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The Relationship Between Women in Parliament and Globalization

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Abstract

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Keywords

women in parliament, globalization, curvilinear relationship, percentage of women, women's impact

Disciplines

Political Science | Politics and Social Change | Women's Studies

Comments

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The Relationship Between Women in Parliament and Globalization

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POL 403: Globalization Capstone

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Abstract

I examine the relationship between women in national parliaments and globalization. Existing scholarship has thoroughly examined how globalization affects women's representation but there is a distinct lack of research examining the obverse relationship. I seek to examine whether the saturation of women in the legislature has a significant impact on the level of globalization within a given nation and, more specifically, whether a curvilinear relationship exists between these two variables. I hypothesize that there exists a significant relationship of a concave nature, with parliaments that have no or a small percentage of women exhibiting low levels of globalization and globalization levels rising as the percentage of women in parliament increases. Eventually, as the proportion of women in parliament continues to increase, countries will see lower levels of globalization. By looking at data from the period 1946 to 2021, the result of my test supports my hypothesis.

Introduction

Globalization has operated in a very male-dominated system since its conception, so many theories about and attitudes towards it stem from the male perspective (Duerst-Lahti 2005). Despite this, there has been growing literature surrounding the effects globalization has on women. Researchers have found a mix of results about whether globalization benefits women (Mansfield 2015, Richards and Gelleny 2007). However, a much less studied area is whether and how women affect globalization. In the literature that does exist, there are inconsistencies regarding globalization and women's relation to it. For example, although women tend to have negative feelings towards trade and openness, women members of parliament (MP) do not always reflect these sentiments. This raises the question of the effects that women political leaders have on levels of globalization – if they have any at all. I hypothesize that the relationship between the percentage of women in national parliaments and the level of globalization will be significant and have a concave curvilinear shape (upside-down U). If a country has no or very few women in parliament, or a significant percentage of women in parliament, then globalization levels will be low. If there are a moderate number of women in parliament, then I expect to see a higher level of globalization.

I begin this paper with a review of the literature on women's attitudes toward globalization, noting how, despite many scholars finding that women have negative opinions regarding globalization, there have been studies that find that globalization has in many ways positively impacted women. I then note how much of the literature on the legislative acts of women stays within the realm of gender-related issues, but in cases where it engages globalization, there has been mixed results. Some scholars argue that a high percentage of women MPs increases globalization, while others claim the opposite. I end by engaging the literature surrounding critical mass theory and how it helps explain a curvilinear relationship. I then explain my hypothesis by focusing on the mechanisms through which the saturation of women influences globalization. The pressures on women to define and defend their legitimacy in a traditionally masculine role, as well as the gendered legislative environment, help to explain how gendered expectations put barriers between low percentages of women MPs and the ability to enact impactful political change. I conclude with a tentative theory for why globalization is seen to increase as women join parliaments, and how the same explanation can account for the eventual decline in levels of globalization.

Connecting all the Pieces

The study of women and their role in the current international community is still a very new area of study. In the context of globalization, most research has been done on how globalization has impacted women. There has been significantly less research examining women's impact on globalization, and even less scholarship on the role women parliament members have played with respect to globalization. Research has focused on women's attitudes toward globalization, which could influence legislative decisions, but it often fails to demonstrate

substantive change resulting from these attitudes (Burgoon 2004). Studies that examine the effects women MPs have on legislatures mostly stay within the realm of gender-related issues, only sparingly directly engaging globalism (Iversen and Soskice 2001; Koch and Fulton 2011; Volden et al 2018; Mansbridge 1999). However, the literature that does engage how the percentage of women MP affects globalization has mixed results, finding evidence for both support of and a turn away from globalization (Elias 2013; Naoi 2020). There have been no studies suggesting a curvilinear relationship between the presence of women MPs in legislatures and levels of globalization. However, the discourse surrounding critical mass theory lends insight into what may be driving the conflicting results.

Literature reveals inconsistencies regarding women's relation to globalization. There has been significant research that finds evidence that globalization creates more social, economic, and political opportunities for women. Richards and Gelleny (2007) suggest that economic globalization has created pathways for women to raise their status, both at home and in the wider economy. Bell (2019) outlines how social globalization can help to increase the knowledge of global human rights, making it easier to recognize human rights violations that women are often the target of. More knowledge and spreading the expectation to defend human rights allow for a greater ability to organize mobilization for change.

Despite this, many researchers have found that women tend to hold negative views towards globalization. There is a trend of women voting against economic globalization, instead favoring trade protectionism, being more risk-averse, and funding social welfare programs. Scheve and Slaughter (2001), as well as Mayda and Rodrik (2001) analyzed national and cross-national surveys. The surveys asked respondents about their views regarding both trade or immigration policy and the responses to a question asking if individuals were in favor of restrictions on trade.

In every study, gender shows up as a strong predictor of trade policy preferences. Women are much more protectionist than men and the results remain consistent even when controlling for the effects of education/skill and industry variables as well as a range of other possible economic and political correlates, including political ideology, partisanship, and patriotism. There are many studies that find women are consistently more supportive of internal social welfare funding, income redistribution and provision of public goods. The works of Clayton, Josefsson, and Wang (2017) speak to these findings. However, this study, like many others, only focuses on the economic aspect of globalization, entirely disregarding any social or political areas. There has been limited literature on other types of globalization. However, some studies, like Miles (2000), have examined a backlash against social and political globalization by women groups. She points out the continued and, in some cases, worsening violence against women because of globalization, which inspires women activist groups to fight against its influence. While these studies are helpful at gauging the general attitudes of women, they only focus on women outside of political positions of power.

Literature that speaks to the power exercised by women in parliaments has mostly stayed within the realm of gender-related issues, and often does not engage globalization. There is a significant amount of literature studying how higher proportions of female legislators lead to a higher representation of women-specific or women-adjacent interests (Clayton, Josefsson, and Wang 2017; Miller 2008). There is a lot less scholarly research that relates women's representation to other legislative policies, but studies that do engage globalization have yielded mixed results. An argument can be made that high participation of women MPs increases globalization. When there is a high percentage of women MPs, there is a greater focus on policies that empower women. This empowerment should be expected to be felt and seen in other countries as women are able to

more impactfully participate in globalization. Howard-Hassman (2005) explains how social globalization spreads ideas of human rights worldwide, describing it as “leap-frogging”. The more women are able to mobilize and find legal ground to stand on, the more they are able to spread the expectation of equality and increase social globalization. Additionally, Hassim (2006) determines that the inclusion of women in decision-making is a democratic good in itself and breaks male dominance in politics. Political globalization, which has primarily consisted of men imposing policies on women, has expanded to include women. The level of economic globalization has also been shown to increase with women MPs. Kerr (2019) concludes that increased women’s economic rights, in the form of legal protections, considerably heightens the extent of economic globalization by attracting foreign investors to human capital and deepening the division of labor.

On the other hand, it is just as easy to find studies that suggest greater percentages of women MPs results in turning away or a slowdown of globalization. Clayton and Zetterberg (2018) find that substantial quota shocks associated with a large increase in women’s parliamentary representation are followed by increased government expenditures on public health. They find that increases in health spending are offset by relative decreases in military spending and other spending categories. Chen (2010) shows that an increase in the share of female legislators by one percentage point increases the ratio of government expenditure on health and social welfare to GDP by 0.18 and 0.67 percentage points, respectively. Increasing globalization is often cited to exert a downward pressure on government spending for social protection and welfare (Rickard 2012). By focusing on domestic social welfare, fuel is taken out of globalization.

One explanation for the conflicting results is that, to an extent, both may be true. As far as I am aware, no studies examining how the percentage of women MPs affects globalization has proposed a curvilinear relationship between the two concepts. However, one line of study that

speaks to a curvilinear relationship is the critical mass theory. The critical mass theory is based on the work of Kanter (1977) and Dahlerup (1988). They posit that women must constitute at least 30% of a decision-making body in order to have meaningful influence in promoting pro-women policies (Child and Crook, 2008).

Kanter (1977) constructs a typology consisting of four distinct majority–minority distributions: uniform groups with one significant social type, at a ratio of 100 : 0; skewed groups with a large proportion of one social type, at a ratio of perhaps 85 : 15; tilted groups with a less extreme distribution of social types, at a ratio of perhaps 65 : 35; and balanced groups with a more or less even distribution of social types, at a ratio of 60 : 40 to 50 : 50. In her study, her evidence only encompasses a case where the ratio of men to women is skewed in men’s favor, because her primary concern is to uncover what happens to women who occupy token statuses. Due to their minority status, tokens are reduced to symbolic representatives of their social groups and are subject to greater visibility within the group. The dominant majority in turn stresses intra-group differences in ways that compel tokens to conform to dominant models. Kanter identifies three challenges for tokens: performance pressures, which require them to overachieve or limit their visibility; token isolation, which forces them to remain an outsider or become an insider by being a woman-prejudiced-against women; and role entrapment, which obliges them to choose between alternative female stereotypes. She concludes that these challenges make creating alliances and support among the few minorities difficult. Tokens are doomed to accept the system of dominance because, rather than paving the way for others, they perpetuate the power of the dominant, leaving only outside intervention as a means to change.

Some of the components of representation Kanter shares can be applied to women in parliaments. However, her model is limited in a number of ways. First, the conclusions Kanter

presents originates from tokenism in corporations, not in governmental positions. This leaves out the political aspect of why and how women legislators act. Second, Kanter explicitly removes the gendered lens from her analysis. Even though her study focuses on the experience of women, she argues her findings can be applied to any minority group. By determining that only rarity and scarcity shape the dynamics of her results and ignoring the dimension of gender, she leaves out the role that men play in the critical mass theory.

Dahlerup (1988) expands on Kanter's analysis, adopting it to a gendered and political perspective. By combining the consequences of being a societal minority with a woman's status in a patriarchal society, she identifies the intersection of Kanter's theory with gender. She connects how women's minority position in politics relates to their minority status in society through over-accommodation, sexual harassment, lack of legitimate authority, stereotyping, no considerations for family obligations, and the double standard.

To tie Kanter's theory to political discourse, Dahlerup outlines six areas where women could have political influence. These include reactions to women politicians, with a decline in sexist treatment and sexual harassment; the performance and efficiency of female politicians, with fewer women leaving politics; the social climate of political life, with the arrival of a more consensual style and family-friendly working arrangements; political discourse, with a redefinition of 'political' concerns; the policy-making agenda, with a feminization of the political agenda; and the influence and power of women in general, with the broader social and economic empowerment of women (Child and Krook, 2004).

Dahlerup's main argument is that the specific mechanism for change is not necessarily a critical mass of women, but critical acts, or initiatives that change the position of the minority and lead to further changes. Some acts she includes are the recruitment of other women and new

equality legislation and equality institutions, with the stipulation that the success of the acts depends crucially on the willingness and ability of the minority to mobilize the resources of the organization or institution to improve the situation for themselves and the whole minority group. Dahlerup claims that it is not possible to conclude that these changes resulted from any fixed number of women, leading her to conclude that it is not numbers that count, but the performance of a few outstanding women. However, she still contends that the higher the proportion of women, the more likely social conventions will change. Even if proportion is not the only variable, it is significant enough to still be considered within this study.

Hypothesis and Explanation

My hypothesis is that low levels of women in parliaments will correlate with growing levels of globalization but as the proportion of women increases, levels of globalization within a nation will decrease or slow down. My central explanatory variable is measured by the percentage of women in a parliament, so the mechanisms that account for the relationship must relate to the saturation of women.

While women's representation in politics is far from adequate, there is significantly more of it today than in previous generations. Numerous empirical studies regarding the behavior of female members of parliaments confirm that a higher proportion of female legislators leads to a higher representation of women-specific interests (Gerrity, Osborn, and Mendez 2007; Volden, Wiseman, and Wittmer 2018, Wängnerud 2009). This can be attributed to female members of parliament (MPs) sharing common experiences of oppression with other women, as well as a feeling of responsibility or expectations from women in society to focus on women's issues (Mansbridge 1999). Based on this, women MPs can be expected to represent women's issues more frequently in the parliamentary process compared with their male colleagues (Mansbridge 1999).

Given the general understanding that women's votes reflect anti-globalization attitudes, as parliaments gain more women, globalization should reflect these new voices. In some cases, their presence is known through more protectionist trade policies in certain states, but in many cases, globalization continues to increase. This raises the question of why these voices are not always heard. Why, initially, does an increase in women's representation lend itself to growing levels of globalization only to fall at higher proportions of representation?

The pressure on women to define and defend their legitimacy accounts for the curvilinear relationship. When women find themselves in a position of power, there is still a sense that these women are operating in masculine roles under masculine institutions. Legislatures are comprised of rules, norms, and values that were created by men, have been dominated by men, and continue to privilege men over women (Hawkesworth 2003; Duerst-Lahti 2005). To that extent, some studies suggest the need to prove one's legitimacy may direct women leaders' actions. In a government where there is a modest percentage of women, there is less assurance and support from other women. Women legislators would likely feel the need to prove themselves among the male majority or risk being brushed off. Duerst-Lahti (2005, 234) describes women in legislatures as facing a catch-22: "the gendering of the electoral environment produces atmospheric discrimination against women and structures that entrench male privilege. Under such conditions, even when women win a place in the institutions, they are faced with a catch-22 dilemma: they can perform the masculine better than males and, in the process, reinforce the masculinist preferences that make it hard for them to succeed, or they can remain outsiders and face enormous challenges to being effective." Rather than advocate for traditionally assumed female priorities, like protectionism and welfare spending, female MPs might prioritize maintaining respect and their position of power. This would lead to a higher likelihood of women MPs going along with

the values of their male counterparts, or even embodying them beyond the average male MP, rather than representing women's interests. As the percentage of women increases, the pressure on women and fear of illegitimacy decrease (Koch and Fulton 2011). Women no longer constitute token representation and are assured of their belonging by the other women that share their position. This leads to women being bold in advocating for their values and women's interests, including those that dampen globalization. They are less inclined to prove their legitimacy through the over-masculinization of their policies, so rather than just a narrow set of values and norms promoted by men, women provide an element of diversity.

A driving mechanism for the curvilinear theory is the gendered legislative environment. Many studies have found that women will focus on policies that support women, families, children, and education. However, these preferences may not be by choice, but because male-dominated legislatures give them no alternative (Heath et al., 2005). In nearly every case, men control a majority of seats in legislatures. They control most positions of leadership in the legislature including committee leadership, legislative party leadership, and congressional leadership posts. Institutional constraints that legislatures pose for female legislators are emphasized by electoral rules, political parties, and informal legislative norms. What is left is a gendered institution that prioritizes "the masculine" and marginalizes "the feminine" (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008) and creates an atmosphere of discrimination (Duerst-Lahti 2005). Women in the legislature may face a backlash against their presence (Mansbridge and Shames 2008) and low levels of women can easily be actively discriminated against. As women join politics, men become more protective of what they consider to be men's issues and those issues that they may perceive to be more important for themselves. This manifests in the marginalization of women in bill sponsorships because of traditional gendered views about the types of issues men and women should work on in the political

arena. Marginalization of women may occur as outright discrimination, or it also may be more subtle. Generally, however, women will be encouraged to work more on women's domains, such as education, children, family, and social issues, while men emphasize issues of economics, trade, and agriculture.

As women take up a greater proportion of parliament seats, it becomes more difficult to marginalize them; denying the voice of 30% of a parliament is significantly more challenging than 1%. As the percentage of women in the legislature increases, so too does their ability to express anti-globalism sentiments. When enough women take impactful action, it will lead to tangible policy changes. Additionally, as women gain greater numbers, they will have to take on more responsibility outside of women's issues just by virtue of how parliaments work. Studies have found that if, given the opportunity, women influence policies traditionally seen as masculine. Higher percentages of representation correlate with more development aid and public expenditures on health (Hicks et al. 2016; Clayton and Zetterberg, 2018). There have also been examples of conflict behavior and defense spending decreasing with a rise in the proportion of female representatives (Koch and Fulton, 2011).

Although my focus is women's effect on globalization, the initial opportunities globalization creates for women results in a cyclical mechanism that accounts for the initial rise and then subsequent fall of globalization. It has been shown that globalization creates political, social, and economic opportunities for women. Increasing cross-national exchange and communication leads to improvements in women's status and equality. Economic aspects of globalization like increasing foreign investment can bring new opportunities and resources to women. But equally important, globalization promotes the diffusion of ideas and norms of equality for women (Gray et al. 2006). Women's increased participation in parliaments has been attributed

to the increased attention to women's rights and the spread of a form of feminism with an internationalist orientation. Links among local, national, and international women's groups have created transnational issue networks that can exchange information, ideas, and political support (Prugl and Meyer 1999). Pressure from these groups lead to international treaties like The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which when ratified, have been shown to increase women's level of representation in parliaments. Gray et al. (2006) quantitatively test this claim finding that an increase in FDI as a percentage of gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) from 4 percent to 20 percent is associated with an increase of 0.6 percentage points in women's share of parliament seats, and ratifying CEDAW is associated with an increase of 2.1 percentage.

Previous literature demonstrates that a higher percentage of women in national parliaments not only places higher priorities on women's issues but brings forth important women's rights policies such as domestic violence protections for women or access to economic institutions, which may not have been introduced or passed had female legislators not been part of the policymaking process. A lot of the work women legislators do for gender equality both directly and indirectly increase a woman's ability to participate in globalization in ways they may have not previously been able to do. Globalization demands participation, and as legal and social barriers women face decline, women become a massive untapped resource for growth. Abney and Laya (2018) proposed that empowering women to participate equally in the global economy could add \$28 trillion in GDP growth by 2025. It would also bolster growth and inclusion, creating more and better-paying jobs for women. This is where the mechanism becomes cyclical since more women in the labor force are positively associated with more women in parliament. For example, increasing female labor force participation from 32 percent to 40 percent is associated with a 2.9

percentage point increase in the percentage of parliamentary seats held by women (Clayton and Zetterberg 2018). If the proportion of women continues to increase, the cycle will continue until women gain enough power to start passing policies that limit globalization. In essence, women MPs create policies that indirectly lead to greater globalization by prioritizing women's rights (Kerr 2019), greater globalization creates opportunities for greater women's representation (Clayton and Zetterberg 2018), and as women take up a greater proportion of parliamentary seats, they are able to more easily propose legislation. If the percentage of women continues to increase, eventually policies that women favor will be passed, leading to declining levels of globalization. Women will participate in globalization until they have gained the power to decrease it.

Research Design

I employ a time-series-cross-section data set. In the QoG Standard TS dataset, data for the period 1946 to 2021 is included. My analysis only includes the years where data on the percentage of women in parliament was collected and changes in levels of globalization of individual countries were accounted for. In this paper, the data covers 194 countries and the time period 1997-2018. The unit of analysis is country-year.

Dependent variable

I employ the KOF Globalization Index for my dependent variable. In order to operationalize globalization, I use the Index of Globalization. This is an overall index of globalization that weights the average of the economic globalization, social globalization, and political globalization variables, taking into account both de facto and de jure globalization as they are operationalized within the economic, social, and political components. Most weight has been given to economics followed by social globalization. The Globalization Index is available for 194

countries and covers the period from 1970 until 2018. The Index is continuous and measures globalization on a scale of 1 to 100. Scores closer to 1 indicate lower levels of globalization while scores approaching 100 represent higher levels of globalization. The figures for the constituent variables are expressed as percentiles. This means that outliers are smoothed and ensures that fluctuations over time are lower.

Central explanatory variable

My central explanatory variable is the percentage of women in national parliaments. To operationalize women's representation in national legislatures I use Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments. The variable consists of data compiled by the World Bank and is measured by the number of seats held by women members in single or lower chambers of national parliaments, expressed as a percentage of all occupied seats. It is derived by dividing the total number of seats occupied by women by the total number of seats in parliament. This indicator covers the single chamber in unicameral parliaments and the lower chamber in bicameral parliaments, but it does not cover the upper chamber of bicameral parliaments. Seats being filled by general parliamentary elections, nomination, appointment, indirect election, rotation of members, and by-election are accounted for. Seats refer to the number of parliamentary mandates or the number of members of parliament. Data is available in 194 countries and covers the period from 1997 to 2020. The variable is continuous and measured by percentages. The higher percentages equate to a greater proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments, and lower percentages reflect smaller proportions of women. To test for a curvilinear relationship, the variable for the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments is squared. The analysis considers both the original and the squared coefficients.

Control variables

Previous research has identified a country's GDP, regime type and population as factors that contribute to the level of globalization. I control for these three variables. I used the variable Rural Population to control for population. It is operationalized by calculating the difference between total population and urban population. For regime type the variable Electoral Democracy Index was the most relevant. The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the sum of the indices measuring freedom of association (thick), suffrage, clean elections, elected executive (de jure) and freedom of expression; and, on the other, the five-way interaction between those indices. Finally, to control for GDP I employ pwt_rgdp, Real GDP at constant 2017 national prices. Although I wished to employ a wider range of control variables that more closely related to my research, adding additional variables either limited my number of observations to an unacceptable level or overlapped with my CEV resulting in inaccurate data.

Methodology

My dependent variable is continuous, so 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. I am also looking to see the shape of the relationship between the number of , and when applied correctly, a regression analysis will reveal it. 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.

Results and Analysis

Based on previous research and potential mechanisms, I argue that there is a curvilinear relationship, in the shape of an upside-down U, between the percentage of women in parliament and level of globalization. Table 1 confirms that there is a statistically significant relationship between my central explanatory variable and the level of globalization. The women in national parliaments variable as well as its squared variable have a p-value of 0.000. Additionally, all of my control variables were statistically significant, with only the population variable being negatively correlated. Looking at the curvilinear relationship, the coefficient for the CEV is positive while the coefficient for the squared value of the CEV is negative. This supports my hypothesis, as this result suggests a concave curvilinear relationship resembling an upside-down U. For a while, as the percentage of women in parliament increases, so does the level of globalization. At a certain point, the relationship flips, and while the percentage of women continues to increase, the level of globalization begins to decline. 66.84% of the variation in the level of globalization can be explained by my test.

Conclusion

My results indicate that the relationship between the percentage of women in national parliaments and the level of globalization is significant and curvilinear, with a concave shape. As women join parliaments, globalization levels go up but, at a certain point, as the percentage of women MP continues to increase, globalization levels begin to go down. This result supported my hypothesis; however, my test was not perfect. In this study, I examined overall globalization. I did this in order to look at the big picture and create a taking-off point for future research. However, I could have been more nuanced with my theories and had a deeper understanding of the mechanisms behind the relationship if I had looked at the different aspects of globalization

separately and then combined my findings. Additionally, when I was exploring theories to explain this relationship, I considered women as a single entity, assuming that they would always act similarly. This is objectively not the case. However, I had no optimal way to operationalize a more sophisticated analysis.

My findings imply that policies pushed by women have an influence over global relations, even if the direct relationship is not apparent. My paper contributes to a grossly overlooked direction of influence. Globalization is often claimed to be the catalyst for development and success; considering that gender quotas or other methods of women's representation are often imposed on developing nations, it seems like a huge oversight to not have a deep understanding of how these new systems of governance could affect globalization.

Future research should take a closer look at this relationship. However, instead of overall globalization, scholars should examine the specific types of globalization -- economic, social, and political. There should also be additional research on the effect of other positions of power held by women on globalization. My results indicate an eventual drop in levels of globalization, but do not indicate if this has a negative or positive effect on the countries that experience it. This would be a beneficial path for future research to take, especially now that globalization is showing signs of slowing down globally. If it is possible to maintain gender rights, a functioning economy, and social welfare while globalization decreases, knowing what made that happen could aid many nations in the future as they navigate deglobalization in a hyperglobalized world.

Table 1. Effects of Proportion of Seats Held By Women in National Parliaments on Globalization, 1946-2021

Variable		
Women in National Parliaments	0.409***	(0.047)
Women in National Parliaments Squared	-0.004***	(0.001)
GDP per capita	0.000***	(0.000)
Population size	-0.360***	(0.008)
Electoral democracy	20.609***	(0.698)
N	3,333	
R ²	0.6684	

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

Table 2. Summary Statistics

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Globalization	8,348	50.06059	16.82437	14.14902	90.98389
Women in National Parliaments	4,330	17.13993	11.41725	0	63.75
Women in National Parliaments squared	4,330	424.1007	517.9338	0	4064.06
GDP per capita	9,303	362654.3	1300151	252.3417	2.06e+07
Population size	10,078	49.57104	24.8539	0	97.807
Electoral democracy	10,364	.4270617	2874893	.007	.919

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Table 3. Variable Operationalization and Sources

Dependent Variable

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Index of Globalization	Score of 1 to 100, 1 being low levels and 100 being high. The weighted average of the following variables: economic globalization, social globalization and political globalization	Gygli, S., Haelg, F., Potrafke, N., & Sturm, J.-E. (2019) Teorell et al. (2022)

Explanatory Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Percentage of women in national parliaments	Measured by the number of seats held by women members in single or lower chambers of national parliaments, expressed as a percentage of all occupied seats.	World Bank. (2021).

Control Variables

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Rural population Rural population refers to people living in rural areas as defined by national statistical offices.	Continuous. Calculated as the difference between total population and urban population.	World Bank. (2021).
Electoral democracy index	The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the sum of the indices measuring freedom of association (thick), suffrage, clean elections, elected executive (de jure) and freedom of expression; and, on the other, the five-way interaction between those indices.	Pemstein et al. (2021)
Real GDP at constant 2017 national prices	Continuous. Real GDP at constant 2017 national prices (in mil. 2017 US dollar)	Feenstra, R. C., Inklaar, R., & Timmer, M. P. (2015)

Stata Output

```
reg dr_ig wdi_wip winp wdi_poprul vdem_polyarchy pwt_rgd
```

```
Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 3,333
-----+----- F(5, 3327) = 1341.36
Model | 535139.256    5 107027.851  Prob > F      = 0.0000
Residual | 265463.967  3,327 79.7907927  R-squared     = 0.6684
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.6679
Total | 800603.223  3,332 240.277078  Root MSE     = 8.9326
```

```
-----
dr_ig | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
wdi_wip | .4092245 .0469271   8.72 0.000   .3172156 .5012335
winp | -.0035638 .0010105  -3.53 0.000   -.005545 -.0015825
wdi_poprul | -.3603871 .0077335 -46.60 0.000   -.37555 -.3452242
vdem_polyar~y | 20.60854 .6979751  29.53 0.000   19.24004 21.97704
pwt_rgd | 8.25e-07 8.62e-08   9.58 0.000   6.57e-07 9.94e-07
_cons | 58.27463 .6699096  86.99 0.000   56.96116 59.58811
-----
```