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Constructing Global Womanhood: Women's International Non-Governmental Organizations,
Women's Ministries, and Women's Empowerment

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Rachael Joyce Russell

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Evan Schofer, Chair
Professor David John Frank
Professor Ann Hironaka
Associate Professor Catherine Bolzendahl

2015

DEDICATION

To

my mother

Sally Joyce Russell

and to

my grandmother

Marilyn Joyce Holman, 1929-2011

in recognition of their support
of my education
and personal empowerment

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Constructing Global Womanhood: Women's International Non-Governmental Organizations,
Women's Ministries, and Women's Empowerment

By

Rachael Joyce Russell

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Evan Schofer, Chair

Recent history has seen a large degree of worldwide activity surrounding the category of women and women's incorporation into social institutions, such as education and government. International organizing around the category of women continues to flourish in the form of women's international non-governmental organizations (WINGOs). Alongside this increasing international civil society activity, the period since 1960 has seen increasing foci on gender equality and empowerment as ideological goals informing mechanisms of national development around the world.

In this dissertation, I bring together findings from research in social movements, political sociology, international relations, and cultural sociology in arguing a neo-institutional approach to the following questions: how has the structure and discourse of women's global civil society evolved over time, what is the effect of women's global civil society on the structural expansion of governments to include women globally, and what influence do women's global civil society

and structural expansion in government have on women's institutional power outcomes cross-nationally? Based on world society theory, I argue that world society is a locus of messages regarding women which are diffused to nation-states through linkages to international organizations. Furthermore, both women's empowerment and national institutional incorporation are cultural constructions from world culture that diffuse to nation-states through international organizations and have increasingly come to define legitimacy of nation-states, leading to expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Chapter 1 traces WINGO structure and discourse across time as demonstrated in analyses on increases in WINGO foundation over the period since 1888, increases in national WINGO memberships since 1965, and an exploratory factor analysis of sixteen non-mutually exclusive WINGO categories (UIA 1960-2014). Chapter 2 analyzes expansion in state structure towards women, supporting a world society argument through empirical tests employing event history regression methods to explain rate of women's ministry establishment as a function of linkage to WINGOs and United Nations-designated Least Developed Country status. Finally, Chapter 3 analyzes the effects of world society and national government structural expansion to include women on women's institutional power outcomes cross-nationally since 1960, considering women's labor force participation, women's tertiary education enrollment, and women's parliamentary representation.

INTRODUCTION

The integration of women into society has been one of the most important social changes of recent human history. In 1880, at the start of the present analysis, women were silenced, with few options beyond the confines of marriage (to a man) and housework. Social norms and institutions enforced traditional gender roles whereby women remained in the private sphere raising children, cooking, cleaning, and making sure their husbands had everything they needed to continue work in the public sphere. Over 100 years later, there has been a massive shift worldwide in the understanding and nature of women's social roles and activities.

The expansion of women's roles into the public sphere was established first in Western nations, with the United States and Great Britain leading the charge. Within these contexts in the late 1800's, this expansion and integration predominantly benefitted middle- and upper middle-class white women. The focus was on giving women more of a voice and greater decision-making authority, specifically in terms of voting, property rights, and paid work in the public sphere.

In the last century, the expansion of women's roles in the public sphere has continued with women becoming parliamentarians, going to college, joining the labor force, and integrating into previously male-dominated professions. Alongside expansion into multiple areas of society, the integration of women from myriad class, racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds into the public social sphere has also massively increased worldwide. Women around the world have gained greater affordances, rights, and opportunities outside of traditional gender role expectations.

This social change with respect to women cannot be overstated, and will be the focus of the present research. However, an important point to keep in mind is that in many parts of the world, even in Western nations, women continue to experience discrimination, violence, and oppression daily. Focusing on the integration and expansion of women into society and social institutions does not negate these experiences and realities. Women continue to experience horrific events such as rape, beatings, stoning, acid attacks, female genital mutilation, and sex slavery around the world. In many contexts, women are still expected to embody traditional gender roles in the household. Pay discrimination and workplace sexual harassment are alive and well in the United States, among other nations. While these outcomes are important, they are the focus of a separate research agenda.

In the present research, I seek to account for the expansion in a global conceptualization of women over time and how this global institutionalization accounts for integration of women into societies worldwide. In answering this question, I consider multiple explanations and empirics that have been brought to bear on this issue in past research. I center my main argument in the world society perspective, first developed by John Meyer, focusing on the effects of change at the global level on change at the national level in a top-down conceptualization and design.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BACKGROUND

Women's equality, institutions, and empowerment have been studied through a myriad of disciplinary and cross-disciplinary frameworks, in various empirical contexts, utilizing methodologies from across the qualitative-quantitative spectrum (Alexander 2007; Alexander and Welzel 2007; Datta 2003; Hainard and Verschuur 2001; Narayan 2005). The last two decades have particularly seen a surge of social scientific interest in the meaning of women's

empowerment in modern society. Studies have focused on individual- and country-level analyses of women's political, occupational, educational and household decision-making outcomes, identifying these loci as places where women may be "empowered" (Alexander 2007; Bradley 2000; Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Jacobs 1996; Kolodny 2000; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Ramirez 1981; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997). Some researchers suggest that women who have reached said outcomes are empowered by definition (Alexander 2007; Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002); others suggest the opposite, that despite reaching said outcomes, women are still not empowered (Burnet 2008, 2011; Swiss 2009).

Recent literature from a sociological neo-institutionalist perspective takes a different approach to women's empowerment, suggesting global cultural factors matter more than development and democracy within nation-states for creating national institutional structures devoted to women (Berkovitch 1999; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Wotipka and Ramirez 2003, 2008a, 2008b). From this perspective, due to the taken-for-granted nature of isomorphic nation-state adoption of structures devoted to women, outcomes for women will likely be decoupled from institutional logics and intentions, a phenomenon documented most clearly in nation-states with lower levels of democracy and development (Swiss 2009).

Utilizing a sociological neo-institutionalist argument, the present research builds on previous research 1) by considering macro-level structure as a potential factor leading to women's outcomes, 2) by assuming empowerment as a social construction rather than an interest-based imperative or an assumed pre-existing human capacity, and 3) by incorporating different institutional indicators of women's incorporation within the same research design across a large expanse of time. I seek to answer two questions: First, how has women's global

civil society evolved over time? And second, what is the effect of women's global civil society on women's institutional incorporation globally?

In order to answer these questions, I employ a quantitative research design over a large time span (1888 to 2010) in order to attain a general sense of structural and discursive changes over time within international women's organizations. From there, I conduct time series and event history analyses to observe the effects of global structural and normative shifts within world society, particularly the international women's movement and international governmental norms, on institutional outcomes for women.

The explanatory quantitative analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 observes the time period from 1960 to 2010. The beginning of this period places us right before a litany of institutional shifts towards greater inclusion of women. Historically, this era is after the end of World War II in about 1945, the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1944, and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1948), a prime moment to observe world society influence. World society scholars point to the time since the end of World War II as a time of significant world-institutional development, with nation-states seeing a greater impact from world-institutional forces as a result (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez 1997). Additionally, I seek to avoid the turbulent 1950s—a time of economic prosperity in places such as the United States and France, but also a time of war, as Western visions of capitalism and democracy came up against non-Western visions of communism and nuclear proliferation. Finally, many cross-national panel studies begin in 1960 because that is when international bodies established after World War II began making key variables available.

World Society

Based in the work of John W. Meyer and colleagues at Stanford University, world society scholars point to, a) the expansion of world-level organization around world cultural models and, b) the global diffusion of these models to nation-states, as key factors catalyzing global change (Schofer, Hironaka, Frank, and Longhofer 2012). Historically based in ideologies of Christendom, the Enlightenment, and Western colonial domination, world cultural models—constituted of an ideological and/or knowledge component and a structural “how-to” component—have not only become more prolific in the period since World War II, but have also become gradually more influential on nation-states, increasingly diffused through international organizations.

World cultural models are based in, and/or assume, modern notions of personhood—where individuals, organizations, and nation-states are all potential agents, replete with capacities of individualized, universalized and rationalized “actorhood.” Consistent with Foucault (1978; 2002[1966]) and others in cultural sociology, world society scholars see world cultural models, and the assumptions behind them, as socially constructed (Dobbin 1994; Meyer and Jepperson 2000). Myriad sociological evidence in the fields of organizations and social psychology supports the notion of socially constructed modern actorhood by pointing to the non-rationality, or bounded rationality, of individuals and organizations (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Dobbin 1994; Kahneman 2003; Kahneman and Tversky 1979). I will turn to these ideas again below in describing the social construction of women as empowered actors, or women’s empowerment.

The main goal of these world cultural models is to define ideas and structures that constitute an ideal nation-state model (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez 1997). For example, in

contemporary world society, political models dictating norms and structures embodying *democracy* should be adopted by nation-states—limiting discrimination and encouraging integrative decision-making in national political processes (1997). The modern principle of “liberating” the decision-making ability of some “actor” is also seen in contemporary economic models pushed at the world level, which encourage countries to adopt neo-liberal, or free-market capitalist, structures in order to gain better outcomes for their nation-state. Similar ideas are seen in the adoption of environmental and health structures and policies (Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000; Inoue and Drori 2006). Scholars illustrating worse outcomes for nation-states based on neo-liberal policy adoption offer evidence for the socially constructed nature, and taken-for-granted adoption, of these policies (Arnove 2005; Burnet 2008; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Reimers 1991; Swiss 2012; Viterna, Fallon, and Beckfield 2008). However, many of these scholars make arguments based in realist assumptions regarding national politics, economics and power, while failing to understand global cultural normative pressures, especially as carried to nation-states through international organizations.

World Society and International Organizations

Key carriers of world culture models and institutions to nation-states are international organizations. These bodies provide personnel, resources, and knowledge to mobilize world culture models. Thus, world society scholars argue that nation-states with greater linkages to international organizations will see normative isomorphism to global standards in their government structures, policies and public-access institutions, although these changes may not always or immediately lead to better government practices or citizen outcomes (Frank 1997; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Paxton, Hughes, and Green

2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Schofer and Meyer 2005; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008a, 2008b).

International organizations come in two basic varieties: governmental and non-governmental. First, international governmental organizations (IGOs) are composed of member nation-state governments. IGOs rely on expertise-based authority more than enforcement-based power, as political sovereignty—or autonomous decision making capacity—is still placed in nation-state governments, not in IGOs. IGOs, or the IGO infrastructure, embody one conceptualization of global governance, an idea sociological neo-institutionalists typically refer to as the *world polity* (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997). Examples include the UN and the International Monetary Fund.

International governmental organizations typically have a set of general goals addressing social issues related to nation-state structuring and helping certain agents within nation-states. As of Spring 2012, UN general goals include Peace and Security, Development, Human Rights, Humanitarian Affairs, and International Law, goals that have not changed during the time I have worked on this project.¹ Specific to women's international governmental organizations, as of Spring 2012 the recently founded UN Women (established July 2010), declares the following focus areas: violence against women, peace and security, leadership and participation, economic empowerment, national planning and budgeting, human rights, and millennium development goals.² Bureaucracy is built underneath each focus area within an international governmental organization.

Second, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) represent a broad range of fields and have chapters in member nation-states, but, unlike international governmental

¹ See <http://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/index.html>.

² See <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do>.

organizations, members of INGO chapters are typically citizens or individuals outside of the government. Overall, INGOs and INGO national memberships have greatly expanded over the last century, particularly in the post-World War II period (Boli and Thomas 1999). Sociological neo-institutionalists in the recent period have almost exclusively utilized INGOs to instantiate the concept of global civil society particularly as a mechanism in the global institutionalization process to show increasing structuration of the world polity over time (Boli and Thomas 1999; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000; Schofer 2003; Tsutsui 2004; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004). INGOs are either international in office location(s) (e.g. Amnesty International) *or* in scope of goals and goal locations (e.g. MADRE).³ Non-governmental in membership, INGOs allocate resources, human capital and ability to pressure governments and other nation-state bodies to endorse the INGO's message.

International non-governmental organizations typically have a narrower focus than international governmental organizations—although there are exceptions—making them fall easily into specific categorical fields. Previous world society scholars consider a broad range of INGO fields, from the environment (Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000) to human rights (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004) to health (Inoue and Drori 2006). Some have even considered women's INGOs, or WINGOs, as a causal mechanism in regards to various outcomes, with mixed results (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009, 2012; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008a, 2008b).

Other mechanisms for IGO and INGO message diffusion, treaties and global conferences, both specific and non-specific to women, have been shown to be central to diffusion and change in global discourse related to women (Berkovitch 1999; Cole N.d., 2013; Englehart and Miller 2014; Paxton, Hughes, Green 2006; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008a, 2008b). Conferences have

³ See <http://www.amnesty.org/> and <http://www.madre.org/>.

historically been organized by international governmental organizations. Increasingly over time, they incorporate INGOs too.

According to sociological neo-institutionalists, both the structure and discourse of international organizations are constructed specific to global cultural models rooted in Western cultural interpretations and are isomorphically adopted by international organizations in a taken-for-granted manner (Berkovitch 1999; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000; Inoue and Drori 2006). Western colonialism is a historically dominating force in shaping the ideology and practice of world society (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997; Schofer, Hironaka, Frank, and Longhofer 2012). With respect to women, much of the organizing around women began in the United States and Britain, where upper middle class white women sought voting and property rights (Berkovitch 1999). Although female suffrage was first won in New Zealand and Australia, American and European nation-states soon followed suit. Shortly after voting and property rights were won in the United States and Britain, nation-states around the world began adopting policies redefining women's citizenship as inclusive of voting rights (Berkovitch 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, Shanahan 1997; Ramirez and Weiss 1979).

World Society and National Organizations

National organizations, according to world society scholars, are culturally influenced by international organizations in world society. National organizations can also be either governmental or non-governmental. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in contrast to INGOs, only have an office in one nation-state and are focused on culturally and socially constructed social problems directly affecting citizens of the domesticity where the NGO is

located, and thus are considered to exist at the national level. Examples include the National Organization of Women in the United States and the National Women's Justice Coalition in Australia.

For the purposes of the present research design, I am introducing a fourth type of organizational structure, governmental organizations. Under norms of democracy, governments are expanding in scope to include women as a primary concern of the government. As discourse regarding how to incorporate women changed, the very definition of a nation-state government changed with it. Now entire government ministries devoted to "women's issues" are expected, even normative. Government organizations are departments or ministries created by governments within a given nation-state. These entities are more than just committees, offices, and/or programs—they represent a full bureaucratic structure in the executive branch of government. According to world society theory, nation-states will institute government organizations related to world society cultural proscriptions. In the present research, I consider women's ministries as an instance of a government organization.

World Society and Women's Incorporation

As Berkovitch points out, world society scholars (Boli 1987; Meyer 1987; Ramirez 1981; Ramirez and Weiss 1979) "see the process of the extension of citizenship status to women as part of a general process of incorporating previously peripheral groups" (Berkovitch 1999:11). In seeking legitimacy as a nation-state (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez 1997), governments create structures dictated by norms of how a nation-state is supposed to look. In the case of female suffrage, norms of political democracy and modern personhood dictate that a nation-state must allow all individuals within a polity to vote and have access to political office. Similarly for

female employment, norms of neo-liberal capitalism dictate educational, economic and labor market equality between men and women, and, coupled with norms of democracy, require limiting discrimination and harassment in the workplace. Nation-states adopt ideologies and structures exemplifying these norms in a taken-for-granted way, so that nation-states may gain normative acceptance in world society, meaning the ideologies and structures are socially constructed and not necessarily tailored for the empirical situation of a given national context.

World society scholars see women's incorporation as a socially constructed norm promulgated at the global level through international organizations that pressure nation-states to adopt policies regarding women's inclusion and creating access for women to social structures (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez 2006; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008a, 2008b). However, just because women's incorporation policies are adopted—granting certain accesses—it is neither necessarily the case that women's incorporation rights are actually being observed in practice (Swiss 2009), nor does it mean women's issues and concerns within a nation-state society are in reality being addressed (Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006).

At the turn of the twentieth century, women's political and economic incorporation were the main foci of organizational goals and discourse. Berkovitch (1999) points to women's international organizations, along with the International Labor Organization and the UN, as central to creating a structure for understanding gender equality, rights and incorporation. As norms of female citizenship were re-defined by the world polity in the middle of the twentieth century, global discourses regarding women's incorporation expanded, creating a foundation for later discourses and policy-making around women's rights and transmitting both discourse and structure to nation-states. In the present research, I conduct a categorical analysis of women's

INGOs in order to explore WINGO discourse since 1888. Chapter 1 presents three ideological bases of women's empowerment found among WINGOs.

World Society and Women's Empowerment

The structures that make up world society are linked through Western cultural interpretations of modern society centered on notions of modern individualized actorhood. It is taken for granted in world society that individuals, organizations and governments are imbued with universality, individuality, and, predominantly, rational actorhood focused on pursuing interests most efficiently. Even in social science, interest-based theories typically define agency along these lines (i.e. as a rational actor pursuing his/her/their interests and goals). As such, scholars within interest-based paradigms tend to research "actors," as if the locus of all rationality and modern individualism was already embedded in them. However, many sociologists point to the non-rationality, or bounded rationality, of individuals, organizations, and governments (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Kahneman 2003; Kahneman and Tversky 1979).

Thus, instead of the realist vision of rational agentic actorhood, I utilize Meyer and Jepperson's definition, which gives greater emphasis to the socially constructed nature of agency and actorhood (2000). They define agency as "legitimated representation of some legitimated principal, which may be an individual, an actual or potential organization, a nation-state, or abstract principles (like those of law or science, or more prosaically, high culture or even etiquette)" (2000:101). Meyer and Jepperson point out that Western notions of agency are based in Christendom—with agency historically first being placed in natural forces or god(s), then in

the church, then in church and state, then in individuals. Under this conceptualization, agency is a cultural construction perpetuated by the modern cultural system in world society.

Woman-to-Human Transition

In the world society cultural system, granting of personhood and humanity is historically and intrinsically linked with granting of modern actorhood and agency. For an individual or group to be able to act or be an agent, they must first be recognized as capable of acting and/or deserving of acting, and they must be granted equal access to social institutions. Only then may the individual or group be able to act on behalf of themselves or others.

Berkovitch starts the introduction to her book by telling a story about the “person cases” in Britain beginning in 1867 (1999:1). In 1929, the court decided that women would be included in the category of person. By labeling women as persons, women were now recognized as being capable of acting. However, the term offered limited access and affordances—when “women decided to “test” these new laws...they found that they bore the burden of proof in the courtroom for demonstrating their inclusion in the category of persons” (1999:1).

The domestic and international women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s sought to change affordances and access available to women. Early personhood affordances were not enough since gender discrimination and inequality was evident in the court system, in the labor market, and in the household, among other institutions. Women were limited on how, where and when they could act and employ agency. Drawing from Berkovitch’s insights on international discourse, the women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s fought for an expansion of personhood incorporating into discourse the human category, which was argued should also be applied to women because the human rights regime offered access and affordances that women

were cut off from. Thus, global and national forces must offer accesses and affordances in an attempt to fight discrimination and other human rights violations.

Following world society scholars, the categorization of women as human and granting of human rights is a socially constructed cultural system spread at the global level by organizations and members of global world society. This means that nation-states influenced by world society will be more likely to adapt to international governmental norms surrounding human rights (e.g. more national human rights INGO memberships, more likely to ratify human rights treaties) and will thus be more likely to adopt human rights policies in a taken-for-granted manner (Beck, Drori, and Meyer 2012; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004), while not necessarily leading to better observance of human rights practices on the part of nation-state governments (Clark 2010; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005).

Empowerment

In the last two decades, notions of empowerment, centralizing the so-called modern actor, have spread across structures within world society, and were recently adopted within the social sciences by modernization scholars taking a realist approach to the study of empowerment (Alexander 2007; Alexander and Welzel 2007; Welzel and Inglehart 2008). Like agency, the use of the term empowerment in world society seeks to uplift decision-making authority of individuals, organizations and nation-states while down-playing the role of external authority, which was heavily emphasized in the human rights discourse.⁴ However, to think individuals, organizations, and nation-states across all social dimensions—economic, political, cultural—will all suddenly become empowered at the same time is fallacious. Notions of empowerment within

⁴ The empowerment discourse is inclusive of human rights discourses, meaning these two frames are not always mutually exclusive.

world society structures, and also as utilized by modernization scholars, take for granted that entities at all levels of society have capacities and authorities related to individualized, rational actorhood. Simply because an idea of empowerment is incorporated into global political ideology, mandate, and practice does not mean that economies, cultures and polities around the world are actually empowering their citizens, nor does it mean the citizens themselves are becoming empowered. As such, I argue empowerment is a social construction of modern actorhood, perpetuated at the global level, and adopted by organizations and nation-states in a taken-for-granted manner.

Thus, in line with the social construction assumption of world society theory and building on Berkovitch (1999), I treat women's empowerment as a world society discourse that puts pressure on nation-states to 1) create structures dedicated to women, and 2) create access to social institutions, such as education and politics. This demand side pressuring nation-states to conform is perpetuated by a supply side enabling nation-states to conform—specifically, the continuation of women's oppression, discrimination, and inequality worldwide and particularly in developing national contexts. Berkovitch (1999) contends that, since the turn of the twentieth century, women's organizations in world society have employed a discourse of gender equality. Organizational discourses among international organizations are one place to look when studying global cultural systems because they quintessentially embody how culture is constructed by persons and organizations at a global level. Based on world society theory, discourses at the global level penetrate into nation-states through global organizations, making organizational discourse a central locus of empirical inquiry. Because I assume the women's empowerment ideology and narrative is a cultural construction, variation in women's empowerment and

incorporation outcomes will be related to exposure to world society culture, especially systems with empowerment constructions.

Following Berkovitch (1999), Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan (1997), Ramirez and Wotipka (2001), and Paxton, Hughes and Green (2006), I utilize a global comparative, world society approach to studying women, women's empowerment, and women's incorporative outcomes. However, scholars working from other perspectives point to a myriad of other factors when explaining female empowerment and incorporation outcomes. I have attempted to include as many of these other factors as possible within the constraints of the present research design. In addition to world society factors, I consider economic, political, and cultural factors from modernization, religious traditionalism, and women's power perspectives.

OTHER PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND INCORPORATION

Modernization

In studying the development of modern societies, modernization scholars argue for a linear multi-stage, multi-field, and multi-level transition from traditional to modern society. Nation-states will naturally evolve through stages of modern development—from an agricultural-based society to an industrial society to a post-industrial/high-tech society. The changes will be seen across all fields/social systems—economy, politics, culture—and all levels of society—creating modern persons with modern values, modern organizations with modern bureaucracies, and modern governments with modern political structures.⁵

⁵ For more on gender egalitarian values, see Paxton and Kunovich 2003 and Inglehart and Baker 2000. The measures are not included here predominantly because of issues with validity. See Braun 2008 for a more extensive critique of the measures. Furthermore, more important than individual ideology to impeding women's incorporative outcomes within the present institutional framework are structures and belief systems that embody patriarchy and gender traditionalism. The most commonly used indicator of these concepts is religious traditionalism, as religious traditionalism usually perpetuates attitudes regarding male dominance in both the public and the private spheres.

Making traditional functionalist assumptions harkening to Durkheim (1982[1858-1917]), modernization scholars are biased in favor of the idea that changes towards “modernity” are made for the betterment of society. They argue that changes made within nation-states will be in line with changes towards a “modern” society in the external environment. Following a similar evolutionary path as European and Western nation-states, new and emerging nation-states will naturally evolve into modern societies. Forces of globalization will only quicken the transition, which will occur in the same way across each and every nation-state. Thus, women’s empowerment and incorporation are seen by modernization scholars as evolutionary stages that every nation-state transitioning to modernity will eventually achieve.

Capitalism and Modern Economic Actors

In terms of economic systems, modernization scholars see the transition to capitalism as the end point for modern societies. Early sociologists Durkheim (1933) and Weber (2001[1930]) pointed to capitalism, and the establishment of a division of labor and bureaucracy, as functional for modern societies. All of these scholars note that modern notions of individualism, universalism, and rationalism are fundamental to the capitalist system and to the creation of modern economic actors. The institution of modern capitalism not only creates modern persons with modern values, but also modern governments and modern organizations with modern values. Due to rational bureaucracies and a division of labor, modernization scholars assume capitalist systems will allow all individuals within a society to engage with the labor market and produce. Further, as an extension of Marx (1867), capitalism requires the incorporation of women into the paid labor force, because it is only upon incorporation that capitalism can exploit them. In line with modernization and development literatures (Inglehart and Norris 2003), I

consider economic development as a proxy for capitalism in the present research. Greater economic development should lead to greater empowerment and incorporation of women.

Democracy and Modern Citizens

For political systems, the transition to democracy is the end point for modern societies. In considering democracy within a modernization framework, Welzel and Inglehart argue that democracy goes beyond suffrage—or the right to vote—to include “civil and political freedoms that empower people to govern themselves” (2008:1). As modernization theory addresses all systems of society, the authors propose what they call the Human Empowerment Triad, arguing that a government/society offering 1) political democratic freedoms for citizens to build entitlements, 2) cultural self-expression values for citizens to build motivation, and 3) economic action resources for citizens to build capabilities, will empower its citizens and lead to effective democracy. According to this argument, greater democracy, inclusive of civil and political freedoms, should lead to greater empowerment and incorporation of women.

Religious Traditionalism

Arguments about religious traditionalism are similar to the modernization approach in logic, but seek to explore concepts and measures related to the persistence of traditional culture instead of the expansion of modern culture. Traditional religious forms typically perpetuate traditional gender roles both in ideology and practice. These would include religions that see it as a woman’s place to remain in the household, serving her husband and her family. These ideologies perpetuate traditional divisions of labor, keeping women in the private sphere of society. Thus, this approach posits that the continuance of traditional gender roles perpetuated in

traditional religious forms will hinder progress towards gender equality writ large (Alexander and Welzel 2011b; Casanova 2009; Chong 2006; Inglehart and Baker 2000).

Women's Power

This approach considers women's power and incorporation in some areas of society as influencing women's power and incorporation in other areas of society. Early work by Kanter (1977) considered small numbers of women in a group as merely representing "tokens" that then allowed the group to see themselves as diverse and inclusive of women while offering the token women very little power. Kanter went on to look into this notion of proportionality in groups and how it was important in regards to gender relations.

Building on Kanter's work, others such as Dahlerup (1988; 2006) hypothesized the need for a critical mass, defined as women's proportion being at least thirty per cent, before effective change with respect to women could be achieved. Furthermore, Bolzendahl and Brooks' research (2007) on women's political representation in capitalist democracies suggests that women's labor force participation goes hand-in-hand with women's political representation such that the proportion of women in the labor force predicts women's parliamentary representation. Overall, I test the general argument that women gaining power in some segments of society is indicative of a shift in gender roles and relations such that women will gain power in other segments of the society as well.⁶

⁶The present research design attempts to isolate the hegemonic effects of world society culture on nation-states around the world, while shedding light on women's empowerment and incorporation into society by looking at structural expansion in state concerns to include women and women's power outcomes cross-nationally. However, a critical gender perspective would argue that despite changes in discourse towards gender equality and changes in structure towards greater incorporation of women, these changes do not change the patriarchal nature of the structures themselves and never will. The structures themselves were constructed by men, with male priorities, values and interests in mind, and thus even if women are incorporated into or are able to be in charge of these structures, the basic patriarchal nature of the structure does not change. The woman is simply running a proverbial hamster wheel that, despite all her efforts, she cannot change. The propositions made by critical gender theorists are

SUMMARY

In sum, I utilize a world society approach to studying women's empowerment and incorporation outcomes. I see these dynamics as socially constructed at the global level by members and organizations of world society. By placing world society theory against other perspectives on women's empowerment and incorporation, I assess cross-national differences in this phenomenon. Through this endeavor, I provide statistical support for theorized differences.

Looking at the rise of global discourse related to women, Berkovitch (1999) focuses predominantly on the role of key WINGOs and non-women focused international organizations and discourse regarding political and economic incorporation of women. I build on Berkovitch's work in the present research by 1) extending the historical and discursive analyses to the present time period, 2) considering a multitude of theoretical control factors, 3) within a quantitative research design, and 4) focusing predominantly on women's INGOs.

The following research asks two questions. First, how has women's global civil society evolved over time? And second, what is the effect of women's global civil society on women's institutional incorporation globally? I take a global comparative approach to studying these questions, comparing nation-states to one another on key dimensions and variables.

Chapter 1 addresses the first question regarding discourse and structure of international women's institutions over time. Due to international governmental organization structures devoted to women only arising in the past two years, I focus my analyses on women's INGOs. Through descriptive statistical analyses of WINGO foundings since 1888 and national WINGO memberships since 1960, I offer a world society analysis of WINGO structural development.

not able to be hypothesized or tested within the constraints of the present research design due to a) the fact that they do not offer a competing explanation in so much as a competing agenda beyond the scope of the present research, and b) due to a lack of valid cross-national measures that would be empirically testable in the present research design.

Through categorization of WINGOs into sixteen non-mutually exclusive categories analyzed in an exploratory factor analysis, I offer a breakdown of WINGO discursive themes. This analysis depicts the expansion of world society culture with respect to women and provides richer meaning for the principles discussed in later chapters.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 address the second research question regarding women's institutional incorporation. Chapter 2 looks at political incorporation outcomes beyond female suffrage and women in parliament to explain structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women in the form of women's ministries. Chapter 3 looks at women's power outcomes with respect to political, economic, and social power, observing women's parliamentary representation, women's active labor force participation, and female tertiary enrollment.

CHAPTER 1

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF WOMEN IN GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY: ORGANIZATIONAL AND DISCURSIVE TRENDS, 1888-2005

Recent history has seen a high degree of worldwide activity surrounding the category of women and women's incorporation into social institutions, such as education and government. Since the late nineteenth century, women's international non-governmental organizations (WINGOs) have been important components in world society promoting the advancement of women and social policies for women. Although international governmental organizations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the International Labor Organization, may have considered women, even centrally, as part of their processes, there has not been an entire international governmental organization bureaucratic infrastructure devoted solely to women until the creation of UN Women in July 2010. Thus, WINGOs—organizations founded by women, for women—have been one of the main elements in world society, both reflecting and instigating change in world culture surrounding woman and womanhood for over a century.

Initiated by American suffragists with support from Europe, a more secular version of international women's organizations emerged in the late nineteenth century. After the passage of female suffrage in most Western nations by the early 1920s, female suffrage policies began to be seen globally alongside a continued steady increase in WINGO establishment. After this early activity, both the end of World War II and the UN Decade for Women catalyzed WINGO

growth. By 2005, 183 WINGOs had been established in world society (UIA 1960-2006). Alongside this increasing WINGO establishment is a broadening of national memberships, making (Western-based) world society definitions of womanhood increasingly influential in Western and non-Western national polities. Furthermore, over time we see change in the discourse, suggesting multiple redefinitions of the category of woman across time.

First, I use descriptive data on WINGOs founded between 1888 and 2006 from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (UIA 1960-2006) to show increased activity around women in world culture. Using membership data from a sample of twenty-five organizations, I show broadening international participation through national linkages to world society.⁷ Finally, through an exploratory factor analysis, I show discursive redefinition of woman over the period from 1888 to 2006. Before turning to the data and analysis, I offer a brief summary of the theoretical approach and background literature.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Previous studies of women's organizations are narrower in scope than the present study based on a variety of factors. First, one approach taken by scholars is to define eras, or "waves," of a theoretically unified "women's movement." Using these concepts, authors in this approach only analyze one, or maximum two, "waves" at one time (Garner 2010; Krolokke and Sorensen 2006; Rupp 1997; Rupp and Taylor 1987; Taylor 1989). The concept of "wave" is more useful when studying smaller time periods (e.g. decades) and national-level organizations, but the concept's utility significantly lessens when thinking across larger time periods (e.g. centuries) and cross-nationally. Drawing from these studies, the present research examines the entire time

⁷ For more on broadening international participation, see Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma 1999.

period, from 1888 to 2006, both to capture what some scholars refer to as all three waves of the women's movement and to move the research beyond thinking in pre-determined time periods.

Second, other studies may look at an international women's organization, but only in the context of a different topic or category. For example, Lynch (1999) analyzes the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in her study of interwar peace movements. Third, many studies only consider national women's organizations (Kretschmer 2010; Vickers, Rankin, and Appelle 1993) and/or consist of single case studies of only one women's organization (Confortini 2012; Vickers, Rankin, and Appelle 1993).

Finally, Berkovitch (1999) observes the period 1885 to 1985, providing both historical breadth and a neo-institutionalist interpretation. However, Berkovitch predominantly observes international governmental organization discourse surrounding women, highlighting her research with information on key, or influential, WINGOs, which were established in the pre-World War I period. I build on Berkovitch's work by shifting primary attention from the state sector to civil society, considering WINGO structuration over time across 185 WINGOs.

As Dobbin (1994) points out, early theorizing on organizations in sociology—particularly by Weber (2001[1930]) and Parsons (1982)—pointed to instrumental rationality and bureaucratic management as theoretically and analytically separate from culture. As a result, early researchers studied organizations as rational entities pursuing interests in order to maximize goals. Marrying the artificially separated fields of organizational rationality and culture, and turning interest-driven approaches on their head by assuming rationality to be yet another aspect of culture, Meyer and Rowan (1977) paved the beginning of an alternative approach to organizational establishment, expansion, proliferation, and activity: sociological neo-institutionalism.

Sociological neo-institutionalism, particularly John Meyer's interpretation known as world society theory, theorized that world cultural models are based in, and/or assume, modern notions of personhood—where individuals, organizations, and nation-states are all potential agents, replete with capacities of individualized, universalized and rationalized actorhood. Consistent with Foucault (1978; 2002[1966]) and others in cultural sociology, world society scholars see world cultural models, and the assumptions behind them, as socially constructed (Dobbin 1994; Meyer and Jepperson 2000). Myriad sociological evidence in the fields of organizations and social psychology supports the notion of socially constructed modern actorhood by pointing to the non-rationality, or bounded rationality, of individuals and organizations (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Dobbin 1994; Kahneman 2003; Kahneman and Tversky 1979).

World Society and International Organizations

Key carriers of world culture models and institutions to nation-states are international organizations. These bodies provide personnel, resources, and knowledge to mobilize world culture models. Thus, world society scholars argue that nation-states with greater linkages to international organizations will see isomorphism to global standards in their government structures, policies and public-access institutions, although these changes may not necessarily lead to better government practices or citizen outcomes (Frank 1997; Frank, Camp, and Butcher 2010; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Schofer and Meyer 2005; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b).

International organizations in world society include both international governmental organizations (e.g. the UN) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). International non-governmental organizations represent a broad range of fields and have chapters in member nation-states, but members of chapters are typically citizens or individuals outside of the government. Sociological neo-institutionalists in the recent period have almost exclusively utilized INGOs to instantiate the concept of global civil society. The number of INGOs in all fields has greatly increased over time, particularly in the post-World War II period, indicating increasing structuration of the world polity (Boli and Thomas 1999). International non-governmental organizations are either international in administration and/or in their mission. Non-governmental in membership, INGOs have the resources, human capital, and expertise to pressure and persuade governments and other nation-state bodies to endorse their message.

Previous world society scholars consider a broad range of INGO fields, including the environment (Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma 1999), human rights (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004), health (Inoue and Drori 2006), and development (Chabbott 1999), among others. As I do in Chapters 2 and 3, some have even considered WINGOs as a causal mechanism for women's outcomes in a variety of substantive domains with mixed results (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009, 2012; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b).

According to sociological institutionalists, both the structure and discourse of international organizations reflect global cultural models rooted in Western cultural interpretations and are isomorphically adopted by international organizations in a taken-for-granted manner (Berkovitch 1999; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma 1999; Inoue and Drori 2006). Western colonialism is a historically

dominating force in shaping the ideology and practice of world society (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997; Schofer, Hironaka, Frank, and Longhofer 2012). In relation to women, much of the organizing around women began in the United States and Britain, where upper middle class women sought voting and property rights (Berkovitch 1999). Although female suffrage was first won in New Zealand and Australia, American and European nation-states soon followed suit. Shortly after voting and property rights were won by women in most Western polities, nation-states beyond the West began adopting policies redefining women's citizenship as inclusive of voting rights (Berkovitch 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, Shanahan 1997; Ramirez and Weiss 1979).

I contend that world society activity around women has increased dramatically over the twentieth century, and especially since the end of World War II and the UN Decade for Women. The end of World War II not only defined women as human, but also defined a litany of other identities as deserving of individualization and rights such as children, homosexuals, ethnic minorities, and indigenous peoples. The rise of individualized, rationalized discourse around women is exemplified in organization establishment. The UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) and four UN World Conferences on Women were held predominantly because the status of women in non-West, developing contexts were still not being adequately addressed within human rights frameworks.⁸ Global conferences, both specific and non-specific to women, have been shown to be an important component in diffusion and change in global discourse related to women (Berkovitch 1999; Paxton, Hughes, Green 2006; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b).

⁸ There were four UN World Conferences on Women, held in 1975 in Mexico City, Mexico, in 1980 in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1985 in Nairobi, Kenya, and in 1995 in Beijing, China. See <http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women> for more information.

Based on world society theory, I assume that the world polity is formed of a conglomeration of sovereign nation-states, with no sovereignty of its own. Addressing women's issues is increasingly becoming an activity done beyond borders, within non-sovereign international organizations that advise sovereign national governments. The second assumption being made is that a pervasive world culture that organizes nation-state decisions and behavior actually exists. I assume the structure of WINGOs to be an important indicator of world culture surrounding women and womanhood that is carried to nation-states through national linkages to WINGOs. These assumptions are based on world society theory (Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma 1999; Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997).

The expansion of WINGO establishment over the last century is unlike any other time in history. Since women began to mobilize internationally in the fight for suffrage in the early part of the twentieth century, WINGO establishment has increased. Institutionalization and redefinition of the category woman in world society has led to an increasing rate of WINGO formation. Not only has woman been redefined at the discursive level, but structural forms within world society have had great influence on how woman has become defined and re-defined over the last century.

Finally, the expansion of WINGO establishment and discourse surrounding the category of woman is unlike any other INGO sub-field studied by world society scholars. In other work on expansion of the INGO form within other sub-fields, such as health and the environment, rate of expansion vastly increases both immediately after World War II and then in the 1970s (Frank, Hironaka, Schofer 2000; Inoue and Drori 2006). However, like INGOs in the sub-field of law, in the case of women's INGO expansion, the rate of establishment was pretty high starting in the early 1900s and picked up only slightly after World War II. As a result of this longer history, we

see institutionalization of discourse surrounding the category of woman all the way back to 1888, and thus I encapsulate three distinct definitions of woman over the entire time period of 1888 to 2006.

DATA AND METHODS

Much research in the world society tradition utilizes advanced quantitative models to explain organizational expansion (e.g. Schofer 2003). However, in the case of women's INGOs, there has been no past research that looks at the totality of WINGOs since the turn of the twentieth century. As a result, descriptive data will fill this void while also offering a better understanding of WINGO expansion and globalization.

My empirical perspective is structured utilizing elements from three other world society studies: Berkovitch (1999), Inoue and Drori (2006), and Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma (1999). Berkovitch (1999) conducted a primarily qualitative archival analysis of activity around women within international governmental organizations and a few WINGOs, offering quantitative descriptive statistics on outcomes like policy formation. Like the present research, she documents the evolution of world culture around women since 1885. In their study of health INGOs, Inoue and Drori (2006) maintain a descriptive approach, looking both at health INGO establishment as a structural dimension and at health INGO aims and mission statements as a discursive dimension. I replicate a similar descriptive analysis of the structural dimension of WINGOs, looking both at total and cumulative establishment across time. Furthermore, I go beyond simply observing different discourses across time by employing an exploratory factor analysis to see how sixteen non-mutually exclusive discourses overlap to form three distinct discursive conceptualizations of woman.

All data comes from the *Yearbook of International Organizations*—a publication offering detailed information on over 68,000 international organizations across 300 nations (UIA 1960-2006). The *Yearbook* has many different categorizations (e.g. health, religion), one being women. All organizations in this category were coded for all available dates of establishment, resulting in a total organization population of 980, covering a time period from 1617 to 2006. The population list was cleaned based on theoretical factors for what constitutes a WINGO in world society—keeping organizations of types B, C, and D based on *Yearbook* types and truncating the first year in the range from 1617 to 1870.⁹ This resulted in a final sample of 183 organizations spanning a time period from 1888 to 2005. First, I will analyze descriptive graphs of WINGO establishment based on this sample.

Then, I turn to a descriptive analysis of national WINGO membership in order to demonstrate broadening international participation. Also from the *Yearbook* (UIA), membership data was collected for twenty-five organizations established throughout the time period of 1888 to 2006. The population for the membership analysis constituted the 183 organizations initially sampled. The list was ordered by year and organizations were approximately in alphabetical order. Starting with the second organization, every seventh organization was sampled, for a final sample of twenty-five organizations founded between 1888 and 2006. If the seventh organization was a defunct organization, the next functioning organization was included. Membership data was collected every two years for the years 1965 to 2006 to show broadening international participation in line with world society proscriptions, which would predict an increase in the

⁹ B organizations are “universal membership organizations,” C organizations are “intercontinental membership organizations,” and D organizations are “limited or regionally defined membership organizations” (UIA 2006). Furthermore, most, if quite nearly all, WINGOs founded prior to 1870 were religious orders, mostly of nuns. Although these organizations had women as members, they are not WINGOs according to definitions and theoretical assumptions utilized here. Specifically, they do not fit the of women/for women criterion since they are of women/for God. They are a pre-world society phenomenon, an historical predecessor certainly, but irrelevant for the empirical model in the present analysis.

number of different nation-states with WINGO memberships post-World War II. For the membership analysis, I start at 1965 as that is around the time of the “second wave” of the American women’s movement, and also due to data availability and limitations.

Finally, I coded the 183 WINGOs in the sample into categories across sixteen non-mutually exclusive discursive groupings. To categorize the organizations, I utilized information from documents and information found on the internet, organization websites, and the *Yearbook*. I considered titles, mission statements, activities, newsletters, and any other information I could find. Using the constant comparison method from grounded theory, as new properties emerged, I considered whether or not they were a property of an already-existing category. If the new property merited a new categorization, then a new category was created. In this way, I allowed the categories to emerge from the data. When I was uncertain about how to categorize an organization, I continued to find more information on the organization until I was certain of all properties and categories of the organization. Organizations could be included in multiple categories, meaning the resulting categories are not mutually exclusive.

The terms used to label the categories come from past theory and research on women’s organizations and social movements. However, I did not begin with a complete list of categorical labels. Instead, as I saw properties of the categories in organization discourse and activity, the category was created. Utilizing both my knowledge of the categories in the theoretical literature and emergent properties in the data on organization discourse and activity, organizations were categorized. Categories were added until all properties and categories were exhausted for the dataset of 183 organizations, based on ideas of theoretical saturation in grounded theory. Theoretical saturation occurs when the gathering of further data does not produce any new categories or properties. For each organization, I employed this process, gathering enough data

such that new data did not produce any further emergent properties or categories. Then I moved onto the next organization and conducted the same process. Under the broad category of woman, sixteen non-mutually exclusive categories emerged out of the 183 organizations.

RESULTS

The Expansion of a Global Organizational Field of Womanhood

WINGOs were established earlier than all other INGO groups. The first WINGO was established in 1877—La Fédération Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille—and subsequently merged with the World Young Women's Christian Association in 1960. Other than this one exception, WINGOs founded before the International Council of Women in 1888 were all a pre-modern form of religious organization, including orders of Catholic nuns and Protestant missionary organizations (UIA 1960-2006). Primarily, these organizations were established by women for God, with their primary goal being to serve God, not women. Religious and religiously-influenced WINGOs founded since 1870 are included in the analysis because I am not assuming that religion per se is pre- or non-modern.¹⁰ Instead, I assume that the way the religion is practiced during a time period and the way a religion is integrated into global society during a time period is a better indicator of modernity. Thus, both religious and non-religious WINGOs exist in modern world society.

Initiated and mobilized by Americans Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the International Council of Women (established in 1888) was the first WINGO to put forth mostly, if not entirely, secular aims, activities, and goals. Formed by the National Woman Suffrage Association in the United States, the International Council of Women was highly influential in

¹⁰ An example of a religious WINGO included in the analysis is the European Baptist Women's Union, while an example of a religiously-influenced WINGO included in the analysis would be the World Young Women's Christian Association.

world society, making the definition of women in world culture based largely on American white women's hegemonic notions of women. Similarly influential in world society, the International Alliance of Women was founded in 1902, also by American suffragists.

Furthermore, beyond only having goals for women, early WINGOs, such as the International Council of Women and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were key players in establishing the League of Nations, a precursor international governmental organization to the United Nations. Many world society scholars focus on INGO effects in establishing the UN, mostly due to the fact that other INGO sub-fields arose after World War II. However, WINGOs were greatly influential in establishing the early organizational form of the UN, or the League of Nations.

In Figure 1.1, a striking increase in structuration around women in world society is evident across time. Figure 1.2 graphs the cumulative total of WINGO establishment across the time period. Between the two graphs, the cut-off points—as labeled in Figure 1.2—offer a historical picture of WINGO establishment. In the pre-World War I period, WINGOs were slow to establish, with one or fewer organizations being founded per year.¹¹ During and after the World War I period, WINGO establishment increases to between zero and four organizations being founded per year, with much interest around a naïve idea of peace and going beyond women's suffrage (see Berkovitch 1999). WINGO foundings slowed again upon the onset of the Great Depression in the United States and became nonexistent in the period right before World War II.¹²

The period immediately after World War II showed a striking increase over the previous period in WINGO establishment, with between one and four organizations being founded per

¹¹ World War I occurred approximately between 1914 and 1918.

¹² World War II occurred approximately between 1938 and 1945.

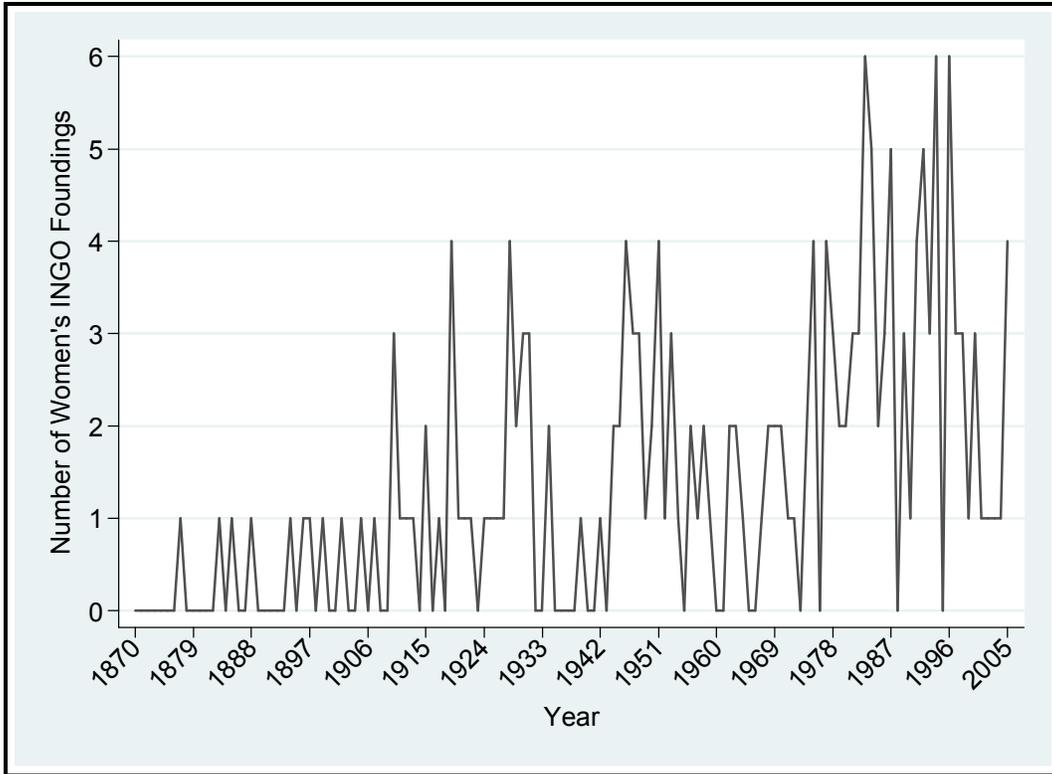


Figure 1.1: Total Number of Women's INGO Foundings by Year, 1870-2005

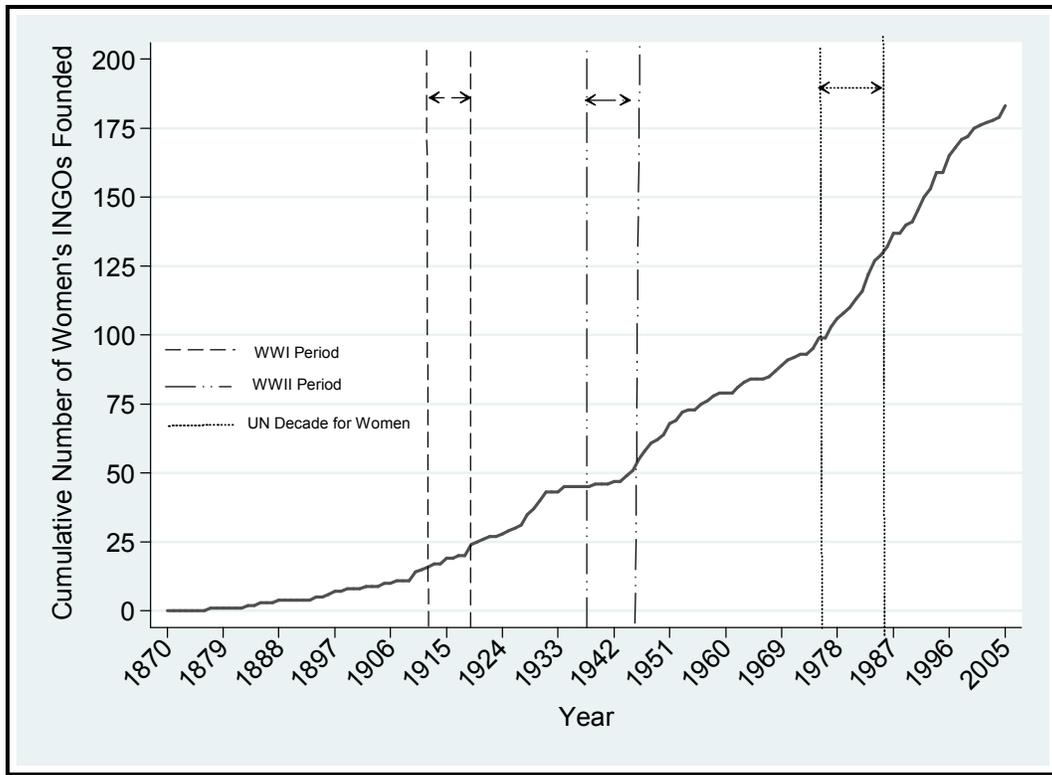


Figure 1.2: Cumulative Number of Women's INGO Foundings by Year, 1870-2005
Notes: WWI = World War I; WWII = World War II; UN = United Nations

year. Although Figure 1.1 shows that, in comparison to the period immediately post-World War II (1945 to 1955), the period between 1955 and 1975 had fewer WINGO foundings, Figure 1.2 shows that, in comparison to the pre-1945 period, the period between 1945 and 1975 had an increased rate of WINGO foundings. This finding supports world society predictions for INGO establishment in the post-World War II period.

WINGOs gain traction both after World War I and after World War II. Given military gender biases at the time, World War I meant that the men went out to fight in the war while women stayed home. Women had limited rights, with women in most countries not even being allowed to vote or own property. Women in WINGOs (mainly middle and upper middle class white women from the United States and Europe) moved into the public sphere through the wartime effort, which at the time was limited to nursing and caretaking, being “mothers of the world” (Berkovitch 1999).

The end of World War I, along with the ratification of women’s suffrage rights in Europe and the United States, opened a small, but significant, space for the establishment of more WINGOs. Rights frameworks during this time did not catch on as a clear human rights schema was not established until 1948 with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, some of the early ideas of world society with respect to women—women as persons able to earn a living, women as persons able to make political decisions—were evident in the pre-human rights era.

WINGOs founded before World War I were general women’s organizations (e.g. International Council of Women) actively seeking a narrow range of outcomes (e.g. voting rights). After World War I, but prior to World War II, many of the WINGOs that were established were professional organizations. In the 1920s, these organizations were more likely

to be general professional organizations, like the International Federation of Working Women (existing from 1921 to 1925) or the International League of Mothers & Women Teachers for the Promotion of Peace (existing from 1928 to 1956), while those in the late 1920s and early 1930s indicated more specific, and perhaps more prestigious, professions like the International Federation of Women in Legal Careers [Magistrates, Barristers...] (existing from 1929 to present) and the International Federation of Business & Professional Women (existing from 1930 to present). Basically, as women's position and role in Western society gained greater rationalization and autonomy, and women are able to expand their professional lives during this period, we see organizations established.

For instance, the International League of Mothers & Women Teachers for the Promotion of Peace, now a defunct organization, is clearly modeled on traditional gender roles while also being more general in including both mothers (ostensibly, stay-at-home moms, if you will) and women teachers. Thus, this organization suggests the incorporation of women in the profession of teaching, but it is not specific to that profession as it also includes mothers. Combining these traditional gender roles with a focus on peace is a classic example of what Berkovitch refers to as the naïve integration frame utilized by WINGOs in the first decades of WINGO existence. Indication of the expansion of women's roles in the professional realms is indicated by organizations that are specific to professions and the nature of the profession becoming more prestigious, going beyond traditional gender roles. For instance, the International Federation of Business & Professional Women, an organization still in existence today, goes beyond frames of naïve integration and traditional gender roles to embody a more career-oriented vision of women in professions. It is also specific to women in business, and today focuses on themes of women's economic empowerment outside of the household in its mission statement.

During World War II, there is a leveling off of WINGO activity, while the post-World War II era sees another jump in establishments. We begin to see not only greater specificity in purpose among organizations being established, but also greater diversity in purpose, providing more support for the world society premise arguing for the greater rationalization of woman and women's role in society. For example, women's organizations that arose in the wake of World War II focused on everything from family planning to riding motorcycles to breastfeeding to professional architecture to playing cricket. This is a significant difference from pre-World War II WINGO foci. This expansion partly reflects expansion in the general structuration of the world polity, which makes it easier to found all kinds of organizations. Similarly, as there was expansion in structuration, there was expansion in terms of what human rights meant, particularly for women.

Furthermore, both Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show an even greater rate of establishment starting in 1975, which was the first year of the UN Decade for Women. This rate of establishment is maintained throughout the UN Decade for Women and into the late-1990s. The last UN Conference for Women was held in 1995. The lull in UN activity around women between 1995 and 2010 (the year UN Women was established) likely contributes to the slight drop-off observed in WINGO establishment between the late-1990s and 2005. Nevertheless, WINGOs were greatly involved in these UN activities.

Broadening International Participation

In their study of environmental INGOs, Frank and colleagues instantiate broadening international participation as “the total number of nation-states that had members in each of

twenty environmental INGOs” (Frank, Hironaka, Meyer, Schofer, and Tuma 1999:85). The measure used here replicates this approach.

As evident from Figure 1.3, we see increasing national memberships over time, with a particularly sharp increase at the end of the UN Decade for Women from 1975 to 1985. Results hold true even when controlling for nations gaining independence before 1965 only. Although still a significant increase, from 1965 to 1983, national memberships only increased from about 280 to 350—a jump of a mere seventy memberships over a period of eighteen years. Compare this to the next eighteen year period, post-UN Decade for Women, and we see that between 1983 and 2001, national memberships jumped from about 350 to 910—a huge increase of 560 memberships; eight times the previous period. This suggests that the empowerment through agentic development frameworks utilized during the UN Decade for Women were highly effective in generating national participation in a world culture of womanhood.

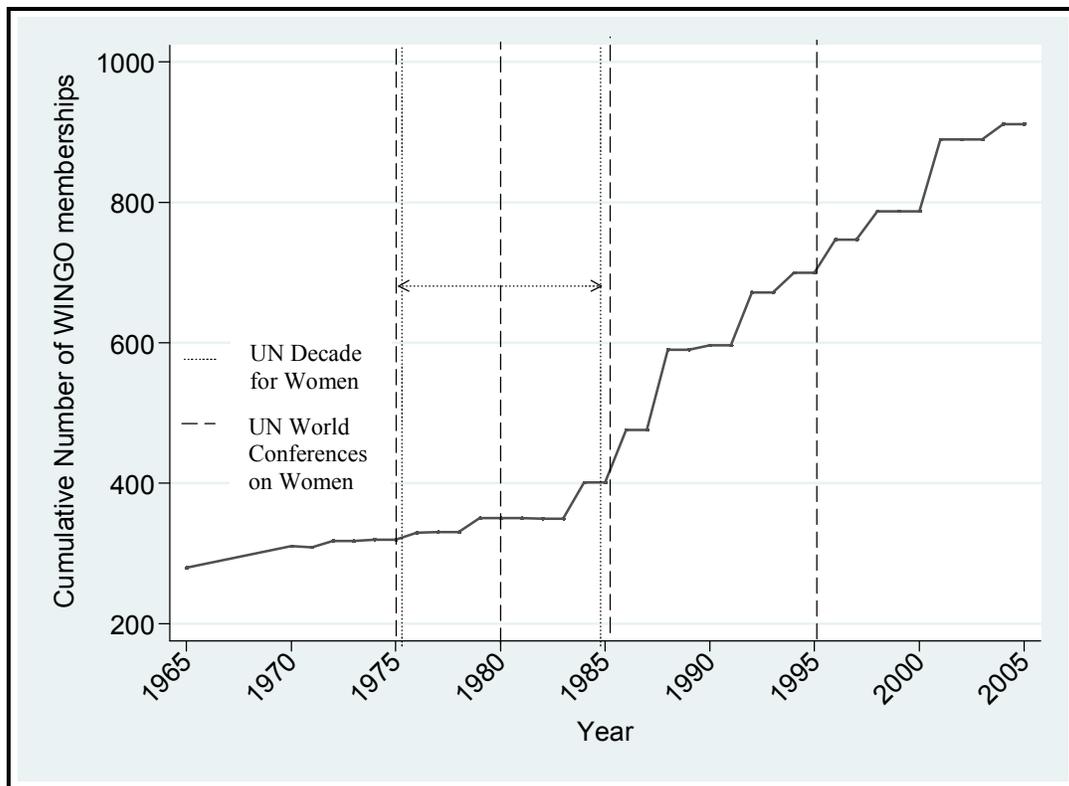


Figure 1.3: Cumulative Number of WINGO Memberships by Year, 1965-2005

Rationalizing Woman: Discursive Thematic Models

The goal in this section is to better understand the rationalization and reconstitution of woman in world culture through mapping discursive thematic trends since 1870 among all 183 organizations in the dataset. This will offer qualitative nuance to this very quantitative trend analysis that will provide a foundation for future research on definition of woman in world culture.

I consider the final sixteen categories to be equivalent to what I refer to as dimensions of discursive models. Previous world society scholars posit the existence of discursive thematic models (Frank 1997; Inoue and Drori 2006) among INGOs. I seek both to replicate and build on this work in the case of women's INGOs. When I first started categorizing the organizations, it was unclear what the thematic models actually were in the case of women's organizations. As a result, I chose to go to an even greater level of specificity by considering a multitude of dimensions and looking at how these dimensions come together in an exploratory factor analysis to produce discursive thematic models of global womanhood. The dimensions of these models are embodied in the following non-mutually exclusive categories:

1. Protection—Organizations for women, for children, and/or for families are included here (Example: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, established in 1915).
 - ✓ Necessary conditions: A difference frame pointing out that there is a problem unique to women (or children or families) that requires society to protect women from men.
 - ✓ Sufficient conditions: Mention of violence against women and/or actions and statements about saving women from sex-trafficking/prostitution.
2. Global South—Either 1) members are comprised of Global South nations only, 2) the organization's focus, actions, and/or mission is at least partially in the Global South, or 3)

both 1 and 2. In most cases, there is some commitment to helping “impoverished” peoples in a poor part of the world, which tends to be in one of four regions: Africa, South Asia/Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East. A few are more general, referring to the “Third World” or “Developing World.” (Example: Third World Organization for Women in Science, now the Organization for Women in Science for the Developing World, established in 1989)

3. Development—Development for women calls for women to be seen as agentic, able decision-makers in economic matters. A stated mission, objective, or action of the organization that denotes an interest in helping women make their own economic decisions, fend or take care of themselves economically, and/or get into prominent decision-making positions within society. On the education dimension, if the organization supported education of women, they were categorized as development, whether they were fully education-based or only supported education as a part of a greater development action plan. (Example: International Federation of Business and Professional Women, established in 1930)
4. Rights—Organization employs an equal human rights frame. Equality is defined as a similarity frame pointing out women are the same as men and thus should be allowed and have access to all of the same privileges that men possess. (Example: Soroptimist International, established in 1928)
5. Education—Organizations that are generally in the field of education, such as women working in universities. Also includes organizations that specialize in a given field and focus the majority of organization efforts on education activities, such as research and training in the field. Organizations that are not in a recognized academic field or

institutional embodiment, but still offer education services are not included in this category—these organizations would be more likely to fall under the “Service” category. Also, these more service-oriented organizations typically make only a small percentage of their action directed towards education. (Example: International Federation of University Women, established in 1919)

6. Housewives—Organizations for women working in the home, housewives, homemakers. Six organizations fit this category. (Example: Intercontinental Housewives’ Union, established in 1994)
7. Professional—Organizations that support women within a given profession. (Example: International Federation of Women in Legal Careers, established in 1929)
8. Abstinence—Supports abstinence from sex, drugs, and/or alcohol. There are only three organizations in the dataset that fit in this category. (Example: World Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, established in 1883)
9. Reproductive Rights—Supports women’s rights to control their own fertility and/or prevention of unsafe abortions. Five organizations explicitly mention and/or fight for abortion and/or fertility rights for women. (Example: International Planned Parenthood Federation, established in 1948)
10. Mother Rights—Supporting the rights of women who identify as mothers. Seven organizations fit in this category. (Example: World Movement of Mothers, established in 1947)
11. Service—Organization has an explicit focus on providing services to those in need, typically through local centers. Members are involved in providing direct service to their

communities. (Example: World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, established in 1928)

12. Social Reform—Organizations with an impetus to change the world and/or change society for some utopian end. Most of the time, this means political action and/or advocacy. Sometimes it can also mean changing the world through economic actions (e.g. empowering women to run their own businesses). (Examples: Includes a wide swath from La Leche League International, established in 1956, to the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action, established in 1985.)
13. Naïve Integration—Focus on women as the main progenitors of peace in the world through traditional gender roles as mothers/nurses of all people. Based on the idea that women have innate differences from men and they should use these capacities to help society—particularly that women are nurturing while men are not and thus women should use this “innate” nurturing impetus to help the world particularly in times of war and conflict. Drawn from Berkovitch (1999). (Example: World Union of Women for International Concord, existing from 1915 to 1950)
14. Religious—The organization has either ties or affiliations to religious institution(s). The organization focuses efforts on women within a given religion and/or uses religious terms and framing in their mission, aims, and actions. (Examples: Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women, and Children, existing 1885 to 1936; European Baptist Women’s Union, established in 1948; Sakyadhita International Association of Buddhist Women, established in 1987)

15. Medical/Health—Organizations supporting a specific women’s medical/health malady or supporting women’s health generally. (Example: International Council on Women’s Health Issues, established in 1984)
16. Sports/Recreation/Social—Organizations that support women in a specific sport or support women in sports generally. Also, a couple of organizations focused solely on social and cultural activities are included here. (Example: Women’s International Motorcycle Association, established in 1950)

Frequencies of Dimensions of Discursive Thematic Models of Woman Since 1870

The category abstinence only had three organizations included over the entire time period, and was subsequently dropped from the final analysis. These three organizations were included under other categories, so the sample size was not affected by the removal of this category.

The “early” period is the pre-World War II period from 1870 to 1944. I chose this end point due to a) the world society premise that the end of World War II brought important changes to INGOs and international governmental organizations, such as the establishment of the United Nations, and, b) evident changes in women’s organization establishment, discourse, and activity with the input of human rights frameworks. The “middle” period is the post-World War II period from 1945 to 1979. I chose this end point due to it being right in the middle of the UN Decade for Women. The first UN World Conference on Women had been held in Mexico City in 1975. I began to see real changes happening again in terms of women’s organization establishment, discourse, and activity with the input of fully agentic economic development

frameworks five years later in 1979. And, finally, the “late” period is the mid- to post-UN Decade for Women period from 1980 to 2006.

There are four expanding dimensions, including the global south, education, professional, and medical/health. A respectable 12.3 per cent of all sixty-five global south organizations were founded in the early period. In the middle period, this number more than doubled to 26.15 per cent, while the late period saw a large jump—five times the number established in the early period and over twice the number established in the middle period—with 61.54 per cent of all global south organizations being established in the late period. Although global south organizations saw a relatively steady increase across the entire period, the jump in the late period is much larger than the jump in the middle period.

Only 7.32 per cent of all forty-one education organizations were founded in the early period. In the middle period, this number triples to 21.95 per cent, while the late period saw a very large jump—ten times the number established in the early period and over three times the number established in the middle period—with 70.73 per cent of all education organizations established in the late period. The UN Decade for Women had a strong emphasis on economic development through individual agency, particularly through education. Although the present analysis cannot speak to causality, there is certainly a relationship between these events that will be the focus of future studies.

Professional organizations also expand across the period, with a slightly different pattern from the previous two expanding dimensions. Particularly, professional organizations see the greatest increase in the middle period as opposed to the late period. While there were professional organizations in the early period, accounting for 14.04 per cent of all fifty-seven professional organizations founded across the entire period under study, these organizations were

typically more general and tended to cater to “female professions” pre-1930, such as women in agriculture, women ministers, university women, and women in medical and legal careers (magistrates, barristers). By the end of the early period, we begin to see organizations for a couple of “male professions”—women lawyers and business women. The early-middle jump in professional organizations is much larger than the middle-late jump, with 35.09 per cent of professional organizations being found in the middle period—more than twice as many found in the early period. During the middle period not only are more women globally becoming professionals, but the diversity of professions is increasing, moving beyond the “pink-collar” female professions. Finally, the late period has the greatest number of professional organizations established, with 50.88 per cent of all professional organizations being founded in this period. While significant, this number is only slightly higher than the number of organizations founded in the middle period, meaning the number of professional organizations established has remained steady since 1945.

The final expanding dimension is among medical/health organizations, which see steady expansion across the entire period. Only one medical/health organization was founded in the early period, representing 6.25 per cent of all sixteen medical/health organizations established over the entire period. In the middle period, 31.25 per cent of all medical/health organizations were established, five times the early period. Lastly, in the late period, 62.5 per cent of all medical/health organizations were established, which is twice as many as the previous (middle) period and over ten times as many as the early period. The organization founded in the early period was the Medical Women’s International Association established in 1919. What is most important here is that medical/health WINGOs were initially established for women’s professions in medicine, not for women’s bodies and medical needs. In fact, although we see a

greater number of research- and professional-oriented medical/health organizations in the middle period (post-World War II), they are still mostly professional organizations and all reduce women's health to her reproductive system, particularly the scientific framing, which is Gynecology and Obstetrics. It is not until 1984 that we see a medical/health organization considering aspects of women's health that go beyond the reductionistic indications of Gynecology and Obstetrics with the establishment of the International Council on Women's Health Issues. More organizations embodying this general frame are founded in the late period, while others established in the late period consider age-related women's health issues such as menopause and urology and yet others look at "natural medicine" for women. All of this is indicative of a move towards considering women's bodies at different ages and a move beyond the reductionism found in Western medicine to consider a more holistic view of women's health in the late period.

There are two declining dimensions codified by the conceptualizations of naïve integration and religion. A term first coined by Nitza Berkovitch (1999) in talking about pre-World War II discourse among international women's organizations, naïve integration refers to a focus on woman's role as mother and reifies traditional gender stereotypes of woman as nurturer. This discourse is mobilized in women's international organizations as a call to peace, for all women to be "mothers of the world" during times of war and suffering, with women being the well of peace, nurturance, and alleviator of all ills in the world.

In accordance with Berkovitch's findings, fourteen naïve integration organizations were established in the early period, representing 37.84 per cent of all thirty-seven naïve integration organizations founded throughout the entire period. However, unlike Berkovitch's findings, naïve integration organizations do not stop being established after World War II and the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In fact, there are actually slightly more naïve integration organizations founded in the middle period than in the early period, accounting for 45.95 per cent of all naïve integration organizations founded. However, as predicted by Berkovitch, this discourse does begin to fade out by the late period, with only 16.22 per cent of all naïve integration organizations being founded in the late period.

This discursive dimension also appears to transfer from the global north to the global south across the entire time period. In the early period, WINGOs first employing naïve integration discursive themes were established in the global north—such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. In the late period, almost all naïve integration organizations are both located in and help women within global south regions. They are also still alive and functioning according to the *Yearbook*. WINGOs employing naïve integration themes in the late period, while few in number, are as follows: Federacion Iberoamericana de Mujeres de Empresarias (Iberoamerican Federation of Business Women, established in 1990), Association of Interbalkan Women’s Cooperation Societies, Thessaloniki (established in 1992), Association of Women of the Mediterranean Region (established in 1992), Latin American Federation of University Women (established in 1996), Federacion Centroamericana de Mujeres Universitarias (Central American Federation of University Women, established in 1997), and the Federation of African Women’s Networks on Peace/African Women’s Peace Movement (established in 1998).

The second dimension that declined over the entire time period was religious WINGOs. Forty-eight per cent of the twenty-five religious WINGOs in the sample were founded in the early period. Although a slight decline, the middle period still saw forty per cent of all religious WINGOs established. The most significant decline is seen between the middle and late period—the late period saw only twelve per cent of all religious WINGOs established, with only three

religious organizations established in the late period. No religious WINGOs have been established since 1987. Religious WINGOs established in the late period include: Caribbean Church Women (established in 1981), European Society of Women in Theological Research (established in 1986), and the Sakyadhita International Association of Buddhist Women (established in 1987).

There are four stable dimensions, including rights, development, social reform, and service. Some dimensions remain stable across the entire time period, with similar numbers of organizations representing these dimensions found in every time period. What is most interesting about these dimensions, with the possible exception of service, is that their interpretation within and between organizations becomes more defined and specified across time. Instead of necessarily creating a different perspective, property, or category, these changes only refine initial intentions according to my coding of WINGO discourse and activity. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights created a more defined, specific model, from which human rights WINGO discourse and activity could find a stronger foothold and a more refined interpretation of human rights. Likewise, the UN Decade for Women and UN World Conferences on Women defined a more specific, agentic form of economic development for women, from which development WINGO discourse and activity became a more specified version of its previous form.

Human rights WINGOs represent the second most prolific dimension, with seventy-five WINGOs categorized as human rights WINGOs. About the same number of human rights organizations were founded in both the early and middle periods—twenty-one in the early period and twenty in the middle period, representing twenty-eight and 26.67 per cent of all seventy-five human rights WINGOs, respectively. The late period saw a slight increase in the number of

human rights organizations established with 45.33 per cent of all human rights WINGOs being founded in this period. Berkovitch (1999) claims a more primordial division—with naïve integration discourse existing in the early period and human rights discourse existing in the middle period. I seek to expand on this by showing that, even though those were the discourses that resonated most in a given time period, both dimensions exist in both time periods and are evidently a part of larger discursive thematic models among WINGOs. WINGOs have always sought human rights for women. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights certainly aided in further establishment of human rights WINGOs, while the UN Decade for Women and UN Conferences on Women linked a human rights discourse with development and protection for women, particularly in the global South, further encouraging establishment of human rights WINGOs.

With some variability, another dimension that remains stable throughout the entire period is development. There are about the same number of development WINGOs as human rights WINGOs, making development WINGOs the third most represented dimension in the sample. The early period saw 32.43 per cent of all seventy-four development WINGOs established, while the middle period saw 25.68 per cent established. There is a slight jump in the late period, ostensibly an outcome of the UN Decade for Women and UN Conferences on Women, with 41.89 per cent of all development WINGOs established in the late period.

Social reform WINGOs represent the most prolific dimension in women's world culture, with 119 organizations being categorized here. This is not too surprising given the field's general impetus towards social change based in women's social movements in the United States and Europe. Initially, I called this dimension "political." However, some organizations did not necessarily utilize or care about direct political avenues while still espousing an interest in

changing society in line with their given ideology—think development WINGOs supporting micro-loans and/or religious WINGOs focused on changing women’s spiritual role in society. While establishment of social reform WINGOs remains relatively stable throughout the entire period, there is some interesting variability. In the early period, 31.09 per cent of all 119 social reform WINGOs were established. The middle period sees a slight decline in establishment, with 22.69 per cent of all social reform WINGOs being founded in this period. The late period sees a significant increase in social reform WINGO establishment—more than twice the middle period—with 46.22 per cent of all social reform WINGOs being founded in the late period.

Service WINGOs, like human rights, development, and social reform WINGOs, also have stable establishment across the entire time period. Unlike human rights, development, and social reform WINGOs, service WINGOs represent a smaller proportion of the population with a respectable forty-two organizations. In the early period 33.33 per cent of service WINGOs were established, which is very similar to the middle period’s establishment of 28.57 per cent of service WINGOs. The late period sees a similar, although slightly larger, increase in service WINGO establishment with 38.10 per cent of all service WINGOs established. Service WINGOs indicate a direct requirement that the membership participates in volunteer service to the community. This goes beyond simply attending meetings and conferences and signing petitions.

Finally, there are five unstable dimensions, including protection, sports/recreation/social, housewives, reproductive rights, and mother rights. While protection is an unstable dimension, it is still relatively prolific with a respectable forty-two total organizations being categorized as protection WINGOs. Protection refers to protecting women from men. In coding protection WINGOs, I also considered the idea of protecting women from themselves, but this was not a property that emerged from the data. What I saw in the data was more the idea of protecting

women, children, and families, from things like sex-trafficking, alcohol, domestic violence, and rape. While a similar amount of protection WINGOs were established in the early and late periods, 42.86 per cent and 38.10 per cent respectively, the middle period saw half this number established with only 19.05 per cent of protection WINGOs being founded in the middle period. Although the middle period saw a sharp decline in number of establishments, one of the most important and critical WINGOs to defining women's protection in a post-Universal Declaration of Human Rights world was established in 1948—the International Planned Parenthood Federation. The instability of the protection dimension, instead of indicating less interest in the protection of women, is more likely due to the difficulty in finding a protection frame, which by definition must be based on a difference frame, that resonates with a world interested in sameness and equality.

The dimension of women's world society that represents sports, recreation, social, and cultural organizations is mostly a mutually exclusive category. With a few exceptions, organizations in the sports/rec/social category tend to not be categorized in any other category. This dimension has very small representation with only twenty-one organizations established across the entire time period under study. Moreover, the pattern of establishment displays high instability. In the early period, only four sports/rec/social WINGOs were established, with two of those WINGOs, a hockey association and a North/South America cultural organization, dying during the middle period. The four WINGOs include: the International Association of Lyceum Clubs (established in 1905), the International Federation of Women's Hockey Associations (existing from 1927 to 1956), the World Association of Girl Guides & Girl Scouts (established in 1928), and Union De Mujeres Americanas/United Women of the Americas (existing from 1934 to 1972).

The middle period saw the greatest number of sports/rec/social WINGOs established, with 52.38 per cent of all twenty-one sports/rec/social WINGOs established between the end of World War II and 1979. While there were a very high number of sports/rec/social WINGOs established in the middle period, many of those related directly to sports (e.g. hockey, football) are defunct, usually merging with the men's organization such that sports INGOs include both men's and women's sports organizations by the late period with the exception of a few such as lacrosse and billiards. A general sports INGO (meaning an INGO not specific to any one sport) for women was not established until 1994 with WomenSport International. Additionally, social and cultural WINGOs in the late period are more likely to exist in the global South while Social and Cultural WINGOs in the early period are more likely to exist in the global North.

Three dimensions exist in the dataset that are mere blips on the discursive scene. As there are still WINGOs that espouse these perspectives, it is important to include them when thinking about dimensions of discursive thematic models. These three dimensions have both very small numbers and instability across the entire period under study including housewives, reproductive rights, and mother rights.

Among housewives WINGOs, there are only seven WINGOs founded between 1870 and 2006 that are focused on helping women in a housewife role. Three of these were established in the early period, one in the middle period, and three in the late period, for a total of seven organizations in this category. These organizations represent women who are primarily working in the home and include:

- i. Women's Agricultural & Horticultural International Union (WAHIU, existing from 1899 to 1912)—Last activity reported in 1912 according to the *Yearbook*. Verdon (2012)

claims this organization was renamed as Women's Farm and Garden Association (WFGA) in 1921, but the WFGA national site gives no mention of the WAHIU.

- ii. Associated Country Women of the World [Liaison Committee of Rural Women's & Homemakers'...] (established in 1930)
- iii. Union De Mujeres Americanas/United Women of the Americas (existing from 1934 to 1972)—Produced a cookbook to share recipes across all nations in the Americas (copyright 1956).
- iv. International Women's Auxiliary to the Veterinary Profession (existing from 1949 to 2009)—An organization for spouses of male veterinarians. In 1987, became the International Veterinary Auxiliary when spouses of women veterinarians were accepted as members.
- v. Federation Europeene des Femmes Actives au Foyer/European Federation of Women Working in the Home (established in 1983)
- vi. Union Europeenne des Femmes de Militaires/European Union of Soldiers' Wives (established in 1994)
- vii. Unione Intercontinentale Casalinghe/Intercontinental Housewives' Union (established in 1994)—Aims: 1. Represent housewives before world institutions; 2. Promote, favor and support women who work at home; 3. Promote laws for their protection; 4. Promote the rights of the family and its participation in institutional decision-making.

The reproductive rights dimension takes an opposite pattern of instability to the housewives dimension—instead of seeing more establishments in the early and late periods, no reproductive rights WINGOs were seen in the early period and only one was established in the

late period. Eighty per cent of all reproductive rights WINGOs—four total—were established in the middle period, which aligns with the rise in reproductive rights politics with the second wave of the women’s movement in the United States. While the last reproductive rights WINGO in the dataset was established in 1985, and the reproductive rights WINGOs vary in terms of utilizing a feminist perspective versus a medical perspective, all reproductive rights WINGOs are still alive organizations today. There are five total WINGOs that espouse a reproductive rights conceptualization related to woman and include: the International Planned Parenthood Federation (established in 1948), the International Federation of Gynecology & Obstetrics (established in 1954), the Asia & Oceania Federation of Obstetrics & Gynecology (established in 1957), the International Federation of Infantile & Juvenile [Pediatric & Adolescent] Gynaecology (established in 1971), and the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research & Action (established in 1985).

Finally, while mother rights WINGOs are established throughout the entire time period under study, they are small in number with seven total organizations representing this conceptualization and also experience a lot of instability over time. While two mother rights WINGOs were established in the early period, the most mother rights WINGOs were established in the middle period representing 57.14 per cent of all mother rights WINGOs established. One mother rights WINGO was established in the late period. While mothering is an aspect of the naïve integration discourse, the mother rights discourse is slightly different as mothers are seen as persons deserving of rights instead of passive progenitors of nurturance. That said, these categories are not mutually exclusive as organizations such as the International League of Mothers and Women Teachers for the Promotion of Peace and the World Organization of Mothers of All Nations would be included in both categories. Additionally, the organization

named European Federation of Women Working in the Home is both a housewives WINGO and a mother rights WINGO. Surprisingly, there is not more overlap between these two dimensions. Lastly, over half of all mother rights WINGOs established throughout the period are defunct organizations, with two shutting down very shortly after their establishment. Mother rights WINGOs in the sample include: the International Association for the Protection of the Mother & for the Reform of Sexual Life (existing only in 1911), the International League of Mothers & Women Teachers for the Promotion of Peace (existing from 1928 to 1956), the World Movement of Mothers (established in 1947), the World Organization of Mothers of All Nations (existing from 1947 to 1951), La Leche League International (established in 1956; promotes breastfeeding), the Permanent International Committee of Mothers (existing from 1956 to 1965), and the Federation Europeene des Femmes Actives au Foyer/European Federation of Women Working in the Home (established in 1983).

As Western women gained more rights and the role of women in Western contexts expanded, world culture around womanhood defined the integration of women into society first as key to political development embodied in democratic rights and then as key to economic development embodied in professionalization and rights to education.

Multivariate Analysis of Dimensions of Discursive Thematic Models of Woman Since 1870

Exploratory factor analysis is typically undertaken at the micro level of research, in psychological and social psychological studies. The purpose in these studies is typically to create a scale to understand the multiple dimensions of a person's psyche and/or their social selves, to map a cognitive blueprint or schema of a person. If we think of it in this way, then the method can easily also have purchase on macro level processes. When world society scholars talk about

culture, they talk about cultural blueprints—models that dictate prescribed ideology, practice, and social life. Cultural blueprints are different than cultural scripts—they go beyond defining speech and behavior to defining an entire way of life in accordance with specific cultural tenets, ideologies, and beliefs. Just as psychologists and social psychologists may utilize exploratory factor analysis to discover dimensions within cognitive blueprints, world society scholars in sociology may utilize exploratory factor analysis to discover dimensions within cultural blueprints.

Figure 1.4 maps out the entire WINGO organizational field, offering a clear visual on how the field is structured. Factor 1 and Factor 2, as seen in Table 1.1, have both the strongest eigenvalues and include multiple categories. Thus, I will focus on interpreting these two factors. When understanding a culture of womanhood, it is imperative to understand how myriad dimensions overlap to produce discursive thematic models. Looking at a plot of the Factor 1 loadings by the Factor 2 loadings, as seen in Figure 1.4, allows a great visualization of how these various dimensions clump and hang together to create what I argue are different discursive thematic models dictating different logics of how to address social activity toward women.

One important observation is that education and development exist in separate models. This finding is in line with previous research by Chabbott (2003) looking at education and development discourses among INGOs. Chabbott (2003) writes:

The way progress and justice are conceptualized in the current world culture brings them frequently into conflict. On the one hand, the use of science and purposive action to increase the material well-being of society undergird twentieth-century ideas about technical/economic development. ...More importantly, education has also been identified as central to nation-state building, in its capacity to create citizens, indoctrinating individuals into a national consciousness and building in them an attachment to the state and its chosen development strategy (Boli 1989). At the same time, education is also a source of much generative tension as the nation-state attempts to address simultaneously demands for both economic

development—calling for workers with specific technical training and higher education—and for social development—demanding mass education. (7-8)

Thus, we are seeing here a separation of these different types of development at the international level when identifying logics to use in social action towards women.

Table 1.1: Eigenvalues and Factors from an Exploratory Factor Analysis using Principal Component Factor Methods*† (n = 183)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Uniqueness
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	2.774	1.837	1.370	1.181	1.151	1.036	
<i>Difference</i>	0.937	0.467	0.190	0.030	0.115	0.152	
<i>Proportion</i>	0.185	0.123	0.091	0.079	0.077	0.069	
<u>Variables:</u>							
Protection	0.625	0.019	0.044	-0.085	-0.125	-0.243	0.526
Global South	0.467	0.362	-0.206	-0.264	0.147	0.165	0.490
Development	0.733	0.056	-0.094	-0.289	0.025	-0.002	0.367
Rights	0.749	0.054	0.199	-0.091	-0.006	-0.171	0.360
Education	0.133	0.502	-0.028	0.116	-0.286	0.379	0.491
Housewives	-0.044	-0.236	0.150	-0.061	0.631	0.583	0.178
Professional	-0.088	0.620	0.095	-0.138	-0.351	0.306	0.363
Reproductive Rights	0.167	0.467	0.119	0.337	0.370	-0.389	0.338
Mother Rights	0.039	-0.330	0.652	0.284	0.010	0.116	0.370
Service	0.384	-0.195	-0.600	0.130	0.212	0.212	0.349
Social Reform	0.765	-0.183	0.179	0.042	0.154	0.033	0.322
Naïve Integration	0.290	-0.396	0.247	0.148	-0.334	0.040	0.559
Religious	0.062	-0.367	-0.592	0.443	-0.183	-0.067	0.276
Medical/Health	-0.066	0.556	0.019	0.488	0.319	-0.110	0.334
Sports/Rec/Soc	-0.432	-0.092	-0.050	-0.554	0.232	-0.338	0.328

* LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(105) = 407.52$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

† Principal Component Factor Method retains latent variation.

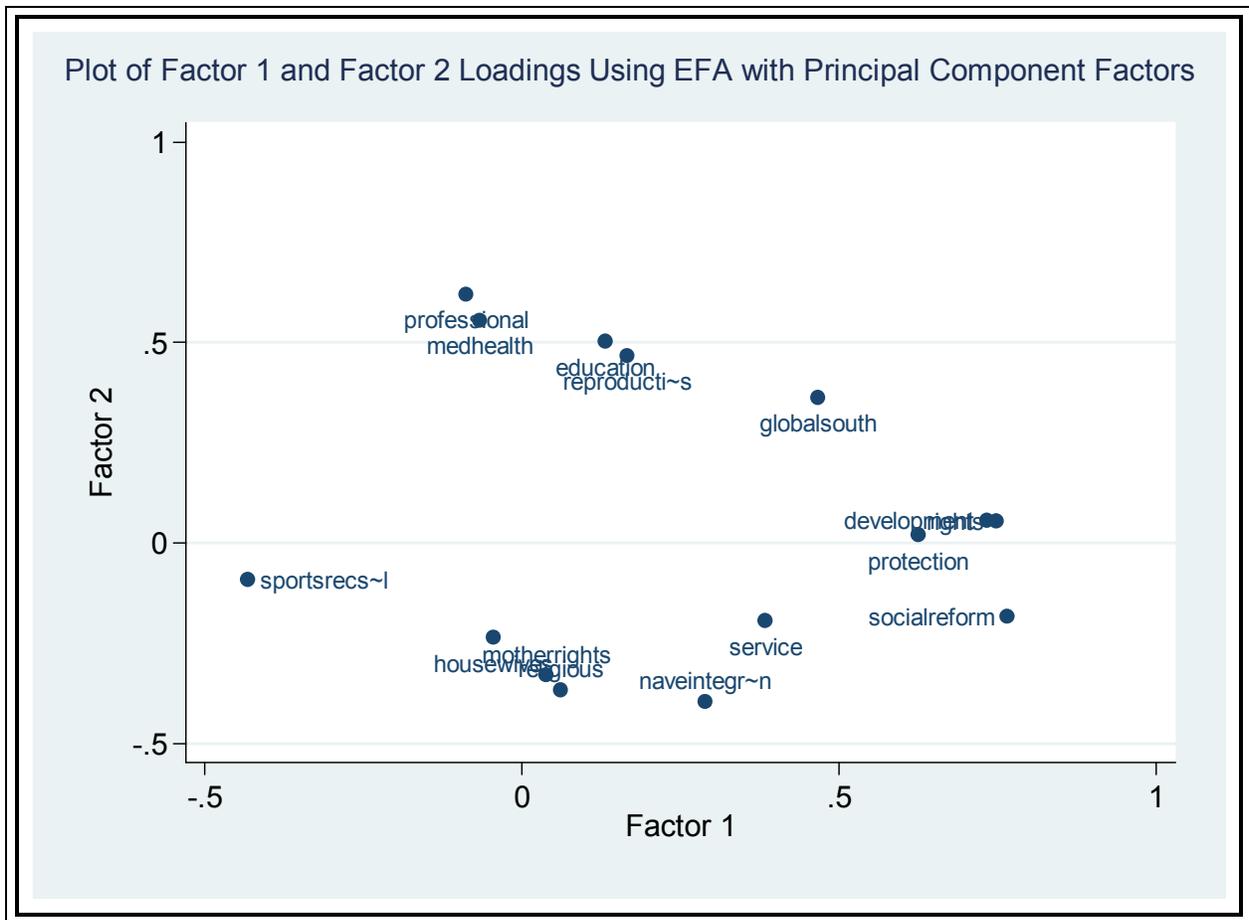


Figure 1.4: Exploratory Factor Analysis Loading Plot of Factor 1 by Factor 2

The first clumping together of dimensions seen in Figure 1.4 represents what I refer to as the social development of woman. Dictated by Factor 1, the first clumping is the strongest factor, consisting of the following dimensions: social reform, rights, development, and protection. I call this thematic model “social development.” Unlike the other two thematic models, this area of action has a strong focus on political agency to seek social development for women. These WINGOs tend to utilize political perspectives and means to encourage women outside the organization to fight for rights and social change. Seeking to cause change in male-logic institutions from outside male-logic institutions, women in these organizations are not coming from a professional or education point of view. Instead, they seek change external to these

dimensions and contexts. In relation to the global south dimension, social development of women is typically found among organizations founded in the global North working in the global South, although there are a few organizations—especially in Latin America—that utilize this logic in addressing within-region women.

The second clumping of dimensions seen in Figure 1.4 represents what I refer to as economic development of woman. Dictated primarily by Factor 2, the second clumping is the second strongest factor, consisting of the following dimensions: professional, medical/health, education, and reproductive rights. Unlike organizations employing the social development model, which focuses strongly on political agency, organizations employing an economic development model focus on economic agency through women's labor power. While shying away from politics, these organizations seek to create change in male-logic institutions from inside male-logic institutions while women in these organizations incorporate their own work in professions and higher education into their perspective. As a result, these organizations tend to focus less on social change and more on incorporating women into existing economic frameworks—predominantly women's integration in relation to labor and the workplace—and increasing membership by making more women into educated professionals. In the global South, the economic development model is typically found amongst organizations founded in the global South who also work in the global South.

The third clumping of dimensions seen in Figure 1.4 represents what I refer to as naïve development of woman. While not clear from the initial factor analysis, the plot of Factor 1 and Factor 2 in Figure 1.4 suggests a third thematic model. The third clumping we see in Figure 1.4 is negatively correlated with the economic development of woman model (primarily Factor 2 dimensions) and either has low or no correlation with the social development of woman model

(primarily Factor 1 dimensions). Dimensions in the third clumping, which I call naïve development of woman, include: mother rights, housewives, religious, naïve integration, and service.

Unlike the social development model, which is motivated by and propagates political agency, and unlike the economic development model, which is motivated by and propagates economic agency, the naïve development model encourages a type of agency where nothing is returned to the individual—a service-oriented approach. So instead of woman mobilizing her political agency for her social development, and instead of woman mobilizing her economic agency for her economic development, the naïve development model encourages a more traditional conceptualization of women’s role whereby woman is to mobilize her agency in general for the development of others. Furthermore, the naïve development model encourages stereotypes of “innate woman abilities,” such as nurturing, mothering, and caretaking, in the pursuit of social and economic development of society. Here, woman is supposed to be a passive developer of society, using her mothering “instincts” in service to her community, in mothering her children, in ameliorating the physical, emotional, and sometimes spiritual wounds of war—being the bearers of peace through nurturance to others.

The naïve development model is not directly related to the global south dimension in terms of what we see in Figure 1.4. Also, it does not seek to change and/or question male-logic institutions and instead tends to further perpetuate male-logic institutions. In other words, organizations espousing the naïve development model do not really question the patriarchal tenets of the institutions they are associated with.

Finally, two dimensions do not fall clearly within the three models. The global south dimension lands about halfway between the social development and the economic development

models, indicating that this dimension is correlated with both models. Furthermore, the sports/rec/social dimension is not a part of any of the three models and does not appear to be related to any of the other discursive dimensions or models.

DISCUSSION

The interest and activity around women and womanhood in world society has dramatically expanded since 1870, and especially since the end of World War II and the UN Decade for Women. In addition to organizational proliferation, I find broadening international participation—the number of nation-states who had or have memberships has cumulatively increased across time. Preliminary analysis suggests that since 1975, and presumably the UN Decade for Women, there has been an increase in national WINGO membership in the global South.

First, the category of woman or women has become increasingly rationalized and expanded across time as persons identifying as women—predominantly in Western nations—gain access to (e.g. education, government) and permission to abstain from (e.g. marriage, motherhood) greater and greater numbers of formal social institutions. As this category of person expands in capacity and actorhood, organizations proliferate to address the increasingly rationalized and culturally constructed needs of women (based in Western definitions of womanhood). In fact, when the human rights discourse entered the international sphere immediately following World War II, it proved different from previous discourse, even utilized by WINGOs, on the natural rights of man.¹³ Predominantly, it linked rights discourse with national modern political responsibility to all humans, including women.

¹³ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948 (see <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/history.shtml>).

Second, this increasing rationalization, along with the organizational proliferation and broadening international participation observed in the present study, is why the UN conferences and the UN Decade for Women were necessary. As the number of fields woman is permitted into increase, the actions attributed to woman become more diverse, and affordances available to woman increase, organizations are needed to represent and provide support for these ideas. As the fields, actions, and affordances increase at faster rates, conferences organized by international governmental organizations, like the UN, are necessary for world society and governments to address the rapid change within their polities.

Third, I find it extremely peculiar that the UN in particular has had such a strong historical role in defining the category of women and, short of a regression analysis, appears to have had a strong influence on WINGO development since World War II. From one perspective, one could say that the UN highly emphasizes and cares a lot about women because of their four Conferences on Women and the UN Decade for Women. However, UN Women was not established until June 2010. The organization obviously understood that women existed and women globally faced serious vulnerabilities and discriminations prior to June 2010—this is obvious from their sub-foci on women within other programs and bureaucratic entities. Women have been addressed under almost every other program in the UN, from the UN Environment Program (established in 1972), to the UN Development Program (established in 1966), and even to the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (established in 1997).

Furthermore, when I first approached WINGO discursive dimensions, I had ideas of women's empowerment in mind, thinking there may be different interpretations and/or forms of women's empowerment. What I found to be most interesting here is that organizations falling under dimensions in the first two thematic models—social development and economic

development—both use an overarching and increasingly prolific discursive framework of women’s empowerment, especially after 1970. Women’s empowerment, in this way, is not itself a property, dimension, or discursive thematic model. Instead, ideas of women’s empowerment penetrate most WINGOs from the beginning of the period. That said, WINGOs employing naïve development models tend away from ideas and terms related to women’s empowerment. Moreover, the sports/rec/social WINGO dimension embodies its own interpretation of women’s empowerment.

These ideas go beyond simplification of woman as person. We know and accept, for the most part, that women are persons. However, understanding the intricacies of that personhood and how to ensure women receive their full human rights has led to an extrapolation and diversity of approaches and perspectives. As the role of woman becomes more complex in society, so goes the ways we think, talk, and act in relation to the social place of woman. While I have extrapolated this complexity through analyzing a multitude of dimensions, it is clear that these dimensions fall into three models of addressing woman in society. Additionally, these models do not exist in a vacuum—the WINGOs espousing these models must interact and network. While it may be assumed that WINGOs espousing a given model may only interact with others espousing that same model, the current data cannot address whether or not WINGOs from different models interact and how frequently that occurs. However, it is evident from this analysis that WINGOs have embodied three clear discursive models as the role of woman expands in modern world society.

So why now—why establish UN Women in June 2010? One answer is evident from WINGO changes over time, especially since 1975—that the category of women as defined by world society is becoming increasingly accepted by nation-states in the global South. As this

occurs, the UN, as it has seen its responsibility in the past, focuses on creating or perpetuating a specific version of peace, which in practicality has typically meant activities targeted towards cultural integration with Western idea and practice, along with help during cultural transitions to more Western ways of being. The UN sees these perceived needs as requiring greater resources and bureaucratic force in the global South, thus the obvious bureaucratic component of UN Women now becomes perceived as necessary for women, particularly in developing countries. As such, cultural constructions of nationhood and women based in Western notions and objectives are elaborated and diffused from international bodies to nation-states.

Lastly, and perhaps an even more bothersome question, is the utility of a global civil society devoted to women, especially as definitions of gender change. In the twentieth century, global civil society proliferated due to a rationalization of modern actorhood and subsequent proliferation of identities. In many Western nations, especially in urban areas, gender, like race and/or ethnicity, is becoming a more abstract notion. On the one hand there is still rampant violence against women and minorities, and that only appears to be increasing in modern nations instead of decreasing. Yet, on the other hand, some women and men alike—mostly educated and in Western nations—fight against gender normativity and socially normative links between gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. Another question related to utility, which could easily be addressed in a future study, asks how international governmental organization and WINGO activity penetrates to nation-states and whether or not women at the societal level are actually aided in some way that in fact makes their lives significantly better. World society theory would suggest that Western notions of womanhood would prove less applicable in non-Western settings.

CONCLUSION

The present study on the structural expansion of womanhood in world society is pertinent to many fields of study—from organizations to social movements to gender to cultural sociology generally. A final question that beckons another study is how WINGOs affect outcomes for female citizens. I begin to address this question of societal-level outcomes for women in Chapter 3. Before that, however, Chapter 2 looks at the connections between national WINGO linkages and the establishment of women's ministries as a part of government, considering the influence of women's global civil society on state-level factors.

The present chapter established expansion in world society structuration around women and womanhood generally over the entire twentieth century. Utilizing a descriptive statistical analysis, I discussed links between World War II, the UN, and WINGO establishment along with broadening international participation throughout the period. Contemporary interest in the global South among WINGOs is a curious development as world society notions of development have become highly intertwined with world society notions of woman.

CHAPTER 2

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S MOVEMENT AND STRUCTURAL EXPANSION IN SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE STATE: WOMEN’S MINISTRY ESTABLISHMENT, 1960-2009

The first government ministry charged with overseeing women and concerns traditionally associated with women’s role in society was established in 1976 in the Côte D’Ivoire. Now the Ministry of Solidarity, Family, Women, and Children, the women’s ministry in Côte D’Ivoire currently states its mission to be to “ensure the implementation and monitoring of the policy of the government for the welfare of the family, advancement of women and protection of children” (translated from French).¹⁴ There is some indication in the literature that governance surrounding women, such as the establishment of a women’s ministry, in Côte D’Ivoire was predominantly “designed to address women’s issues while leaving the “real” politics to men and male party leaders” (Sheldon 2005:23). Thus, women were seen as a separate entity requiring a different government approach in order to reach standards of equality and human rights established by international norms.

Ten years later, by 1986, ten women’s ministries existed globally, with only three in Western, or developed, nations. As seen in Table 2.1, between 1986 and 1996 that number nearly quadrupled to thirty-eight, and by 2006, sixty-two women’s government ministries existed worldwide. However, as of 2010, many Western, developed nations—such as Italy, Ireland,

¹⁴ See the Côte D’Ivoire Ministère de la Solidarité, de la Famille, de la Femme, et de l’Enfant Facebook page, retrieved July 16, 2015.

Table 2.1: Women's Ministries by Year of Establishment

Year of Establishment	Nation-State	West (Developed)	Year of Establishment	Nation-State	West (Developed)
1976	Côte D'Ivoire		1996	Cambodia	
1978	Bangladesh		1996	Gambia	
1979	Togo		1996	Guinea	
1982	Mauritius		1996	Peru	
1983	Burundi		1996	Sao Tome & Principe	
1984	Cameroon		1997	Angola	
1984	New Zealand	*	1997	Burkina Faso	
1984	Saint Kitts & Nevis		1997	Mali	
1985	France	*	1998	Lesotho	
1986	W. Germany	*	1999	Denmark	*
1987	Fiji		1999	Djibouti	
1989	Niger		1999	Dominican Republic	
1989	Pakistan		1999	Gabon	
1989	Sri Lanka		2000	Mozambique	
1990	Germany	*	2000	Namibia	
1990	Samoa		2001	Afghanistan	
1990	Tanzania		2001	Ghana	
1991	Austria	*	2001	Liberia	
1991	Chile		2001	Malaysia	
1991	Trinidad & Tobago		2001	South Korea	
1992	Congo		2002	Comoros	
1992	Equatorial Guinea		2003	Democratic Republic of the Congo	
1992	Guinea-Bissau		2003	Kenya	
1992	Malawi		2003	Rwanda	
1993	Maldives		2005	Somalia	
1993	Tunisia		2005	Zimbabwe	
1994	Haiti		2006	Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	
1994	Saint Lucia		2006	Tonga	
1994	Uganda		2006	Zambia	
1995	Dominica		2007	Solomon Islands	
1995	Ethiopia		2007	Sweden	*
1995	Nepal		2009	South Africa	
1995	Nigeria		2009	Venezuela	
1996	Benin				

Note: * indicates developed nations with a women's ministry. All others are developing, or non-West nations.

Norway, the United Kingdom, and even the United States—do not have a women’s ministry. At first glance, this data shows that women’s ministries are typically found in non-Western, developing national contexts, contexts where female citizens typically have very little power as compared to Western, developed contexts.

If women have so little power, why establish a women’s ministry in the first place? Many scholars have proffered explanations for women’s inclusion and incorporation into national governments, looking both at female suffrage acquisition (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997) and, more prolifically, female political representation (Burnet 2008, 2011; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Swiss 2009; Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna, Fallon, and Beckfield 2008). Findings overall support a story of national connection to a global civil society spreading global norms while the application of these global norms within and across national contexts tends to vary.

Alternative approaches consider factors such as economic modernization and democracy as being important to the inclusion of women in politics, proffering that modern economies and modern politics create modern societies and peoples. Specifically, greater economic development and democracy work in rational ways, leading to intended outcomes for society, particularly greater gender equality in political representation (Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002). This approach assumes women’s ministries are exemplars of gender equality, producing the intended result of women’s empowerment. On the other hand, world society scholars argue that socially constructed norms, particularly related to women’s inclusion in national political structures, spread to nation-states through links to world society, meaning nation-states with more ties to

world society will have greater female political incorporation (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006). From this approach, women's ministries, while codifying a modern construction of women in terms of modern personhood and rights into a state structural representation of women, still embody Western interpretations of women and women's rights and thus may not be related to power outcomes for women in non-Western contexts.

Despite the proliferation of studies on female political representation, there has only been one quantitative over-time analysis of a second dimension of women's incorporation into national governments: the structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women, represented in practice as a formal organization devoted to women and women's issues, or a women's ministry. This analysis was conducted by True and Mintrom (2001) who take an international studies approach to an outcome they call "gender mainstreaming." While an important first step, my analysis is structured in terms of a sociological approach, building off True and Mintrom's study, but also incorporating empirical work by world society scholars on ministry establishment and rationalized governance.

Other studies of government ministry establishment have been conducted by world society scholars addressing other types of ministries (Frank, Hironaka and Schofer 2000; Jang 2000), larger subgroups of ministries (Drori and Meyer N.d.), and the place and role of ministries in nation-state governments (Drori and Meyer N.d.; Kim, Jang, and Hwang 2002). Overall, the findings conclude that global international norms spread by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) to nation-states function to define appropriate governance, nation-state structure, and other features of modern states, including ministries as a form of rationalized governance (Drori, Jang, and Meyer 2006; Drori and Meyer N.d.; Jang 2000).

Previous world society research on women in political office and on ministerial structure suggest first that structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women is a measure taken by nation-states with the primary goal of being seen as legitimate in world society. At the turn of the twentieth century, women's global civil society—a term I use interchangeably with the international women's movement—embodied in women's INGOs, or WINGOs, pushed for female (universal) suffrage as this was a first step for many women in the West to be incorporated into political institutions. In many non-West nations unreceptive to universal suffrage, WINGOs pushed for other types of policies, such as anti-prostitution and pro-female labor legislation, as a way of getting universal suffrage in the back door (Berkovitch 1999). Pulling woman out of her domestic existence to vote was thought to be a first step to women's empowerment. Personhood was thus embodied in the term woman, which became a vehicle for international mobilizing and norm-making up through the current period.

Starting after World War II (post-1945) and ending with the culmination of the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women (1975 to 1985), world society defined women's political incorporation within a human rights framework that redefined state concern towards women in the following way: to be seen as legitimate and moving towards democracy, sovereign nation-states not only had to give women the right to vote, but also had to allow women to stand for political office and had to meet quotas of women's inclusion in political offices (Tripp and Kang 2008). In many real or hopeful nations, especially those represented in this study, these two outcomes could not even be imagined as women only exist in the domestic sphere and, if she is not fulfilling the domestic role that is considered her birthright in many of these contexts, she is not considered a good citizen or person and many times is subject to shunning, violent shaming, or even death as a result. In places like Rwanda where the Ministry of Gender and Family

Promotion was established in 2003, Burnet (2008, 2011) points out how gender quotas have a different, more symbolic meaning, indicating both gains and losses for the day-to-day treatment of women in society.

After the UN Decade for Women and UN World Conferences on Women (held in 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1995), a “third wave” of international women’s movement mobilization and discourse redefined women’s roles and women’s needs by incorporating notions of human rights and development into an empowerment framework. In concert with international governmental organization activity, one outcome of this discursive shift was to redefine normative female political incorporation in the context of the most impoverished developing nations to include a branch of national government devoted solely to women—the women’s ministry. Finally, the linkage to the international women’s movement, as observed through WINGOs, furthers the need for national legitimacy while also spreading world society schemas of womanhood and blueprints of what structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women looks like.

In the contemporary West it is a taken-for-granted notion that women can make their own decisions, live in their own houses, and even make their own money. Messages of women’s empowerment spread through WINGOs to nation-states tend to assume many of these taken-for-granted notions. While New Zealand’s Ministry of Women’s Affairs, established in 1984, or Austria’s Minister for Women and Gender Equality, established in 1991, may be more likely to address this version of Westernized womanhood, most women’s ministries are established in the non-West, in contexts where women must still abide by stereotyped gender roles and practices. Thus, how states are being transformed by world society pressures related to women’s empowerment may nevertheless represent forms of paternalism and/or patriarchy.

While the purpose and effect of the women's ministry is not rigorously analyzed in the present study, finding a link between the international women's movement and women's ministry establishment will give evidence of global norm diffusion. Furthermore, demonstrating a lack of women's social power within contexts of women's ministry establishment suggests that the application of global norms related to women's empowerment may be differentially interpreted across nations, especially in highly paternalistic contexts. Finally, evidence analyzed also suggests that nations establish women's ministries predominantly to interface with world society organizations (perhaps including receipt of international aid) more so than to necessarily re-engineer domestic society. Thus, the purpose of the women's ministry is to be a liaison between the nation-state and world society.

In asking about the effect of women's global civil society on the structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women globally, I seek to expand theoretically on literature that considers world society as a locus of schemas and discourse defining rationalized governance as an aspect of legitimate statehood, and empirically on research looking at women's political incorporation cross-nationally. Specifically, I seek to explain 1) the establishment of a women's ministry as an instance of a rationalized government organization responsible for the welfare of women, and 2) linkages between women's global civil society and women's ministry establishment.

Hypotheses are tested in an event history analysis, a dynamic statistical model that predicts time-varying outcomes, with data on about 170 countries from the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, the *World Bank*, Henige's (1970) documentation of colonial powers, the *CIA World Factbook*, and the *Statesman's Yearbook*, among other sources. The time

period under observation begins in 1960, a point when *human rights* ideas were at the tipping point of widespread adoption by nation-state governments, and ends in 2009.

WOMEN IN POLITICS: FROM ENFRANCHISEMENT TO REPRESENTATION TO STATE STRUCTURAL EXPANSION

By 1963, ninety percent of sovereign nation-states around the world had enfranchised women with the right to vote (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006). Widespread access to political office would take longer. By 1943, only fifteen percent of sovereign nation-states had their first female parliamentarian. However, the end of World War II in 1945, the establishment of the UN—subsuming the League of Nations—on October 24, 1945, and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, all appear to prove advantageous for female political representation. Between 1945 and 1955, the percentage of sovereign nation-states with their first female parliamentarian skyrocketed from fifteen to fifty percent, the quickest increase over the entire twentieth century (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006). By 2000, seventy percent of sovereign nation-states had at least ten percent female political representation, while only thirty percent had at least twenty percent female representation and only ten percent had at least thirty percent female representation (2006).

While Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan (1997) and Paxton, Hughes, and Green (2006) provide the only cross-national analyses of universal suffrage, most previous cross-national studies looking at women's incorporation into national governments have observed female political representation (Burnet 2008, 2011; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Swiss 2009; Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna, Fallon, and

Beckfield 2008). However, while these indicators measure women's political power by accounting for women's political incorporation as citizen political decision-makers and as personnel, they do not account for contexts where women do not have power over decisions, property, or earnings, nor do they account for women's political incorporation into government structure.

Other than the work in international studies on gender mainstreaming by True and Mintrom (2001), the closest previous scholars have come to looking at government structure pertaining to women among many nation-states was in a study by Wotipka and Ramirez (2008b) where a world society approach was used to explain nation-state ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). However, according to the analysis conducted by True and Mintrom (2001), nation-state ratification of CEDAW does not account for the adoption of a "high level [state] mechanism" addressing women.

Government organizations are one place to look when defining government structure. Government organizations are an organization, ministry, department or other subsector of a nation-state government, typically with a specific focus. Examples of government organization foci areas include justice, health, labor, the environment, and even trade. Establishment of government organizations devoted to women is a more recent phenomenon.

Figure 2.1 depicts the cumulative total of women's ministries by year established from 1960 to 2009. The first government ministry devoted to women was founded in 1976 in the Côte D'Ivoire, overlapping with the start of the UN Decade for Women in 1975. Steady growth in women's ministries is seen throughout the Decade, ending in 1985. Shortly thereafter, in 1989, rate of establishment began to increase from an average of one or two ministries established per

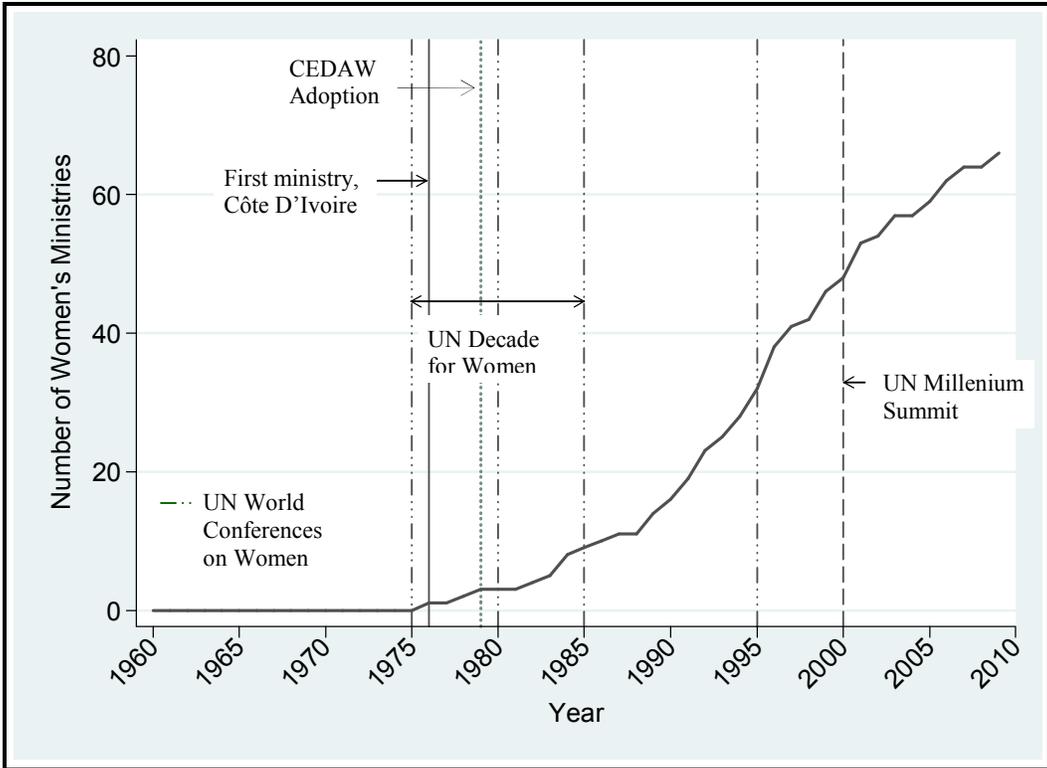


Figure 2.1: Cumulative Number of National Women's Ministries, 1960-2009

Note: CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women treaty; UN = United Nations

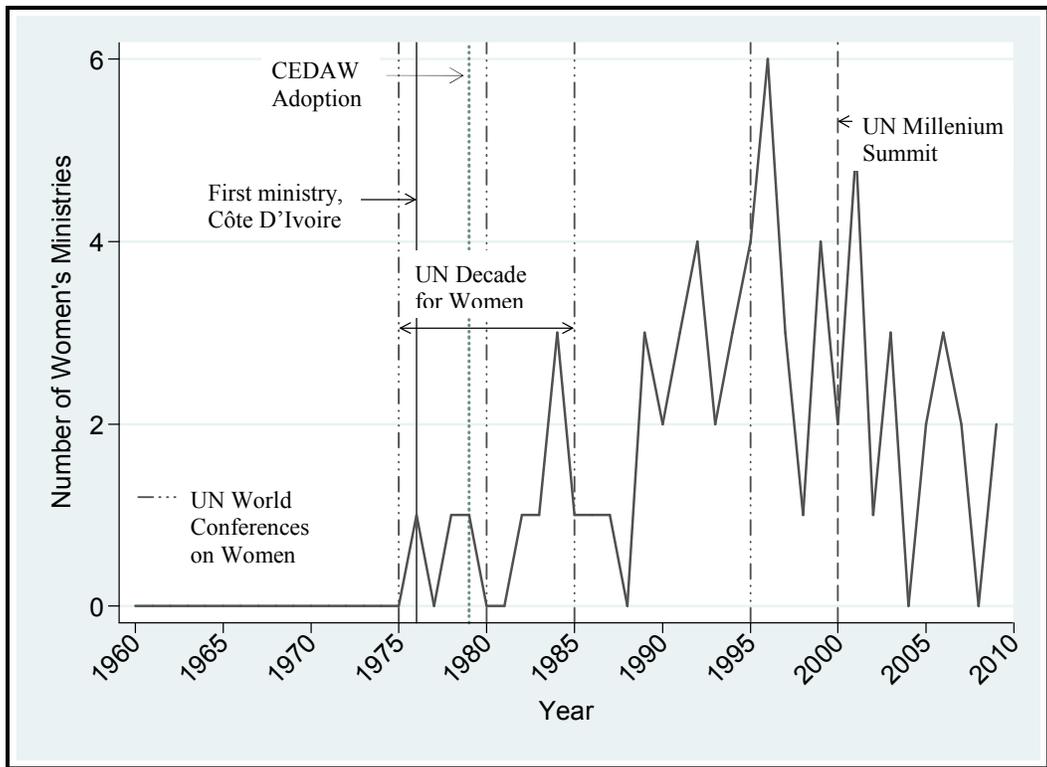


Figure 2.2: Total Number of Women's Ministries Established Per Year, 1960-2009

year to an average of three ministries established per year, a rate that appears to have remained somewhat constant through 2009. Further evidence of this phenomenon is given in Figure 2.2, which shows total number of ministries founded per year, by the very large rate of women's ministries established between 1989 and 2001, a time period in which forty-three of the sixty-seven total ministries in the dataset were established. Table 2.1 lists women's ministry establishment years and nations, ordered by year of establishment and indicating West, developed status.

Women's Ministries: Activities and Origin Stories

The present study is a quantitative analysis over a large span of time and large number of nations, and thus is most conducive to broad interpretations. However, the question of what women's ministries actually do and how they claim to originate has come up a few times while working on this project, which suggests to me that there is much qualitative work to be done in future studies—on the ministry names, when their name changes and why, the activity of women's ministries, and ministry origin stories.

In order to address the question simply, I selected one women's ministry whose activities and origin story are what I would consider typical of many other women's ministries established in non-West, developing contexts. While the meaning and implementation of claimed origin and activities needs further study across nations and contexts, the Trinidad and Tobago women's ministry is a good example as it appears in title, mission, and stated activities to function a lot like the majority of women's ministries in my sample.

Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Gender, Youth, and Child Development, est. 1991¹⁵

The Trinidad and Tobago women's ministry is similar to many other women's ministries globally both in their inclusion of child and family services and in their focus on basic skill development, education, and literacy. From the ministry's website, I noted the projects and programs. In this case, most programs run by the ministry have more to do with youth than with women. In this context, as in many women's ministry contexts, youth and family are seen as a primary concern or interest of women, so to address one is to address the other according to many of these government logics.

According to the Trinidad and Tobago ministry website, the Youth Awards program is kept going because about thirty-four per cent of Trinbagonians are categorized as "youth," and there is constant negative attention given to "youth" in the media and in public spaces. Beyond the awards, the ministry keeps youth development and apprenticeship centers running at both national and district levels within the nation-state. Regarding district services, the ministry also runs afterschool centers, education-based adolescent intervention programs, along with skill enhancement and social education and community based facilities, which offer non-residential programs for further skill and social development. The ministry is also involved in influencing National Youth Policy.

In regards to women directly, the program Women in Harmony is "designed to address the problems of unemployment among large numbers of women in need, women who are in the main, single heads of households with low/no skills and no income".¹⁶ The Gatekeepers Programme trains men to be heads of their community and to interface positively between the community and outside influences. Vacation camps give parents a place to bring youth where the

¹⁵ See <http://www.mgycd.gov.tt/Home.aspx> for more information.

¹⁶ See <http://www.mgycd.gov.tt/ProjectsProgrammes/WomeninHarmony.aspx>.

youth are then instilled with ideas of patriotism and volunteerism. Lastly, Break the Silence is a campaign to help end child sexual abuse.

The Trinidad and Tobago women's ministry posts on their website a very clear origin story of the Gender Affairs Division (2010). In 1971, an Organization of American States representative visited Trinidad and Tobago to discuss establishment of a Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Cooperatives, after which the Women's Bureau is first established within the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Cooperatives. In 1974, the National Commission on the Status of Women convened to plan for celebration of International Women's Year, and, in 1975, the government celebrated both International Women's Year and the beginning of the Decade for Women. In 1980, a Permanent National Commission on the Status of Women was established, and by 1985 Trinidad and Tobago is represented at the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya by a delegation of twenty-two persons. In 1987, the Women's Bureau is re-established in the Ministry of Health, Welfare and the Status of Women and a year later a Draft National Policy Statement on Women is developed. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by Trinidad and Tobago in 1990, and by 1991, a Women's Affairs Division was established at the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Women's Affairs.

In practice, women's ministries today, with most existing in UN-designated Least Developed Countries, appear to serve the function that poverty alleviation mechanisms did in the past, particularly in the West, at the turn of the nineteenth century—mechanisms at the time that also perpetuated traditional gender role practice and norms (see Fraser 1989; Mohr and Duquette 1997). In most cases of women's ministries, the idea of poverty alleviation is combined with the idea of who deserves to receive welfare in modern, developed welfare states,

resulting in many women's ministries being combined with youth, children, and family ministries in Least Developed Country contexts.

On the other hand, six out of sixty-seven total women's ministries exist in developed, Westernized contexts, indicated in Table 2.1. In these settings, the women's ministry is a stand-alone bureaucratic organization separate from the activities of welfare agencies. Thus, ideas of economic empowerment, women in leadership, and disdaining violence against women are seen through a Westernized lens—particularly, as having different goals than the welfare agencies, which are housed separate in Western governments. Furthermore, the meaning and interpretation of these ideas is quite different. For example, economic empowerment in developed countries' women's ministries typically means helping women find a job based on their skills and to climb work hierarchies, while in the case of Nigeria, the ministry's website states: “Some activities undertaken by the Ministry include cottage industry projects such as bee-keeping, pottery and vegetable oil production to boost the economic empowerment of women, where the Ministry provides equipment and training to women's cooperatives.”¹⁷ Thus, we see large differences in the translation of world society norms, discourse, and culture into application in nations at differing levels of development.

A Note on Terminology

Theoretically, government ministries, with women's ministries as a type, appear to be an instance of a handful of terms. Political scientists have historically considered ideas of representation, which is when a group's interests and/or issues are being fully supported by agents with political power in government, typically in the form of promoting and voting on

¹⁷ See <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/2012-10-29-11-06-51/executive-branch/111-federal-ministry-of-women-affairs-and-social-development/130-federal-ministry-of-women-affairs-and-social-development?start=1>.

policy that satisfies the group's interest and/or addresses the group's issues (Lovenduski, Baudino, Guadagnini, Meier, and Sainsbury 2005). Descriptive representation is of particular focus in analyses looking at women's political representation, typically considering the effect of women in parliament on the creation and support of "woman-friendly policy." Problematically, the term in application tends to assume a) that women (or even men) in power will know what "woman-friendly policy" actually is, and b) that women (or even men) in power will vote for "woman-friendly policy." However, it is clear from evidence here in the United States and cross-nationally that women across myriad class and socio-economic status boundaries have very different interests and needs, often with contradictory policy implications (Luker 1984).

A broader term, state feminism, has been used by political scientists focusing more on the connection between "feminist policy," the codification and debate over women's issues, and events of intersection between government agencies and domestic women's movements (Mazur 1995, 2002). While women's ministries may be involved in the creation of either "woman-friendly policy" or "feminist policy," my research suggests that contexts where women's ministries exist are more likely to be patriarchal and/or paternalistic. Thus, without an analysis of the domestic effects of women's ministries on policy and other outcomes for women, referring to women's ministries as engines of state feminism is rather premature.

World society scholars Kim, Jang, and Hwang (2002) consider total number of government ministries as an instance of governmental structural expansion. In a previous article, Jang (2000) refers to the expansion in formation of science and technology ministries as the expansion of central government. Other world society scholars, while not offering a specific theoretical term for a ministry, consider the establishment of environmental ministries as one of five outcomes indicating diffusion of world society environmentalism blueprints (Frank,

Hironaka, and Schofer 2000). Finally, building on her published work on the institutionalization of health as a social concern (Inoue and Drori 2006), Gili Drori produced an unpublished manuscript with John Meyer (N.d.)—the original author of world society theory—considering all social agenda ministries, with women’s ministries being one type. In this manuscript, women’s ministries are an instance of a few related terms: structuration of the state around social issues, social agenda ministries, expansion in social concerns of the state, and expansion of state responsibility.

As a result, I refer to women’s ministry establishment as structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women. Previous conceptualizations included the expansion of state responsibility towards women, or the expansion of state paternalism. In many ways women’s ministries represent paternalistic entities—they embody the vision of the state seeing the need to protect and take care of women. However, by default, this seems to suggest that women’s ministries cannot actually function to empower women at all and will always keep women oppressed, which is not necessarily true. While women’s ministries do exist predominantly in nations where women are making relatively small gains in regards to power in society, they are still making gains, and, arguably, women have somewhat greater access and opportunities in society as a result.

EXPLAINING STRUCTURAL EXPANSION IN SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE STATE TO INCLUDE WOMEN

Women’s incorporation theoretically occurs across many different domains of society. Sociologists have pointed to both the private and the public domains as social spaces where incorporation of women could happen. This study focuses on one aspect of the public domain:

state structure. First, alternative explanations of women's incorporation are proffered. I then turn to an application of world society theory in explaining women's ministry establishment.

Alternative Explanation: Economic Modernization

Women's empowerment and incorporation are seen by economic modernization scholars as a period in nation-state evolution towards modernity that every nation-state will achieve. Based on the traditional functionalist paradigm, economic modernization theorists assume that as countries upgrade to modern economic systems of production and consumption, changes toward modernity will also take place at every level of society. As a result, greater economic development (Inglehart and Baker 2000) should lead to structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women. I offer the following alternative hypothesis based on economic modernization theory regarding the incorporation of women into national governments.

Economic Modernization Hypothesis: Greater economic development will lead to greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Alternative Explanation: Democracy

Assuming a realist vision of democracy, where democracy works and institutions that look democratic also function democratically, scholars linking democracy with outcomes for women point to a) the rise of women in public life being part and parcel to the development of democratic institutions (Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002), and b) greater democracy being linked to values of individuation and self-expression (Welzel and Inglehart 2008). While consistent, cross-national data on domestic women's movement organizations is pretty much non-existent across many of the nations who have women's ministries, one mechanism through

which greater democracy may result in state structural expansion to include women is through the existence and activity of a domestic women's movement. As a result, the following hypothesis is proffered for democracy:

Democracy Hypothesis: Greater levels of democracy will lead to greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Countering realist assumptions, world society theorists, along with world systems theorists, point out that not all nations have developed, much less in the same way. World society theorists point to global cultural factors that have played a central role in defining woman, pointing out that political incorporation of women is a marker in defining a legitimate nation-state as opposed to being a marker of development (Berkovitch 1999; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009, 2012; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b).

World Society and Global Factors

Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan (1997) point out that women's incorporation into national governments was dictated from the beginning by global factors, as they show in the case of universal suffrage. The influence of world society norms defining how a nation-state should be constructed means that gaining independence has been strongly and positively related to universal suffrage acquisition since 1890. Furthermore, Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan (1997) found that participation in the Women's International Suffrage Alliance was strongly related to increases in universal suffrage acquisition post-1930.

Similarly, Paxton, Hughes, and Green (2006) find strong effects of the institutionalization of the international women's movement on universal suffrage acquisition and percentage of women in parliament up to and including twenty per cent, but not thirty per cent. They also find WINGO membership to be positively and significantly associated with women's parliamentary representation at all levels tested, but not associated with universal suffrage acquisition.

In a complementary descriptive analysis, Berkovitch (1999) examines world society discourse and activity surrounding womanhood since the turn of the nineteenth century, pointing to discourse and activity within international organizations as central to defining women's incorporation within nation-states. She argues that, in the pre-World War II period, womanhood and the needs of women were defined based on the gender role of a nurturing woman, as women were framed as mothers of the world during wartime. As woman became increasingly defined as citizen within world society due to acquisition of universal suffrage in the West, the incorporation of women into national governments and economies meant setting more standards and expressing women's rights within conventions. National legislation and labor codes were to be expressed such that women in the society are defined and treated as citizens. Over the course of this redefinition, woman was first redefined as a person capable of making decisions through suffrage and labor discourses, and then was defined as human deserving of making decisions through various other world society discourses over the period between 1950 and 1990. These redefinitions related to myriad options for incorporation outcomes, but still do not specify how women's ministries began to arise in the early 1970s.

Berkovitch (1999) points to the development discourse that arose during the UN Decade for Women as being a key point of change. WINGOs then took these ideas and furthered them in order to frame a new model for the political incorporation of women—one that required greater

state effort both in terms of national policy and national governance. This new model saw women in developing contexts as needing more national concern and effort. Denoted as “national machineries for the advancement of women,” specific how-to instructions were disseminated detailing how to “make women a national concern,” seeing the “formation of designated state bureaucracies as an essential step in the overall project” (1999:162). First introduced by the Commission on the Status of Women in 1963 (1999), the idea of a women’s ministry is clearly influenced by world society discourse and activity.

In sum, according to world society theory, the establishment of women’s government organizations is a cultural construction dictated by norms of world society for how a legitimate nation-state must look and what must be addressed. As the international sphere expanded, international governmental organization activity around woman increased. The UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) and UN World Conferences on Women (1975, 1980, 1985, and 1995) built a development discourse onto the previous human rights discourse, which, in the case of concerns of the state towards women, included promoting the establishment of women’s ministries.

World society culturally influences nation-states through linkages. An important location to look when seeking powerful entities that define womanhood in world society are WINGOs, or the international women’s movement (Berkovitch 1999; Rupp 1997). Central in spreading messages of rationalized womanhood alongside blueprints of rationalized governance, WINGOs are the predominant mechanism conveying world society cultural models regarding women to nation-states. Paxton, Hughes, and Green (2006) find a significant relationship between nation-state WINGO memberships and political milestones for women—including universal suffrage, first female parliamentarian, and ten, twenty and thirty percent female political representation.

International organizational activity offers a transmission point for world society discourse and category definitions to be spread to nation-state bodies. Based on these notions, I offer the following hypothesis on world society linkage:

International Women's Movement Linkage Hypothesis: Greater linkages to women's global civil society through WINGOs will lead to greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

The development discourse that was brought to bear on the issue of women in the UN Decade for Women gave prominence to Least Developed Countries. While scholars may talk generally about lesser developed nations, I am specifically interested in the time period during which the UN has designated a nation as a Least Developed Country. World society theory would suggest that the confluence of UN designation as a Least Developed Country and the call for these national machineries addressing the concerns of women during the UN Decade for Women would result in greater national compliance to structural expansion in social concerns regarding women, leading to the following hypothesis:

UN Activity Hypothesis: Designation as a Least Developed Country by the UN will lead to greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez (1997) argue that a nation-state is a socially and culturally constructed entity. As territories gain independence, they are expected to function within a society of nation-states. In the face of uncertainty, territories don world models of nation-state structure and culture. Instead of interest- or power-based imposition, the nation-state model is adopted by new nations due to the model's cultural normativity in world society. There

are a handful of elements that define a “modern” nation-state entity, including ministry and policy establishment in areas such as science (Schofer 2004), the environment (Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000) and even sexuality (Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010). Berkovitch (1999) points to policy developments encouraging greater incorporation of women as being central to definitions of a modern nation-state. She further points to redefinitions taking place in the 1970s and 1980s as being integral to women’s government organization establishment. Further, Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez point out that, “More than 130 new nation-state entities have formed since 1945” (1997:158). Based on these arguments, the following hypothesis regarding nation-state independence is proffered:

World Society Independence Hypothesis: Countries that became independent after 1945 will have greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Cultural foundations of world society are rooted in Western colonialism. World society scholars argue that colonialism was an initial mechanism of global cultural transmission (Drori and Meyer N.d.; Schofer 2003). These colonial histories have been a major defining factor both for world society culture and for post-colonial nation-states. In studies looking at political outcomes for women from the world society perspective, colonialism has mixed effects (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b). Due to pressure from world society, I argue that Western colonial histories will lead to greater nation-state adoption of Western world society values in the present.

World Society Colonialism Hypothesis: Countries with a history of Western colonialism will have greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

RESEARCH NOTE: ADDRESSING WOMEN'S POWER IN CONTEXTS OF WOMEN'S MINISTRIES

Although this chapter is not looking at the effect (or effectiveness) of women's ministries on women's actual power within national contexts, it is necessary to demonstrate that just because women's ministries are a result of world society empowerment discourses, and just because women's ministries were seen and pushed as normative models post-1975 for the advancement of women, does not mean that women in nations where there is a women's ministry actually have power. As a means of demonstrating that women's ministries exist in nations where women see small gains in regards to power in the society relative to places like the United States where women see big gains, I include a supplementary analysis in Appendix A considering level of women's political and social power within national contexts. While hypotheses about women's power are not being tested, I expect women in contexts where a women's ministry exists to have very little power.

METHODS

Hypotheses will be tested utilizing dynamic, quantitative models that explore the arguments and mechanisms of world society theory. Structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women will be measured by the establishment of women's ministers and women's ministries in nation-states. As a theoretical issue, the embodiment and expansion of woman as person may be seen either in the form of a women's minister or a women's ministry.

While this may seem expansive, the measure still requires a stand-alone bureaucratic organization devoted to women. Sub-bureaucracies for women—such as the United States’ Office of Violence Against Women within the Department of Justice—are more akin to women as an issue area of something else, and thus are not included in this measure. Data for the dependent variable comes from the *Statesman’s Yearbook* (1960-2009). Descriptive statistics on women’s ministry establishment are presented in Table 2.1 and in Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

Focusing on initial establishment, the formation of a women’s ministry is a discrete, non-repeatable event suitable for modeling with event history analysis (Tuma and Hannan 1984). While I am most interested in establishment of a nation’s first women’s ministry, as long as in practice a nation continues to contain a women’s ministry despite refashioning of ministerial structure and/or change in the constitution/name of the ministry, I still consider the nation to contain a women’s ministry. First establishment of a women’s ministry can only occur once for a given nation-state—once a women’s ministry is established within a given nation-state, the nation-state is no longer at risk of the event. In 1960, not a single nation-state had a women’s ministry, so all nation-states are considered at risk at this time. Repeated events are not a concern since all nation-states up to the contemporary period have only created one women’s ministry, and this is unlikely to change. Furthermore, event history analysis is the appropriate method because the data are dynamic in that ministries arise as time continues. Models are estimated using Stata 12/SE. Time is measured in years, from 1960 to 2009.

Independent Measures—World Society

Linkage to International Women’s Movement. Measured using nation-state memberships in WINGOs. Measured by country-year, all data is collected from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (UIA 1960-2006), on a subsample of twenty-five WINGOs starting in 1960.

Subsample was selected systematically from an ordered population list of 183 WINGOs, starting with the first non-defunct WINGO (second WINGO in the list) and selecting every seventh WINGO. If the seventh WINGO was defunct, the next non-defunct WINGO was selected. This resulted in a sample of twenty-five WINGOs. Membership data was collected for every two years and imputed into the years not collected. Data is collected through 2006.

UN Activity. National designation as a Least Developed Country is measured as a time-varying dummy indicating the first year a country is put on the list along with every year after that the country remains on the list (United Nations 2014). While the year a country is designated as a Least Developed Country varies, there is not a country within the observation period that has been taken off the list. There are a few countries with expected dates of removal from the list in the next three to four years, around 2015 to 2017.¹⁸

Nation-State Legitimacy Post-WWII is measured as a dummy variable indicating post-World War II independence. Year of independence was collected from the *Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook* (CIA 2013) for all nations in the dataset.

Colonialism is measured as a dummy variable indicating national histories with British and French colonialism as collected from Henige's documentation of colonial powers (1970).

Independent Measures—Alternative Arguments

Economic Development is measured by real Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPpc), in constant 2005 United States dollars, logged. The variable is logged due to high skewness. Data is from the *World Bank* (1960-2012), collected through 2012.

Democracy is measured by the *Freedom House: Freedom in the World* scores (1972-2012). Freedom House measures political and civil liberties on two separate scales from 1 to 7,

¹⁸ See <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc/profile/>.

with nations receiving a 1 being the least free (or having the fewest civil liberties) and nations receiving a 7 being the most free (or having the most civil liberties). In constructing the democracy measure, the civil and political liberty scores for each country-year are averaged, resulting in a final measure of 1 to 7. Polity IV data was tested, but due to yielding similar results, it was taken out in favor of the Freedom House measure. Freedom House data is collected through 2012.

Finally, a handful of other factors that failed to fit neatly with the alternative arguments will also be controlled for in the analyses. First, in the primary analysis, I control for female tertiary education enrollments, along with population, as measured by the *World Bank* (1960-2012). Female tertiary school enrollments are measured as a gross ratio, considering the number of female students enrolled in tertiary education out of the entire population. The measure is interpolated so as to increase number of country-years included in the analysis and logged due to skewness. Total population is measured as number of people in the society at a given point in time and logged due to skewness. I control for patriarchal religious contexts by including the number of Catholics and the number of Muslims in the population as collected for years available (1970, 1995, and 2010) from the *World Religion Database* (Johnson and Grim 1970-2010). Both measures are interpolated in order to test more cases and logged to reduce skewness. Lastly, I control for a regional dummy representing the West including the whole of Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

Supplementary Analysis—Considering Level of Women’s Power as Independent Measures

Women’s Social Power is measured by the female tertiary education enrollment ratio controlled for in the primary analysis (World Bank 1960-2012).

Women's Political Power is measured using the data from the Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006 study on women's parliamentary representation (Paxton, Green, and Hughes 2005; avail ICPSR). As such, I analyzed two measures from this study related to women's political power: percentage of women in parliament and year of first woman in parliament. Percentage of women in parliament is measured as the percent of women in parliamentary positions out of the total number of people in parliament. The measure is interpolated and logged due to skewness. First woman in parliament is coded 1 for the year a nation elected their first woman to parliament and 0 otherwise. All political power measures are available from 1945 to 2003.

RESULTS

Allison's (2010) test for multicollinearity in Survival Analysis results in variance inflation factors below six, suggesting that there is not a problem with multicollinearity in either the primary or supplementary models given that this number is below ten. Furthermore, for all models presented, statistics are run on data available for a given model. All models were checked on equal samples using listwise deletion, which yielded similar results.

Table 2.2 displays coefficients in a Constant Rate Event History Model of women's ministry establishment from 1960 to 2009 using robust standard errors. Model 1 includes only the control variables, while each model in turn tests hypotheses proffered above. The full model is included in Model 7.

Model 2 tests the Freedom House democracy score. According to the Freedom House measure, national level of civil liberties and political freedoms increases the rate of women's ministry establishment by 23 per cent ($p \leq 0.05$; $\exp(.21) = 1.23$), offering evidence in support of the democracy hypothesis, which says greater democracy will lead to greater women's ministry

establishment. Despite this, while positive in the full model (see Model 7), the Freedom House measure fails to reach significance. Thus, overall the findings give only some support to the democracy hypothesis.

Model 3 tests Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPpc) as an indicator of economic modernization. Findings indicate that we can clearly reject the economic modernization hypothesis, which states that greater economic development will lead to women's ministry establishment. In fact, GDPpc decreases the rate of women's ministry establishment by 30 per cent ($p \leq 0.05$; $\exp(-.35) = 0.70$). While GDPpc reaches significance at the .05 level in Model 3, it loses significance in the full model (Model 7). Despite losing of significance, the coefficient remains negative, indicating greater economic development is not related to women's ministry establishment.

Model 4 shows that gaining national independence after World War II increases the rate of women's ministry establishment by 186 per cent ($p \leq .01$; $\exp(1.05) = 2.86$). In other words, national contexts where independence was acquired post-World War II have almost twice the rate of women's ministry establishment as compared to nations gaining independence in other historical periods. This finding supports the world society independence hypothesis, suggesting that world society definitions of nationhood highly influence the establishment of women's ministries among newly-independent nations. Remaining significant, inclusion in the full model actually increases the magnitude of the coefficient, such that Model 7 shows gaining independence after World War II increases rate of women's ministry establishment by 225 per cent ($p \leq .05$).

Model 4 also includes the colonialism measures, indicating British and French colonialism. Although both measures are positive, neither reaches significance. Furthermore, in

the full model, the z-statistic for each measure falls to near zero, indicating no effect. Based on this finding, I reject the world society colonialism hypothesis.

Model 5 shows that, during the years countries are designated by the UN as Least Developed Countries, the rate of women's ministry establishment increases by 197 per cent ($p \leq .01$; $\exp(1.09) = 2.97$), meaning Least Developed Countries have almost twice the rate of women's ministry establishment as compared to non- Least Developed Countries. This evidence supports the UN activity hypothesis, which states that designation as a Least Developed Country by the UN will lead to greater structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

Finally, in Model 6, we see that linkage to the international women's movement is positively and strongly significantly related to women's ministry establishment.¹⁹ Increasing national WINGO memberships increases the rate of women's ministry establishment by 197 per cent ($p \leq .001$)—almost twice the rate of women's ministry establishment as compared to nations with few, none, or decreasing linkages to the international women's movement. These findings, which also hold up when added to the full model (Model 7), support the international women's movement linkage hypothesis, which states that greater linkages to WINGOs will lead to a higher rate of women's ministry establishment.

Lastly, I seek to show that women's ministries, while embodying women as persons in the name of women's empowerment, are not located in places where women are seeing "big gains" in regards to power in society. Thus, Table 2.2a in Appendix A provides a supplementary analysis testing the effect of women's power within national contexts on the establishment of

¹⁹ Findings remain even when considering the original measure unlogged and when testing across equal samples. Substantively, the logged WINGO measure is used because I don't believe each unit counts equally—moving from membership in a 22nd WINGO to membership in a 23rd WINGO does not carry the same weight and meaning as moving from membership in a 1st WINGO to membership in a 2nd WINGO.

women's ministries. While there are obvious causality issues, the purpose of this analysis is not to say anything about women's power as an outcome or whether women's ministries create real power outcomes for women. The purpose is simply to show that, where women's ministries exist, women are making "small gains" in regards to social power relative to most women in Western contexts. Thus, discourses of empowerment and institutions of empowerment may not actually have empowering outcomes in the way we imagine in the West.

Table 2.2a demonstrates this power issue by considering political and social power of women in contexts of women's ministries. Findings support the image of women's ministries existing in "small gain" nations. Looking at women's political power, the year of first woman parliamentarian is highly related to rate of women's ministry establishment ($\exp(1.99) = 7.32$). Further, yearly percentage of women in parliament is also positive and significantly related to rate of women's ministry establishment, although the magnitude of the effect is quite a bit less ($\exp(.72) = 2.05$). Finally, women's social power, as indicated by female tertiary education enrollment, is negatively and significantly associated with rate of women's ministry establishment in Models 2 and 5, but loses significance in the full model (Model 6), as seen in Table 2.2a. Furthermore, in both Table 2.2 and Table 2.2a, female enrollment in tertiary education is consistently negative. Across the board, as women's enrollment in tertiary education increases, there is about a 21 per cent decrease in the rate of women's ministry establishment, meaning women in nations with a women's ministry typically do not go to college, giving them less social power.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study adopts a political sociology approach in line with world society theory in looking at the structural inclusion of a government bureaucracy devoted to women in the construction of modern nation-states. As seen through this analysis, world society, and especially women's global civil society, is very much related to structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women. WINGOs are the mechanism through which blueprints of rationalized governance and concepts of rationalized womanhood are carried from international governmental organizations like the UN to nation-states.

In thinking about what types of nations are establishing women's ministries, my findings support previous scholars who have found that sovereignty matters. Bringing in world society arguments regarding World War II, human rights, and the social construction of womanhood to bear on the question of why women's ministries are established, I find strong evidence that independence gained after World War II matters a lot more to women's ministry establishment than independence gained before World War II. This indicates that expectations regarding national legitimacy have changed to be more in line with world society proscriptions since the last major world war. Particularly, this finding provides strong support for Strang and Meyer's classic argument regarding diffusion, the main point being that diffusion occurs most rapidly among culturally similar entities existing within a category (1993). In this case, once an entity becomes a "nation-state", it enters into the category of actors that have women's ministries.

Second, beyond mere sovereignty, designation as a Least Developed Country by the UN is critical for WINGOs to take action. Being designated as a Least Developed Country brings a different type of legitimacy—while independence indicates that nation-states are legitimate as *states*, being designated as a Least Developed Country means a country is legitimate in claiming

“underdeveloped” status and need in regards to receiving help, resources, and aid from world society actors.

Lastly, British and French colonies are not necessarily any more or less likely to establish women’s ministries. While this may appear to go against world society theory, I conclude that British and French colonialism were more important as a conduit of world society normativity in a different, much earlier historical period of world society, which is more related to state outcomes both in that time period and over larger swaths of time (see Schofer 2003).

In considering alternative arguments, the women’s movement is one mechanism through which democracy might matter. While data on national women’s movements in most of these countries is sparse or non-existent, it is reasonable to conclude that the Freedom House measure of democracy is capturing women’s movement activity.²⁰ Finally, economic modernization does not lead to the structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women.

On a final note, while women’s ministries may bring more power and resources to women in Least Developed Countries than they had access to previously, women in contexts where women’s ministries exist have some political power but typically no social power. Discourses of women’s empowerment are fed through a lens of Least Developed Country context, and the policy and activity implications for the women’s ministry do not match what we would see in Western, developed contexts, indicating that the outcomes of WINGO effort and activity may still result in patriarchal and/or paternalistic forms of governance. Furthermore, the women’s ministries appear through their titles and activities to be constructed to keep women in the private sphere, taking care of children and families. Future research is needed in regards to how the ministries function, whether and how the ministries reify gender role normativity, and whether and how the ministries affect women’s power.

²⁰ A measure of women’s non-governmental organization (NGO) activity was tested and failed to reach significance.

CHAPTER 3

WORLD SOCIETY AND CROSS-NATIONAL VARIATION IN WOMEN'S POWER OUTCOMES, 1960-2010

The integration of women into society is a goal of institutional processes at the global level. From the “rights of man” in the pre-World War II period to “human rights” in the post-World War II period to “women’s empowerment” in the post-1980 period, understandings and justifications of how and why to integrate women have shifted since the late nineteenth century. Agendas to attribute rights and power to women expand beyond sovereign national contexts to non-sovereign international processes, through which world organizations and international norms pressure states to abide by international constructions of rights and integration with respect to women. While the last chapter built on classic world society analyses looking at state-level outcomes, this chapter builds on more recent work by Evan Schofer, Ann Hironaka, and others who push world society research beyond the level of the state and down into national societies (Cole N.d., 2013; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hironaka 2014; Schofer and Hironaka 2005; Shorette 2012; Tsutsui and Shin 2008).

On the surface, women’s empowerment and rights seem obvious concepts with obvious corollaries to outcomes with respect to women. However, the fact of the matter is that measuring women’s power outcomes is not that straightforward. What is women’s power? What does women’s empowerment look like? The answer to these questions depends on the discipline and sub-field of the person conducting the research, the level of analysis under observation, how

empowerment is defined, and the methodology employed (Kabeer 1999; Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005; Narayan 2005). As a sociologist working from the neo-institutional (world society) perspective, I focus on women's institutional power outcomes advocated in world society discourse, observing quantitative measures thought to lead to women gaining more power within and across nations. Thus, in this chapter I consider women's parliamentary representation, female tertiary education enrollment, and women's active labor force participation.

The empirical work in this area is vast. Some scholars have analyzed only one of these outcomes (e.g. Bradley 2000; Çağatay and Özler 1995; Cooray, Gaddis, and Wacker 2012; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kim 2012; Kolodny 2000; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Meyer 2006; Moore 1987; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Reynolds 1999; Swiss 2009), some consider other conceptually similar outcomes or combinations of outcomes (e.g. Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Bussmann 2009; Gray, Kittilson, and Sandholtz 2006; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2008; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001), while the most similar recent work considers either indices of social, political, and economic rights (Cole 2013; Englehart and Miller 2014) or, like in the present study, actual outcomes (Cole N.d.). A large amount of research in this area focuses on inequality between men and women with respect to these outcomes (Bradley 2000; Buchmann, DiPrete, and McDaniel 2008; Buchmann and Hannum 2001; Chang 2004; Charles 1992; Charles and Bradley 2002, 2009; Dorius and Firebaugh 2010; Jacobs 1996; Tzannatos 1998). While not denying these inequalities exist, this study focuses on the outcomes themselves across time with respect to women, observing levels of women's power across time.

Primarily, women's power outcomes across time are observed as a result of world society processes constructed and conducted at the global level. World society is a locus of activity and

discourse that bears influence on nation-states. For nation-states to be seen as legitimate in world society, they must adhere to world society prescriptions for social problems within nation-state contexts. Women have been an active part of world society since the turn of the twentieth century within women's international non-governmental organizations (WINGOs). Additionally, activity and discourse with respect to women's integration and development have been a part of international governmental organizations over the same time period. These organizations tend to be effective at influencing governments to espouse policy and activity along world society terms. What it means to empower women thus converges on a limited number of institutional integration outcomes. The existence of these outcomes, while thought to increase women's status, in no way precludes dis-empowering outcomes related to violence against women. These other outcomes are beyond the scope of the current study and would be related to the work in world society on decoupling (e.g. Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005). The present study focuses on those outcomes included under the women's empowerment umbrella of world society discourse and predominantly observes the effect of world society factors on women's institutional power outcomes.

Other explanations of women's power are considered including state modernization, religious traditionalism, and additional power outcomes. These explanations tend to focus on dynamics within national contexts, ignoring global dynamics. The state modernization approach suggests that as nations modernize in terms of their economy and politics, then outcomes for the citizenry will also follow the modernization process leading to greater levels of women's power. Religious traditionalism points to the opposite process—where there are more traditional values wrought from adherence to traditional religious forms, the modernization process will be stunted leading to lower levels of women's power. Finally, as women have greater power outcomes

across all power outcomes, then women will have greater power outcomes within any one type of outcome.

Arguments are tested using data from the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, the *World Bank*, the *International Labor Organization*, and the *World Religion Database* alongside previous data collected by Wade Cole (2013), Pam Paxton, Melanie Hughes, and Jennifer Green (2006). Data are modeled using time series panel regression methods across the time period 1960 to 2010 on approximately 130 countries.²¹

BACKGROUND

Notions of equality, rights, and empowerment are not new, nor are they easily defined. Since 1888 when the first WINGO was established, the international women's movement has used these terms for varying purposes and outcomes. As Kabeer (1999:436) points out, it is precisely the vagueness of these concepts that many feminists come to value in usage of the terms.

Kabeer (1999) goes on to argue that three factors must be considered when measuring women's empowerment: resources in terms of both access and future claims, agency in terms of decision-making and negotiation processes, and achievements. Narayan (2005), as part of a World Bank publication, takes a similar stance, although her conceptualization focuses on the poor, defining empowerment as "the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives." She continues by outlining four building blocks to her conceptual framework including 1) Institutional climate, 2) Social and political structures, 3) Poor people's individual

²¹ The samples vary from 123 to 146 depending on model employed and variables included.

assets and capabilities, and 4) Poor people's collective assets and capabilities. She argues that as level of application, dimension, and conceptualization vary, so does measurement and method.

Finally, Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005), as part of a World Economic Forum publication, point to five dimensions of female empowerment that are important to consider when conceptualizing and measuring the term: 1) Economic participation, 2) Economic opportunity, 3) Political empowerment, 4) Educational attainment, and 5) Health and well-being.

The macro focus of the present study necessitates data availability across as many nations as possible, while the theoretical focus requires institutional outcomes that may be related to processes at the global level. Thus, this study focuses on three related, but separate, dimensions of women's power—political, economic, and social.

Women's Political Power

Women's political power is conceptualized here in terms of political power that has become institutionalized across time with respect to women. In these terms, suffrage was the first event that increased women's political power. Voting allowed women choice in political decisions related to determining who is in power within local, state, and federal governments. While this was a huge achievement for its time, voting is not analyzed here for two reasons. First, by the time this analysis begins in 1960, almost 80 per cent of countries had given women the right to vote (Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997), offering little variation cross-nationally in terms of women voting. Second, voting is no longer seen as an outcome that offers women large degrees of power. In terms of the empowerment frameworks above, voting does not provide direct resources, it does not require achievement, nor does it allow for interactions involving negotiation, manipulation, or deception (Kabeer 1999; Narayan 2005).

While suffrage acquisition policies typically were passed by nations alongside policies allowing women the right to run for political office, women's parliamentary representation has taken longer to attain, both in terms of numerical representation and in terms of decision-making authority. By 1960, about fifty per cent of sovereign nations had their first woman parliamentarian, a percentage that increased to eighty-five per cent by 2003. Additionally, sovereign nations achieving ten per cent representation jumped fifty per cent in the same time period—from twenty per cent in 1960 to seventy per cent in 2003. Higher proportions of parliamentary representation have a much lower rate of occurrence, with only thirty per cent of nations achieving twenty per cent representation and only ten per cent of nations achieving thirty per cent representation by 2003 (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006).

In spite of the increases in numerical representation, in some contexts, the meaning of women in parliament may not indicate women's empowerment in the same way as in other contexts. In her work on the Rwandan case, Burnet (2008) points out that despite large increases in the percentage of women in parliament immediately following the Rwandan genocide, the men still held the majority of decision-making authority. However, in a later article, Burnet also points out that, despite few legislative advances, women's representation in the parliament of Rwanda has led to "other benefits, including increased respect from family and community members, enhanced capacity to speak and be heard in public forums, greater autonomy in decision making in the family, and increased access to education" (2011:303). Burnet's articles primarily get at the complex nature of women's empowerment in that outcomes that offer women more power within formal institutional contexts may bring negative consequences across both formal and informal institutional contexts.

While an imperfect measure, women's parliamentary representation is a better measure of women's political power than suffrage both in terms of the elements of empowerment frameworks and in terms of long-term power gains. Parliamentary representation offers agency, resources, and achievement not afforded by suffrage alone. Additionally, considering the institutional argument put forth below, what is more important in this study is the long-term power gains that women see both within the time frame specified in this study and in the future. Finally, as the present study employs a macro focus across a large number of nations, variation within nations or regions may be related to other factors that may be observed at the meso or micro levels of analyses.²²

Women's Economic Power

Like with political power, economic power is also conceptualized as an institutional process—in this case, one of integration of women into the economy. As with political power, the gaining of economic power has changed in form across time and context, starting with lower levels of economic power that simply involved basic exchange of goods, property, and services. During the first wave of the American women's movement, for instance, a widow's rights to property upon the death of her husband were fought for alongside suffrage rights.

However, it is again important to consider power within the empowerment frameworks suggested above. Primarily, property rights afford one type of resource that has limited fungibility, afford limited agency, and do not really fulfill the achievement component of empowerment (Kabeer 1999). Lopez-Claros and Zahidi's framework (2005) point to economic

²² For extrapolations of within-country factors related to women's parliamentary representation along with research on smaller subsets of nations and shorter time periods see Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Swiss 2009; Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna, Fallon, and Beckfield 2008

participation as an important consideration when measuring women's economic empowerment. Specifically, research in the field points to active labor force participation as central to women's empowerment within a society along with indicating changing gender relations (Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Kim 2012). For both the conceptualization of women's power and macro perspective employed here, active labor force participation is a suitable measure of women's economic power.²³

Women's Social Power

The final dimension of women's power under consideration is women's social power. Following previous conceptualizations, this dimension is also considered in its institutional form. Specifically, I characterize women's social power as increasing social status aside from economic and political pursuits. Within the institutional framework employed, educational attainment is one of the most widely studied outcomes related to women's social power. This outcome satisfies the empowerment framework drawn up by Lopez-Claros and Zahihi (2005) as they point to educational attainment as a core dimension when measuring empowerment.

As with economic and political power, varying degrees of education have been considered in relation to women's power starting with literacy (e.g. Gray, Kittilson, and Sandholtz 2006) and continuing to primary education enrollment, secondary education enrollment, and, finally, tertiary education enrollment. In terms of agency, resources, and achievement, tertiary education provides the highest degrees of each. While we still see sex segregation (Bradley 2000; Charles and Bradley 2002, 2009) and inequality in education cross-nationally (Buchmann, DiPrete, and McDaniel 2008; Cooray and Potrafke 2011; Jacobs 1996),

²³ For extrapolations of within-country factors related to women's active labor force participation, including analyses of inequality and occupational types, see Chang 2004; Charles 1992; Kim 2012; Tzannatos 1998

tertiary education enrollment is itself a global indicator of increased social status and power independent of these other qualities.

EXPLAINING WOMEN'S POWER OUTCOMES: MACRO FRAMEWORKS

The main argument is the world society, or neo-institutional, approach, which considers cultural change at the global level as a key influence on national governments with varied influence in regards to actual outcomes for people. Alternative arguments consider factors related to economic, religious, political, and gender dynamics within nations as important to women's power outcomes.

Alternative Argument: State Modernization

The state modernization approach takes a realist stance towards modernity and outcomes. The argument states that as societies become more modern in terms of a given social system, then the other social systems in the society will also become more modern. For instance, as societies develop economically towards more modern forms of economic systems, then the political systems, the cultural systems, and even the people will all progress towards embodying modern forms as well. Some scholars in this field have taken on empowerment and empowerment outcomes directly, arguing that modernization factors will lead to greater empowerment and equality for women (Alexander and Welzel 2007, 2011a, 2011c; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002; Welzel and Inglehart 2008). While I do not take on the outcomes related to (emancipative) values analyzed by many of these scholars, I seek to test alternative arguments related to economic and political

development to modern forms. As such, I hypothesize the following based on the state modernization approach:

Economic Modernization Hypothesis: Greater economic development will lead to increasing power outcomes with respect to women.

Political Modernization Hypothesis: Greater levels of democracy will lead to increasing power outcomes with respect to women.

Alternative Argument: Religious Traditionalism

Arguments about religious traditionalism are similar to the modernization approach in logic, but seek to explore concepts and measures related to the persistence of traditional culture instead of the expansion of modern culture. This approach posits that the continuance of traditional gender roles perpetuated in traditional religious forms will hinder progress towards gender equality writ large (Alexander and Welzel 2011b; Casanova 2009; Chong 2006; Inglehart and Baker 2000). Based on this perspective, the following hypothesis is proffered:

Religious Traditionalism Hypothesis: Higher levels of affiliation to traditional religion will lead to decreasing power outcomes with respect to women.

Alternative Argument: Women's Power Effects

This approach considers women's power in some areas of society as influencing women's power in other areas of society. Early work by Kanter (1977) considered small numbers of women in a group as merely representing "tokens" that then allowed the group to see themselves as diverse and inclusive of women while offering the token women very little power. Kanter went on to look into this notion of proportionality in groups and how it was important in

regards to gender relations. Building on Kanter's work, others such as Dahlerup (1988; 2006) hypothesized the need for a critical mass, defined as thirty per cent, before effective change with respect to women could be achieved. Furthermore, Bolzendahl and Brooks' research (2007) on women's political representation in capitalist democracies suggests that women's labor force participation goes hand-in-hand with women's political representation such that the proportion of women in the labor force predicts women's parliamentary representation. Overall, I seek to test the general argument that women gaining power in some segments of society is indicative of a shift in gender roles and relations such that women will gain power in other segments of the society as well, suggesting the following hypothesis:

Women's Power Hypothesis: Indicating a shift in gender relations and roles, women's power outcomes in certain domains of society will positively influence women's power outcomes in other domains of society.

Main Argument: World Society

While it may be the case that modernization in the form of development may lead to greater power outcomes for women, that religious traditionalism may hinder these power outcomes, and that women's power outcomes in one domain may generate power outcomes in other domains, we still see women gaining power in both developed and developing nations, in nations with more religious traditionalism, and within certain domains while not in others. These dynamics suggest other factors may be at play. Moving beyond factors internal to nations, the world society approach emphasizes global factors that pressure states to conform to a world culture.

World culture is based historically in tenets constructed from Western ideology and Christendom and is primarily modern in form, embodying notions of individualism, universalism, and rationalism (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997). This world culture is perpetuated by associations and organizations at the global level. Primarily, “many features of the contemporary nation-state derive from worldwide models constructed and propagated through global cultural and associational processes” (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997:144-45). Organizations in world society construct blueprints regarding nation-state structure and obligation, dictating appropriate activity for nation-states. Nation-states seek legitimacy in world society, and institute world society models as a result of normative pressure, a process that has resulted in the isomorphic adoption of policy and structuration across a wide range of national contexts (Drori, Jang, and Meyer 2006; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000). With a distinctly modern agenda emphasizing individualism and universalism, world society prescriptions expand to include a greater range of categories of persons. In this move to universalism and expanded personhood, women become codified into world models of rights and development (Berkovitch 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009, 2012).

Much of this expansion of world culture tenets to women has involved discourse about how to ensure women’s rights. Activity in world society thus centers around three domains: political, economic, and social—domains under consideration in the present research. In the early twentieth century, the right to vote was seen as primary to ensuring women’s political rights, with world society becoming central to suffrage policy outcomes globally in the post-World War II period, with nearly 100 per cent national women’s suffrage policy adoption today (Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997). Furthermore, the institutionalization of women’s

political rights in world society became centrally influential on women's parliamentary representation (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006), with WINGOs being particularly influential in developing contexts (Swiss 2009).

The second broad domain of women's rights considered in world society discourse is that of women's economic rights. Berkovitch (1999) points to conglomerations between WINGOs and the International Labor Organization in establishing and expanding parental leave and equal pay laws in the twentieth century, and especially in the post-World War II period, to embody gender equality. In the 1970s with the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women (1975 to 1985) and the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), focus shifted to include discourse of development alongside rights in the name of something called women's empowerment. Economic status became a central focus of establishing women's power cross-nationally. This is not to say that integration of women into economic spheres resulted in actual development outcomes, but that the discourse linked the two domains together, constructing notions of development in terms of women's economic power through labor force participation and women's social power through higher education (Chabbott 2003; Chabbott and Ramirez 2006).

Higher education enrollment has been found by scholars to be a central outcome influenced by world society mechanisms (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999; Bradley and Ramirez 1996; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001; Schofer and Meyer 2005). Women's integration into higher education is an obvious corollary with the expansion of social rights, welfare, and development to women in the post-World War II period. Modern logics of individualism, universalism, and rationalism found in world society are perpetuated through tertiary education, with isomorphic adoption of university forms and areas of study across nations at all levels of development,

particularly those nations linked to world society, alongside incorporation of women into a greater number of study areas (Frank and Meyer 2007; Meyer, Ramirez, Frank, and Schofer 2007; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001).

Boli and Thomas (1999) point to international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), greatly expanding over the last century and particularly in the post-World War II period, as a central mechanism for constructing world culture. Furthermore, linkage to world society through INGOs has been shown as a central mechanism for women's power outcomes (Swiss 2009). Women's INGOs in particular spread world society tenets related to women's power outcomes cross-nationally. National WINGO membership is thus one way that women's global civil society, also known as the international women's movement, the non-governmental aspect of world society with respect to women, influences national policy and outcomes with respect to women. Based on this argument, the following hypothesis is put forth:

International Women's Movement Linkage Hypothesis: Greater linkages to women's global civil society through WINGOs will lead to increasing power outcomes with respect to women.

Second, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been argued by world society scholars as a central treaty defining norms regarding women's rights in world society (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b). Additionally, CEDAW ratification has been shown to lead to increasing women's power outcomes (Cole N.d., 2013; Englehart and Miller 2014). Thus, the following hypothesis is proffered in relation to international norm-making through treaties:

World Society Governmental Norms Hypothesis: Ratification of CEDAW will lead to increasing power outcomes with respect to women.

Finally, I consider state structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women as a possible indicator of women's power outcomes. I seek to explore how this concept matters for women's power. Theoretically, it is unclear exactly where this concept fits in with the perspectives extrapolated above. If this type of structural expansion in the state is seen as a dimension of women's political power, then in terms of the women's power argument, it would be associated with increasing power outcomes with respect to women. However, world society theory predicts decoupling between state activity that is typically established as a result of world society pressure, such as policy adoption or treaty ratification, and actual practices within the society (see Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Swiss 2009). In this way, actions of the state are related more to world society processes than to actual changes within the society. From this perspective, structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women may not be associated with increasing power outcomes with respect to women.

DATA

Dependent Measures

Women's Political Power is measured using the data from the Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006 study on women's parliamentary representation (Paxton, Green, and Hughes 2005; available on ICPSR). The outcome is measured as a percentage of women in parliament out of the total number of people in parliament. Linear interpolation is used to increase sample size and the measure is logged due to skewness. Data are available from 1945 to 2003.

Women's Economic Power is measured as the percentage of women active in the labor force out of the total active labor force population above the age of fifteen (International Labor Organization 1996-2010). Data included are available from 1966 to 2008, with varied years available based on nation, through LABORSTA Internet (International Labor Organization 1996-2010). Linear interpolation is used to increase sample size.

Women's Social Power is measured by the female tertiary education enrollment ratio (World Bank 1960-2012). Female tertiary school enrollments are measured as a gross ratio, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total female population of the five-year age group following on from secondary school leaving. Linear interpolation is used to increase sample size and the measure is logged due to skewness.

In testing arguments related to the effects of women's power on power outcomes, women's power measures are rotated in the models such that the two power measures not under consideration as a dependent variable are included in the models as independent variables.

Independent Measures

Linkage to International Women's Movement is measured using nation-state memberships in WINGOs. Measured by country-year, all data is collected from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (UIA 1960-2006), on a subsample of twenty-five WINGOs starting in 1960. The subsample was selected systematically from an ordered population list of 183 WINGOs, starting with the first non-defunct WINGO (second WINGO in the list) and selecting every seventh WINGO. If the seventh WINGO was defunct, the next non-defunct WINGO was selected. This resulted in a sample of twenty-five WINGOs. Membership data was collected for every two years and imputed into the years not collected. Data is collected through 2006.

International Governmental Norms is measured by national ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Following Cole (2013), this measure is coded as a cumulative measure, starting with 1 in the first year of ratification and counting up each year after ratification indicating total years of CEDAW ratification for a given country-year.²⁴ Cole (2013) points to Hathaway's description (2002:2027) of the indication of the cumulative measure stating that it "gives greater weight to the ratification the longer it has been in effect" and therefore "makes it possible to take account of changes in behavior that take several years to accumulate." Data was initially coded by Wade Cole and was updated using the UN Treaty Collection website.²⁵

Independent Measures—Alternative Arguments

Economic Development is measured by real Gross Domestic Product per capita, constant 2005 United States dollars, logged. The variable is logged due to skewness. Data is from the *World Bank* (1960-2012) and is collected through 2012.

Democracy is measured by the *Freedom House: Freedom in the World* scores (1972-2012). Freedom House measures political and civil liberties on two separate scales from 1 to 7, with nations receiving a 1 being the least free (or having the fewest civil liberties) and nations receiving a 7 being the most free (or having the most civil liberties). The democracy measure averages the civil and political liberty scores for each country-year, resulting in a final measure of 1 to 7. Freedom House data is collected through 2012.

²⁴ A dummy measure coded 0 until the year a country ratifies the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and coded 1 each year after ratification was tested, producing a similar outcome to the cumulative measure. The cumulative measure was kept since it captures greater variation over time.

²⁵See https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-8&chapter=4&lang=en for updated information on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women treaty ratification.

Religious Traditionalism is measured by the percentage of Evangelicals, Catholics, and Muslims out of the total population. Collected from the *World Religion Database* (Johnson and Grim 1970-2010), the primary data is available for years 1970, 1995, and 2010. Linear interpolation is used to increase sample size on all three measures.

State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State to Include Women is measured by the establishment of women's ministers and women's ministries in nation-states. This measure was the dependent variable in Chapter 2 and will be considered as an independent measure here. The measure requires a stand-alone bureaucratic organization devoted to women. Sub-bureaucracies for women—such as the United States' Office of Violence Against Women within the Department of Justice—are more akin to women as an issue area of something else, and thus are not included in this measure. Data are collected from the *Statesman's Yearbook* (1960-2009).

Means, standard deviations, minimums, maximums, and sample sizes for all base and transformed measures included in the present analysis can be found in Table 3.1. While the transformed measures are included in the following regression analyses, descriptive statistics are also included for the non-transformed measures.

METHODS

Hypotheses are tested in a quantitative analysis over the time period 1960 to 2010. Time is measured in years, where each line of data is one country-year. Data is cleaned based on year of national independence (Central Intelligence Agency 2013) such that each nation does not exist in the dataset until the year they gain independence.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics for Base and Transformed Measures in Power Analyses

		Mean	SD	Min/ Max	n
Women's Power (National)					
Political	Women Parliamentarians (% of total, log, interp)	1.843	.951	-2.303/ 3.888	5646
	Women Parliamentarians (% of total, interp)	8.128	8.138	0/ 48.8	6471
	Women Parliamentarians (% of total)	8.516	8.329	0/ 48.8	5869
Social	Female Tertiary Enrollment (%, gross, log, interp)	1.909	1.840	-6.261/ 5.003	5604
	Female Tertiary Enrollment (%, gross, interp)	19.449	23.163	0/ 148.793	5625
	Female Tertiary Enrollment (%, gross)	23.194	25.300	0/ 148.793	3838
Economic	Women in Labor Force (% of total active, interp)	35.167	11.147	3.191/ 94.476	5639
	Women in Labor Force (% of total active)	37.049	10.227	3.191/ 55.880	2003
World Society (International)					
Linkage	WINGO Memberships (log)	.835	.858	0/ 3.045	8818
	WINGO Memberships	2.406	3.316	0/ 20	8818
Governmental Norms	CEDAW Ratification	4.449	7.369	0/30	10320
Religious Traditionalism (National)	Evangelicals (% of total population, interp)	.052	.064	0/ .382	4943
	Evangelicals (% of total population)	.053	.067	0/ .382	555
	Catholics (% of total population, interp)	.323	.356	.00001/ 1.022	4947
	Catholics (% of total population)	.309	.346	.00001/ 1.022	559
	Muslims (% of total population, interp)	.202	.342	0/ 1.452	4947
	Muslims (% of total population)	.216	.349	0/ 1.452	559
	State Modernization (National)				
Economic	GDPpc (constant \$, log)	7.927	1.636	3.913/ 11.975	7098
	GDPpc (constant \$)	9189.581	15381.38	50.042/ 158802.5	7098
Political	Level of Democracy	4.208	2.056	1/7	6628
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns Toward Women	Women's Ministry Establishment	.101	.301	0/1	9694

Notes: WINGO = Women's international non-governmental organization; CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

Given the nature of the data, time-series panel models are the most appropriate. Data availability varies based on time and nation, leading to an unbalanced panel design. A variety of panel models were considered, starting with a fixed effects model, which presents within-country variation, versus a random effects model, which presents between-country variation. A Hausman test was conducted to evaluate model fit. According to the Hausman results, across all outcomes, a fixed effects model provides a better fit for the data than a random effects model. However, in order to test world society theoretical tenets, between-country variation is of central importance. Thus, a variation of a random effects model is presented in the main body of the paper—a panel-corrected standard errors (PCSE) model, also referred to as a Prais-Winsten regression—while fixed effects models may be found in Appendix B. An AR1 correction is employed across all PCSE models to address problems with autocorrelation, sigma is computed by pairwise selection estimation, and all independent variables are lagged by one year to address unobserved factors related to changes over time. Models vary predominantly based on inclusion of women’s active labor force participation, a measure that cuts the sample size significantly.

RESULTS

Women’s Political Power

Table 3.2 presents time-series PCSE models of women’s parliamentary representation. Model 1 and Model 3 include women’s ministry establishment, while Model 2 does not. Model 1 and Model 2 include women’s labor force participation, while Model 3 does not.

National membership in WINGOs is mostly not significantly related to women’s parliamentary representation when comparing between nations, and is furthermore negatively

Table 3.2: Time-Series PCSE Models of Cross-national Women's Share of Parliamentarians‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model 1 ^a	Model 2	Model 3
World Society (International)			
Linkage	-.063	-.065†	-.058
WINGO Memberships (log)	(.)	(.039)	(.038)
Governmental Norms	.036	.036***	.042***
CEDAW Ratification	(.)	(.005)	(.005)
Women's Power (National)			
Social			
Female Tertiary Enrollment	.043	.045	.080***
(% , gross, log)	(.)	(.032)	(.025)
Economic			
Women in Labor Force	.017	.017***	
(% of total active)	(.)	(.004)	
Religious Traditionalism (National)			
Evangelicals	-.590	-.603	-.739†
(% of total population)	(.)	(.509)	(.443)
Catholics	-.067	-.067	-.278**
(% of total population)	(.)	(.104)	(.105)
Muslims	-.435	-.443**	-.822***
(% of total population)	(.)	(.148)	(.133)
State Modernization (National)			
Economic			
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	.112	.112***	.072**
	(.)	(.031)	(.028)
Political			
Level of Democracy (1-7)	-.016	-.016	-.004
	(.)	(.010)	(.010)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women			
Women's Ministry Establishment	-.052		-.049
	(.)		(.046)
Constant	.417	.418†	1.338***
	(.)	(.242)	(.208)
Wald chi ²		264.28***	316.58***
R ²	.2276	.2266	.1662
ρ	.873	.874	.880
N, country years	2179	2179	2745
N, countries	121	121	143

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Women as per cent of all parliamentarians, logged

^aInclusion of the women's ministry measure into the model with women's labor force participation in Model 1 produced an error that only gave coefficients in the output with no statistical tests or standard errors. A . is substituted for missing output. Model 2 displays the full model with tests and women's labor force participation, removing the women's ministry measure.

Notes: Prais-Winsten regression, panel-corrected standard errors with AR1 correction in parentheses. Sigma computed by pairwise selection. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented; WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

associated with the outcome across all three models, leading to rejection of the international women's movement linkage hypothesis with regard to women's political power.²⁶ However, ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is positively related to women's parliamentary representation with strong significance, indicating influence of world society government norms on women's political power.

Next, considering women's power across the economic and social domains in relation to the outcome of women's political power, both women's active labor force participation and female tertiary enrollment are positively associated with women's parliamentary representation when comparing between nations across all models. In Model 2, when women's labor force participation is included, the measure has strong significance. Female tertiary enrollment has no significance in Model 2 net of women's labor force participation, but does have strong significance in Model 3 with a larger sample and sans labor force participation. Overall, these findings provide support for the women's power hypothesis when considering women's political power.

The religious traditionalism coefficients have mixed results. While all are negatively associated with women's parliamentary representation across all three models, their level of significance varies across measures and models. Evangelical affiliation only barely reaches significance in Model 3. Catholic affiliation also only reaches significance in Model 3, although it is a stronger significance than Evangelical affiliation, while still moderate. Muslim affiliation reaches moderate significance in Model 2 and strong significance in Model 3. This evidence

²⁶ This finding is not significantly different when considering WINGOs unlogged. The logged WINGO measure has slight significance at the 0.1 level in Model 2.

lends some support for the religious traditionalism hypothesis with respect to women's political power.

The state modernization coefficients also have mixed results and do not remain stable in direction across measures. Gross domestic product per capita is positively related to women's parliamentary representation when comparing between countries, with strong significance in Model 2 net of women's labor force participation and moderate significance in Model 3 sans women's labor force participation but net of women's ministry establishment. This finding does offer some support for the economic modernization hypothesis. On the other hand, level of democracy is negatively, although not significantly, related to women's parliamentary representation in all three models, leading to rejection of the political modernization hypothesis when considering women's political power.

Finally, women's ministry establishment is negatively related to women's parliamentary representation, although the statistic does not reach significance. This finding leans more towards supporting the world society perspective, which argues for decoupling between government structural adoptions and outcomes in society, rather than the women's power perspective, which would suggest greater power in one domain would be related to greater power in another domain. This is particularly surprising given that both women's ministry establishment and women's parliamentary representation are dimensions of women's political incorporation.

Table 3.2a in Appendix B presents fixed effects models of women's parliamentary representation, which model within-country variation as opposed to between-country variation. National WINGO membership, while still negative, does have a slightly higher significance when considering within-country effects on women's parliamentary representation. Also, female tertiary enrollment now holds strong significance in both models, sans and net of women's labor

force participation. The religious traditionalism measures change rather drastically when comparing the PCSE models to the fixed effects models. Evangelical affiliation becomes positively related to women's parliamentary representation when looking within countries, although the measure only barely reaches significance in the fixed effects model without women's labor force participation. Catholic affiliation maintains a negative association with women's parliamentary representation when looking within countries, but becomes strongly significant and very large in magnitude. Muslim affiliation loses significance and does not maintain direction between the two fixed effects models. This finding indicates that Catholic nations are still very traditional in terms of gender roles as related to women in parliament. Furthermore, gross domestic product per capita flips negative but not significant in the fixed effects models while level of democracy remains negative but becomes strongly significant. Within nations, greater democracy is not related to greater women's representation in parliament.

Women's Economic Power

Table 3.3, Model 4 presents a time-series PCSE model of women's active labor force participation. National WINGO membership is negatively, although not significantly, related to women's active labor force participation, leading to rejection of the international women's movement linkage hypothesis with regard to women's economic power. However, like with women's parliamentary representation, CEDAW ratification is positively related to labor force participation, with very strong significance. This finding indicates support for the world society governmental norms hypothesis when considering women's economic power.

Table 3.3: Time-Series PCSE Model of Cross-national Women's Share of Labor Force‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model 4
World Society (International)	
Linkage	
WINGO Memberships (log)	-.182 (.223)
Governmental Norms	.345***
CEDAW Ratification	(.052)
Women's Power (National)	
Political	
Women Parliamentarians	.443***
(% of total, log)	(.133)
Social	
Female Tertiary Enrollment	.280
(% , gross, log)	(.252)
Religious Traditionalism (National)	
Evangelicals	5.493
(% of total population)	(5.099)
Catholics	-9.606***
(% of total population)	(.951)
Muslims	-18.777***
(% of total population)	(1.511)
State Modernization (National)	
Economic	
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	-.775** (.252)
Political	
Level of Democracy (1-7)	.060 (.065)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women	
Women's Ministry Establishment	.639* (.281)
Constant	46.171*** (1.825)
Wald chi ²	408.97***
R ²	.7334
ρ	.942
N, country years	2221
N, countries	124

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Women active in labor force as per cent of total active labor force

Notes: Prais-Winsten regression, panel-corrected standard errors with AR1 correction in parentheses.

Sigma computed by pairwise selection. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented;

WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

Women's political and social power measures are positively associated with women's economic power. Women's parliamentary representation is strongly significant while female tertiary enrollment is not significant. Overall, findings offer moderate support for the women's power hypothesis when looking at women's economic power.

Again, the religious traditionalism coefficients indicate mixed results. Like with parliamentary representation, Muslim and Catholic affiliation are negatively associated with women's labor force participation. However, Evangelical affiliation is positively associated. The Muslim and Catholic coefficients are strongly significant while the Evangelical coefficient is not significant. This finding lends mixed support for the religious traditionalism hypothesis when considering women's economic power, predominantly suggesting that Catholic and Muslim affiliation prevents women from participation in the labor force when considering between-country variation, while Evangelical affiliation does not.

State modernization factors also again show mixed results, although opposite of the parliamentary representation findings. In the case of women's labor force participation, gross domestic product per capita is negative and moderately significant while level of democracy is positive and not significant, offering little support for either of the modernization hypotheses.

Table 3.3a, Model C in Appendix B presents a fixed effects model of women's active labor force participation, which considers within-country variation. National WINGO membership flips positive and gains strong significance when comparing within-country variation of women's labor force participation. Linkage to the international women's movement perhaps matters more for women's economic power within countries rather than between countries. While the women's power measure coefficients remain positive, and political power remains significant, female tertiary enrollment becomes strongly significant in the fixed effects

model as related to women's labor force participation. The religious traditionalism measures again have very different results when comparing the PCSE and fixed effects models. The Evangelical affiliation measure, while still not reaching significance, flips direction and is now negatively associated with women's labor force participation when considering within-country variation. Catholic affiliation retains a negative, strongly significant association with women's labor force participation between the two types of models. Muslim affiliation flips direction and loses significance, becoming positively associated with women's labor force participation when comparing within-country variation. In the case of women's economic power, Catholic affiliation seems to hold the most traditional gender role norms when comparing both between and within nation variation in women's labor force participation. While the modernization factors remain about the same, women's ministry establishment becomes strongly significant and carries a greater magnitude when comparing within-country variation in women's labor force participation across nations.

Women's Social Power

Table 3.4 presents time-series PCSE models of female tertiary enrollment. Model 5 includes women's labor force participation while Model 6 does not. Unlike with women's political and economic power measures, when considering women's social power in the form of female tertiary enrollment, national WINGO membership is positive and strongly significant, offering support for the international women's movement linkage hypothesis with respect to women's social power. Like with the previous two outcomes, CEDAW ratification is once again positive and strongly significant across both models, indicating support for the world society governmental norms hypothesis.

Table 3.4: Time-Series PCSE Models of Cross-national Female Tertiary Enrollment‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model 5	Model 6
World Society (International)		
Linkage		
WINGO Memberships (log)	.127*** (.026)	.123** (.042)
Governmental Norms		
CEDAW Ratification	.067*** (.005)	.058*** (.006)
Women's Power (National)		
Political		
Women Parliamentarians (% of total, log)	.018 (.012)	.031* (.014)
Economic		
Women in Labor Force (% of total active)	-.001 (.003)	
Religious Traditionalism (National)		
Evangelicals (% of total population)	-3.223*** (.754)	-1.853† (1.126)
Catholics (% of total population)	.106 (.123)	.020 (.159)
Muslims (% of total population)	-.419** (.139)	-.099 (.138)
State Modernization (National)		
Economic		
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	.681*** (.027)	.696*** (.028)
Political		
Level of Democracy (1-7)	.004 (.007)	.008 (.007)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women		
Women's Ministry Establishment	-.082* (.034)	-.063† (.034)
Constant	-3.791*** (.269)	-4.085*** (.249)
Wald chi ²	1619.77***	1029.93***
R ²	.5256	.3953
ρ	.929	.933
N, country years	2225	2798
N, countries	123	146

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Total female enrollment in tertiary education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total female population of the five-year age group following on from secondary school leaving, logged

Notes: Prais-Winsten regression, panel-corrected standard errors with AR1 correction in parentheses.

Sigma computed by pairwise selection. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented;

WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

Women's power factors show mixed results. Women's parliamentary representation maintains a positive association with female tertiary enrollment across both models, but has no significance net of women's labor force participation and some significance sans women's labor force participation. Women's labor force participation is negative with no significance, as seen in Model 5. These findings lend mixed support for the women's power hypothesis when considering women's social power.

Once again, the religious traditionalism findings are mixed, although somewhat different from previous relationships identified in between-country models. In the case of female tertiary enrollment, Evangelical affiliation carries a negative association, a finding that is strongly significant in Model 5 net of women's labor force participation and barely significant in Model 6 sans women's labor force participation. Furthermore, Catholic affiliation is positive and not significant across both models, carrying an opposite direction from previous outcomes. Like previous outcomes, Muslim affiliation maintains negative direction, gaining moderate significance in Model 5 net of women's labor force participation and losing significance in Model 6 sans the labor force measure. Across all measures, Muslim affiliation is negatively associated with women's power outcomes when comparing between-country variation. Once again, these findings provide mixed support for the religious traditionalism hypothesis, in this case with respect to women's social power.

In the case of female tertiary enrollment, both state modernization factors are positively related. Gross domestic product per capita carries strong significance across both models, offering support for the economic modernization hypothesis with respect to women's social power. Level of democracy, while positive, fails to reach significance.

Table 3.4a in Appendix B presents fixed effects models of female tertiary enrollment. National WINGO membership and CEDAW ratification maintain a positive, strongly significant association with female tertiary enrollment even when comparing within-country variation. Women's parliamentary representation remains positive but gains strong significance in the fixed effects models. Women's labor force participation flips positive and gains strong significance in the case of comparing within-country variation. Within nations, levels of women's power are associated with greater social power for women. Furthermore, all three measures of religious traditionalism are positive and carry strong significance across both models in relation to female tertiary enrollment. This is a curious finding as it seems to be the case that when looking within countries, values related to traditional gender roles found in traditional religious forms do not hinder women's social power. Finally, while women's ministry establishment is negatively associated with female tertiary enrollment in the between-country models, within nations, women's ministry establishment is positively and strongly significantly related to female tertiary enrollment.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While linkage to world society is not clearly linked to all women's power outcomes, it is linked to women's social power. This finding lends support to other research in world society on the effect of world society linkage on dynamics in higher education (Frank and Meyer 2007; Meyer, Ramirez, Frank, and Schofer 2007) and particularly on the influence of world society linkage on women in higher education (Bradley and Ramirez 1996; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001). Additionally, the influence of world society norms for government as seen here with ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

is strongly associated with all three women's power outcomes observed, replicating previous research on the effect of CEDAW on women's outcomes (Cole N.d., 2013; Englehart and Miller 2014). Given this evidence, world society normative influence in the form of treaty ratification appears to be more important to women's power outcomes overall than direct linkage to world society through organizations.

Considering the levels of women's power overall, it does seem to be the case that where gender relations are shifting to include women in other power positions, this is related to women's power outcomes. This is especially seen when looking at women's political power as an outcome of women's social and economic power and women's economic power as a result of women's political and social power. When considering women's social power, it is clear that women's political power matters, but not women's economic power.

Furthermore, religious traditionalism appears to vary between religious affiliations such that traditional gender roles may be more likely to be perpetuated in Muslim and Catholic religious forms than in Evangelical religious forms with respect to women's economic power. Some research on Evangelicalism would suggest that, given the embracement of more modern principles in Evangelicalism, such as individualism and universalism, that this religious form may be less traditional in practice than one would expect based on the Evangelical belief in Biblical literalism, and also as compared to Muslim and Catholic beliefs and practices. However, Evangelical affiliation is negatively associated with women's political and social power, while Catholic affiliation is positively associated with women's social power when comparing between countries. This finding appears to go against research suggesting Evangelical missionary influence in regards to tertiary education expansion, although it could be attenuating the finding to specifically consider gender. Further testing is needed to make clear conclusions with regards

to the effects of religious traditionalism on women's power, although Muslim affiliation clearly appears to be negatively associated with women's power outcomes when comparing between country variation in women's power.

The negative effect of democracy on women's parliamentary representation supports previous work on the paradox of democracy (Fallon, Swiss, Viterna 2012). In regards to women's labor force participation, there also appears to be a paradox as gross domestic product per capita is negatively related to this outcome. Overall, state modernization is inconsistently related to women's power outcomes across the three measures.

Finally, when comparing between-country variation in women's power, structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women may undermine women's political and social power while bolstering women's economic power. The differences when comparing between-country variation to within-country variation merit further study. Across both types of models, structural expansion in the state to include women undermines women's political power, while there are opposite effects between the two types of models in regards to women's social power in the form of enrollment in higher education.

In conclusion, world society theory has been critiqued for failing to look at society-level outcomes, particularly in regards to power. Schofer, Hironaka, Frank, and Longhofer discuss these critiques in their review of sociological institutionalism and world society theory (2012). In the vein of more recent work by Evan Schofer, Ann Hironaka, and other world society scholars seeking to address these issues (Cole N.d., 2013; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hironaka 2014; Schofer and Hironaka 2005; Shorette 2012; Tsutsui and Shin 2008), this chapter addresses the critique by taking a significant step in applying a neo-institutional approach to society-level outcomes, particularly power outcomes for women.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The pretense of this dissertation was to define a century of world society organizing with respect to women and then to analyze when and how world society matters for women's incorporation, focusing on women's global civil society. I sought to show how global-level factors account for national-level outcomes with respect to women. In considering world society theory, the primary focus was on segments of world society constructed with the goal of advancing or bettering women's incorporation among nations.

The research presented here builds on multiple bodies of inquiry found predominantly in sociology, and secondarily in political science. Overall, the work presented builds on previous studies looking at the international women's movement (Berkovitch 1999; Rupp 1997), gender mainstreaming (True and Mintrom 2001), and women's outcomes with respect to labor (Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Chang 2004; Charles 1992; Kim 2012; Tzannatos 1998), politics (Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Burnet 2008, 2011; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009; Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna, Fallon, and Beckfield 2008), and higher education (Bradley 2000; Buchmann, DiPrete, and McDaniel 2008; Charles and Bradley 2002, 2009; Cooray and Potrafke 2011; Jacobs 1996). The argument and research design structure is specifically modeled after

that of world society scholars studying myriad fields of world society activity, from the environment to health to science to human rights (Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000; Drori, Jang, and Meyer 2006; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Inoue and Drori 2006; Jang 2000; Kim, Jang, and Hwang 2002; Schofer 2003; Wotipka and Tsutsui 2008), in addition to specific work on women's rights (Berkovitch 1999; Cole N.d., 2013; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008b).

The main argument, rooted in a neo-institutional, world society perspective, is cultural in form—culture at the global level is the driving force behind how women are understood at the national level. The modern culture perpetuated in world society is one that individualizes, universalizes, and rationalizes, attributing personhood to those falling under the category of women. Specifically, modern constructions of woman and womanhood at the global level offer blueprints for nation-states to adopt into government structure for addressing women. Nation-states adopt world society discourse and prescriptions for addressing women's problems in an isomorphic, taken-for-granted manner, such that women are thought to not only have similar problems across all nations, but that there are similar solutions to these problems in terms of government structure and practice. As a result, outcomes related to women across nations may vary, perhaps even being decoupled from government policy and practice.

In developing a framework to understand and explain the connections between world society factors related to women and outcomes at the national level, I collected and considered data on women's international non-governmental organization (WINGO) foundings since 1888, WINGO memberships since 1965, women's ministry establishment since 1976, and women's power outcomes since 1960 including parliamentary representation, tertiary enrollment, and

labor force participation. Considering these main factors and outcomes, I constructed quantitative research models to extrapolate the theoretical argument, collecting additional data to account for alternative arguments, to explain women's incorporation.

Chapter 1 sought to offer a "lay of the land" in terms of the expansion of the international women's movement over time. Emphasizing this as a cultural field, WINGOs were analyzed in terms of structure and discourse, two key aspects of culture. In terms of structure, both WINGO establishment since 1888 and WINGO membership since 1965 were observed. In terms of discourse, I categorized WINGOs into sixteen non-mutually exclusive categories and conducted an exploratory factor analysis to see where the categories hung together. The research in this chapter builds on research by Berkovitch (1999) and Rupp (1997) on international women's organizing, being the first to chart WINGO development over a century of organizing, while also being the first to study international discourse surrounding women in the last twenty to thirty years.

These analyses produced a variety of findings that may be built on in future studies. First, in terms of WINGO establishment, the field of women's INGOs has a history that dates much further into the past than other INGO fields, specifically pre-dating the establishment of the League of Nations. This finding contributes both to a greater empirical understanding of the women's movement and, perhaps more substantially, to the empirical understanding of INGOs with respect to world society theory. World society scholars tend to peg the start of INGO expansion to the post-World War II era, and particularly after establishment of the United Nations (UN). However, WINGOs have a much earlier history, and, in fact, pre-dated and were an integral part of the establishment of the League of Nations, the precursor organization to the UN. Furthermore, the early WINGOs in this study were distinct from the pre-1880 organizations

in which women participated. These post-1880 organizations instead focused on bringing women out of their silenced and many times cloistered existence in traditional gender roles and religious organizations. Organizations prior to 1888 with women seeking these more progressive civil rights agendas were typically related to anti-slavery and anti-racism instead of women's rights in particular.

Second, WINGO expansion occurred over the entire period from 1888 to 2006, the last year for which data was collected. This finding is significant to the literature as it takes the understanding beyond the idea of waves of the women's movement into a more continuously expanding idea of women's mobilization and rights agendas. While there are clearly two waves within the United States context, I find anywhere from three to five waves at the international level, depending on the definition of a wave. In the pre-World War I period, WINGO organizers and participants came predominantly from Western contexts, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, and other European nations, and expanded in later years to include women from other countries and regions. In the recent period, which is the data that builds on Nitza Berkovitch's work (1999), we have seen a proliferation of regional organizations, especially among developing nations. Overall, as evidenced in the data, there has been this extraordinary expansion in terms of the individualization, universalization, and rationalization of the category of women in world culture and across nations. These findings contribute to world society findings on INGO expansion and proliferation.

Third, in addition to expansion in WINGOs since 1888, indicating change in understandings of women, I also find expansion in national linkages to WINGOs through national membership in these organizations since 1965. This finding is evidence for transmission of this modern understanding of womanhood to more and more nations around the globe,

contributing to the world society literature on the expanding influence of world society on national contexts.

Finally, the discursive findings expand on the meaning of this modern understanding of women in world culture. The categories alone exemplify the expansion of women's roles in society. As women's roles expand into more areas of society, there is a demand to organize around more areas related to women's rights, equality, and empowerment. In the exploratory factor analysis, I found three distinctive clumps of categories hanging together, which I refer to as discursive thematic models. According to world society theory, I argue that these models lend to the rationalization of woman through discursive reconstitution of woman/women. These models differ on the basis of a) the type of agency engaged, b) the vehicle of that agency, c) the type of development sought with respect to women, and d) the discursive position with respect to institutions that embody patriarchy, or institutions based on male logics. These findings contribute to literature on women's rights, equality, and empowerment and build on previous empirical research by world society scholars on rationalization of other fields including health (Inoue and Drori 2006) and the environment (Frank 1997).

Chapter 2 sought to connect world society expansion, particularly with respect to women, to structural expansion in national governments worldwide in regards to social concerns of the state to include women. Empirically, this meant considering the influence of multiple world society indicators on the establishment of women's ministries in governments cross-nationally. To this end, I considered national linkage to the international women's movement (measured by national WINGO membership), UN Activity (measured by UN-designated Least Developed Country status), national legitimacy post-World War II (measured by national independence gained post-World War II), and national histories of Western colonialism (measured by a history

of British or French colonialism). The outcome of interest, structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women, was measured as women's ministry establishment across time, which was modeled as an outcome of the above measures since 1965.

Findings from Chapter 2 indicated that, while universal suffrage is widely established across most nations (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997), and while women's parliamentary representation has been expanding, most extremely since 1944 (Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006), the first women's ministry was not established until 1976 in Côte D'Ivoire. Furthermore, most of the women's ministries exist in the poorest of developing nations, with only five established in developed nations. This research suggests that women's ministries embody an apparent contradiction—established in the name of women's empowerment and equality, these entities are rather paternalistic in form. Thus, world society processes and discourse, specifically in the name of women's equality and empowerment, may still result in patriarchal outcomes. And, in fact, perhaps contradictorily, may still be a step forward for women in these contexts where progress, particularly with respect to gender, comes slowly.

Furthermore, the most important finding in Chapter 2 comes from the explanatory model, which showed a positive, significant link between WINGO membership and rate of women's ministry establishment, indicating that national linkage to the international women's movement is a strong factor influencing structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women. Thus, WINGOs are an important mechanism of influence when thinking about government structuration with respect to women's rights, equality, and empowerment. Additionally, the significant influence of nations gaining independence in the post-World War II period on rate of women's ministry establishment also supports world society theory.

Specifically, nation-states act in order to gain legitimacy in world society by isomorphically adopting aspects of government dictated by world society organizations and/or found in nations already perceived as legitimate, with much previous research showing this process with respect to policy adoption. The present findings support this contention—in an attempt to seek legitimacy, nations gaining independence in the post-World War II period are more likely to establish a women's ministry.

Findings from Chapter 2 contribute to previous research by world society and international studies scholars on government ministry establishment (Drori, Jang, and Meyer 2006; Drori and Meyer N.d.; Jang 2000; Kim, Jang, and Hwang 2002; True and Mintrom 2001), research on women's political incorporation (Berkovitch 1999; Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007; Burnet 2008, 2011; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Swiss 2009; Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna, Fallon, and Beckfield 2008), and especially research on gender and politics in developing nations (Burnet 2008, 2011; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012; Swiss 2009).

Lastly, Chapter 3 sought to be a first step in analyzing how world culture with respect to women matters for women's outcomes, particularly women's power outcomes, cross-nationally. The chapter considered three categories of women's power outcomes: women's political power, economic power, and social power. Measurement of these concepts was determined based on previous work on measuring women's empowerment (Kabeer 1999; Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005; Narayan 2005) and on what is considered to be empowering for women in world society. As a result, women's political power was measured as women's parliamentary representation, women's economic power as women's active labor force participation, and women's social

power as female enrollment in tertiary education. Outcomes were modeled as a result of the independent measures using over-time panel regression models over the period 1965 to 2010.

Findings from Chapter 3 indicate that world society governmental norms with respect to women carry the most significance for women's power outcomes. This was demonstrated with the positive, significant effect of national ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on all three outcomes, a finding which replicates, although with slightly different data, previous research on CEDAW and women's power outcomes (Cole 2013; Englehart and Miller 2014). Furthermore, while national linkage to the international women's movement was not clearly linked to either women's political power or women's economic power, it clearly influenced women's social power with respect to enrollment in tertiary education. This finding contributes to previous research showing a link between world society and outcomes with respect to higher education (Bradley and Ramirez 1996; Chabbott 2003; Chabbott and Ramirez 2006; Frank and Meyer 2007; Meyer, Ramirez, Frank, and Schofer 2007; Ramirez and Wotipka 2001; Schofer and Meyer 2005; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008a). A final important finding from this chapter emphasizes the importance of women gaining some types of power in society on women gaining other types of power in society.

In sum, the last century has seen an unprecedented expansion and shift in the status of women in societies around the world. Since this time, women have expanded their roles in society in an attempt to match the breadth and number of roles filled by men in society and governments have begun to see it as their obligation to ensure gender equality. This is not to say that we have reached some ultimate level of gender equality, and, in fact, many studies still document unequal outcomes across a variety of measures with respect to gender. This is only to

document social change in the status of women in the time and measures indicated here. As women's ministries, established in the name of women's empowerment and equality, may still represent bastions of patriarchy, expansion and increase in women's status and roles does not negate continued inequalities. Specific summations regarding world society influence on women, the broader impact in society, and future research continue below.

HOW WORLD SOCIETY MATTERS FOR WOMEN

On the whole, world society has succeeded in shifting conceptualizations of women to universalized, individualized, and rationalized entities—entities with full personhood, deserving of equal rights to men. Traditional notions of womanhood designated separate roles for men and women, to be fulfilled in separate spaces, with women being kept hidden in the private sphere of the home to fulfill the household work while men went out into the public sphere of the labor force to earn income. Women were the pawns of men, whose mere existence was built on fulfilling men's desires. Further traditional conceptualizations saw women as temptresses who would go out into the world and encourage men to cheat on their wives, as fornicators who needed to be kept away from such activities in order for procreation and family life to remain intact—ideologies that justified traditional gender roles keeping women in unpaid household work.

The importance, magnitude, and expansion of this shift from traditional conceptualizations of women to one embodying women as universalized, individualized, and rationalized beings cannot be overstated, and is a direct result of world culture influence. These modern conceptualizations of women are constructed in world society and influence nation-states in a variety of ways. Two predominant mechanisms were centralized in the present

research: organizational influence and treaty ratification. National membership and participation in international organizations link nations to world society. These linkages are one mechanism for transmission of modern conceptualizations of women to national contexts. Treaties exemplify world society norms for government, with ratification being an agreement nations make to abide by such norms.

The final piece of the world society puzzle looks at the nation-state itself—specifically, what incentive do nations have to engage with world culture prescriptions and ideologies? World society theory argues that nation-states are constructed entities seeking legitimacy in a world society of states. Particularly, as nations gain independence, they adopt government policy and/or structure in an isomorphic, taken-for-granted manner.

As a result of the processes discussed, while the status of women may change over time, it is not always a perfect one to one relationship. In her book on the environment, Ann Hironaka (2014) calls this the Smoking Gun argument, which would argue for a direct link between world society or government policy and intended outcomes for women—a distinctly functionalist imagery. Hironaka offers an alternative: the Bee Swarm argument. This argument points out that world society in the form of global institutions and shared culture influences a plethora of national entities, from social movements to governmental ministries to economic innovation and even media, public opinion, and consumers, with the outcome being some form of social change that may or may not embody the intended outcomes. This argument implies that social change takes time and that outcomes are loosely coupled, or have weak connections, to the organizational systems that attempt to influence social change.

As is shown in the present research, for example, national membership in WINGOs is a factor leading to the establishment of women's ministries in governments, but not to the

proportion of women in national parliaments. However, the proportion of women in national parliaments is a factor leading to women's ministry establishment. Furthermore, certain outcomes, such as female higher education enrollments, are clearly a women's power outcome influenced by women's global civil society, while other outcomes, such as parliamentary representation, are more clearly a result of treaty ratification of CEDAW, or world society governmental norms, rather than women's global civil society influence.

Thus, world society is important to constructing alternative conceptualizations of women, to deriving scripts and blueprints embodying these conceptualizations for addressing women's issues within national contexts, and to influencing nations to embody these world society conceptualizations within their governments and societies. However, the outcomes of these processes may not occur immediately, nor will they necessarily exemplify the original intentions of world society prescriptions or policy and/or treaty initiatives.

BROADER IMPACT

The implications of the present research for governance surrounding women are at the core of many nations' struggles today. The interaction of local and international norms could have unexpected consequences for the observance of women's rights and women's power outcomes. While development of gendered governance is generally a step in the right direction with respect to women's incorporation, development, rights, and equality across nations at different levels of development, the expansion of these realms speaks to changing gender norms, incorporations, and further discriminations.

Women still face much discrimination and inequality cross-nationally. World society organizations have increasingly taken much of the onus of this responsibility on themselves, but

their lack of sovereignty means the organizations must influence nation-states to act, adopt policy, sign treaties, and the like. Outcomes are not guaranteed, and intended outcomes, such as the women's power outcomes analyzed here—tertiary enrollment, parliamentary representation, and labor force participation—do not negate the existence of unintended outcomes, such as domestic violence, sexual slavery, or female genital mutilation.

FUTURE RESEARCH

There are many fruitful directions for future research. In terms of the expansion of WINGO structure, it would be important to move towards explanatory models considering WINGO establishment and/or WINGO membership as possible outcomes. This would provide a meaningful extrapolation explaining the increasing rationalization of women in world society. Furthermore, the analysis of WINGO discourse across the 183 WINGOs presented here is coded based on one instance of each WINGO's discourse or based on the name of the organization, with the only over-time element being when the WINGO was established. This could be expanded to map over-time changes in WINGO discourse, such that there would be multiple codes for any one WINGO across time. The discursive thematic models constructed here could also be employed in regression analyses as yet another independent factor of world society institutionalization of women and the rationalization of women across time.

Next, structural expansion in social concerns of the state to include women could be considered under other measures and elements of the state that would satisfy this concept. Furthermore, women's ministries could be analyzed with more in-depth qualitative analyses to potentially show changes in the construction of the ministry across time or specific ways that women's ministries effect policy and women's outcomes. Additionally, while a first step to

determining the effectiveness of women's ministries on society-level outcomes for women, the analysis from Chapter 3 needs to be extrapolated and explored to determine where structural expansion in social concerns of the state fits as a theoretical matter and also how it matters empirically for a variety of women's outcomes.

Finally, building off of the women's power chapter, future research may consider the decoupling aspect of world society theory more seriously such that the research design and outcomes analyzed mirror other studies in world society and organizational analysis on decoupling (e.g. Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005). This would require systematic collection of unintended outcomes with respect to women. Following Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui (2005), this would likely mean violations of women's rights, or women's rights abuses cross-nationally and over time. Following world society theory and prior empirical studies, we should see decoupling between national ratification of women's rights treaties, specifically CEDAW, and national women's rights practices.

While there is much research that could build off of the present research, these directions of study would be most useful to building on prior theory and research on women's power, rights, and equality cross-nationally and the influence of world society on these processes.

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APPENDIX A

Table 2.2a: Constant Rate Event History Models Testing Level of Women's Power in Contexts of Women's Ministry Establishment‡, 1960-2009

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<i>Linkage to International Women's Movement</i>						
WINGO Membership, logged						.85* (2.45)
<i>UN Activity</i>						1.38* (2.47)
LDC Designation on UN List						
<i>Nation-State Legitimacy Post WWII</i>						.61 (.97)
Gained Independence Post-WWII						
<i>Colonialism</i>						.47 (1.09)
British Colonial History						.30 (.57)
French Colonial History						
<i>Economic Modernization</i>						.08 (.34)
GDP per capita, logged						
<i>Democracy</i>						.08 (.74)
Level of Civil and Political Freedom (1 to 7)						
<i>Women's Political Power</i>			1.48* (2.49)		1.52* (2.15)	1.99** (2.92)
First Woman Parliamentarian, start year				.52*** (3.40)	.62*** (3.81)	.72*** (3.44)
Women in Parliament, per cent of total, logged						
<i>Women's Social Power</i>						
Tertiary Education Enrollment, females, gross ratio, logged		-.24*** (-4.73)			-.24*** (-3.20)	-.24 (-1.53)
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Catholic Population, logged	.12† (1.76)	.12† (1.65)	.11 (1.59)	.19* (2.35)	.15† (1.78)	.05 (.53)
Muslim Population, logged	.12* (2.54)	.09 (1.57)	.10* (2.15)	.21** (3.17)	.16* (2.05)	.08 (.96)

Population total, logged	-0.18†	-0.16	-0.19†	-0.37**	-0.28†	-0.12
	(-1.65)	(-1.21)	(-1.78)	(-2.80)	(-1.71)	(-.57)
West dummy	-.65	-.13	-.66	-.88†	-.49	-1.04
	(-1.49)	(-.27)	(-1.50)	(-1.80)	(-.88)	(-1.30)
Constant	-4.72***	-4.36***	-4.10***	-4.59***	-4.90***	-8.05*
	(-5.21)	(-3.44)	(-4.45)	(-3.75)	(-3.34)	(-2.43)
Wald Chi Sq	10.98*	34.00***	17.03**	22.24***	41.04***	113.65***
N, country years	6069	4469	5542	3997	3131	2787
N, countries	199	178	176	170	148	143

Notes: † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests); WINGO = Women's International Non-Governmental Organization, UN = United Nations, LDC = Least Developed Country, WWII = World War II

‡Dependent variable is rate of women's ministry establishment; Robust Standard Errors; z-statistics in parentheses; EHA coefficients presented.

APPENDIX B

Table 3.2a: Fixed Effects Models of Cross-national Women's Share of Parliamentarians‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model A	Model B
World Society (International)		
Linkage	-.087*	-.077*
WINGO Memberships (log)	(.034)	(.032)
Governmental Norms	.019***	.028***
CEDAW Ratification	(.003)	(.003)
Women's Power (National)		
Social		
Female Tertiary Enrollment	.212***	.242***
(% , gross, log)	(.032)	(.026)
Economic		
Women in Labor Force	.028***	
(% of total active)	(.003)	
Religious Traditionalism (National)		
Evangelicals	.166	1.718†
(% of total population)	(.944)	(.925)
Catholics	-2.869***	-4.927***
(% of total population)	(.681)	(.591)
Muslims	.392	-.103
(% of total population)	(.526)	(.473)
State Modernization (National)		
Economic		
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	-.026	-.057
	(.061)	(.054)
Political		
Level of Democracy (1-7)	-.071***	-.040***
	(.011)	(.011)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women		
Women's Ministry Establishment	-.089*	-.008
	(.044)	(.042)
Constant	2.115***	3.769***
	(.588)	(.500)
R ² within	.2893	.2302
R ² between	.0008	.0173
R ² overall	.0016	.0008
ρ	.917	.947
N, country years	2179	2745
N, countries	121	143

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Women as per cent of all parliamentarians, logged

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented; WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

Table 3.3a: Fixed Effects Model of Cross-national Women's Share of Labor Force‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model C
World Society (International)	
Linkage	
WINGO Memberships (log)	.818*** (.242)
Governmental Norms	
CEDAW Ratification	.132*** (.021)
Women's Power (National)	
Political	
Women Parliamentarians (% of total, log)	1.455*** (.154)
Social	
Female Tertiary Enrollment (% , gross, log)	2.128*** (.221)
Religious Traditionalism (National)	
Evangelicals (% of total population)	-3.747 (6.700)
Catholics (% of total population)	-26.542*** (4.924)
Muslims (% of total population)	4.072 (3.653)
State Modernization (National)	
Economic	
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	-.022 (.441)
Political	
Level of Democracy (1-7)	.234** (.077)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women	
Women's Ministry Establishment	2.104*** (.308)
Constant	35.922*** (4.158)
R ² within	.4527
R ² between	.0053
R ² overall	.0239
ρ	.950
N, country years	2221
N, countries	124

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Women active in labor force as per cent of total active labor force

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented; WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita

Table 3.4a: Fixed Effects Models of Cross-national Female Tertiary Enrollment‡, 1960-2009

Independent Variables (1-year lag)	Model D	Model E
World Society (International)		
Linkage		
WINGO Memberships (log)	.309*** (.022)	.397*** (.021)
Governmental Norms		
CEDAW Ratification	.037*** (.002)	.038*** (.002)
Women's Power (National)		
Political		
Women Parliamentarians (% of total, log)	.073*** (.015)	.108*** (.014)
Economic		
Women in Labor Force (% of total active)	.017*** (.002)	
Religious Traditionalism (National)		
Evangelicals (% of total population)	5.413*** (.621)	6.528*** (.641)
Catholics (% of total population)	3.040*** (.457)	1.220** (.424)
Muslims (% of total population)	1.803*** (.341)	1.809*** (.326)
State Modernization (National)		
Economic		
GDPpc (constant \$, log)	.697*** (.039)	.697*** (.037)
Political		
Level of Democracy (1-7)	-.004 (.007)	.001 (.008)
State Structural Expansion in Social Concerns of the State Toward Women		
Women's Ministry Establishment	.156*** (.029)	.210*** (.029)
Constant	-6.661*** (.370)	-5.713*** (.344)
R ² within	.7202	.6706
R ² between	.4187	.4021
R ² overall	.5035	.5512
ρ	.962	.942
N, country years	2225	2798
N, countries	123	146

†p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

‡Total female enrollment in tertiary education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total female population of the five-year age group following on from secondary school leaving, logged

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables lagged 1 year; Coefficients presented; WINGO = women's international nongovernmental organizations; CEDAW = Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; GDPpc = Gross Domestic Product per capita