By Charis Rogers

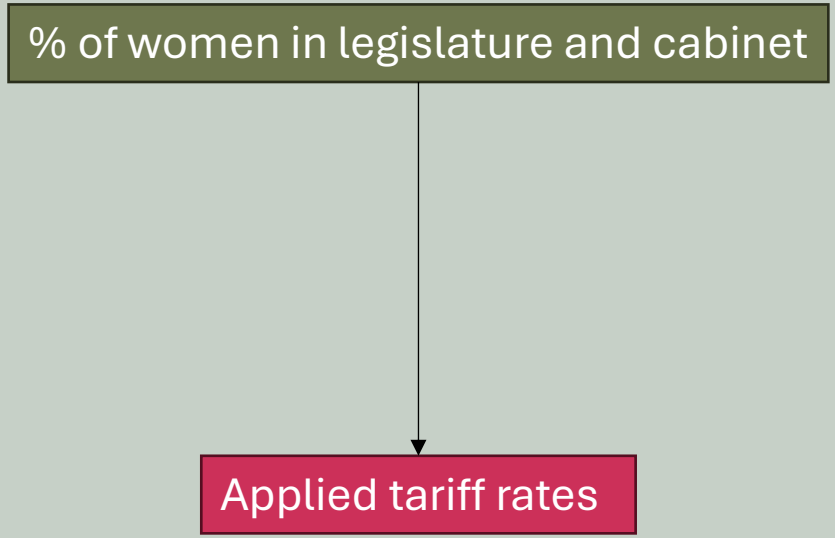
REPLICATION PROJECT: ‘DO WOMEN MAKE MORE PROTECTIONIST TRADE POLICY?’

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Well-documented gap in trade protectionist preferences

Research Question: Does women's representation affect the trade policy choices of governments?

Hypothesis: Women's representation is associated with higher tariff rates



Betz, T., Fortunato, D. and O'Brien, D.Z. (2023)'Do Women Make More Protectionist Trade Policy?', American Political Science Review, 117(4), pp. 1522–1530. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422001307.

FINDINGS

Looked at 141 countries over 3 decades

Two-way fixed effects (country and time)

Three models

All show that women's representation has positive effects on tariff rates

"An increase in women's legislative seat shares of 10% is associated with an increase in tariff rates of about 1.40%" (p. 5)

```
M1 <- feols(lnahs ~ lnseats * nHousehold + polity2 + lngdp + gdp_capita +
              unemp | factor(iso3n) + factor(year),
            data = data)
```

Table 1: Women's Representation and Protectionism in Trade Policy

	Dependent variable:					
	Applied Tariff Rate					
	Base Model		Political Institutions		Socioecomomic Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Log seat share women	0.135***		0.109*		0.186***	
	(0.040)		(0.059)		(0.047)	
Log cabinet share women		0.072**		0.092***		0.066**
		(0.029)		(0.030)		(0.033)
Intermediate inputs	−1.227***	−1.148***	−1.240***	−1.134***	−1.279***	−1.176***
	(0.063)	(0.075)	(0.084)	(0.073)	(0.071)	(0.082)
Polity score	−0.082	−0.111	−0.230*	−0.245*	−0.107	−0.142
	(0.117)	(0.108)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.120)	(0.116)
Log GDP	−0.036	−0.047	−0.093	−0.123	−0.126	−0.186
	(0.201)	(0.178)	(0.259)	(0.249)	(0.266)	(0.244)
GDP per capita	−0.216	−0.178	−0.238	−0.184	−0.452**	−0.444**
	(0.175)	(0.187)	(0.210)	(0.215)	(0.212)	(0.219)
Unemployment rate	−0.598	−1.215	−1.334	−1.725	−0.839	−1.427
	(1.862)	(1.807)	(1.923)	(1.821)	(2.058)	(1.941)
Right-wing party			0.254**	0.279**		
			(0.116)	(0.111)		
Center party			0.402*	0.439**		
			(0.221)	(0.216)		
Left-wing party			0.170	0.180*		
			(0.113)	(0.107)		
Plurality rule			−0.164	−0.174		
			(0.181)	(0.168)		
Presidential system			−0.011	0.097		
			(0.132)	(0.162)		
Secondary school enrollment					−0.004	−0.003
					(0.005)	(0.005)
Women, Business, and Law Index					−0.011	−0.009
					(0.007)	(0.007)
Women labor force participation					−0.032**	−0.030**
					(0.013)	(0.012)
Log seat share women x intermediate inputs	−0.149***		−0.146***		−0.175***	
	(0.025)		(0.040)		(0.026)	
Log cabinet share women x intermediate inputs		−0.107***		−0.085***		−0.115***
		(0.029)		(0.028)		(0.030)
Constant	3.806	5.074	5.126	5.712	8.543	9.787*
	(4.677)	(4.136)	(5.985)	(5.716)	(6.412)	(5.824)
Observations	36338	36335	32246	31973	25195	25579
R-squared	0.49	0.492	0.498	0.503	0.435	0.433
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

TWIST…

Is this relationship connected to the gap in protectionist opinions?

In countries where men are more protectionist than women, women's representation will be associated with a smaller increase in tariff rates.

Data from International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)

[Country] should limit import of foreign products?

Agreement on 5-point Likert scale

```
M1 <- feols(lnahs ~ lnseats * nHousehold + polity2 + lngdp + gdp_capita +
              unemp | factor(iso3n) + factor(year),
            data = subset_countries,
            fsplit = "subset")
```

ISSP Research Group (2015): International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III ISSP 2013. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5950 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi: 10.4232/1.12312

TYPICAL AND ATYPICAL COUNTRIES

Table 2: Linear Regression of Gender Gap in Protectionist Opinions

	Country	Coefficient	P_values
Switzerland	CH	-0.100***	0.001
Estonia	EE	-0.022	0.501
Finland	FI	-0.043	0.117
Georgia	GE	0.059**	0.032
Croatia	HR	0.003	0.908
Hungary	HU	0.007	0.828
India	IN	0.031	0.106
Iceland	IS	-0.009	0.741
Japan	JP	-0.047*	0.080
Korea (South)	KR	-0.111***	0.00004
Lithuania	LT	-0.036	0.241
Latvia	LV	-0.026	0.376
Mexico	MX	-0.023	0.444
Norway	NO	-0.008	0.745
Philippines	PH	0.028	0.277
Russia	RU	0.016	0.557
Sweden	SE	-0.081***	0.005
Slovenia	SI	-0.097***	0.002
Taiwan	TW	-0.052**	0.023
United States	US	-0.057**	0.044
South Africa	ZA	-0.041**	0.021

Data

- 21 countries in common

Binary variable

- Recoded to agree or neutral / disagree

6 atypical countries

- Men more protectionist

ISSP Research Group (2015): International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III ISSP 2013. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5950 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi: 10.4232/1.12312

BASE MODEL

Table 3: Base Model: Effect of Women's Representation in Typical and Atypical Countries

Dependent Variable:	Applied Tariff Rate					
subset	Full sample	Atypical	Typical	Full sample	Atypical	Typical
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Variables						
Log seat share women	0.539	0.286	0.138			
	(0.326)	(0.565)	(0.220)			
Intermediate inputs	-1.54***	-1.73***	-1.52***	-1.37***	-1.15***	-1.38***
	(0.215)	(0.331)	(0.209)	(0.139)	(0.197)	(0.155)
Polity score	-0.583	-2.12***	0.154	-0.331	-1.70*	0.143
	(1.13)	(0.521)	(1.16)	(1.07)	(0.793)	(1.17)
Log GDP	-1.32	-1.86	1.16	-1.14	-2.17*	1.17
	(0.910)	(0.974)	(1.49)	(0.860)	(1.01)	(1.40)
GDP per capita	-0.187	-2.57	-0.512	-0.215	-2.65	-0.425
	(0.403)	(2.03)	(0.514)	(0.479)	(2.33)	(0.520)
Unemployment rate	-8.57	-24.5*	5.52	-8.82	-25.4*	5.29
	(7.32)	(10.8)	(4.18)	(8.04)	(11.7)	(4.11)
Log seat share women × Intermediate inputs	-0.263*	-0.447**	-0.195			
	(0.134)	(0.141)	(0.151)			
Log cabinet share women				0.169*	0.126	0.143
				(0.086)	(0.125)	(0.091)
Log cabinet share women × Intermediate inputs				-0.159**	-0.154*	-0.111
				(0.075)	(0.066)	(0.106)
Fixed-effects						
factor(iso3n)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
factor(year)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics						
Observations	5,088	1,696	3,392	5,136	1,696	3,440
R^2	0.42783	0.61029	0.36367	0.42095	0.60367	0.35813
Within R^2	0.08410	0.21806	0.07479	0.08037	0.22298	0.07394

Clustered (iso3n)) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

- No support for hypothesis

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Table 4: Political Institutions: Effect of Women's Representation in Typical and Atypical Countries

Dependent Variable:	Applied Tariff Rate					
subset	Full sample	Atypical	Typical	Full sample	Atypical	Typical
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Variables						
Log seat share women	0.617*	0.148	0.128			
	(0.315)	(0.262)	(0.216)			
Intermediate inputs	-1.54***	-1.74***	-1.52***	-1.37***	-1.15***	-1.38***
	(0.214)	(0.335)	(0.209)	(0.139)	(0.197)	(0.155)
Polity score	-0.056	2.09**	0.156	0.107	2.44**	0.094
	(0.973)	(0.744)	(1.32)	(0.954)	(0.692)	(1.32)
Log GDP	-1.28	-0.422	1.21	-1.10	-0.862	1.21
	(0.855)	(0.848)	(1.55)	(0.805)	(0.707)	(1.41)
GDP per capita	-0.027	-8.24***	-0.513	-0.095	-8.02***	-0.437
	(0.418)	(1.57)	(0.531)	(0.509)	(1.32)	(0.534)
Unemployment rate	-7.02	-30.0***	5.55	-7.18	-30.6***	5.46
	(5.97)	(3.19)	(3.93)	(6.71)	(3.53)	(3.88)
Right-wing party	0.396	0.542	-0.075	0.452	0.438	-0.034
	(0.272)	(0.504)	(0.166)	(0.312)	(0.384)	(0.132)
Center party	0.728	1.16***	-0.087	0.686	1.17***	-0.111
	(0.459)	(0.262)	(0.255)	(0.473)	(0.245)	(0.238)
Left-wing party	0.385	0.482	-0.040	0.471	0.445	-0.024
	(0.314)	(0.509)	(0.173)	(0.364)	(0.305)	(0.161)
Plurality rule	-0.196	-4.48**		-0.095	-4.27***	
	(0.625)	(1.26)		(0.628)	(1.02)	
Log seat share women × Intermediate inputs	-0.263*	-0.450**	-0.195			
	(0.133)	(0.143)	(0.151)			
Log cabinet share women				0.168*	0.099	0.143
				(0.086)	(0.075)	(0.092)
Log cabinet share women × Intermediate inputs				-0.157*	-0.152*	-0.111
				(0.075)	(0.067)	(0.106)
Fixed-effects						
factor(iso3n)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
factor(year)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics						
Observations	5,072	1,680	3,392	5,120	1,680	3,440
R^2	0.43338	0.65084	0.36371	0.42529	0.64716	0.35821
Within R^2	0.09077	0.28552	0.07485	0.08510	0.29426	0.07404

Clustered (iso3n)) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

- No support for hypothesis, in fact results seem to indicate the opposite

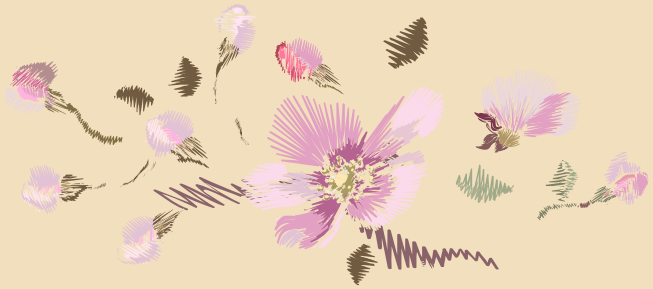
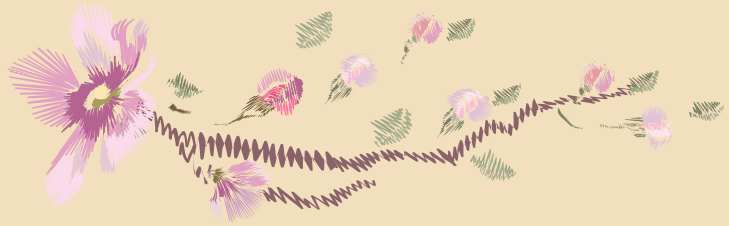
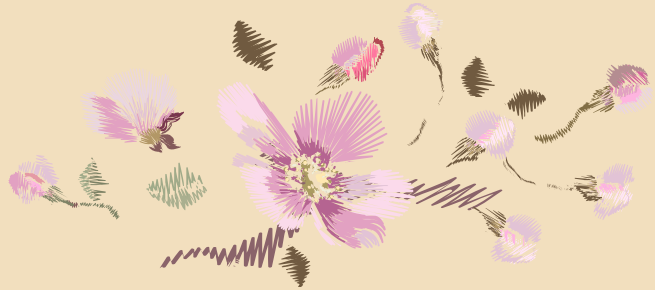
Table 5: Socioeconomic factors: Effect of Women's Representation in Typical and Atypical Countries

Dependent Variable:	Applied Tariff Rate					
subset	Full sample	Atypical	Typical	Full sample	Atypical	Typical
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Variables						
Log seat share women	1.12**	-0.020	0.350**			
	(0.433)	(0.814)	(0.145)			
Intermediate inputs	-1.78***	-1.88***	-1.73***	-1.45***	-1.12***	-1.50***
	(0.159)	(0.379)	(0.159)	(0.142)	(0.182)	(0.159)
Polity score	0.646	-1.34	1.85*	0.719	-1.57	1.76*
	(1.45)	(1.57)	(0.971)	(1.43)	(1.12)	(0.956)
Log GDP	-1.39	-3.05**	4.30***	-0.887	-3.18**	4.81***
	(1.18)	(1.07)	(1.08)	(1.16)	(1.05)	(1.14)
GDP per capita	-0.316	-4.76*	-0.550	-0.412	-3.83	-0.543
	(0.389)	(2.33)	(0.334)	(0.479)	(1.97)	(0.369)
Unemployment rate	-10.9	-41.4**	7.80***	-10.7	-36.0**	8.45***
	(6.68)	(10.5)	(2.35)	(7.57)	(10.1)	(2.37)
Secondary school enrollment	-0.020*	-0.143***	-0.013*	-0.027***	-0.124*	-0.016**
	(0.011)	(0.029)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.050)	(0.006)
Women, Business, and Law Index	-0.039**	-0.035	-0.036***	-0.014	-0.032	-0.034***
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.010)
Women labor force participation	-0.055*	-0.244***	-0.103***	-0.037	-0.229**	-0.103**
	(0.030)	(0.056)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.071)	(0.033)
Log seat share women × Intermediate inputs	-0.427***	-0.528**	-0.367***			
	(0.080)	(0.160)	(0.105)			
Log cabinet share women				0.238**	0.252**	0.131
				(0.103)	(0.096)	(0.088)
Log cabinet share women × Intermediate inputs				-0.228***	-0.146*	-0.214*
				(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.106)
Fixed-effects						
factor(iso3n)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
factor(year)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics						
Observations	4,272	1,456	2,816	4,288	1,456	2,832
R^2	0.46002	0.64562	0.41913	0.44911	0.62836	0.41431
Within R^2	0.09927	0.30525	0.10229	0.08631	0.29249	0.10009

Clustered (iso3n)) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

CONCLUSION

Limitations	Small sample of countries
	A lot of the countries do not have a significant difference in the opinions of men and women
Conclusion	ISSP sample is not large enough to answer the question

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