

Dynamics of Globalization's Impact on Democratic Reality: A Study of the Jordanian and Saudi Cases

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Abstract

Objectives: This study aimed to analyze the potential impact of globalization on democracy, highlighting how globalization can both promote and undermine democratic practices. It also sought to balance these contrasting effects to determine which trend more accurately reflects the general trajectory of the phenomenon.

Methods: The study employed several methodologies to test its hypothesis, including statistical analysis to explore the relationship between globalization and democracy levels, trend analysis to track changes in democracy rates over time, and a comparative approach to assess the impact of globalization on democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Results: The findings indicate that globalization positively influences democracy at the global level. Specifically, the study showed that the impact of globalization on democracy rates in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia is positive. However, it found that the strength of this impact is statistically moderate in Jordan, while it is statistically weak in Saudi Arabia.

Conclusion: The study concluded that the slow response of the political systems in Jordan and Saudi Arabia to the democratization pressures brought by globalization is one of the key factors explaining why globalization has not significantly impacted democracy rates in these two countries. It also warned that such delayed responses could negatively affect future political stability in both cases.

Keywords: Globalization; democracy; Jordan; Saudi Arabia; political stability

ديناميكيات تأثير العولمة على الواقع الديمقراطي: دراسة الحالة الأردنية والسعودية

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ملخص

الأهداف: هدفت الدراسة إلى تحليل التأثير الممكن للعولمة على الديمقراطية، وتسلط الضوء على الكيفيات التي تساهم بها العولمة في تعزيز الديمقراطية وتقويضها، وللموازنة بين التأثيرين السابقين للعولمة على الديمقراطية، والبحث في أهمها هو الاتجاه العام الذي يمثل مسار الظاهرة بشكل عام.

المنهجية: استخدمت الدراسة عدداً من المناهج لاختبار فرضيتها، كمنهج التحليل الإحصائي لدراسة العلاقات بين العولمة ومعدلات الديمقراطية، ومنهج الاتجاهات العامة لتتبع التغيرات في معدلات الديمقراطية على مر الزمن، والمنهج المقارن لمقارنة تأثير العولمة على الديمقراطية في الأردن والسعودية.

النتائج: بينت الدراسة أن العولمة تؤثر إيجابياً على الديمقراطية على المستوى العالمي. أظهرت الدراسة أن تأثير العولمة على معدلات الديمقراطية في كل من الأردن والسعودية إيجابي، وبينت الدراسة أن مستوى تأثير العولمة على الديمقراطية في الأردن متوسط القوة إحصائياً، وأن مستوى تأثير العولمة على الديمقراطية في السعودية ضعيف إحصائياً.

الخلاصة: خلصت الدراسة إلى أن طبيعة الاستجابة البطيئة من النظامين السياسيين الأردني والسعودي لمفردات العولمة المعززة للمطالبة بالديمقراطية، هي من أهم العوامل التي تفسر لماذا لم تؤثر العولمة على معدلات الديمقراطية في البلدين بشكل كبير وقوي؟ وأشارت الدراسة إلى أن الاستجابة البطيئة قد تشكل عاملاً يمكن أن يمس، وبشكل سلبي الاستقرار السياسي المستقبلي في حالتي الدراسة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العولمة، الديمقراطية، الأردن، السعودية، الاستقرار السياسي.



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1. Introduction:

Globalization is a continuous process that contributes to increasing the rate and depth of interconnection between countries, peoples and individuals at the economic, political and social levels. Globalization is characterized by the continuous and increasing acceleration of the movement of capital, goods and technology, as well as data, information and ideas, including political ideas, which benefit from the acceleration of technological progress in the field of communications and transportation, in crossing the borders of nation states.

Accordingly, globalization is understood as a process in which data, information and political ideas are characterized by the fluidity of movement across the borders of nation states, with the freedom of the individual to access them, in addition to its contribution to facilitating and accelerating the movement of capital, goods and technology globally, which guarantees individuals, societies and countries the ability to generate gains from their involvement in these processes. Hence, a fundamental question arises regarding whether globalization contributes to influencing in one way or another the reality of democracy in different countries.

To investigate this issue, the study will primarily focus on clarifying the nature of globalization and democracy, at the conceptual and procedural levels, in addition to evaluating the effects of globalization and the dynamics of its impact on democracy, and discussing the different and divergent intellectual views in this regard, while trying to evaluate which of the intellectual views that discussed the dynamics of the impact of globalization on democracy are the views that are most consistent with the greater trends of the relationship between the two variables at the global level. Thirdly, the study will focus on discussing the dynamics of the impact of globalization on the democratic reality in Both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and clarifying the direction of the impact of globalization on democracy in the two study cases through statistical data analysis, and whether the impact of globalization on the democratic reality in Jordan and Saudi Arabia is consistent with the impact of globalization on democracy globally or not, while clarifying and discussing the reasons for that.

2. Framework of the Study:

2.1 Problem of the study: The main research problem motivating this study is the ambiguity surrounding the nature and extent of globalization's impact on the democratic reality in these two countries. There is a significant research gap regarding the impact of globalization on democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, along with a dearth of conclusive evidence determining whether increased globalization leads to higher levels of democracy in these two countries.

2.2 Hypothesis of the study:

There is a statistically significant positive correlation between globalization rates and democracy rates in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In other words, the higher the rates of Jordan and Saudi Arabia's engagement with globalization, the higher the levels of democracy in Both countries.

2.3 Questions of the study:

This study is driven by a primary research question: What are the dynamics of globalization's impact on the democratic reality in Jordan and Saudi Arabia?

- Based on this central question, a number of sub-questions can be derived:
- What is the nature and driving of globalization and democracy?
- How does globalization influence democracy? Is its impact primarily negative or positive?
- How can the effects of globalization on democracy be assessed?
- How has globalization impacted the democratic reality in Jordan compared to Saudi Arabia, and what is the trajectory of globalization's influence in Both cases?

2.4 Objectives of the study:

This study aims to achieve several primary objectives, most notably:

- To clarify the nature of globalization and its driving forces.
- To discuss how globalization affects democracy, and whether its impact is positive or negative.
- To evaluate the impact of globalization on democracy globally using a quantitative approach using trend analysis.
- To analyze the mechanisms of globalization's impact on democracy in Jordan compared to Saudi Arabia, and to

statistically clarify the dimensions, nature, and direction of this impact.

2.5 Significance of the study:

This study holds significant theoretical and practical contributions:

Theoretical Significance:

The importance of the study lies in its attempt to provide theoretical and applied contributions and to demonstrate them:

- The study aims to provide a comprehensive theoretical explanation of the nature of globalization's impact on democracy and to discuss the nature of this impact, whether negative or positive, on different political systems.
- In its general analysis, the study will attempt to discuss the nature of the mechanisms that explain globalization's impact on democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.
- The study uses numerical quantitative measures to statistically assess the nature and direction of globalization's impact in both cases.

Practical Significance:

- The study seeks to provide a clear understanding of the causes of globalization and how it impacts democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.
- The study offers practical recommendations for decision-makers in Jordan and Saudi Arabia regarding strategies for dealing with globalization, ensuring the gradual strengthening of democracy.
- The study emphasizes the importance of embracing democratic demands to ensure political stability in both cases.

2.6 Limitations of the study:

- **Objective Limitation:** This study is limited to studying and analyzing the impact of globalization on the reality of democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, along with analyzing the nature and direction of its impact on democracy rates in both countries.
- **Spatial Limitation:** The study defines its spatial scope as Jordan and Saudi Arabia.
- **Time Limitation:** The time period extends from 2010 to 2024. The reason for choosing this time period is that it enables us to track the impact of globalization on democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia over time, enabling us to assess the direction of the impact.

2.7 Terms of the study:

Globalization:

Definitions of globalization are numerous, as are opinions regarding the specific time of its emergence. Some believe that globalization, as a historical movement leading to increased economic and commercial interconnectedness among different countries, coincided with the rise of the capitalist system around 300 years ago (Muhammad, 2009, 19-20), negating the notion that globalization in this sense is merely a reflection of Americanization.

For example, proponents of world-system theory posit that globalization is merely an extension of Western capitalism led by core countries for economic expansion into both peripheral and semi-peripheral countries. They argue that globalization is not a new phenomenon but rather the latest stage in the development of capitalism. Conversely, liberals view globalization as the increasing interaction and interdependence among countries and a phenomenon that tends towards trade liberalization (Bellis, 1997).

Others define globalization as "the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one corner of the world can have an impact on the rest of the world, no matter how far away those places are from the center of the event." The globalized world is one in which the interconnectedness of economic, political, and social events intensifies and their impact grows as well (Bellis, 1997).

A prime example of the above understanding of globalization is the global crisis of 2008. The financial crisis in the United States had repercussions on most economies around the world due to the economic interconnectedness of different countries. Another example is the change in oil prices resulting from any security incidents near waterways and straits, leading to negative or positive financial implications for oil exporters and importers. If prices rise, this change is positive for exporters and a negative change for importers, and vice versa.

The technological advancements, particularly the communications revolution, the emergence of the internet, social media, and various cyberspaces, along with the global transportation revolution, have compressed space even more than it was in past decades. This has led to a deepening of interconnectedness among individuals, peoples, societies, and countries, to the extent that international borders have become more of a theoretical concept than a physical reality.

However, if we were to ask how globalization can be measured, we could point to more than one approach and more than one international measure specializing in this field. The most prominent of these international measures specialized in measuring countries' rates in the phenomenon of globalization is the KOF Index of Globalization, issued by the Swiss Economic Institute, which measures globalization through three main dimensions or levels, as shown in the table below.

Table (1): KOF Index of Globalization: Indicators and Main Dimensions

Indicator	Components
Political Globalization	Treaties and agreements, Membership in international organizations, Number of embassies, Participation in UN peacekeeping forces
Economic Globalization	Trade globalization: (Exports, imports, foreign direct investment, trade agreements, tariffs, and customs duties), Financial globalization: (Portfolio investments, investment restrictions, financial reserves, debt)
Social Globalization	Cultural globalization: (Cross-border movement of cultural products, media, and tourism) Person and communication globalization: (International migration, telephone and internet traffic) Information globalization: (Internet penetration, patents, and copyright)

Table is prepared by the researcher based on data from the 2022 KOF Globalization Index (Swiss Economic Institute, 2022)

Accordingly, the KOF Index assigns a score to each country out of 100. The more a country is engaged in globalization across its various dimensions, the higher its score, and vice versa. In this regard, countries can be ranked according to their globalization index into four categories:

Table (2): Country Classification in Terms of Globalization Index According to the KOF Index:

Globalization Classification	Score
Very Highly Globalized Countries	80-100 points
Highly Globalized Countries	60-79 points
Medium Globalized Countries	40-59 points
Very Low Globalized Countries	Less than 40 points

Table is prepared by the researcher based on data from the 2022 KOF Globalization Index (Swiss Economic Institute, 2022)

Democracy:

Just as with globalization, the definitions of democracy are multifaceted. However, many scholars trace the term's origin to ancient Greece. The word "democracy" is a Greek compound composed of two parts: "DEMOS" meaning "people" and "KRATOS" meaning "rule." Consequently, by combining these two words, its meaning becomes "rule by the people" or "power of the people," which is exercised either directly or indirectly through elected representative councils. (Barakat, 2012, 317)

On the other hand, Samuel Huntington argues that the modern usage of the term "democracy" has its roots in the period of revolutionary upheavals in Europe at the end of the 18th century. Huntington cites some scholars who define democracy procedurally, such as Joseph Schumpeter's definition, which states that it is "an institutional method for arriving at decisions about political issues, wherein individuals acquire power to decide by competing for votes." (Huntington, 1991, 12).

Democracy is also defined as "the absolute right of the people to legislate on all public matters by a majority vote of their representatives. Thus, the will of the people that emanates from the democratic system means that this will is free and not subject to any external constraints. It is its own mistress and is not accountable to any authority other than its own." (Houhou, 2012, 323).

If we were to ask how democracy can be understood as a procedural concept that can be measured and used to assess the progress or decline of countries in terms of democracy, we could say that this is possible through the use of democracy indices, such as the Democracy Index published by the Economist Intelligence Unit of the British magazine *The Economist*. This index measures the extent of democratic development in different countries, based on 60 indicators divided into five main categories, as shown in the table below.

Table (3): Democracy Index: Indicators and Country Classification According to the Index:

Democracy Index Indicators	Country Classification on the Index	Average Ranking Score Out of 10 Points
Civil Liberties and Government Performance	Full democracies	8-10 points
Political Culture	Flawed democracies	7.6-7.9 points
Political Pluralism	Hybrid regimes	4-5.9 points
Electoral Process	Authoritarian regimes	0-3.9 points
Political Participation	-	-

Table prepared by the researcher based on data from Democracy Index reports. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023, p. 66)

In contrast to full democracies, countries with authoritarian regimes lack political pluralism, and their citizens lose their civil liberties. In these countries, elections are not free or fair, and political participation is minimal. This is because the prevailing political culture in such countries is one of submission and limited political participation, unlike the prevailing political culture in democracies, which is characterized by a culture of participation. Hybrid regimes, on the other hand, are countries that exhibit some aspects of democracy, but their democratic process lacks many elements, such as genuine and real political pluralism or the fairness of the electoral process. Flawed democracies, on the other hand, are full democracies, but they only suffer from some shortcomings that can be overcome, such as experiencing a decline in political freedom or political participation at some point in time.

3 Theoretical framework and Literature review:

3.1 Theoretical framework:

This study examines the dynamics of globalization's impact on democracy, based on several theories, most notably the theory of the shift in interdependence patterns from traditional to more traditional: mechanical solidarity and mechanical solidarity. This theory was introduced by Émile Durkheim and subsequently developed by a number of researchers. This theory assumes that globalization, as a result of its contribution to deepening ties between individuals, communities, and states, works to change interdependence patterns within societies. This process of change begins, whereby the mechanisms of interdependence within societies shift from mechanical interdependence—interdependence based on religion, language, customs, and shared history—to organic interdependence: interdependence based on functional specialization and interdependence between the components of various systems within society, such as political parties, unions, civil society organizations, and others (Abdul Hay, 2011, pp. 13-14).

Changing patterns of interconnection due to the interconnection processes between societies and countries due to the forces of globalization impose on various economies, according to what the theory of the dual economy sees, the necessity of updating economic, social and political structures, to ensure that economies have greater capabilities to achieve the

greatest possible degree of efficiency that allows them the potential for innovation and competition with modern and advanced economies in the world (Gilpin, 1987, 66-67). The gradual shift in interconnectedness patterns under globalization has pushed countries to modernize their economic, social, and political structures to ensure their ability to innovate and compete globally. This is a process that, on the ground, supports economic development processes. Many researchers see this process as one that will expand the middle class and increase education rates, as assumed by modernization theories. This, in turn, creates fertile ground for political reform and democracy. Sooner or later, the middle classes will begin to demand the necessity of participating in decision-making. As a result of these potential demands, governments will ultimately find themselves forced to adapt to them (Croissant & Pelke, 2021) in order to maintain political stability, which can be negatively affected, leading to the collapse of dictatorial regimes if they do not respond and adapt to the dynamics of globalization that enhance democratic readiness. Perhaps this is what drives some dictatorial regimes, fearing their own collapse, to restrict the openness created by globalization and to restrict the transfer of ideas across national borders. Therefore, some researchers believe that there is a close link between modern communication technologies and their widespread use, such as social media platforms, and democracy around the world. The more social media platforms spread and individuals use them in various societies, the more prepared these societies become for democracy and more willing to demand it.

In light of the above, this study will attempt to verify the validity of the hypotheses that the interconnectedness processes fueled by globalization, including the interconnectedness processes between individuals and societies due to the tremendous development in communication technologies in the era of the digital revolution, deepen the democratic readiness of countries (Jha, & Kodila-Tedika, 2021). It will also examine the dynamics driven by globalization's impact on democracy, and whether the dynamics of globalization influence the democratic reality in the two case studies: Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

3.2 Literature review:

The relationship between globalization and democracy has received significant attention from researchers in the field of political systems and comparative politics around the world. These studies have sought to understand whether globalization actually contributes to strengthening democracy globally, weakens it in general, or even hinders the democratic transition of countries, particularly those in the developing world. Studies have also examined the mechanisms by which globalization affects democracy, whether positive or negative.

Despite the many studies that have examined the relationship between globalization and democracy, there is a lack of Arab interest in studying this relationship at the regional level. Rarely do studies directly, accurately, and specifically address the relationship between globalization and democracy in Jordan or Saudi Arabia.

In an important research paper on the nature of the relationship between globalization and democracy, entitled "Economic globalization and democracy: An empirical analysis" published in 2003, Reuveny and Li studied the impact of economic globalization on democracy in 127 countries, over a period of time extending from 1970 to 1996. The researchers reached several conclusions, the most important of which is that globalization in general, and economic globalization in particular, have varying effects on the democracy of political systems. Economic globalization, including trade openness, flows of foreign direct investment, and portfolio investment, negatively impacts democracy. Conversely, globalization, including the flow of political ideas related to democracy and the culture of rights and freedom, contributes positively to strengthening demands for democratic transformation and consolidating democracies around the world (Li, Reuveny, 2003).

For their part, researchers Al-Mahdi and Tareh concluded in their study entitled "Democracy and Foreign Investment in the Shadow of Globalization," published in 2008, that foreign direct investment, which is an indicator of economic globalization, contributes to the flow of foreign direct investment to various countries in improving the level of democracy. According to the researchers, every time the percentage of foreign investment increases by 1% of the gross domestic product, this is accompanied by an average improvement of 1% in the level of democracy in the country hosting the investment (Mohammed Al-Mahdi, Tareh, 2008). According to what can be concluded from the researchers' study, the

relationship of influence between globalization and democracy is not one-way. Globalization contributes to the growth of democracy, and the growth of democracy contributes to the growth of countries' rates of engagement with globalization. Foreign direct investment is directed towards democratic countries because they are more politically stable than non-democratic countries, and with the flow of such investment to democratic countries, these countries become more engaged and intertwined with the global economy.

In the same context, researcher Abu Salha, in his study entitled "The Impact of Political Globalization on the Arab World: 1991-2011" published in 2012, argues that globalization has many positive effects on Arab countries. Globalization actually contributes to the spread of a culture of human rights and civil and political rights. Furthermore, the researcher points out that globalization has actually contributed to the development of democracy in Arab countries, even if its impact in this regard has been limited. He believes this is the paradox of globalization: while it encourages the spread of political ideas related to democratic culture, US support for some authoritarian Arab regimes prevents these regimes from transforming into true and effective democracies. Nevertheless, the researcher notes the need not to ignore the impact of globalization on democracy (Abu Salha, 2012).

In the same vein, Kollias and Paleologou concluded in their 2016 study, "Globalization and Democracy: A Disaggregated Analysis by Income Group" that the relationship between globalization and democracy continues to generate heated debate. However, researchers have found, quantitatively, that globalization has a positive impact on democracy. However, the impact of globalization on democracy across countries is not of the same statistical weight and power. The extent of globalization's impact on democracy depends on other intervening variables, including the countries' development rate and income levels. (Kollias, Paleologou, 2016) Globalization has a positive impact on democracy in countries with higher levels of income and development than in countries with lower levels of development and income. This is because individuals in countries with higher levels of income are more prepared for political participation, and because economic development contributes to the creation of a broad, more modern, and more open middle class, which motivates them to demand rights and participate in decision-making processes. Or, to use Samuel Huntington's terminology, economic development is often accompanied by rising levels of education, declining poverty, and the modernization of the system of institutions in society, such that the individual's connection with others shifts from the logic of organic connection to the logic of automatic connection (modern institutions: parties, unions, associations, etc.). The previous manifestations of modernization culminate in strengthening democracy, because political systems tend to respond to manifestations of economic modernization with political modernization to ensure the stability and continuity of the systems. (Huntington, 2006, 40-41).

In contrast to the above, there are some researchers who believe that globalization has a negative impact on democracy. In his study entitled "Globalization and the Threat to Democracy" published in 2019, researcher Nazareth believes that globalization, although it includes many mechanisms that would enhance justice in many societies and provide better economic opportunities for individuals in societies through trade liberalization, foreign investment flows, and technology, it nevertheless contributes to a negative impact on democracy, in many ways and forms, including: Globalization, which includes, for example, outsourcing manufacturing in societies, such as developed countries' use of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor from the global south, democracy in those societies is at risk. With the influx of migrant labor, the danger of the extreme right increases as a reaction to the impact on national and cultural identities in the societies that attract labor. The danger of the right to the future of democracy increases with the decline in prosperity rates in the societies that receive migrants. Consequently, far-right leaders have greater possibilities to reach power than While presenting political programs that convince citizens in these societies that they will restore their economic prosperity and protect their cultural and national identity from the effects of the influx of migrants, these leaders begin taking measures targeting migrants. In order to ensure that their anti-migrant labor measures are not highlighted, they restrict freedom of the media and press, an institution created by democracy. This is in parallel with their implicit incitement of law enforcement agencies such as the police, and even educational institutions and the judiciary, to take anti-migrant measures. This undermines these institutions, without which democracy cannot function. Even if these institutions are affected in the

manner described above, democracy will be affected in the future of advanced societies (Nazareth, 2019). This reality has become increasingly evident in European societies, which are witnessing a growing presence of the extreme right, which promises to combat migrant workers, and even migrants and refugees in general, considering them a threat to national identities in Europe and an economic burden that threatens prosperity and development in Europe. The extreme right uses many means to do so that threaten the spirit of democracy.

In the same vein, researcher BASU, in his article titled “Globalization vs. Democracy” published in 2024, sees that globalization has begun to produce the phenomenon of peoples suffering from misleading information and data, which affects their political choices and, consequently, their economic and social reality. Just as globalization has produced the phenomenon of the free movement of ideas, information and data, it has also produced the mechanism for creating misleading information and data (BASU, 2024) that affects the essence and spirit of democracy as a mechanism of governance based on the free and fair choice of the individual when electing his representatives and leaders in his society. For example, today’s world is witnessing the phenomenon of interference by some parties from countries and governments in local elections in other countries, whether parliamentary or presidential, through the use and employment of social media sites on a wide scale in the process of disseminating misleading news, information and data, which aims to influence the political orientations of the voter in the target country, with the aim of choosing one candidate instead of another, or one party instead of another.

3.3 What distinguishes this study from previous studies:

This study distinguishes itself from the previous literature discussed above in several ways, most notably:

This study differs from the previous studies mentioned above in several aspects, most notably:

- This study aims to analyze the theoretical relationship between globalization and democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, with the aim of addressing a gap in academic studies on this topic.
- This study will go beyond previous studies, which have focused primarily on qualitative discussions on globalization and democracy, by seeking to use quantitative methods to measure the relationship between globalization and democracy in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.
- The study will adopt an integrated approach that combines quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods.
- The results of this study are expected to provide important insights into the complex relationship between globalization and democracy in the context of the Middle East. The study's findings are also expected to be important for decision-makers.

4 Methodology of the study:

4.1 Study's Approaches:

This study relies on three main methods:

- **The statistical method (Qadri and Nadia, 2021, 2-3):** This method is used to measure the scores of both Jordan and Saudi Arabia on the globalization and democracy scales within the study period.
- **The trend analysis method (Abdulhai, 2007, 14-15):** This method will be used to analyze trends in the process of monitoring the actual scores of Jordan and Saudi Arabia on the globalization and democracy scales during the study period.
- **The comparative method (Peters, 2020, 20):** This method is used to compare the nature of the impact of globalization on democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, with the aim of identifying similarities and differences regarding the impact of globalization on democracy in the two countries.

4.2 Study's Data Collection:

This study relies primarily on several sources to collect data, most notably specialized articles, studies, and books to collect qualitative data related to the study topic. Regarding quantitative and statistical data related to globalization and its measurement, the study will rely on the Coffey Globalization Index, published annually by the Swiss Institute of Economics. Regarding quantitative data related to democracy and its measurement, the study will rely on the Democracy

Index, published annually by the Economist Intelligence Unit. It will also rely on data provided by the Our World in Data website, which measures the number of democracies globally over time. This website is affiliated with Global Change Lab Data, and is considered one of the most important websites relied upon by researchers, as it specializes in providing statistical data on many global issues.

5 Study Topics: Assumptions and Perceptions from an Analytical Perspective:

5.1 The influence of globalization on democracy

There are two main perspectives on globalization, each viewing its impact on democracy differently. The first perspective argues that globalization has a positive impact on democracy, while the second perspective contends that globalization, on the contrary, has a negative impact on democracy. In this part of the study, we will attempt to discuss the aforementioned perspectives in more detail.

The First Trend: Globalization Has a Positive Impact on Democracy:

During our review of some of the previous literature, it became clear to the study that there are some researchers who believe that globalization has a positive impact on democracy, such that the more countries become involved in globalization, the more opportunities there are to anchor democracy in those countries. (Jha & Kodila-Tedika, 2021, 271) This opinion can mean that even in non-democratic countries, if their involvement in globalization increases, they can gradually become democratic countries.

But if we ask ourselves how globalization contributes to the consolidation or strengthening of democracy in some countries, or how it contributes to the strengthening of the readiness of other non-democratic countries to be democratic or capable of gradually becoming democratic, we can say that there are many ways and methods by which this is possible, the most important of which are:

1. That globalization, by its definition as a phenomenon that means increasing interconnection and entanglement between countries, societies and individuals around the world, due to technological progress in all fields of communication and transportation, such as the development of international transport operations by air, land and sea, and the spread of satellite channels, channels, the Internet and social networking sites, and the increasing reliance or connection of individuals in different societies on these modern communication technologies, that the possibilities of transferring political ideas from democratic countries to non-democratic countries without obstacles or barriers that prevent their flow, are greater possibilities, and that such ideas, such as ideas related to the culture of human rights, women and children, and the culture of individual freedom and the right of individuals to participate in decision-making, and to have fair elections capable of producing parliamentary councils that represent them and act on their behalf, as well as the right to form and establish modern political institutions, and the freedom to join them, such as parties, associations and unions, ideas more prevalent around the world. Thus, the form of transfer of those ideas from democratic societies and communities to others due to globalization is a pillar that drives the creation of factors and a climate that can stimulate democratic transformation in many countries of the world that are classified as non-democratic countries. Some researchers argue that there is a close link between modern communication technologies, especially social media, and democracy around the world. They suggest that as social media becomes more widespread and used by more people in different societies, these societies become more ready to adopt and demand democratic systems. (Jha & Kodila-Tedika, 2021, 271-272)

2. That globalization, as a process that includes economic, financial, trade and investment linkages and entanglements between different countries and societies, thus provides a climate that allows individuals to improve their economic and developmental reality, and provides a climate for governments, through which they can strengthen their performance in providing various development services in the fields of health, food, education, social care, infrastructure and public security, and the result of the above is that the middle class expands at the expense of both the lower poor class and the upper rich class, which is the class that many researchers believe to be one of the basic factors for leading democratic transformation in different societies. (Chun, Hasan, Rahman, & Ulubaşoğlu, 2016, 536)

Through globalization, countries and societies are presented with numerous economic opportunities, such as attracting investments, capital, and technologies. These can be used to create capitalist projects that provide governments with sources

of income that can be utilized to improve overall government performance in the development field. At the same time, they provide individuals with employment opportunities that enhance their economic and social realities. In order to benefit from free trade and the linkages and interdependence between countries economically and financially, governments and societies resort to developing their institutions and structures. This development occurs not only at the level of operations but also at the level of organized patterns of behavior and operations to ensure the ability to compete economically, commercially, and financially globally. (International Monetary Fund, 2008)

To illustrate this, let us assume that some countries have built economic institutions and production factories. To ensure that they benefit from the opportunities of globalization, they do not merely update the technology operating those institutions and factories. Instead, they also update the laws governing the work of those establishments and encourage social adaptation to keep pace with economic development. (Gilpin, 1987, 66-67). This means that governments, in order to ensure the efficiency and competitiveness of their institutions to benefit from the opportunities offered by globalization, need not only technology but also to combat any behaviors and laws that limit the ability of those institutions and structures to compete. This includes combating nepotism and favoritism as a mechanism for employment in those establishments and structures, or employment on the basis of tribal, sectarian, or regional affiliation, in favor of establishing the rule of law and appointment on the basis of competence.

Such modernization processes dismantle, on the ground, what is known as the mechanisms of automatic linkage between individuals. These mechanisms are based on ethnic, religious, or sectarian affiliation. Instead, they promote the gradual establishment of mechanisms of organic linkage through division of labor and job specialization (Abdulhay, 2011, 13). This occurs through parties, unions, and associations. When this change takes place, the opportunity to establish democracy in the societies and countries that have witnessed these changes is greater.

The Second Trend: Globalization Has a Negative Impact on Democracy:

This trend holds that globalization has a negative impact on democracy and that it is not true in any way that globalization has a positive impact on democracy. But if we ask ourselves how globalization negatively affects democracy, we can say that there are many ways and methods, including:

1. That globalization, because it contributes to the freedom of movement of information and data, and also provides an opportunity for many parties to express their opinions, positions, and share them across borders, globalization has thus contributed to the creation of a phenomenon that has begun to expand its scope to include the world, and this phenomenon is: the phenomenon of information and data warfare, which is employed by parties from governments, countries, and companies to influence the political attitudes of individuals. The study presented this phenomenon as an example during its discussion of the literature that dealt with the relationship between globalization and democracy, namely, the phenomenon of interference by some governments and companies in the parliamentary or presidential elections held by other countries. This is done by these parties exploiting globalization as a mechanism that allows them to cross the borders of the nation-state to wage wars of disinformation, spread propaganda and data, especially on social networking sites, to influence the electoral attitudes of the individual in the targeted state, and with the aim of urging the individual to elect a particular presidential candidate or party instead of another. (Basu, 2024)

On the other hand, some researchers believe that globalization contributes to undermining democracy in other ways. Because globalization includes increasing linkages between national institutions within different countries and international organizations of all kinds and with different tasks and fields of work, this linkage contributes on the ground to the influence of international organizations on the decisions of the state and its national institutions, and even on its internal laws. Here, the question arises: how can globalization contribute to the spread or consolidation of democracy, as long as peoples are unable to choose or elect those who run international organizations that try to influence different countries and governments and interfere in their laws and public policies that ultimately affect the citizens of those countries, whether positively or negatively? (O'Neill, 2009, 279-300)

2. That globalization, with what it includes of dense economic linkage and entanglement between countries and societies, which can be expressed in direct capital investment flows and portfolio investment flows, as well as free trade,

debts, and other economic operations, is a phenomenon that, although it allows some countries to benefit from the opportunities that arise from operations of mutual economic linkage and dependence, globalization also, in view of the foregoing, contributes to the creation of global inequality between countries and within countries.

Inequality between countries results primarily from the fact that globalization includes mechanisms that allow some countries and some multinational companies to exploit other countries, and from the availability of unequal relations between countries economically, in providing an opportunity for countries that have important resources to dominate other countries (O'Neill, 2009, 304), or in the expression of the dependency school, unequal relations between countries at the economic level allow development in center countries and create underdevelopment in peripheral countries, since development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin.

Therefore, because globalization may allow some countries and multinational companies to exploit other countries, and because unequal exchange relations result in underdevelopment in peripheral countries compared to development in developed countries, the result of this matter is that peripheral countries are not allowed to create factors of democratic transformation.

In the same context, O'Neill believes that globalization not only threatens peripheral countries in the previous way, but also threatens center countries as well. Globalization, with what it includes of the freedom of movement of capital, technology, and production processes to low-labor-cost countries instead of remaining in developed countries, is something that has become fraught with threats to the industrial labor market in center countries or developed countries, and has also become a factor that contributes to threatening and undermining employment in developed countries (O'Neill, 2009, 304). Thus, globalization creates inequality within countries - even developed ones - which has now given far-right parties in developed countries greater opportunities to control the rule of those countries, although many of these far-right parties have populist programs and tendencies, and the most dangerous thing is that they have authoritarian programs and tendencies, under which democracy can be undermined Western (Milner, 2021, 1097).

After reviewing the theoretical trends examining the impact of globalization on democracy, the study asks: Which trend is more accurate than the other? Are there quantitative indicators that clarify the trajectory of the relationship between the two phenomena over long periods of time at the global level, to resolve the debate to some extent between the two trends?

In response to the previous question, the study believes that the first trend, which sees that globalization has a positive impact on democracy, is more valid than the second trend, which sees the opposite. This does not mean in any way that the assumptions of the second trend are incorrect, but on the contrary, we see them as well. However, from a judgment on the overall direction of the relationship between the two phenomena, namely globalization on the one hand and democracy on the other, the study believes that the first trend is more sound in its assumptions and theoretical vision than the second.

By examining the KOF Globalization Index to assess the historical trajectory of this phenomenon in comparison to the historical trajectory of the spread of democracy globally, it becomes evident, as illustrated in the following figure, that as globalization rates increase worldwide, there is a concomitant increase in the proportion and number of democratic countries globally, and a concomitant decrease in the proportion and number of authoritarian and non-democratic countries globally.

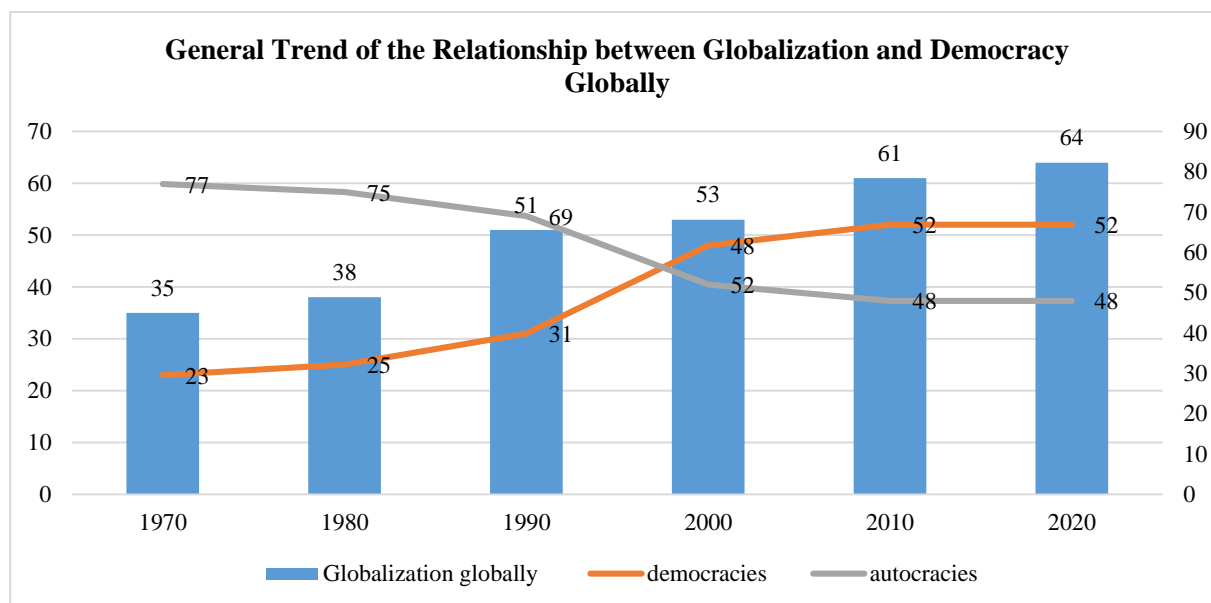


Figure (1): General Trend of the Relationship between Globalization and Democracy Globally, 1970-2020:

Figure prepared by the researcher based on data from the KOF Globalisation Index (1970–2020) and Our World in Data (1970–2020).

On the nature of the statistical correlation between the variables of globalization, democracy, and autocracy, the study reveals two highly significant observations:

- The relationship between globalization and democracy is positive and linear. In other words, as globalization rates increase globally, the spread of democracy also increases globally. Conversely, the relationship between globalization and autocracy is negative and inverse. As globalization rates increase globally, the number of autocratic or non-democratic regimes decreases.
- Equally important is the strength of the statistical correlation between the variables of globalization and democracy, on the one hand, and globalization and autocracy, on the other. The Pearson correlation coefficient between globalization and democracy is a strong positive 0.93463, while the Pearson correlation coefficient between globalization and autocracy is a strong negative -0.93463.

Table (4): Statistical Relationship between the Variable of Globalization and the Variables of Democracy and Autocracy:

Variable	Direction of Relationship	Type of Relationship	Pearson Correlation Coefficient
Globalization and Democracy	Positive	Direct	+0.93463
Globalization and Autocracy	Negative	Inverse	-0.93463

Table prepared by the researcher based on the values of Figure 1.

5.2 The impacts of globalization's impact on democratic reality in Jordan and Saudi Arabia:

Having discussed the theoretical and statistical relationships between globalization and democracy at the global level, and having statistically supported the view that globalization has a positive impact on democracy, meaning that globalization contributes to the spread of democracy and the transformation of non-democratic countries into democratic countries, this section will examine the impact of globalization on democracy in the two case studies: Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Globalization and Democracy in Jordan:

By examining the quantitative data related to Jordan's rates on the KOF Globalization Index on the one hand, and its rates on the Democracy Index on the other hand, we find, as is evident from Figure 2, that Jordan is classified as a highly globalized country, but it is still classified as a non-democratic country. However, it is clear from examining the impact of globalization on Jordan over a sufficient period of time that there is a positive relationship between the two variables, such that the higher Jordan's rates on the Globalization Index, the better its rates on the Democracy Index, and the lower its rates on globalization, the lower its rates on democracy.

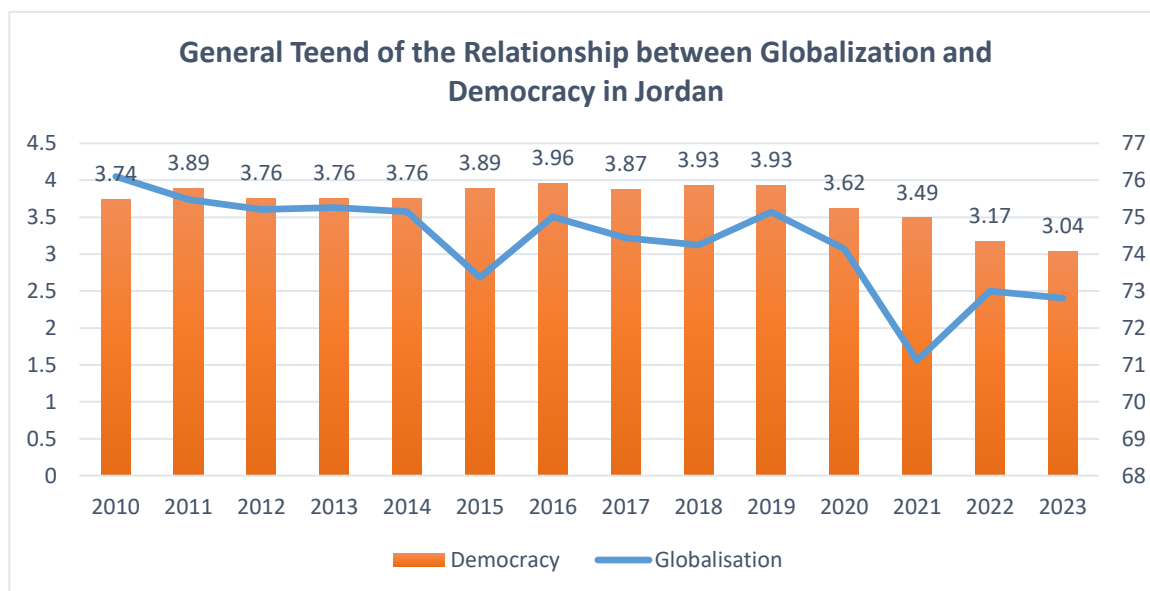


Figure (2): General Trend of the Relationship between Globalization and Democracy in Jordan, 2010-2023:

Figure prepared by the researcher based on data from the KOF Globalisation Index (1970–2020) and the Democracy Index (1970–2020).

An examination of the statistical relationship between the variables in Jordan reveals, as shown in the table below, that the relationship is positive and linear. However, the impact of globalization on democracy in Jordan is not a strong one, but rather a moderately strong one. The Pearson correlation coefficient between the variables in Jordan stands at **0.6147**.

Table (5): Statistical Relationship between Globalization and Democracy in Jordan

Variable	Direction of Relationship	Type of Relationship	Pearson Correlation Coefficient
Globalization and Democracy	Positive	Direct	+0.6147

Table prepared by the researcher based on the values of Figure 2.

Globalization and Democracy in Saudi Arabia

Similar to Jordan, Saudi Arabia is classified as a highly globalized country based on its globalization index scores. However, Saudi Arabia is still classified as a non-democratic country according to the democracy index. Despite its non-democratic status, Figure 3 reveals that globalization has a positive impact on Saudi Arabia's democracy scores. As Saudi Arabia's globalization rates increase, its democracy scores also improve somewhat, and vice versa.

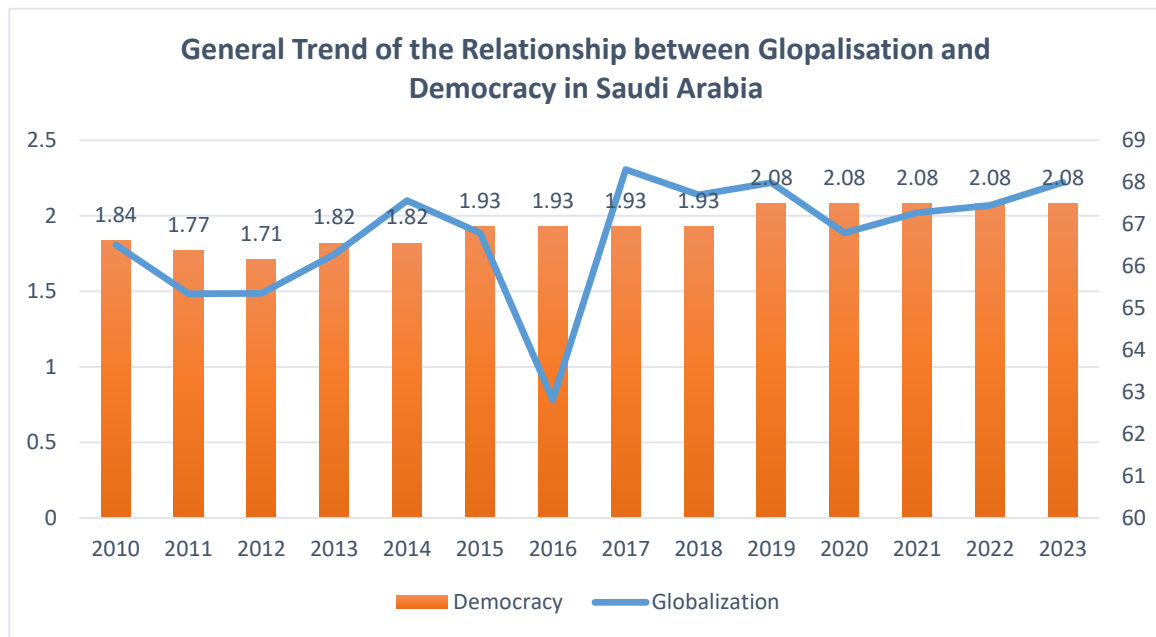


Figure (3): General Trend of the Relationship between Globalization and Democracy in Saudi Arabia, 2010-2023

Figure prepared by the researcher based on data from the KOF Globalisation Index (1970–2020) and the Democracy Index (1970–2020).

An examination of the statistical relationship between the variables in Saudi Arabia reveals that the relationship is positive and linear. However, the impact of globalization on democracy in Saudi Arabia is a weak one. The Pearson correlation coefficient between the variables in the Saudi case is 0.4413.

Table (6): Statistical Relationship between Globalization and Democracy in Saudi Arabia

Variable	Direction of Relationship	Type of Relationship	Pearson Correlation Coefficient
Globalization and Democracy	Positive	Direct	+0.4413

Table prepared by the researcher based on the values of Figure 3.

5.3 Comparative Analysis of Jordan and Saudi Arabia:

The study's examination of the impact of globalization on democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia has revealed several key findings. Firstly, both countries can be classified as highly globalized – but not among the very highly globalized countries – for several years. Nevertheless, both countries are classified as non-democratic according to the democracy index. Additionally, the study has found, both quantitatively and statistically, that globalization has a positive impact on democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Despite their non-democratic classification, globalization has contributed to an increase in the democracy scores of both countries. This suggests, at least theoretically, that future growth in the globalization scores of both countries will lead to growth in their democracy scores.

However, a crucial question arises: why is the impact of globalization on the overall trajectory or direction of democracy in Saudi Arabia weaker compared to the moderate impact observed in Jordan?

To address this question, the study posits that the difference in the impact of globalization on democracy in the two case studies, in terms of its proportion and size, is related to the difference in the response of the political systems in each case study to the outcomes of globalization that nourish the general readiness for democracy and the demand for it. In other words, the difference in the response of the two systems to the ways in which globalization affects democracy, as discussed earlier in Part Two of this study.

On the one hand, the response of the Saudi political system to the ways in which globalization affects democracy has been slow and, at times, negative. This is evident, for example, in Saudi Arabia's limited progress since 2015 in granting women the right to political participation in municipal elections and to run for local council elections. The Saudi regime has not continued to make further political reforms, such as announcing the formation of a parliament in the country in which the people can elect their representatives, or at least, announcing a study of such a procedure, or announcing a readiness to grant the people the right to elect a number of members of the Shura Council, whose appointment is solely decided by the King. Moreover, Saudi Arabia continues to ban the formation of political parties.

In the same vein, Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030, which researchers considered a potential driver of democratic transformation in the country in the future, lacked any real political reforms. Vision 2030 focused largely on the axis of economic and social reform. It did not address the axis of political reforms that are possible or desired in Saudi Arabia (Al-Banna, 2023).

On the other hand, while globalization has led to the emergence of a phenomenon that can be described as "digital democracy," that is, globalization has given individuals the opportunity to express their opinions on public affairs and engage in political debate through the Internet and social media, thus increasing the opportunity for individuals to become politically empowered and prepared for democratic transformation, this phenomenon is now facing what can be described as "digital restrictions." In the Saudi case, this is evident in measures that limit the ability of Internet users in general and social media users in particular to freely discuss public affairs, as their speech is tracked digitally with the aim of containing and constricting it using tools and methods such as electronic armies (Lamensch, 2022).

In contrast, the response of the Jordanian political system to the ways in which globalization affects democracy is more flexible compared to the Saudi response. The Jordanian political system has a parliament that represents the will of the people, elections are held regularly, and there is partisan and trade union interaction in the Jordanian political arena. In addition, the Jordanian political system has put forward more than one initiative for political reform, including, for example, the establishment of a royal committee in 2021 to modernize the political system, which proposed numerous proposals to empower parties, youth, and women, and to develop overall government performance. It also made proposals for constitutional amendments related to the electoral and party laws and the mechanisms of parliamentary work.

However, despite the fact that the political system's response is more flexible than the Saudi system's response to the outcomes of globalization and the ways in which it affects democracy, the Jordanian political system's response is not sufficient. Among the most prominent reasons for this are the concerns and fears among the Jordanian elite about political reform as a process that could end up reducing their privileges, the political system's failure to advance political reform except after a crisis occurs, and the lack of effective parties on the ground to lead the reform process towards democratization, due to insufficient popular readiness to engage in parties (Al-Mashqaba, 2022, 50). This can be partially attributed to Jordan's need for economic reform and modernization, which the study has previously indicated is an intermediate variable between globalization and democracy. Globalization affects democracy positively or negatively, depending on the nature of its impact primarily on the economic reality of individuals and societies. If globalization includes what can promote the modernization of the economic reality of individuals and societies, they will be more prepared for

democracy and demand it, and vice versa.

Economic modernization, as the study has previously indicated, involves a gradual and continuous change in the nature of the institutions and structures to which individuals belong, so that they begin to seek out non-traditional institutions such as parties, associations, and unions to join instead of traditional institutions such as tribes and clans, and to be, for them, their tool for expressing aspirations and hopes, and a tool for preserving their gains.

6 Conclusion:

This study examined the topic of "*Dynamics of Globalization's Impact on Democratic Reality: A Study of the Jordanian and Saudi Cases*" based on a general and main question: What are the dynamics of globalization's impact on the democratic reality in Jordan and Saudi Arabia? The study hypothesized the following answer to this question: that there is a positive correlation between globalization and democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, such that the more Jordan and Saudi Arabia's scores on the globalization scale increase, the more this is accompanied by a positive improvement in the scores of Both parties on the democracy scale.

Through a general discussion of the concepts of globalization and democracy and how to measure them quantitatively, as well as research into the ways in which globalization affects democracy, whether negatively or positively, the study was able to answer its questions, achieve its general objectives, and prove the validity of its hypothesis, as the study concluded that globalization positively affects the levels of democracy in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia, because globalization includes many methods that push towards democracy and political empowerment. The most important of these methods and mechanisms are:

1. Globalization creates spaces that allow individuals to engage freely in political discussions.
2. Globalization creates spaces in which political ideas related to democracy, human rights culture, parties, and political participation flow.
3. Globalization contributes to creating greater opportunities for economic modernization in different societies. When economic modernization processes occur in one society or another, this paves the way for political modernization processes.

However, the study also found that, statistically speaking, there are two very important issues:

1. The impact of globalization on democracy levels in Jordan and Saudi Arabia is not statistically considered a strong impact. In this, the two case studies deviate from what is prevalent globally, as the study found that the impact of globalization on democracy globally is a very strong impact, as the value of Pearson's correlation coefficient between the two variables is 0.93463 positive.
2. There is a variation in the proportion of the impact of globalization on democracy in the two case studies. The proportion of the impact of globalization on democracy in Jordan was moderate, as the value of Pearson's correlation coefficient between the two variables was 0.6147 positive, while the value of the correlation coefficient between the variables in the Saudi case was weak, at 0.4413 positive.

7 Results and Discussions:

7.1 Findings:

The observed variation, namely the weaker impact of globalization on democracy in the two case studies compared to global trends, as well as the differing levels of globalization's impact between Jordan and Saudi Arabia, can be attributed to the nature of the political systems' responses to globalization and its effects on democracy. According to the study:

1. Saudi political system's response to globalization has been slow and, at times, negative.
2. Although the Jordanian political system's response to globalization has been more flexible compared to Saudi Arabia's, it remains insufficient in driving democracy.

Based on the foregoing, the study reached a number of conclusions, the most important of which are:

1. The slow and negative response to the outcomes of globalization and to the ways in which it strengthens demands for democracy will remain one of the most important factors hindering the opportunities for democratic transformation in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

2. The slow and negative response to the globalization outcomes that strengthen demands for democracy may lead to future general political instability in both Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

7.2 Recommendations:

1. Saudi Arabia should study the possibilities of community participation in decision-making processes and allow the people the possibility of political participation, whether by Saudi Arabia announcing its study of establishing a parliament that represents the will of the people, or by allowing the people to elect a certain number of members of the Shura Council. In addition, Saudi Arabia needs to reduce its control over social media and allow freedom of political discussion.

2. Jordan needs to keep exploring ways to strengthen political parties and enhance their efficacy. To proactively safeguard its overall political stability and prevent crises, Jordan should initiate reforms or gradual steps towards them.

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