment. By examining each type of globalization independently, I was able to fill a gap within the literature and more precisely identify how globalization works to improve women's political empowerment. These results also help to clarify some of the debate surrounding the benefits and drawbacks of globalization.

These results also have some implications for policymakers, specifically those working to improve the lives of women. My results demonstrate that the type of globalization is important in understanding how women's political rights will be impacted. This is essential when crafting aid policies, negotiating trade agreements, or undertaking development initiatives. While my results indicate that economic globalization can be beneficial to women's political empowerment, country contexts and qualitative studies indicate that not all economic globalization is created equal. Although I expected economic globalization to be positively correlated with women's political empowerment, I expected a much weaker relationship than my results indicate. This is an area for more research as economic globalization's impact on women's rights is the most debated in the field. Despite the need for additional research on economic globalization specifically, there is still a great benefit to examining other aspects of globalization as well. Going forward, additional globalization-focused research should take a similar approach to avoid generalizations of globalization or a too-narrow focus on economic globalization.

Ultimately, my research is most effective when combined with a qualitative analysis of specific country contexts. As demonstrated in the case of Morocco, my hypotheses are supported, but globalization is more of a catalyst for women's political empowerment rather than

a direct cause. As in most achievements for women's rights, it is the women themselves who are the true agents of change. My research simply indicates that globalization is often a force helping women than hurting them in their struggle for political rights and representation.

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Appendix: Variable Operationalization and Sources

Dependent Variable

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Women's Political Empowerment	Continuous measure of women's political empowerment; bounded between 0 and 1.	Coppedge, M. et al., (2018.) "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v8". Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy18

Explanatory Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Economic Globalization	Continuous measure of economic globalization; bounded between 0 and 100.	Gygli, S. et al., (2019): The KOF Globalisation Index – Revisited, <i>Review of International Organizations</i> , 14(3), 543-574 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-019-09344-2 .
Political Globalization	Continuous measure of political globalization; bounded between 0 and 100.	Gygli, S. et al., (2019): The KOF Globalisation Index – Revisited, <i>Review of International Organizations</i> , 14(3), 543-574 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-019-09344-2 .
Social Globalization	Continuous measure of social globalization; bounded between 0 and 100.	Gygli, S. et al., (2019): The KOF Globalisation Index – Revisited, <i>Review of International Organizations</i> , 14(3), 543-574 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-019-09344-2 .

Control Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Source
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Quality of Government	Continuous measure of the quality of government; bounded between 0 and 1.	PRS Group et al., (2019.) International Country Risk Guide.
Electoral Democracy	Continuous measure of electoral democracy; bounded between 0 and 1.	Coppedge, M. et al., (2018.) "V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v8". Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemcy18
Gross Domestic Product per Capita	Logged value of annual GDP per capita in 2010 USD.	The World Bank. (2019.) World development indicators. Washington, D.C.