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Global Culture and the Changing Family: World Society, Local Context, and Cross-National
Trends in Divorce and Child Marriage

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Cheng-Tong (Lir) Wang

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Evan Schofer, Chair
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2017

DEDICATION

To

my families
Mom, Dad, Howard, Sophia, and Tonka

in recognition of their love and support

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My PhD journey is filled with the support from my dearest friends. My cohort Ralph Hosoki is both a close friend and a helpful colleague. I will forever remember the warm and stimulating conversations about our works and lives. Karen, Daniel, and Amy are always there to share my fear, anxiety, and joy. Actor Wang Kai is an exemplar of how to have faith in him/herself and be patient before s/he can leap high and far. Willa Luo, my dear sister and loyal friend. We started this journey together in the windy city in 2008, shared all the happiness and disappointment with each other during all these years, and now we graduate in the same year. I am so fortunate to have you.

Lastly but definitely not the least, I thank my families for their unconditional love and support. My parents indulge me by supporting me to pursue whatever I want to do. They taught me to be independent, tenacious, kind, and fair. This is the source of my passion for Sociology. My wife Sophia fills my heart and daily life with love and caring. Her determination to be herself and pursue a life that she wants against all discriminations and prejudice constantly inspires me. She builds a home for us. This PhD and my life would not be meaningful without them.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Global Culture and the Changing Family: World Society, Local Context, and Cross-National
Trends in Divorce and Child Marriage

By

Cheng-Tong Lir Wang

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Professor Evan Schofer, Chair

This dissertation examines how the diffusion of global cultural norms and projects influence local marital behaviors by comparing two practices, namely, divorce and child marriage. It explores how these practices change over time by looking at aggregate-level indicators of divorce rates and child marriage prevalence and individual-level indicators of the risks associated with these two behaviors. By analyzing how various factors at the individual, national, and global levels influence changes, this project substantiates World Society theory's argument regarding the top-down influence on individual behaviors. I argue that since the second half of the twentieth century, the world society, an international system of global institutions, international NGOs, and a set of cultural norms, has become a major source and promoter of many social reform projects, including the reform of marriage. Individualism, equality, and consent are the core cultural principles that sustain the contemporary ideal of marriage. The panel regression and multilevel regression results demonstrate that the legitimation and diffusion of these norms has inspired multilateral endeavor to fight the practice of child marriage. In Chapter 2, the analyses show that the dedication of resource and diffusion of norms significantly

reduce the prevalence of child marriage and the individual risk of becoming a child bride. In Chapter 3 and 4, I further argue that even when there is no targeted effort on the issue of divorce, the world society can still influence local divorce practices through the "penumbra effect." Local actors infer proper divorce practices from the fundamental cultural norms and reshape the practice of divorce. I examine the global cultural diffusion effect on gross divorce rates in a wide range of countries over 40 years and on the individual risk of divorce in developing countries during the last 30 years. The results once again suggest that global cultural diffusion increases the individual likelihood of divorce and aggregate rates of divorce. These results are statistically significant in models that take into consideration local processes suggested by existing literature. Therefore, the results demonstrate that although local forces transform shape practices, the influence of global cultural diffusion is also at work.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Globalization processes have penetrated the institutions of family and marriage in many ways. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argue for the emergence of "cosmopolitan families" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014, 548); in other words, international immigration creates more transnational marriages. Furthermore, Global Capitalism creates a temporary labor force of migrant workers that supplement the receiving country's labor force, including domestic caretakers. These domestic caretakers are physically absent from their own families while taking care of other families, but they contribute financially with remittance (Lan 2006). Cosmopolitan professionals working in multinational corporations also migrate, both passively based on company orders and actively by searching for better opportunities. Other families send their children abroad for elite education.[1] As a result, there is an increasing number of nuclear and extended families whose members reside in different countries.

In addition to economic globalization and immigration, there is growing recognition that cultural and political globalization are reshaping families and marriages as well. For example, the struggle for marriage equality in Western societies has been broadcasted by various media, along with the eventual victories,[2] which adds fuel to similar demands that are being made in

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[1] In South Korea, for example, families in which the mother and children immigrate to the U.S. to attain English education while the fathers live and work in South Korea are called the "goose families" (Park 2009).

[2] In 2015, when Facebook released the "Celebrate Pride" photo filter for the ruling of Obergefell v. Hodges, many Taiwanese used it on their profile photos to express congratulations and show support for Taiwan's own pursuit of legalizing same-sex marriage.

some East Asian societies.[3] During the legislative and judicial debates in these countries, predecessor countries' experiences and models for marriage are constantly evoked as the progressive inspiration for their own family systems.

While the case of marriage equality indicates the latest influence of cross-national cultural diffusion, a less-noticed, top-down cultural influence on marriage has been influential for decades. Since the very outset, the international human rights conventions have included articles that address the institutions of family and marriage. Some articles guarantee the basic freedom to enter and leave a marriage, while others assure equality between two parties throughout a marriage, from beginning to end. Still others protect the welfare of certain family members, such as women and children. These conventions obligate ratifying countries to reform their marriage policies. Meanwhile, activists use these conventions as leverage to pressure their own national governments to reform their family and marriage policies.

Whether these international laws and advocacy actually have any effect on families and marriages is a heated topic. Some scholars disagree with the efficacy of international human rights treaties in changing policies and practices (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Mearsheimer 1994; Risse-Kappen, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999). Others insist on the diversity of marriages and families across human societies (Paetsch et al. 2004; Therborn 2014) and do not seem to believe that global forces have homogenized or can homogenize them. Against the backdrop of intensifying global influence on families and disagreement regarding its effect, this dissertation focuses on marriage and attempts to answer the following question: does the global imagination

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[3] For example, a Taiwanese activist recently filed a constitutional lawsuit for the right to marry his same-sex partner. See http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2017/02/11/491356/Constitutional-Court.htm. Retrieved on March 23rd, 2017. As another example, a gay Taiwanese man who has partnered with a Japanese gay man for 15 years recently decided to fight against the deportation order in the constitutional court. See http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201703210070.html. Retrieved on March 23rd, 2017.

of marriage, as institutionalized in international human rights treaties and international organizations, affect local families in terms of marital behaviors?

This inquiry is not only relevant to those who are concerned with the family and marriage, but also to those who are interested in globalization, particularly those who are interested in the effect of an ever-growing international governing system. Diversely termed as global society (Shaw 1994), international regime (Krasner 1983; Young 1989), and world society/world polity (Drori and Krücken 2010), this international system is comprised of international governmental organizations (INGOs), international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international laws in the form of voluntarily joined treaties, and norms, principles, and rules regulating how state, organizational, and individual actors behave and interact at the global level. The scholars who have invented these terms generally agree that this international system is expanding its influence on local societies, both in terms of the public and private spheres. The scholarship that explores the influence of this international system has expanded exponentially in areas that include environmental issues (e.g. Hironaka 2014; Young 1989; Keck and Sikkink 1998), women's rights issues (e.g. Avdeyeva 2007; Berkovitch 1999; Boyle 2005; Cook 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Morgan 1996), and development issues (e.g. Van Rooy 1998; Watkins, Susan Cotts, Swidler, and Hannan 2012). The scholarship, however, has not paid much attention to the global influence on family (for some exceptions, see Boyden, Pankhurst, and Tafere 2012; Bunting 2005), despite the international system recognizing the family as a primary group that cultivates individuals and lays the foundation of social and economic development.[4]

This dissertation adopts the Neoinstitutionalist World Society theory to examine global influence on two marital behaviors, divorce and child marriage. I therefore refer to this international system as "the world society" throughout the dissertation. World Society theory

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[4] United Nations General Assembly Session 49 Verbatim Report 35. A/49/PV.35 page 3

perceives the force of global influence as a process of cultural diffusion that transforms actors' cognitive perceptions of social institutions. To World Society theory, international treaties and the consensus reached at international conferences are influential not only because world society has certain leverage and coercive power over the state, organizations, or individuals, but also because it provides powerful cognitive scripts that reshape how actors understand their lives and surroundings, and they act accordingly. This dissertation thus asks the following question: Does the image of family depicted by the international human rights treaties and international organizations affect individual marital behaviors, in the cases of divorce and child marriage, through the process of global cultural diffusion? In other words, this dissertation asks if the relevant cultural script upheld by world society has any effect on the entry timing and/or the termination of marriage.

To answer the question, this dissertation uses advanced regression techniques to analyze vital statistics data from the United Nations Demographic Yearbook and the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) responses. Focusing on developing countries but also expanding the sample countries to a wider range when data is available, this dissertation argues that marital behaviors in the late twentieth century have not escaped from the influence of cultural and political globalization. Depictions of families and marriages, along with consolidated campaigns that have specified goals, are effective in guiding and reforming marital behaviors and trends, such as the endeavor to end child marriage. Furthermore, the influence of global cultural diffusion is present even when such articulated norms and institutionalized campaigns are absent. With the diffusion of fundamental principles enacted by the international human rights instruments, local actors can still infer proper marital behaviors to inspire local reforms. After controlling for domestic processes, the empirical analysis demonstrates that the global cultural

diffusion of these campaigns and principles affects personal marital decisions and national nuptial trends. The findings not only contribute to the understanding of marital changes under the influence of globalization; they also advance World Society theory by assessing its effect on individual behaviors.

As a latecomer after 20 years of World Society scholarship, this dissertation is able to make such a contribution in the year 2017 because of a curious phenomenon: world society has been hesitant to engage in the business of "families" and "marriages." It is true that the two major international human rights treaties of the 1960s, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), both contain an article that mentions the rights to family and marriage. It is also true that the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages was open for signature in 1962, even earlier than the two earliest human rights treaties. To date, however, the convention has only accumulated 55 state parties.[5] The belated attention of international organizations further demonstrates their hesitance to involve themselves with families and marriages. It was not until 1983 that a United Nations Commission for Social Development resolution first mentioned the family's role in the development process; it was also in 1983 that the commission first requested the Secretary-General to raise awareness of what families needed. However, the Secretary-General's first official recognition of the importance of families and the first international events on families, the International Year of the Family (IYF) and the International Conference on Families, did not happen for another 11 years.

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[5] For countries ratifying the convention, see
https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=XVI-3&chapter=16&clang=_en. Retrieved on March 26th, 2017.

Even after the initial recognition, the resources and attention devoted to the family are still rare. The focal point of family issues was set under the United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development with no independent branch or budget. While the proclamation of the first IYF event recognized the need to provide services and support for families and also recognized their importance to the development process,[6] neither the term "family" nor "marriage" was mentioned in the event's Millennium Development Goals. In fact, the eradication of child marriage was not listed as a development goal until the Sustainable Development Goals of 2015.[7] Still, it is the only development goal directly addressing the institution of family or marriage.

Why so little global attention, and why so late?

The answer to these questions, I argue, lies in the way that global social reformers perceive family and marriage. To these global actors, the institutions of family and marriage belong to the realm of "indigenous culture" that demands respect and self-restraint of global intervention. The international human rights regime and development regime, therefore, are relatively slow to directly address the issues of "families" and "marriages."

The "indigenous culture" perception of family and marriage does not necessarily reflect reality because there are data to support the heterogeneous characteristics of family and marriage as well as homogeneous trends. Instead, the perception combines observation of familial and marital patterns and application of what Lechner and Boli (2005) coin as the "universalism of particularism" principle. This principle assumes the universality of particularistic cultural practices performed by every individual. These variated cultural practices are of equal value, and

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[6] The proclamation can be read online at https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/international-year-of-the-family.html. Retreived on March 26th, 2017.

[7] This goal is listed as the third target in goal 5. See http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/. Retrieved on March 26th, 2017.

world society ought to respect –if not encourage – these practices. Respect for cultural particularity once prevented world society from discussing the issues associated with family. The international human rights regime only finds its way in to intervene in a specific familial practice, such as child marriage, when it can frame the practice as violating other fundamental world cultural principles. Otherwise, global attention given to the issue of family only manifests in the form of protection and provision. In the case of child marriage, Women's rights activists try to rival the principle of "universalism of particularism" with the world cultural principles of voluntarism and egalitarianism (Boli and Thomas 1999, 40). Marriage, according to these activists, should be based on the free and full consent of the marrying couples. By evoking the modern image of children as having incomplete capacity to make thoughtful decision, activists contend that child marriages inescapably violate the voluntarism principle. Furthermore, by demonstrating that child marriage disproportionately affects young girls, the practice is also interpreted as an outcome of gender inequality. Couching on these two principles, advocates were finally able to garner enough support to intervene in the practice. However, familial and marital practices that cannot be readily linked to any obvious violation, such as the case of divorce, do not enjoy the consolidation of a clear international campaign. This does not mean that the script of marriage inscribed in the international human rights treaties would be unable to have an effect on changing these practices, but the change would not come from organizational attention and resources devoted specifically to addressing the behaviors.

I will discuss world society's influence on the practice of child marriage and divorce in the dissertation's individual empirical chapters. In this introduction, I will provide an overview of the ways that marital behaviors, despite their global diversity, experience similar changes; I will also discuss the ways that scholars have tried to account for the different characteristics of

families and the similar changes. I will discuss the statistical evidence supporting the claim of family and marriage diversity as well as the homogeneity of trends, the theoretical explanations for these trends, and the recent addition of cross-national cultural diffusion into the explanations. After this review, I will introduce World Society theory to further articulate the diffusion process. By focusing on the United Nations, I will then examine in detail how world society has begun to partake in addressing family issues and how the changing perception of family influences the timing of world society's intervention and the action taken to address family issues. At the end of this introduction, I will introduce the organization of the empirical chapters and summarize the findings of each chapter.

The Institutions of Family and Marriage: Diverse Characteristics, Similar Changes

Few things are considered more diverse and local throughout the world than the institution of family. The composition of family ranges from a married couple to a large kinship group comprised of multiple extended families. Monogamy coexists with polygyny and polyandry (both of which are forms of polygamy). Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa are often married before puberty whereas only a small proportion of European women are married before completing secondary education. Divorce was first legalized by modern nation-states as early as the eighteenth century but was prohibited in Chile until 2004. Based on different types of evidence, scholars researching the family have demonstrated the wide variety of family systems. For example, Therborn's (2004) family typology includes six familial types found around the world: the Christian-European family, the Islamic West Asian/North African family, the South Asian family, the Confucian East Asian family, the Sub-Saharan African family, and the Southeast Asian family. Each type of family has its own rules regarding the type of marriage

allowable (monogamy/polygamy), the location of the couple's residence following marriage, inheritance, and divorce/remarriage.

Against the backdrop of such diversity, families around the world have experienced great changes in the late twentieth century. To illuminate both the diversity of family characteristics and the trend of similar global changes that have been observed worldwide, it is useful to examine statistics regarding some key features of family and marriage. The first such statistic is the total fertility rate (TFR). Between 1960 and 2015, the global TFR dropped from 4.96 to 2.51 births per woman. While all regions are experiencing decreasing TFR, the regional variety is enormous. For instance, Europe's TFR dropped from 2.66 in 1960 to 1.60 in 2015, compared with the TFR in Sub-Saharan Africa declining from 6.56 in 1960 to 5.10 in 2015. In other words, while European countries averaged a TFR close to replacement level in 1960 and then decreased by 40% during the next 5 decades, the TFR in Sub-Saharan Africa dropped by only 22% during that same time period. Furthermore, when the decline in Sub-Saharan Africa's TFR is compared with the decline in Asia's TFR, the difference in the rate of decline is stunning. Beginning at the level of 5.82 births per woman in 1960, Asia's TFR plummeted to 2.20 in 2015 (United Nations 2016).

The patterns of marital behaviors also demonstrate diverse characteristics and similar changing trends. Concerning the two empirical cases addressed by this dissertation, divorce and the age at marriage and transformation is clearly occurring while country differences remain obvious. Current studies demonstrate a reduction in the prevalence of child marriage but caution against optimism due to vast discrepancies among their results (Garenne 2004; Koski, Clark, and Nandi 2017). In the year 1990, the singulate mean age at marriage[8] was 20.5 years old for

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[8] The singulate mean age at marriage is the average length of time for which the women was unmarried prior to her first marriage (expressed in years) among those who marry before age 50.

women in Bhutan, 22.5 in Burundi, and 27.2 in the Bahamas. Although there are no repeated data for these same countries, we can look at data from similar countries in the same regions to make a rough comparison. A decade later, in the year 2000, the singualte mean age at marriage was 20.8 in Laos, 22.7 in Rwanda, and 31.7 in Guiana. Meanwhile, extremely low values still persisted at the turn of the century, such as 18.7 in Bangladesh and 18.9 in Malawi. While the general trend suggests a decrease in the prevalence rate of child marriage,[9] there are differences in the rate of reduction as well as exceptions to the general trend. India represents a country with steady reduction of child marriage, with the prevalence rate dropping from 55.78% in 1993 to 43.51% in 2006. In Mali, the prevalence rate decreased from 80.14% to 51.54% between 1987 and 2013. However, the circumstances in Chad, a country with one of the highest prevalence rates, are much less optimistic. This country only witnessed a 2.7 percent decrease over 13 years. There has even been a reversal of the trend in some Caribbean countries. For example, the Dominican Republic experienced the reduction of child marriage prevalence between the four waves of DHS surveys in 1986 and 1999, but the rate relapsed in the first decade of the twenty-first century before it began to once again decrease after 2010.

The distinctive characteristics of and concurrent changes associated with divorce around the world are also undeniable. The increase in divorce rates across different regions has been stressed as one of the most significant demographic changes of the twentieth century (Watkins, Menken, and Bongaarts 1987). Western European and North American countries experienced the "deinstitutionalization of marriage" (Cherlin 2004; Lauer and Yodanis 2010) throughout the twentieth century. At the same time, many countries saw demands for more freedom and equality in their national divorce laws; indeed, crude divorce rates increased around the globe during the

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[9] The prevalence rate of child marriage is defined as the percentage of women between ages 20 and 49 who marry prior to the age of 18. The data are calculated from the Demographic and Health Surveys.

twentieth century (e.g. Bronson 2013; Fuller and Narasimhan 2008; Kte'pi 2013; O'Shaughnessy 2009). Around 1960, the crude divorce rate of the United States was 2.18 divorces per 1000 people. At the same time, the number was 2.5 in Egypt, 1.49 in Lebanon, 0.61in Singapore, 0.29[10] in the Dominican Republic, 0.28 in Seychelles, and 0.14 in Peru (United Nations 2011). Five decades later, the crude divorce rate was 2.81 in the United States, 1.91 in Egypt, 1.57 in Lebanon, 1.40 in Singapore, 1.77 in the Dominican Republic, 1.89 in Seychelles, and 0.19 in Peru (United Nations 2011). While the ranking of these countries' divorce rates does not change much, the range of difference, when excluding the extreme case of Peru, becomes much smaller. Almost all countries had more divorces in 2010 than they did in 1960.

In sum, the patterns of both reproductive and marital behaviors demonstrate great regional diversity while also showing similar changes. While scholars disagree on whether families are converging at the global level (Therborn 2014), it is seldom doubted that families and marriages undergo similar transformations. [11] Among these transformations are the decreasing incidence of child marriage and the increasing incidence of divorce. What accounts for such diversity and change? In the next section, I will review the sociological theories that explain family diversity and changes.

Theoretical Explanations of Family Diversity and Changes

Just as families and marriages are diverse, so too are the theories explaining the characteristics of and changes to family and marriage. While most theories at least implicitly recognize the cross-national diversity of families and marriages when accounting for both the changes themselves and the differing pace of change, there are still economic theories that

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[10] Here, I use data from 1979, the earliest divorce data available for Singapore.
[11] There is also some argument that divorce remains stable in some regions, such as the Arab Gulf countries (Anser 2014).

assume universal principles of marital decisions and do not take change into account. Becker explains marital behaviors using the economic assumptions of human nature and competitive behaviors. Becker (1973) views family as a production unit in which couples pool their time and market goods to produce the commodities the household desires. He portrays a marriage market where men and women search and compete for ideal partners with whom to form a family. Based on an individual's utility (which is defined as the output one can produce within a unit of time) respective to others, s/he is assumed to match with a person who can maximize utility and who is "within his or her league." The timing of marriage and divorce are both decided by these fundamental principles. A person stops searching and settles down when s/he believes that it is not possible to find a mate who will provide a higher level of utility than the current mate, or when the utility of remaining single and continuing to search for a mate is lower than the utility of entering marriage. People would not maintain a marriage over other options unless the utility of the marriage exceeds the utility of alternative options (Becker 1974; Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977). Becker's theory focuses on elaborating the universal principles of action but does not address how the market values of certain attributes are defined or whether the value and calculation associated with the attributes ever change.

Becker's economic theory has drawn many criticisms and inspired both theoretical enrichment and empirical revision. For example, Pollak uses the transaction costs approach to address the theory's shortcoming of not considering a household's internal structure. For instance, the allocation and distribution of labor and output within the family affects mate selection processes (Pollak 1985). Huber and Spitze (1980) test Becker's theory; they caution that each spouse may calculate utility differently and thus calculate the necessity of a divorce differently. The authors highlight that the calculation can change due to socioeconomic shifts,

such as increased female participation in the paid labor market. While they agree with Becker on the fundamental worldview of the marriage market and the concept of rational calculation for maximum utility, Pollak's and Huber and Spitze's revisions shift attention from micro-level decision making processes to the structural contexts within which the decisions must be made. These revisions recognize that the social context of marriage can potentially change, reshaping the calculation of assortive mating.

Compared to the aforementioned scholars, Goode (1974) criticizes Becker's theory at a more fundamental level. According to Goode, Becker's theory fails to take cultural systems (such as gender hierarchy) into consideration when defining the value of time. The failure renders inconsistent predictions of Becker's theory on some occasions. Although Goode's paper signals the importance of cultural factors on marital behaviors, his own argument about changes to the family does not focus much on cultural factors. Instead, theories of cultural transformation shoulder this task and will be addressed later in this section.

Goode's study examines family patterns among various societies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and concludes that across the world, families are moving toward the direction of the conjugal family (Goode 1963). The conjugal family is characterized by the marital unit's centrality in forming a family and comparatively weak control by a broader kin network. This type of family occurs more readily in societies where youngsters have more economic independence from the extended families in which they were raised. In a conjugal family, mate choice is freer and marriages based on mutual attraction (rather than parental arrangement) are highly valued. Members' emotional needs are emphasized in this type of family, and family members are expected to carry out more emotional exchanges as opposed to simply providing economic support. Divorce rates can be higher among conjugal families because this

type of family is not based on economic ties between families, which tend to become intricate over time and have broader consequences if broken up (Goode 1993).

Goode argues that the conjugal family became the dominant family type in Western societies because it is the "best fit" for industrial society. This is because the kin network's loosened control over individuals satisfies the factories' demand for labor with geographic and social mobility. Furthermore, the emotional exchange within the conjugal family complements the mechanical and calculative relationships associated with industrial production processes. Gradual industrialization, urbanization, and technological advancements spurred the shift toward this type of family to other societies. Ideological diffusion from the West to the East, brought about by intellectuals educated in the Western societies, can facilitate this change because these intellectuals often carry and promote the "ideology of 'economic progress' and technological development, as well as the ideology of the conjugal family (in the Eastern societies)… before any great changes are observable either in industrial or family areas of life" (Goode 1963, 19). The basic notion that industrialization and technological advancement trigger long-term shifts toward conjugal families with increased union instability is echoed broadly by other scholars (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Caldwell 1976; Pryor and Trinder 2004).

Sharing Becker's view that family is an economic unit, Marxism takes a more critical perspective on the family system, marriage, and changes to these institutions. In classic Marxist theory, the family and marriage are among the superstructures deriving from society-specific modes of production (Marx and Engels 1978). The family structure evolved from that of a matrilineal clan to a family unit based on a monogamous marriage; this shift occurred alongside the establishment and domination of private property. Norms regarding marriage, such as the incest taboo and growing predominance of monogamy, reflect the need to ensure male control

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over women, children, and inheritance as private property (Engels 2010). Agreeing with the basic view of a gendered oppression structure, Marxian feminist scholars further emphasize the argument of male dominance and women's subordination and enslavement for uncompensated reproductive labor within the private sphere (Vogel 2013).

Developed from Marx's theory, scholars of the World-system theory view global capitalism as the cause of gendered oppression in modern families. The global capitalist economy formulates a hierarchical world system in which the core countries exploit the human and material resources of semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. Countries belonging to different hierarchies of the world-system have different types of industries, level of socioeconomic status. Therefore, different forms and functions of families are prevalent among countries located at varying positions of the world system (Smith, Wallerstein, and Evers 1984). Family—or "household," which is the preferred term used by the World-system theory —is a unit that allows for resource pooling in order to meet productive and reproductive needs unsatisfied by low wages, especially in the semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. Women's living conditions are worse in these countries than in the core countries since they often suffer from double exploitation: they are treated as secondary workforce with lower wages while also shouldering unpaid substance production and domestic work within the household (Misra 2000). Although thw World-system theory does not make arguments regarding the timing of marriage or divorce, the basic notions of gendered domination and resource pooling can still have some implications on individuals' marital behaviors across societies. For example, if individuals must rely more heavily on households to supplement their wages, it may prompt earlier marriage and hesitation to divorce.

In addition to economic determinants of family change, scholars also explain family change as a self-sufficient demographic chain reaction. For example, Easterlin's thesis of "cyclical theory" depicts how vacillating between large and small cohorts determines marriage patterns. According to the theory, a large cohort will ease the urgency of marriage and therefore delay marriage. The late marriage pattern, combined with a higher unemployment rate, will then lower the number of children per couple and produce a smaller successive cohort. A small cohort, in turn, will create more pressure for mate pursuit but less competition for jobs. The population will respond to the conditions with earlier marriage and a higher fertility rate, swinging the next cohort back to a large size. Easterlin's theory is criticized for limited applicability, but it provides another example of individuals making decisions in response to local, macro-level conditions.

Disagreeing with the economic determinism of the aforementioned theories, demographers and sociologists started to emphasize emotional and psychological objectives that take over economic logic after a certain level of socio-economic advancement has been achieved. Lesthaeghe and other scholars propose the second demographic transition thesis to argue that the primary objective of family and marriage have transitioned from material needs to psychological needs in Western European countries (Botev 1990; Lesthaeghe 1983). During the first demographic transition, which occurred in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, a lowered mortality rate led to decreased fertility and slowed population growth. Borrowing from Maslow's theory of hierarchical human needs, when the lower basic material needs, such as food and shelter, were well served, people began to pursue higher-level emotional and psychological needs. Therefore, the second demographic transition began in the 1950s and was driven by ideational force in addition to the prevalence of modern contraception technology (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 2008). The belief of childbearing as a necessarily stage of life gave way to self-

actualization. Additionally, equality replaced gendered division of labor. These principles became the new guiding doctrines for spousal relations. High rates of union dissolution signaled that people have become more willing to pursue their individual needs than maintain dissatisfactory marriages. While Lesthaeghe views the emergence of these principles, including freedom, equality, and self-actualization, as dependent on economic modernization (Lesthaeghe 1983), the proliferation and emphasis of these values, according to the second demographic transition thesis, do not take place until the society achieves a certain economic level.

Inglehart and Norris's (2003) emphasis of "post-materialism" in making marital decisions presents a similar argument. In highly industrialized societies, people emphasize non-material needs, including autonomy, equality, and self-expression, when making marital decisions. Meeting these psychological needs through education and career can compete with marriage and delay the age at marriage. The search for a "soulmate" rather than a meal ticket makes the process more difficult and adds to the delay. Even when they are married, people are more inclined to end marriages that do not fulfill such needs than maintain the relationships. The extent to which these values proliferate is associated with the variance of familial and marital patterns.

In explaining the changes of familial lives in societies of the "second modernity," Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's theory balance the structural and ideational forces (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Beck-Gernsheim 2002). They argue that in Western European countries, men and women have experienced the process of individualization, along with two stages of modernization, over the past two centuries. The great social change, which arose along with industrialization, first released male workers from the collective production unit of family and pushed them into the industrial world that valued individuals in the labor force. The personal

wage detached men from their extended families and expanded their choices. The development of the welfare state further unchained individuals from their families by providing minimum protection for those who stumbled from the dysfunction of the labor market; the welfare state also weakened the family's function as a safety net for the individual. A new model of family with clearly gendered public/private distinction emerged as the "new normal." Beck and Beck-Gernsheim further identify that in the 1960s, women experienced individualization processes as well. They gained autonomy and self-sufficiency as a result of education, employment, and legal reforms. As a result, women, too, became increasingly obligated to make decisions for themselves without the tutelage of traditions (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 90).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's theory concerns highly industrialized societies, mostly in the United States and Western Europe. In these societies, No single model of family life and familial roles dominates. Men and women now have to decide how to structure their lives, including their marriages and families. They now need to write their own biographies (Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 39). Family members spend their days in multiple institutions, such as workplaces, schools, and care centers, each with its independent "temporal rhythm" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 91). Family life thus becomes more fragmented and individualized.

These individualization processes add fuel to the changing divorce rate (Beck-Gernsheim 2002). As the processes of modernization and secularization create more divorces, the initial visibility of divorces triggers a series of chain reactions. At first, it directly encourages a demand to reform restrictive divorce regulations. An increase in divorces also accompanies strengthening justification for alternative choices to marriage; this, in turn, increases the sense of instability in the traditional marital trajectory. In other words, when individuals are surrounded by more divorce, or more news about divorce, they perceive their own marriages (current or

forthcoming) differently. They no longer have a firm image of marriage as a life-long event and begin to plan accordingly. Resonant with Becker's argument, Beck-Gernsheim argues that when people expect the marriage to have a higher risk of ending, they engage in "self-protective strategies" (Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 25) that include cohabiting, investing less emotionally, and preparing themselves for alternatives. Paradoxically, engaging in these strategies propels even more divorces.

The Influence of Cross-national diffusion

While scrutinizing the local processes that contribute to changes that affect family and marriage, the aforementioned theories do not take into account that countries of diverse socioeconomic conditions all experience similar processes. For example, fertility rates drop in European countries as well as in China and Indonesia. The divorce rate rises in both East Asia and in Latin America. This happens concurrently even though these areas are vastly different in terms of their economies, religious beliefs, and educational levels. Furthermore, ethnographic work demonstrates that the pursuit of "love marriage" has become an alternative form of marriage in India's rural villages despite a vastly different socioeconomic context from the "postmaterialist societies" where it is also pursued. (Allendorf 2013). Some marriages in South Korea show the same characteristics of those in the "second modernity" although the country itself is yet to be considered as a society of the second modernity at the time of Shim and Han's research (2010). What accounts for such similar changes in countries with such different profiles?

As early as the 1970s, Ronald Freedman (1979) indicated that the dissemination of cultural models and ideas regarding a "desirable family" can have an effect on fertility decline independent of other demographic processes. Unlike Western societies, whose demographic

transition is triggered by modernization processes during which new institutions absorb many functions of the family and reduce the need for more children, the full throttle of modernization processes is not a necessary condition for demographic transition in the "less developed countries" (Freedman 1979, 1). A subset of structural changes, such as the combination of expanding education, decreasing mortality rates, and female employment, suffice. Additionally, transition processes in less developed countries are motivated by the acceptance of new ideas regarding desirable familial life that are generated elsewhere. Freedman argues that communication and information technologies have made it easy to disseminate consumer practices and the idea of limiting family size, which is legitimized in the form of family planning programs in a "specialized, highly-developed, international social and economic system" (Freedman 1979, 3). The examples of China, Indonesia, and Taiwan demonstrate that with the acceptance of family planning programs and the underlying cultural ideas regarding family and reproduction, countries can lower their fertility rates in a short time while maintaining an agricultural economy with a low gross domestic product (Freedman 1979; Freedman et al. 1974). Although Freedman does not agree with Caldwell that the specific Western concept of "nuclear family" has become the ideal family form globally, he would not disagree that the family transformation process signals westernization.

Resonating with the concept of ideational diffusion, Arland Thornton's theory of Developmental Idealism articulates the global legitimation of an "ideal modern family" and how it influenced family changes in the late twentieth century. Thornton argues that modernizing families in developing countries has become an integral part of an international development project shared by major global institutions, including the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and others (Thornton 2001; Thornton, Binstock, and Ghimire

2008). These contemporary social reformers, like their missionary/colonizing counterparts in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, are dedicated to solving the multifaceted social and economic problems of sub-Saharan, Asian, and Latin American countries. Based on their proposition, the development project encompasses not only industrializing these countries' economies but also their social institutions, such as public health, education, and family. The social development project on the family envisions a reform toward a "modern family," which is characterized by later marriage, elevated status of women, conjugal-centeredness, reduced fertility, and emphasis on consent and equality. Reformers believe that such a family can modernize and benefit the society as a whole by liberating family members' individual capacities, allowing them to accumulate more human capital and respecting individuals' autonomy and freedom. The reform project thus includes lowering fertility and eradicating female genital cutting, early marriage, forced marriage, and gender inequality between couples.

The development project of family reform, Thornton argues, is not only an effort to improve the material lives of individuals. Supporting the global reformers' endeavor is an ideational project that transforms how individuals perceive the family and its relationship to socioeconomic development. The belief that a society can become more modernized and developed by reforming its family system is grounded in the social evolutionist thinking that any type of family, as an integral part of its society, can be located at one of the stages of a unilineal trajectory of evolution (Thornton 2005). Two centuries of family studies lays the groundwork for this thinking by transposing cross-cultural data into a chronological sequence and heralded the Northwestern European family as "the modern family," the pinnacle of family evolution toward which families of all other regions would transition. Reforming toward the modern family ideal can propel the overall socioeconomic evolution toward the next stage. The diffusion

of such an ideational project, in the form of persuasion as well as pressure, takes place not only through international aid and philanthropic grants, but also through mass media, NGO programs, education, and international travel. Under the influence of such an ideational project, individuals take initiative in changing their marital and reproductive behaviors even without direct contact with the global institutions.

Developmental Idealism theory is insightful in calling attention to the importance of the diffusion of the ideational project in shaping family changes. However, the theory is less elaborate in its explanation of how the project was legitimized and diffused globally. The theory does not explain why some reform projects, such as fertility reduction, were implemented with a magnitude of resources and passion while others, such as eradicating child marriage, were not given comparable attention at the same time. This dissertation extends the argument by elaborating upon 1) the ways in which world society legitimizes the ideal of "modern family" while also deterring some family reform projects that do not fit with the fundamental principles of the world society and 2) the ways in which global cultural diffusion of the ideal family influences local family changes. I argue that since the 1990s, world society has housed the legitimation process of the "modern family" and prompts the diffusion of the ideal to state and individual actors through a myriad of cultural diffusion channels.

World Society Theory and the World Society

World Society theory gains its theoretical underpinning from Sociological Neoinstitutionalism. Sociological Neoinstitutionalism takes a phenomenological approach to understanding individuals, states, institutions, and global society (Jepperson 2002). In contrast to the realist understanding of a purposive, agentic, and rational actor, the phenomenological

perspective emphasizes the constructedness of the individual's purpose, agency, and rationality. The same understanding applies to all other contemporary social entities generally perceived as "actors," including organizations and states (Drori, Meyer, and Hwang 2006; Meyer, et al. 1997).

From the perspective of Sociological Neoinstitutionalism, an actor is not born but made. The eagerness to pursue certain purposes, such as profit, higher status, or luxurious enjoyment, is not innate. Nor are actors born with the capacity to evaluate the costs and benefits of their actions, make independent decision based on the evaluation, and act upon the decision. Rather, the actorhood, i.e. the purposes and capacity of actors, is the product of historical and institutional construction. The Reformation and Enlightenment movements laid the ontological foundations for a modern actor who is capable of understanding the laws of nature (which were once the domain of God) and becoming the "responsible creature and carrier of purpose and moral law" (Meyer and Jepperson 2000, 105). At the same time, the development of science, which claimed to reveal the principles of nature and human society, granted individuals strength rooted in their confidence in and knowledge of such laws. While not all modern actors who believe themselves to be agentic and purposive are Protestants, this ontology has become the faithful foundation of modern actors regardless of the ontology's religious origin.

In addition to the historical processes that established the foundation of modern actorhood, Sociological Neoinstitutionalism argues that this actorhood undergoes constant construction. While Sociological Neoinstitutionalism rejects dichotomizing the agency against the external social structure, it does not completely agree that structures only confine individuals. From the Neoinstitutionalist viewpoint, the modern actor is a malleable one in the sense that actorhood is constantly informed and molded. Structures, or social institutions, are perceived by this theory as cognitive scripts for actors. These scripts are comprised of knowledge, discourse,

and information regarding the nature, purposes, and techniques of the social institutions. These scripts do not only function as internalized norms that regulate, instruct, and judge individual behaviors; they also establish how actors understand the world, their society, and themselves (Jepperson 1991).

Take the institution of family as an example. Sociological Neoinstitutionalism understands the family (and marriage as part of the institution of family) as not only a set of materials and normative principles that regulate a primary group but also as a cognitive script that details the indispensable components of this group, how the group is formulated and maintained, what one does as a member in this group, which events take place within the group and which do not, and what functions the group shoulders. This script helps actors make moral (or policy) judgements to determine, for example, which families are functional and dysfunctional or what a dutiful wife looks like. In everyday use, the script is at work when people try to determine whether a group of people dining together are a family. It functions when people make voluntary career compromises for their families. It is also summoned when people plan for their retirement. In these examples, the institution of family functions as a cognitive lens that helps people to understand the families around them and make decisions about their own familial lives. Although incentive and punishment often follow the script of family, actors take a highly institutionalized script for granted and follow it even when the actual incentive and punishment are not present.

The script of family and marriage does not only instruct individuals but also other actors, such as the state and organizations, despite their lack of intellect with which to process the script. Family policies often reflect a state or company's cognitive script regarding family and marriage. For example, all parental leave policy begins with the term "maternal leave," reflecting the

gender assumption of caretaking labor. The policy of "family wage" also assumes the breadwinner/housewife script of family to be universal. These policies reflect the taken-for-granted cognitive scripts of family and marriage. Of course, the fact that one can think of various alternative circumstances to the aforementioned scripts brings forth my point that multiple aspects of the institution of family are experiencing change. The scripts of "traditional"[12] family and marriage in vastly different societies are undergoing concomitant challenges. As Neoinstitutionalist scholars understand it, the current institution of traditional family is undergoing a process of "institutional change" (Jepperson 1991, 152). The change results from revising current scripts and/or institutionalizing new scripts. Other institutionalized scripts may trump the existing scripts of family and marriage. As scripts, family and marriage are not static and unchangeable. The questions are why the institutional change happens and why it is happening now.

Sociological Neoinstitutionalism perceives many sources of institutional change. Scholars argue that in the late twentieth century the world society has become a particularly important source of institutional change. Materially, the world society is comprised of global governance institutions, laws in the form of treaties, and actors that include states, organizations (of the private, public, and civil society), individuals (Meyer, Boli, et al. 1997; Meyer 2010; Drori and Krücken 2010), and professionalized others that "instruct the general principles of agency" (Meyer and Jepperson 2000, 114, e.g. experts, advocates). But the concept of world society especially emphasizes "a distinct culture—a set of fundamental principles and models, mainly ontological and cognitive in character, defining the nature and purposes of social actors and action" (Boli and Thomas 1997, 172-3) During the second half of the twentieth century, the

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[12] Here I use quotation marks to emphasize that, as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim discuss (2002), the "traditional family" of the West is a recent rather than ancient institution.

world society rose with the grand trend of intense globalization and became an major source of legitimation for various cultural scripts (Boli and Thomas 1997; Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner 1998; Meyer, Frank, et al. 1997). The global governance institutions have provided the working space in which the aforementioned actors gather to develop scripts regarding all sorts of issues, including but not limited to "the basic rights of individuals" (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004), "childhood" (Boli-Bennett and Meyer 1978), "environmental protection" (Meyer, Frank, et al. 1997), and so on. Some scripts are further legitimized when they are recognized by international treaties and international organizations and/or when they acquire more resources from public or private funders.

The institutionalized scripts then diffuse to the local actors who receive and enact them. World Society theory discerns multiple diffusion channels, but scholars most often evoke two diffusion channels: 1) the organizational connections between local actors and 2) global institutions and state commitment to relevant international treaties. International aid and grants that sponsor local programs are another common channel of diffusion. This global diffusion of the cultural script results in global isomorphism in countries of vastly different socioeconomic and cultural contexts. Current studies find such isomorphic changes in areas of environmental protection (Frank 1997; Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000; Givens and Jorgenson 2013; Hadler and Haller 2011; Hironaka 2014; Meyer, Frank, et al. 1997), education (Bromley, n.d.; Bromley, Meyer, and Ramirez 2011; Meyer, Ramirez, and Soysal 1992), human rights (Avdeyeva 2007; Boyle 2005; Boyle and Kim 2009; Kim 2009; Tsutsui 2006; Tsutsui, Whitlinger, and Lim 2012), and laws (Boli-Bennett and Meyer 1978; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Keith 2002; Kim and Boyle 2012).

The Construction of the Family in World Society

Despite expanding its influence since the mid-twentieth century, world society has been relatively late in touching the institution of family. Even when it has touched upon issues relevant to family, such as maternal health, fertility control, and violence against women, it has not approached the issues as "family issues." In contrast, world society has addressed these issues as violating individual rights and/or as the tasks of national socioeconomic development. I argue that such delayed attention results from the "script" of family that dominates world society. The dominant global cultural script of family views the institution as belonging to the realm of cultural diversity and the private sphere, thus restraining world society from exerting its homogenizing force on the institution.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE IN INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Indeed, it is incorrect to assume that international society has never touched upon issues related to family. For example, reproduction has long been an issue of international concern. The international population control regime has made strong efforts to alter reproductive activities in order to lower the total fertility rate in developing countries. It is also undeniable that major international treaties have included articles related to the family since their outset, such as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, mainly in Article 16), ICCPR (Article 23), and ICESCR (Article 10, Section 1). In fact, the underlying perceptions of family present in these articles had important implications for the international campaign for family when the issue was first picked up.

Although world society has touched upon issues related to families and marriage, it does not address these issues as "family issues." Reproduction and fertility control are considered to

be national development problems that are related to "a better quality of (individual) life." (United Nations 1976) . In the landmark document "World Population Plan of Action" (United Nations 1976), world society handles the issue by taking care to balance each country's goal of population control and individual's freedom of reproductive choices. Family as an institution in which reproductive behaviors take place is viewed as "the basic unit of society" which government should assist to fulfill their role in society." The document then makes a series of policy and legislation recommendations, including that "national legislation […] concerning age at marriage, […] divorce, […] be periodically reviewed as feasible and adapted to the changing social and economic conditions and with regard to the cultural setting." [13]

The recommendation generally reflects world society's orientation on the issue of family: "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State" (Article 16.3, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations 1948, repeated in Article 23.1 of ICCPR). Other international documents, including the resolutions of United Nations agencies, international human rights treaties, and proclamation of international events, repeat the stance almost verbatim. The recommendation also reflects the basic human rights to marriage and family, as declared in early international human rights treaties.

The articles of early international human rights treaties approach the issue of family from the standpoint of individual rights. The ICCPR has the most comprehensive guarantee of individuals' "right to marry and to found a family" (Article 23.2 of ICCPR, United Nations 1966). The ICCPR article ensures that "no marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses" (Article 23.3 of ICCPR, United Nations 1966). It also

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[13] This declaration is quoted from Chapter B "Recommendations for Action" of the Plan of Action (United Nations 1976).

guarantees that spouses will have equal rights and responsibilities throughout their marriages (Article 23.4 of ICCPR, United Nations 1966). This article is further replicated by ICESCR and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).[14]

While the article does not explicitly define the institution of family, its focus on elaborating individuals' rights regarding marriage, reflecting the script of family the convention's drafters had in mind. The script depicts a marriage in which equal individuals express free and full consent to build the core component of family. This script reflects two critical conceptions of family. First, the script is based on the imagination of a nuclear family (or, in Goode's terminology, "conjugal family") as the center of the marriage system. With the concurrent omission of any other intergenerational or kin relations, the international human rights articles uphold the importance of marriage as the center of family.

Second, the international human rights treaties paint an individualist script of family: marriage ultimately depends on the consent of the marrying couples but not on their parents or on any other person granting permission. This conception of how marriage is arranged greatly diverges from the customs held by many societies at the time and even today. This concept of marriage also recognizes the possibility of individuals disagreeing with their family members. Family is no longer portrayed as a harmonious unit but rather as a collective with conflicted preferences and calculations. In the presence of such conflict, international treaties designate the state to protect the individual against other family members. For instance, the 1979 CEDAW guarantees women's rights within family and further replaces the general proclamation of protecting families. Article 16 explicitly obligates its state parties to "eliminate discrimination

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[14] Prior to ICCPR, this text was used in Article 16, Section 1 of the United Nations UDHR. In the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the protection approach toward family is recorded in the preamble in the name of protecting children within families. However, the terrm marriage is nowhere to be found. Apparently, marriage does not fit in the conception of the relation between the child and the family.

against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations" (United Nations 1979). In the presence of gender equality, the convention drops the line that protects and provides the family and guarantees the rights of women. In general, by guaranteeing the individual's right to marriage and family, the international human rights treaties slowly evolve to more explicitly recognize potential conflict between individuals and their families.

When reviewing important world society documents, two themes emerge regarding the family. When world society directly mentions the institution of family, it emphasizes state protection and provision for this basic social unit. In other places, family is mentioned as the object of individual rights or as an instrument of national development. The fulfillment of individual human rights and national development are prioritized over the protection and provision of marriage and family. Indeed, when the international campaign on family finally emerged in the mid-1990s, the discourse of the campaign reflected these dual themes.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN ON THE FAMILY

Outside of the aforementioned inclusion of family in the international documents, world society did not give the institution much attention until the 1980s. Protecting family through revising laws and policies was clearly not the most urgent task of the population control campaign, and there weren't any additional international campaigns that directly branded themselves as "protecting families" until the Commission for Social Development requested the Secretary-General to "enhance awareness among decision makers and the public of the problems and needs of the family, as well as of effective ways of meeting those needs"[15] in 1983. Even so,

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[15] Quoted from the "Background of International Year of the Family" webpage.
http://www.un.org/en/events/familyday/background.shtml. Retrieved on March 26th, 2017.

it still took another 11 years to see the first International Year of the Family (IYF) and International Conference on Families in 1994.

The reason for this delayed attention lies in the perception of family itself. As the Proclamation of the first IYF expressed, families as the basic unit of social life "assume diverse forms and functions from one country to another, and within each national society. These express the diversity of individual preferences and societal conditions."[16] In other words, the institution of family lies within the realm of cultural diversity and is a private matter (of individual choices). In the face of cultural diversity and the private sphere, the global, public world society should be cautious of privileging a certain type of family and specific marital choices. Indeed, when the 1989 General Assembly discussed whether to designate the year 1994 as the International Year of the Family, there was disagreement over what the year would be about and, more fundamentally, what an ideal family should look like. As the Secretary-General recalled during the unprecedented International Conference of the Families in 1994,

> opinions were divided as to what the Year was about. Some people argued that support for the family discriminates against those who prefer to live outside family units. There were also disagreements over the activities which should be organized to mark the year. […]The International Year of the Family has stimulated a worldwide debate. Many political notions have been clarified. Out of the process of debate and reflection have come new insights. Instead of confusion and hesitation, there is now consensus about the role of the family in human society. […] Views may differ about what an ideal family should be like -indeed, families themselves vary greatly.[17]

The Secretary-General was brief on revisiting the disagreement, but it is not difficult to speculate over the nature of the disagreement. By dedicating a year to "the family," what image of family was held within the minds of these global actors? Would it reflect a specific kind of ideology and stamp the supremacy of a certain form of family?

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[16] Quoted from the United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development, Focal Point on the Family website. https://www.un.org/development/desa/family/international-year-of-the-family.html. Retrieved on March 7th, 2017
[17] United Nations General Assembly Session 49 Verbatim Report 35. A/49/PV.35 page 3.

The concern was warranted. The promotion and implementation of population policy by the international population and development regimes had resulted in compulsory family planning programs and forced sterilization in some countries. There was nothing to prevent the task of "promoting families" from translating into support for a reactionary movement claiming that all families should be of the same type, whether a conservative religious one or a Western nuclear one. The deep concern reflected the "human rights turn" that had been present among the international organizations since the 1980s. Basic human rights became a strong competing discourse when international or national actors attempted to advance development goals. Under such emphasis, it is not surprising that the freedom to determine whether and what kind of family a person prefers becomes a reason for reservation. The promotion of family as a basic unit of society should be carefully balanced with individuals' rights.

The human rights campaign's strong concern was represented in the resultant international campaign on the family. While stressing the diversity of families and emphasizing instrumentalist logic on the relationship between family protection and national development, the United Nations approached the issue from the angle of basic human rights. The IYF campaign, which later developed into an organizational focal point under the United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development to assist in the development of family-oriented policies, claimed to focus not on promoting a certain type of family but to address "the needs of all families." The campaign called for actions to "promote the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms accorded to all individuals, […] whatever the status of each individual within the family, and whatever the form and condition of that family" and envisioned policies that "aim at fostering equality between women and men within families, to bring about a fuller sharing of domestic

responsibilities and employment opportunities." [18] The angle from which the United Nations approached the issue of family was not by emphasizing the institution as a whole but rather the individuals within it. Under the slogan of protecting families, the campaign focused on assuring individual rights to resist the inequality and repression that are present within some families. This campaign's emphasis on basic human rights also signaled that the overarching world cultural principle of universal human rights had begun to erode the aforementioned respect and encouragement of "universalism of particularism," albeit in a subtle way.

Meanwhile, as Thornton (2005) has insightfully pointed out, the fundamental beliefs of Developmental Idealism envision a mutually reciprocal relationship between the evolution toward modern family and overall social development. Such logic was evident in the discourse of the IYF campaign for families. As the president of the International Conference on Families pointed out,

> Families are major actors in and beneficiaries of the sustainable development process. Without the participation of families in the development process, it cannot succeed. As producers and as educators, families play a significant role in human development. In these and in many other ways, families are the primary mechanisms through which the human community achieves its ends. [19]

Universalistic claims regarding the family's role in facilitating social and economic development was mobilized to call for attention and dedication to address the needs of diverse families. Following such logic, the campaign was unable to avoid promoting itself under the major international regime of development. It was also unable to avoid working toward the regime's established goals, including but not limited to poverty-relieving employment and health. Indeed, the IYF motto, "Building the Smallest Democracy at the Heart of Society," and the campaign's major issues (both then and now) did not necessarily reflect the most urgent needs of

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[18] Quoted from the United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development, Focal Point on the Family website. https://www.un.org/development/desa/family/international-year-of-the-family.html. Retrieved on March 7th, 2017
[19] United Nations General Assembly Session 49 Verbatim Report 35. A/49/PV.35 page 2.

every single family; rather, they corresponded to many of the development goals identified by major global institutions. The instrumentalist logic of supporting family to achieve socioeconomic development goals indicates another front on which universalism has trumped cultural diversity and the private sphere.

The 1994 IYF campaign never developed into a major international regime like population control, health, or women's and child's rights, despite these regimes' close connection to families. Although the IYF campaign was consolidated into the Focal Point for Family Issues in the United Nations, many of the major tasks that advocates may have envisioned at the outset, such as anti-poverty initiatives, meeting maternal/reproductive health goals, striving for gender equality, and recognizing children's rights within families, have been undertaken by other international regimes.

These international regimes are concerned with the welfare and rights of relevant family members, but they do not necessarily share the goal of protecting and providing for the needs of all families. Over the years, the Focal Point for Family Issues did indeed develop new issues with greater focus on families as a whole.[20] The organization further advocates for "family-oriented policies," a perspective that stresses family, rather than individuals, as the entry point of development policies. For instance, the perspective argues that cash transfer and social welfare policies for families can benefit women and children in their education, nutrition, and health (Mokomane 2013). However, this argument has been criticized elsewhere by feminist advocates who claim that the inequality structure persistent within many families prevents the trickling effect from taking place. The criticism, and the prevailing of the criticism, reflects the reality that

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[20] For example, the major issues that the Focal Point has most recently chosen to address are family poverty, ensuring work-family balance, and advancing social integration and intergenerational solidarity. These goals are stated on the Twentieth Anniversary of the International Year of the Family 1994 website and are consolidated into three of the major issues listed on the organizational website. https://www.un.org/development/desa/family/ Webpage retrieved on March 7th, 2017.

the global actors considered individuals to be more legitimate actors worthy of investment and dedication than the family unit as a whole.

In conclusion, reviewing the global cultural script of family as it is embedded in both major international documents and the international campaign on family reveals a complicated perception of family that is entangled with cultural diversity, state development, and basic human rights. In principle, family and marriage are considered as part of local culture and personal preferences in all of the documents and campaigns discussed as part of this review. The respect for cultural diversity and the private sphere have prevented global actors from directly addressing family issues.

Whether a particular family or marital issue receives global attention and resources depends on how the issue is framed. Only the regimes that address the issues of globally-legitimate actors and support themselves with fundamental world cultural principles legitimize intervention into the domestic and private realms of family. The human rights regime and the development regime—the regimes that have directly touched upon families and marriages—address the issues concerning two globally-legitimized actors, individuals and states. Both regimes emphasize basic human rights, equality, and individual welfare while addressing the issues. These universalistic principles resonate with the earliest individualistic perception of marriage and family and therefore legitimize the regimes to intervene in the realms of cultural diversity and private matter. However, even for these two regimes, successful intervention was still case-based.

In the case of fertility control, the issue is clearly framed as being relevant to national development and individual rights to reproductive choice, rather than being framed according to preferences based on local culture. Similarly, child marriage gains attention only when it is

framed as a human rights violation and an obstruction to national development rather than being framed as an idiosyncratic practice of a particular culture (detailed argument is presented in Chapter 2). In comparison to the attention given to these two cases, world society is relatively silent about the issue of divorce. Without specifically framing the practice as instrumental to national development or violating any basic human rights, the issue of divorce falls within the realm of cultural diversity and private decision and therefore does not generate much global attention. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the absence of an international campaign does not necessarily preclude the influence of global cultural diffusion regarding divorce practices. This is because the global cultural script of family and marriage may take an indirect channel to exert its influence on local marital behaviors.

Belated Scholarly Attention to Families and Marriages: A Research Project

Parallel to the delayed global attention that has been given to family and to individuals as family members, World Society theory did not begin paying attention to the influence of global cultural diffusion on individuals until recently. The early works of World Society theory expand the list of policy areas under the influence of global cultural diffusion. A standard research project of World Society theory usually involves panel regression or event-history analysis on the timing of establishing a certain national policy. The research uses organizational connection between local and global actors as a proxy for a country's embeddedness in world society. Others also use treaty ratification to signal a state's commitment to certain global cultural script. The deeper the embeddedness and/or the earlier the commitment, the greater the chance that a country conforms to the global cultural script and establishes the recommended policy.

One question has long haunted World Society theory: To what extent does the homogenizing force of world society really matter? In several areas where World Society theory claims influence, there is a strong counterargument of discrepancy between policy and implementation (Buttel 2000). For instance, human rights treaties and environmental protection agencies can be established to whitewash horrendous human rights violation or environmental destruction. Furthermore, decriminalization of certain sexual behaviors does not mean that the society stops discriminating against those who engage in the behaviors. The realist challenge is straightforward: Why does world society influence matter when its effect is no more than window dressing or decoupling?

Scholars of World Society theory respond to such criticism from several angles. In addition to theoretical refutation (Meyer 2010), World Society theory has expanded its research agenda to two lines of research. The first line of research substantiates whether global cultural diffusion also produces policy outcomes. The second line explores whether it effectively shapes other actors in addition to state actors—for instance, organizations and individuals. Scholarship of the former line of research includes exploration of human rights violations (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005), reduction of CO_2 emissions (Schofer and Hironaka 2005), child mortality rates (Boyle and Kim 2009), and so on.

Scholarship of the second line explores how global cultural scripts influence organizations in terms of their policies and actions (Drori, Meyer, and Hwang 2006; Tsutsui and Lim 2015) and how they influence individuals in terms of their beliefs and actual behaviors had not been conducted until recently, with research in this area not published until approximately 2013. Such extant studies focus on the ways that global cultural scripts affect individual values, including environmental friendliness and rejection of domestic violence (Givens and Jorgenson

2013; Pierotti 2013). The findings show that individual as the receptor sites are indeed transformed by the fundamental values promoted at the global level.

In comparison, there is still very little research to address the question of whether world society actually influences individual behaviors. The only research that indirectly addresses such issues is a paper by Kim et al. (2012) regarding adolescent fertility. Using aggregate-level data measuring the adolescent fertility rate as indirect evidence of individual behaviors, the authors demonstrate that strict minimum-age-at-marriage laws, often enacted due to the obligations set forth by international treaties, have an independent effect on lowering adolescent fertility.

Such late attention to world society's influence on individual behaviors results partially from practical difficulties. Compared to state policies, it is relatively hard to find comparable cross-national datasets that measure individual behaviors at different time points. While international survey projects with a comparative viewpoint (such as the DHS surveys) exist for a limited scale of countries, individual country-year surveys are not harmonized. The availability of data severely limits researchers' ability to test World Society theory. Insufficient statistical or computer capacity to handle gigantic datasets can also create hurdles for researchers.

As investment in establishing comparative datasets for policy and academic analysis has increased, there has also been an increase in the number of projects that aim to harmonize surveys (e.g. UNESCO's Multiple Indicators Clusters Surveys and the Minnesota Population Center's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) project). It is timely to take advantage of this emerging data availability and explore world society's influence on individual behaviors using individual-level data.

Organization of This Dissertation

This dissertation joins the scholarly quest to determine the influence of global cultural diffusion on individual behaviors and uses two marital behaviors as empirical cases: child marriage and divorce. I chose marital behaviors rather other types of familial behaviors for several reasons. First, most of the major changes to families in the late twentieth century, including fertility decrease, the rise of informal unions, and the increase in divorces, are closely related to marriage. Marital behaviors are, therefore, apt cases with which to explore family transformation. Second, marriage is of central importance in the global cultural script that relates to family. To examine the influence of global cultural diffusion on family, marriage is a reasonable starting point. Lastly, in contrast to studies of fertility, comparative studies on marital behaviors—especially in developing countries—are relatively few. Most theories regarding marital changes (including those cited above) focus on European countries or make inferences based on the Western experience. Whether these theories apply to the rest of the world remains a question. It is therefore both theoretically relevant and necessary that I direct my attention on this topic.

I selected child marriage and divorce as empirical cases for several reasons. In the case of child marriage, recent studies have been motivated mostly by policy and advocacy needs and explore the severity, trends, and consequences of the practice. Rarely, however, has research attempted to examine the practice as it relates to family change (Garenne 2004 serves as a rare exception). At the same time, an understanding of the trends, determinations, and consequences of divorce is mostly restricted to developed Western countries, with limited exceptions that explore the divorce trends in non-Western countries. Whether observations and theories developed for Western societies are applicable to developing countries is underexplored.[21]

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[21] Some exceptions are mentioned in the previous section of this introduction.

Jointly, divorce and child marriage represent two types of marital behaviors that are under different level of global influences. As a long-lasting practice in many regions of the world, child marriage has recently become a development issue that deeply concerns both children's rights and women's rights activists. The campaign against child marriage has gradually garnered increased attention and has accumulated assorted support, including support from governmental and private funds, international advocacy campaigns, transnational organizational networks, and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. In contrast, there has never been an institutionalized international campaign on divorce. Despite international human rights treaties guaranteeing the rights of individual freedom, equality, and consent with regard to marital decisions, world society has not had an explicit stance concerning divorce. These practices of child marriage and divorce therefore form an intriguing contrast that has allows a nuanced understanding about the different strengths and forms of influence that world society can have on local matters.

The main data used in this dissertation comes from the United Nations Demographic and Health Surveys. The DHS surveys focus on individuals' reproductive and health activities in developing countries. Additionally, the surveys also record marital practices and individuals' socioeconomic attributes. In principle, the national-level survey takes place every five years. The DHS surveys are designed with cross-national comparison in mind and therefore become an ideal window into the marital practices of developing countries that lack the capacity to survey national marital behaviors. While the surveys do exhibit the common problems associated with self-reporting surveys (Koski, Clark, and Nandi 2017), I still decide to take advantage of the DHS surveys to be the main data source for my dissertation.

In addition to the DHS, I also collected vital statistics on divorce and child marriage from the United Nations Demographic Yearbooks and United Nation Statistics Division. The data from these sources cover a wider range of countries than the DHS does, and they provide additional opportunities to examine World Society theory across a greater number of countries. Data related to the independent variables come from various sources, including the United Nations Statistics Division, the Union of International Association, and the World Bank.

Using the aforementioned data, this dissertation employs multiple statistical methods to explore world society's influence on the overall rate of and individual risk for child marriage and divorce. Details regarding the data and methods are addressed in individual chapters.

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 comprehensively explores the changes of child marriage that have been recorded over time in developing countries. Using 147 country-year surveys from 58 individual countries, this chapter evaluates the multilevel factors concerning the gradual reduction of child marriage. I argue that the increasing attention to child marriage reflects both the centuries-long historical transformation of the meaning of childhood and the recent international advocacy related to children's and women's rights. This advocacy ties itself, though with hesitation, to the international developmental regime through the instrumental interest of delaying marriage and educating young women. I use panel regression to explore the longitudinal change in child marriage prevalence. I also apply multilevel analysis to explore the individual-, national-, and global-level factors that have been argued to play a role in reducing child marriage. My results confirm the general argument that preventive factors at the individual level are indeed associated with a lower risk of child marriage. In addition to the individual-level factors, I argue that the influence of global cultural diffusion has a clear effect compared to other national-level development indicators. The findings not only substantiate

world society's influence on individual behaviors but also affirm the Neoinstitutionalist perspective on the motivation for change in regards to certain social problems rather than affirming the realist perspective.

Chapter 3 shifts the focus to global divorce rate trends using aggregate-level data to measure divorce. Using vital statistics from the Demographic Yearbooks, the analysis in this chapter covers a wide range of countries, including both developing and developed nations, across 40 years. Using such a broad sample of countries makes it possible to test multiple theories and extend World Society theory. Meanwhile, my research also advances the literature of comparative divorce study by providing a more accurate measurement of the divorce rate. In this chapter, I develop the concept of the "penumbra effect" to explain world society's influence on local matters in instances where world cultural principles provide instructions for change but no institutionalized international regime exists to push for that change. I argue that actors can still infer proper guidelines from relevant world cultural principles to support their local campaigns under such circumstances. The panel regression results on the net divorce rate across 82 countries confirm that nations who are more embedded in world society and who recognize world cultural principles experience a larger increase in divorce—a result that reflects the world cultural principle respecting an individual's will in determining the dissolution of marital unions.

The final empirical chapter, Chapter 4, focuses on the individual risk of divorce in developing countries. This chapter serves as a valuable exploration for comparative divorce study for three reasons. First, previous research has not taken a panoramic view on divorce trends using comparable survey data. Second, there has not been an opportunity to assess individual risk for divorce in countries that span three continents. Lastly, most extant theories on the determinants and contextual factors that influence divorce derive from observing Western

societies. Very few empirical studies have attempted to evaluate the relevance of contextual factors in explaining divorce trends among non-Western or developing countries. At the same time, this is also an opportunity to directly test world society's effect on divorce using individual-level data. This chapter uses data on marital status obtained from the DHS surveys to conduct a multilevel analysis that examines the ways divorce is affected by individual-level determinants and macro-level contextual factors, including the global diffusion of individualism, on an individual's risk of divorce. The results of analyzing 135 country-year surveys across 57 countries demonstrates that most theories predicting an individual's risk of divorce are applicable in developing countries. I also argue that a country's organizational connection to world society is an influential diffusion channel for the world cultural effect. The results of multilevel analysis reveal interesting findings regarding the local, national, and global processes at work in determining individuals' marital decisions.

Chapter 2

Constructing Child Brides as a Social Problem: World Society and the prevalence of child marriage, 1987-2014

Introduction

Child marriage—the union that involves young children under the age of 18 as one or more parties—is a marital practice with a millennium-long history, and it persists in many countries today.[22] The latest data estimate that nearly 70 million females around the world were married as child brides (ICRW 2013). It has, however, become a problematic practice in the twentieth century. The last couple decades of the twentieth century have witnessed growing investigations into the prevalence of child marriage and its impacts on economic conditions, educational attainment, health, and heightened risk of domestic violence of young brides, as well as the health of their children and national development (Akpan 2003; Clark 2004; Erulkar 2013; Field and Ambrus 2008; Mathur, Greene, and Malhotra 2003).

Alongside the scientific studies, there emerges an international advocacy campaign involving international agencies (e.g. the UNICEF and World Bank), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs, e.g. International Center for Research on Women and Plan International, Plan International), national governments, donors (e.g. Gates Foundation) and civil society organizations. For the past several decades, the international community fought child marriages with legal and financial weapons and cooperation from the ground (UNICEF 2001). Despite visible international engagement and abundant evidence regarding the severity of

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[22] Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women Session 13, General Recommendation no.21, A/49/38, 1994, Page7. Retrieved on March 28, 2017. The recommendation defines child marriage as marriage that involves youth below the age of 18. While many societies define children and teenagers as two life-stage categories which individuals experience before they reach the age of 18, international treaties do not differentiate the two.

child marriage, current literature has not evaluated how these international efforts affect the change of child marriage on top of individual-level attributes and country-level socioeconomic and cultural phenomena (Garenne 2004; Jain and Kurz 2007; UNICEF 2005).

This paper addresses the lacuna by analyzing the prevalence of child marriage in 94 countries and the individual risk of child marriage in 59 countries. I engage the World Society theory to account for the institutionalization and diffusion of the international campaign against child marriage and how the campaign challenged the practice between 1987 and 2014. I argue that the international campaign against child marriage emerges from the ontological reconceptualization of "childhood" and the framing of combatting child marriage as a development project. Jointly, the streams define child marriage as violating the basic human rights of underage children and teenagers, especially young women, and harming development. Treating the problem is therefore both a human rights issue and a development issue.

With both aggregate-level data from multiple datasets and individual-level data from the Demographic and Health Surveys, I employ panel regression and hierarchical linear regression techniques to explore the effect of several individual-level, national-level, and global-level factors related to the prevalence of child marriage and the likelihood of individual women becoming a child bride. My findings not only confirm the common wisdom regarding the protective factors against child marriages. My work also demonstrates the organizational connection between global and local civil society, as well as the importance of a national commitment to relevant human rights standards and the relevance of global cultural diffusion. The findings advance the current understanding of how to curb the practice of child marriage. In establishing the significant effect of global cultural, this study also advances the World Society theory by substantiating its influence on individual behaviors.

Individual and national factors on the change of child marriage

Despite being of potential interest to scholars of family change, current literature on the topic of child marriage is highly mission-oriented. Most studies demonstrate the prevalence and consequences of the practice (Clark 2004; ICRW 2007; Jensen and Thornton 2003; UNFPA 2012), while a few others explore the motivations of girls' families to arrange child marriages for them (Archambault 2011; Mathur, Greene, and Malhotra 2003). In contrast, scholars have undertaken relatively little theoretical work other than to form arguments regarding the relationship between marital age and industrial system (Goode 1963), and of rational calculation of marriage timing (Becker 1973; Dixon 1971; Oppenheimer 1988). As reviewed in this section, most studies focus on identifying individual-level protective factors that lower the likelihood of entering child marriages, whereas others point to macro-level contextual factors.[23] Recognizing the difference between the attributes and practices that delay marriage and the reasons behind the delay, this chapter reviews known preventive factors, explores why they are associated with reducing risk, and tests whether they are valid. The following factors can refer to both individual-level attributes and national contexts.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Most studies of child marriage (UNICEF 2001) warn that poverty incentivizes parents to marry girls early. However, it remains inconclusive in comparative studies to what extent the economic status (i.e. wealth) of a household determines marital age (ICRW 2007; UNICEF 2005; WLUML 2013). Because the findings are mostly based on multivariate analyses of single

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[23] Some factors were not addressed in the research either because of current unavailability of appropriate measurements or because the limited data severely downsizes the sample.

countries, it is premature to conclude that higher economic status is irrelevant to delayed marriage. On the macro level, scholars disagree on the influence of national economic development (Anderson et al 1987, Dixon 1971). Most scholars argue that economic development creates structural constraints for early marriage, such as the shortage of land and underemployment in rural areas of developing countries, and decreases the desirability of marriage in the eyes of those with better opportunity. That being said, Mathur, Greene, and Malhotra (2003) make the argument that poorer states are less capable and motivated in combating child marriage.

Hypothesis 1a: Women's household economic status is negatively associated with the likelihood of being a child bride.

Hypothesis 1b: National economic status is negatively associated with the likelihood of individual women engaging in child marriage and the prevalence of the practice.

EDUCATION

Education, as demonstrated in multiple studies, is one of the most important preventive factors in child marriage. Marriage and education are often mutually exclusive in practice, and therefore the implementation of compulsory education can deter marriages. Meanwhile, attending primary and secondary education helps women accumulate human capital, increase their autonomy, and change their views on marriage and the course of their lives, thus resulting in both the capacity and willingness to delay marriage (Jain and Kurz 2007; Mason 1987). Ample empirical studies from various developing countries suggest a correlation between the number of years a girl stays in school and a delay in her marital age (Garenne 2004; Glick, Handy, and Sahn 2015; Jain and Kurz 2007; Jejeebhoy 1995; Montgomery and Sulak 1989;

Palamuleni 2011; UNICEF 2005). While there is still some debate over the direction of causality, endogeneity, and country variation (Mensch, Singh, and Casterline 2005; Wodon, Nguyen, and Tsimpo 2016), the strong faith in the function of education certainly warrants additional exploration.

At the national level, Singh and Samara (1996) delineate several ways in which the profusion of mass education can discourage the custom of child marriages. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out the importance of educating parents and communities (Rembe et al. 2011; Karam 2015). Formal education serves as an official channel that disseminates certain Western values—both to young girls and their parents—and knowledge (e.g. contraception), all of which supports delayed marriages. Lastly, increase in human capital through formal education enables female employment, which offsets the need and incentive of parents to marry their daughters out early. Empirical analysis at the national and subnational level provides some evidence for this argument (Ganiger 1992; Susheela Singh and Samara 1996).

Hypothesis 2a: individual's educational attainment is negatively associated with the likelihood of becoming a child bride.

Hypothesis 2b: a country's profusion of mass education is negatively associated with both an individual's risk of engaging in child marriage and the overall child marriage rate.

URBAN RESIDENCE

Several scholars argue that the experience of living in urban areas may lead to postponing marriage. Loosened kinship control, access to more job opportunities, and exposure to modern values that support postponing marriages (Anderson, Hill, and Butler 1987; Susheela Singh and Samara 1996; Smith 1983) can either ease the pressure to marry or inspire new opinions on

marriage. However, extant empirical studies provide inconsistent support for the argument (Anderson, Hill, and Butler 1987; Mensch, Singh, and Casterline 2005; Jain and Kurz 2007),

Hypothesis 3a: Urban living status is negatively associated with individual women's likelihood of child marriage.

Hypothesis 3b: The level of urbanization is negatively associated with the prevalence rate of child marriage and individual risk of child marriage.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Demographic trends affect child marriage by coming into parents' decision making process. For example, when female life expectancy is short, the sense of urgency prompts parents to arrange marriages for their children at younger ages (Mensch, Singh, and Casterline 2005). The male-to-female ratio also signals the availability of mates. A surplus of males creates a sense of urgency for parents to secure a bride as early as possible. On the other hand, a surplus of girls would protract the search, resulting in delayed marriage (Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell 1983; Dixon 1971).

Hypothesis 4a: The length of young women's life is negatively associated with the likelihood of child marriage and the prevalence of child marriage.

Hypothesis 4b: The surplus of men (high population sex ratio) is associated with increased likelihood of child marriage and the prevalence rate of child marriage.

MINIMUM-AGE-AT-MARRIAGE LAW

There is a large and growing body of literature regarding whether national law has any effect on changing local practices. Some argue that national law is only emblematic of the

penetration of global norms (Schofer and Meyer 2005; Meyer et al. 1997), while others are inclined to regard these national laws as ineffective due to cultural differences and organizational decoupling (Boyle and Meyer 1998). In the case of the minimum-age-at-marriage laws, because they are often considered the product of international pressure or national compliance, there is always doubt whether a law has any independent effect. Recent studies on the minimum-age-at-marriage law shows that national laws do have an effect on the fertility patterns even when controlling for international pressure (Kim et al. 2013). This research further tests if minimum-age-at-marriage laws have a direct effect on the target—namely, child marriage—that it purports to address.

Hypothesis 5: The legalization of minimum-age-at-marriage law is negatively associated with the likelihood of a woman becoming a child bride and the prevalence rate of child marriage.

Girlhood, Marriage, and the International Project to End Child Marriage

In the previous section, I discuss the social processes and institutions trying to reduce the occurrence of child marriage. Some of these processes, however, do not automatically take place alongside macro-level structural changes like modernization. Rather, they are the outcomes of transnational collaborative projects. For example, many countries establish minimum-at-age-laws in response to the demand of international treaties (Kim et al. 2013). More parents agree to send their daughters to schools instead of marriages under the persuasion of INGO advocacy programs or foreign-sponsored cash transfer programs (Nanda, Datta, and Das 2014). Indeed, the project of eradicating child marriage is closely knitted in the international project of child rights, gender equality, and development (Cobbett 2014). Such a project is made possible and finds success through the global diffusion of the concepts "childhood" and "girlhood."

In vastly diverse lengths and norms, childhood is widely recognized in all societies as a stage of human life (Stearns 2005). However, the current model of childhood that gained global legitimacy originates in the Western European conceptualization (Ariès 1962). Emerging and developing since the late eighteenth century, the model differentiates the stage of childhood as transitional life stage toward adulthood. Children are immature both physically and psychologically, intellectually and morally. Childhood develops as a distinct life stage during which young boys and girls grow into rational, agentic, individualistic adults through protection, cultivation, and discipline. Nineteenth-century European social reformers already advocated for the improvement of hygiene, nutrition, and the overall economic well-being of children, as well as expanding education to cultivate proper physique, knowledge, and skills. Scholars have attributed the legitimation of such model to various reasons, including: the decreasing number of children and the corresponding growing emotional value of them, the demand of labor quality by capitalist society, the reorganization toward nuclear families with less control over children, and the increasing state control over individuals (Boli-Bennett and Meyer 1978; Cunningham 1995; Lukose 2007).

The international human rights and development regime adopted this perception of childhood in the late twentieth century as a mobilizing ideology to alleviate the consequences of underdevelopment of children in the Third World, such as child marriage. To be sure, this was not the first instance in which Western Europeans tried to address what they saw as violating the interests and rights of children. Nineteenth-century colonizers tried to dissuade local people from certain practices that were deemed detrimental to children, including child marriage (Bunting and Merry 2007; Kosambi 1991; Molyneux 1998; Sheth and Sethi 1991). However, religious

doctrines and mores—and not a modern concept of universal human rights—drove their commitment to these efforts.

The international regime in the twentieth century justified its efforts with theories of human development, universalistic claims of child rights, and instrumentalist logic. Developmental psychology established a scientific basis for childhood. Delineating the stages through which human cognitive capacity matures, the theory reinforced the belief of childhood as a universal human development stage. (Burman 1995; Boyle, Smith, and Guenther 2006). A universalistic concept of "childhood" justified universal basic human rights of children that transcend cultural differences. Today, as scholars and NGO investigations substantiate the negative consequences of underdevelopment on children, advocates promote the protection of children using the instrumentalist logic that provisions and protection of children to ease the burden of the state and invest in future labor which, in turn, aid national development (Cobbett 2014; Jackson 1998).

International feminist activists also apply similar instrumentalist logic in the Women in Development and Gender and Development regimes. Feminists have long stressed that childhood is not a gender-neutral life stage. They not only criticize the phenomenon of what they call the "feminization of poverty" but also the ageism of development models that ignore girls' voices (Heward 1998; Pearson and Jackson 1998). Combining the instrumentalist justification for investing in women and in children, advocates argue that girls are not only the future of national development, but they are also studious and disciplined workers with higher loan repayment rates (Shain 2013).

It is under this context that curbing child marriage is included in the child rights package and receives increasing attention and resources (Croll 2006). Based on the global perception of

childhood and girlhood, children do not have the capacity to express "free and full consent" to their own marriage. Child marriage therefore violates children's basic human rights, as inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Because the practice almost always involves young women as brides and older men as grooms, it frequently violates the principle of gender equality in marriage as well. A number of studies also emphasize the severity of this practice by revealing its detrimental effects on all aspects of positive social outcomes (e.g. UNFPA 2012; UNICEF 2001)

In response to sustained pressure from advocates, international agencies gradually mustered multi-sectoral effort alongside a series of international treaties since the 1960s. On the legal front, the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages established the minimum age and consent criteria for marriage as early as 1962. A few years later, ICCPR reaffirmed the "free and full consent to marriage" principle (United Nations 1966) proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, first adopted in 1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, first adopted in 1989) jointly defined the age parameters of childhood and reaffirmed the need for a minimum age to wed (United Nations 1979, 1990). In the general recommendation No.21 of 1994, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women explicitly set the legal age for marriage at 18.[24]

These international human rights treaties oblige signatories to regulate the legal age at marriage. National commitment to these international conventions propels other policy responses, including legal reforms and, in some countries, state financial support and NGO community building (Rembe et al. 2011; Singh, Dey, and Roy 1994; Toyo 2006). More recently,

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[24] General Recommendation 21, A/49/38, Page 4. 1994. Retrieved on March 28th , 2017

USAID, among other aid agencies, began to fund projects ending child marriage as an integral part of the task of combating gender-based violence (USAID 2012). Philanthropic foundations, such as the Gates Foundation, have also started to allocate large grants to NGOs whose projects address child marriages.

While NGO endeavors flourished at the grassroots level, only scattered studies record the activities of local and international NGOs addressing the issue of child marriage (Blackburn and Bessell 1997; Bunting and Merry 2007; Karam 2015; Rafi and Chowdhury 2000; WLUML 2013). Most studies are restricted to descriptive discussions, and very few evaluate these programs (e.g. ICRW 2007a; Karam 2015). Scholars are often hesitant and perhaps skeptical to acknowledge the real effect of NGO programs or international efforts, despite some scholarly work attributing the decrease of child marriage to changing attitude of community leaders persuaded by family planning programmers (Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell 1983) or the normative change indicated by marriage age law reform (Mensch, Singh, and Casterline 2005). The existence and expansion of local NGO programs combatting child marriages, their transnational alliance, and other international effort dedicated to the issue are nevertheless undeniable.[25]

The international campaign against child marriage reflects not only tangible resources and diplomatic pressures. While the evaluation of NGO programs focuses on the programs' effectiveness in achieving their missions, scholars of the World Society theory argue that the institutionalization and spread of such international campaigns cause global cultural diffusion. Ideas that are disseminated and promoted at the local level are not merely NGO programs and state policies, but a new cognitive model regarding the nature of childhood, marriage, and human

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[25] For example, Girls Not Brides, is a transnational advocacy network consisting of over 550 civil society organizations whose partial or major missions entail the eradication of child marriage.

rights. In the case of child marriage, it is a script articulating what the "appropriate" or "normal" marriage and childhood look like. World Society theory understands the presence of local NGOs and their international connections as cross-national channels through which globally-institutionalized cultural scripts diffuse (Boyle, Smith, and Guenther 2006; Meyer 2010; Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013).

National commitment to international standards, in the form of adopting policies and laws promoted by international agencies, constitutes another diffusion channel for the script that discourages child marriage. Ample studies exploring the effect of such diffusion suggest that the dissemination and local institutionalization of these scripts, whether in the realms of environmental protection, gender equality, or population policies, promote isomorphic change in national policies, organizational proliferation, and policy outcomes (e.g. Barrett and Tsui 1999; Schofer and Meyer 2005; Boyle and Kim 2009). Recent literature continues to examine the influence of these scripts on personal attitude toward gender quality and environmental protection (Hadler and Haller 2011; Pierotti 2013). This paper further hypothesizes the influence of global cultural diffusion on the practice of child marriage as follows:

Hypothesis 6a: the national extensity of organizational connections to the global civil society is negatively associated with the prevalence and likelihood of child marriage.

Hypothesis 6b: the state commitment to international human rights treaties is negatively associated with the prevalence and likelihood of child marriage.

Data and Method

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

This research examines two dependent variables closely related to child marriage: the individual risk of child marriage and the national prevalence rate of child marriage. Consistent with the common definition, the risk of child marriage is measured by the likelihood of a woman (aged 20-24) being married before the age of 18. Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) provide the data for the risk of child marriage, and they serve as one data source for the child marriage prevalence rate. DHS surveys are randomly sampled country-year surveys conducted in selected developing countries. A standard DHS interviews all women between the age of 15 and 49 in the sampled household, or it might be limited to only married-women. The survey asks detailed questions regarding health and reproductive history, socio-economic status, and demographic attributes. Thus far, each participating country has accumulated one to seven surveys.[26] Each survey contains 1,000 to 90,000 samples, depending on the number of total population.

I pooled both the harmonized surveys from the Integrated DHS project and combined the rest of the surveys. For the purposes of this study, I only pooled the country-year surveys that interview both married and unmarried women.[27] The Integrated DHS project administered by the Minnesota Population Center harmonized part of DHS and released 76 harmonized country-year surveys from 18 African countries when I acquired the data in 2014.[28] The remaining surveys were downloaded from the DHS databank. I recoded the survey data based on the coding schema of integrated DHS. In the end, I collected 184 surveys from 70 countries. The dataset covered the

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[26] The countries that actually included statistical analysis have at most 5 surveys per country.
[27] Some countries only interview women who are married at any point in their lives in the household. I exclude those country-year surveys because their limitations make it impossible to understand the prevalence of child marriage.
[28] The website can be accessed from the following address: https://www.idhsdata.org/idhs/.

years from 1987 to 2013.[29] Table 2.1 lists the countries and years of surveys included in the dataset.

From two survey questions that record the respondent's current marital status and age at first marriage, I formulated a binary variable representing whether the sampled respondent is married before the age of 18 (yes=1). To be consistent with the standard measurement of the risk of child marriage , I only used respondents who are 20 to 24 years old in the multilevel regression analysis in order to capture the recent account for such practices and avoid counting in repeated cohort.

In complementing the multilevel surveys with a limited number of countries, I added an analysis of the child marriage prevalence rate. The prevalence rate is measured as the percentage of respondents aged 20-49 who are married before 18.[30] I calculated the prevalence rate by averaging the binary individual-level dependent variable data of each country-year survey from my dataset. Following how previous studies maximize their data on the prevalence rate (UNICEF 2005; ICRW 2007), I incorporated additional prevalence rate data from the national reports of Multiple Indicators Clusters Surveys (UNICEF). Although the DHS and MICS systems have different sampling strategies, which prevent simple harmonization of individual-level data, the MICS national reports provide information on the child marriage prevalence rate based on same definition. Jointly, two databanks provided the prevalence rate data of 102 countries. Once again, the actual sample size for the statistical models is smaller due to incomplete data of independent variables.

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[29] The sample size of individual models varies based on the availability of individual global cultural diffusion indicators.

[30] The definition of prevalence rate is based on a larger population than the individual risk of child marriage. I used a different definition to accommodate the prevalence rate data from the MICS.

Table 2.1 DHS Sample Survey Year, by Country

COUNTRY	YEAR	COUNTRY	YEAR
Eastern European/Central Asia		Namibia	1992, 2000, 2007
Albania	2009	Niger	1992, 1998, 2006, 2012
Armenia	2000, 2005	Nigeria	1990, 1999, 2003, 2008
Azerbaijan	2006	Rwanda	1992, 2000, 2005, 2010
Kazakhstan	1995, 1999	Sao Tome and Principe	2009
Kyrgyz Republic	1997, 2012	Senegal	1993, 2005, 2011
Moldova	2005	Sierra Leone	2008
Tajikistan	2012	South Africa	1998
Ukraine	2007	Swaziland	2007
Uzbekistan	1996	Tanzania	1992, 1996, 1999, 2005, 2010
Africa		Togo	1998
Benin	1996, 2001, 2011	Uganda	1995, 2001, 2006, 2011
Burkina Faso	1993, 1998, 2003, 2010	Dem. Rep. of Congo	2007
Burundi	2010	Zambia	1992
Cameroon	1991, 1998, 2004, 2011	Zimbabwe	1994, 1999, 2006, 2011
Central African Rep.	1995	**Latin America/Caribbean**	
Chad	1997, 2004	Dominican Republic	1991, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2013
Comoros	1996, 2012	Guatemala	1995
Republic of Congo	2005, 2012	Nicaragua	1998, 2001
Ethiopia	2000, 2005, 2011	Bolivia	1994, 1998, 2003, 2008
Gabon	2000	Colombia	1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010
Ghana	1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008	Guyana	2009
Guinea	1999, 2005,2012	Paraguay	1990
Ivory Coast	1994, 1999, 2012	Peru	1992, 1996, 2000
Kenya	1989, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2009	**Asia**	
Lesotho	2004, 2009	Cambodia	2000, 2005
Liberia	2007	East Timor	2010
Madagascar	1992, 1997, 2004, 2009	India	1993, 1999, 2006
Malawi	1992, 2000, 2004, 2010	Indonesia	2012
Mali	1987, 1996, 2001, 2006	Nepal	2006, 2011
Morocco	1992, 2004	Philippines	1993, 1998, 2003, 2008
Mozambique	1997, 2003, 2011		

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Individual-level indicators

All data on the individual-level independent variables derives from the DHS. Each variable is measured as follows:

Household Economic Status. The DHS does not develop a household wealth index measurement until Phase 5 (starting from 2003). For the consistency of measurement, I used the survey question "whether the respondent's household has electricity" to indicate the economic status of the household. The question in the survey asks about the *current household* of respondent, which refers to the residence of a respondent's husband if the respondent is married. I recognize that using the economic status of the husband's household raises the concern of reverse causality. In other words, a significant result may actually indicate whether marrying young leads women into rich husbands, rather than the other way around.

With this concern in mind, I still use the measurement for several reasons. First, it is still a precise measurement of economic status for respondents who are not married. In these cases, the "current household" most likely refers to their families of origins. The second reason concerns the logic of child marriage. As the literature review points out, the strong economic incentive of child marriage likely results in higher if not equal economic status for the groom's family (Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell 1983). If the potential bias toward upward displacement of respondent's economic status does exist, it will only lead to a more conservative estimation of the factor's preventive effect. Because the topic of the chapter can have significant policy implications for children's lives, I am inclined to risk type one error to assure the validity of the analysis. Lastly, the employment of this indicator has an additional benefit of allowing us to gauge the effect of economic status from the perspective of the groom or the groom's family.

While most extant literature focuses on the attitude of a bride's family in determining child marriage, there are an increasing number of NGO programs that attempt to dissuade the grooms' families from pursuing or accepting child brides. The indicator helps assess whether the strategy has any empirical basis.

Personal Educational Attainment. I created a dummy variable of whether the respondent finishes primary education (yes=1) based on the survey question on the highest education completed by the respondent. Although both primary and secondary educational attainment has been demonstrated to be associated with the likelihood of child marriage, the causal relationship between secondary education attainment and child marriage can be reversed. The standard schooling age of secondary schooling coincides with the age range during which most child brides get married. Rather than preventing girls from becoming child brides, secondary education attainment may be determined by whether the girls are married during the schooling age range. To avoid the issue of reversed causality, I chose the completion of primary education as the indicator.

Residence Location. The DHS data include a binary variable of whether the respondent's residence is in an urban or rural area. I transformed the data into a dummy variable of rural residence status (urban=1). This indicator has the same issue as household economic status because it asks about the respondent's current residence location. Again, the homogamy pattern and the economic advancement logic—assuming urban households are on average richer than rural ones—function as two assumptions safeguarding the use of this measurement as indicator.

National-level indicators

With regards to the national-level independent variables, I incorporated data from several other databases. Unless otherwise specified, all the national-level explanatory factor data come from the World Development Index dataset from World Bank. I interpolated the data to allow for maximum availability.

National Economic Status. I used the natural log of real Gross National Income (GNI) per capita in 2005 USD as an indicator for a country's economic status. The data come from United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD).

Mass Education Enrollment. The gross secondary education enrollment rate indicates the prevalence of gender equality and human rights-friendly concepts in the society. The measurement is defined as the proportion of students who are enrolled in secondary education among the population within the standard age range of secondary schooling. Because the measurement does not exclude those who are enrolled despite exceeding the standard schooling age, the rates can exceed 100%.

Urbanization. I used the percentage of urban population to represent the level of urbanization. A higher number indicates that a larger share of population resides in the urban areas. The definition of "urban areas" varies based on individual countries.

Minimum-age-at-marriage Law. The data comes from Kim et al's (2013) paper on minimum-age-at-marriage law and teenage fertility.[31] The time-varying variable records the number of years since the country put into effect a law maintaining the minimum age at marriage at 18 years old without any exception. A year during which the country does not have such law or only has a minimum age law with exceptions is coded as 0.

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[31] I am indebted to the authors' generosity of sharing the data with me. I am solely responsible for the use of the data and the results presented in this paper.

Demographic Factors. Two demographic factors are considered in this study. I used the female life expectancy at birth as the indicator for a woman's length of life. The UNSD provides several estimates of this indicator built on different assumptions about population structure and trends. I used the data based on the medium variant. The population sex ratio is expressed as the number of men per 100 women in a country-year. A smaller number signals surplus of women, whereas a larger number indicates a shortage.

Global Cultural Diffusion. This study uses four indicators to test different kinds of global diffusion processes. First, the natural log of the total count of individual and organizational membership to all INGOs in each country-year is used as a proxy for global-local connections of all shapes. The total number of individual and national memberships in 25 randomly sampled women's international nongovernmental organizations (WINGOs) indicates a specialized type of diffusion channel. These are connections between local actors and international organizations whose missions more closely relate to the issue of child marriage. Both sets of data derive from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (UIA 1948-2011). Third, I created an index of the country's ratification of CEDAW and CRC based on the UN ratification record. I first created two dummy variables to indicate whether a country has ratified each international treaty or not. The years before the ratification were coded as 0 and the subsequent year as 1. I then added the two dummy variables and formed an index variable ranging from 0 to 2. The number therefore indicates different levels of state commitment to relevant international norms. Lastly, I built an index of the three aforementioned measurements to test the strength of the "bee swamp" effect of global cultural diffusion (Hironaka 2014).

Control

Time. Because the multilevel models do not automatically take into consideration the effect of time, I created an additional control for the year when research began. The year 1987 was coded as 0, and all other years were transformed by subtracting 1987. The year 1988 was recorded as 1, and the year 1989 as 2, and so on.

METHOD

This work uses two statistical techniques respective to the dependent variables. To analyze the risk of child marriage, I used pooled multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression models. Multilevel analysis is appropriate here because I am interested in understanding an individual-level outcome that is affected by factors at both the individual and national levels. I employed the logistic regression model to address the dichotomous dependent variable. I use the QR decomposition models in Stata.

I investigated the aggregate-level data with pooled panel regression techniques. Panel regression is adequate for examining dynamic historical processes and comparing across multiple cases. Although the Hausman's Chi-square test shows the coefficients from random and fixed effect models to be significantly different, one cannot take full advantage of fixed-effect models for cross-sectionally dominant panel data. Therefore, I used random-effect models to test the hypotheses. I explored the covariation of all variables to detect multicollinearity, but I did not discover any high level of correlation between any two variables that rang my alarm. I conducted sensitivity tests to check for potential problems of heteroskedasticity or non-normality. The signs and significance levels across the results of different tests were generally stable, assuring the robustness of the models.

To check the robustness of my analysis, I conducted several supplementary tests using alternative indicators. First, because many sample countries do not have very high secondary enrollment ratios, I replaced the secondary educational enrollment ratio with the primary educational enrollment ratio for the mass education enrollment indicator for maximum variation. Second, I replaced the year variable with the individual year dummy as another way to measure the effect of time. The statistical results with these alternative indicators did not change the findings.

Results

Figure 2.1 to 2.7 present the weighted prevalence rate of child marriage based on data from both DHS surveys and MICS surveys.[32] Each figure presents country data from one of the following geographical regions: Eastern Europe and Central and West Asia, Central America and Caribbean, South America, South and Southeast Asia, Western Africa, Eastern Africa, and Middle and South Africa.

As other papers that explore the prevalence rate of child marriage have demonstrated (Jensen and Thornton 2003; Koski, Clark, and Nandi 2017; Garenne 2004), child marriage prevalence varies greatly both within and among regions. The speed of change diverges just as much. The African continent (excluding North Africa) houses the highest average prevalence rate based on the most recent data in the past 1515 years and contains the country with the highest prevalence rate (Chad, 69.1% in 2010). In contrast, Eastern European and Central Asian countries—all formerly communist—record the lowest prevalence rates. The national prevalence rates among these countries are also the most consistent (the standard deviation of countries' most recent prevalence rate value in the last 15 years is 3.41). The within-region variation is

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[32] Not all data points are included in the panel regression models due to lack of independent variable data.

Figure 2.1-2.7 Child Marriage Prevalence Rate (%), by Region. Measured as the Percentage of Women Aged 20-49 Who Are Married before 18
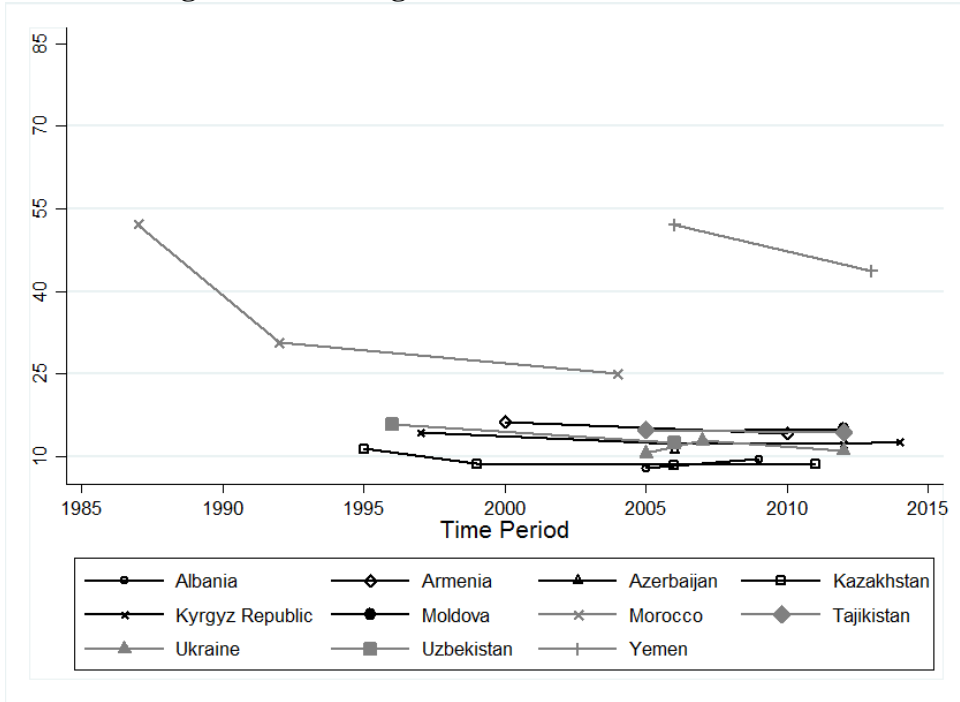
Figure 2.1 Eastern Europe, North Africa, and Central/West Asia
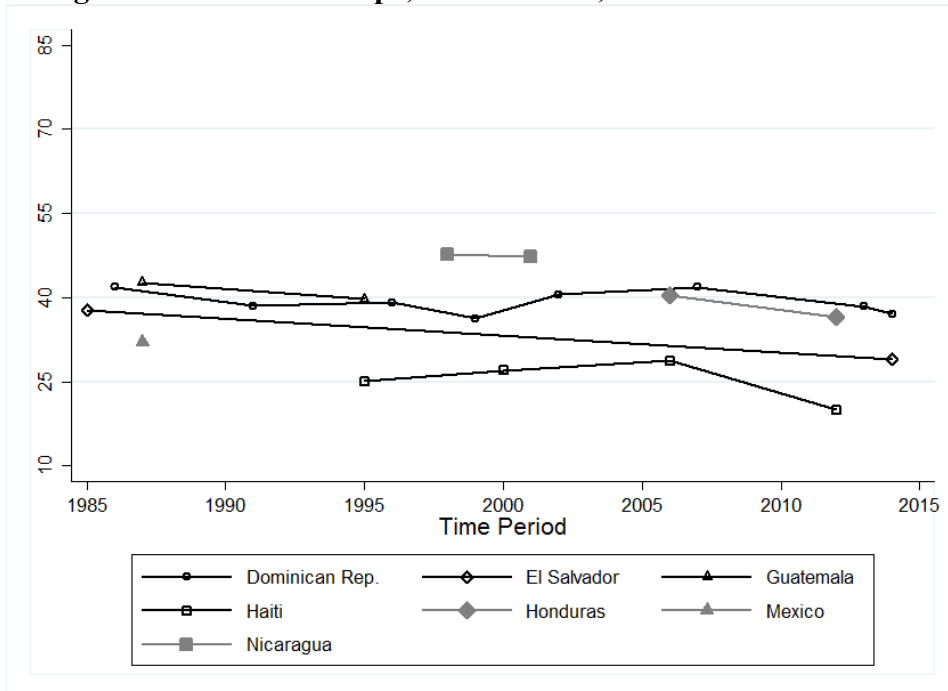
Figure 2.2 Central America and Caribbean

65
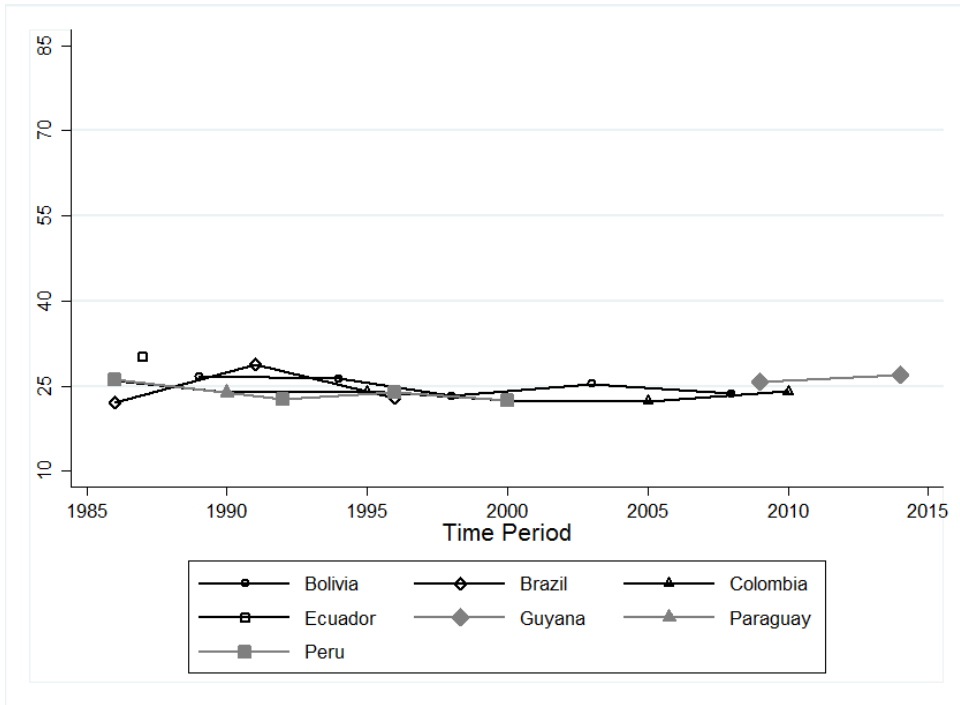
Figure 2.3 South America
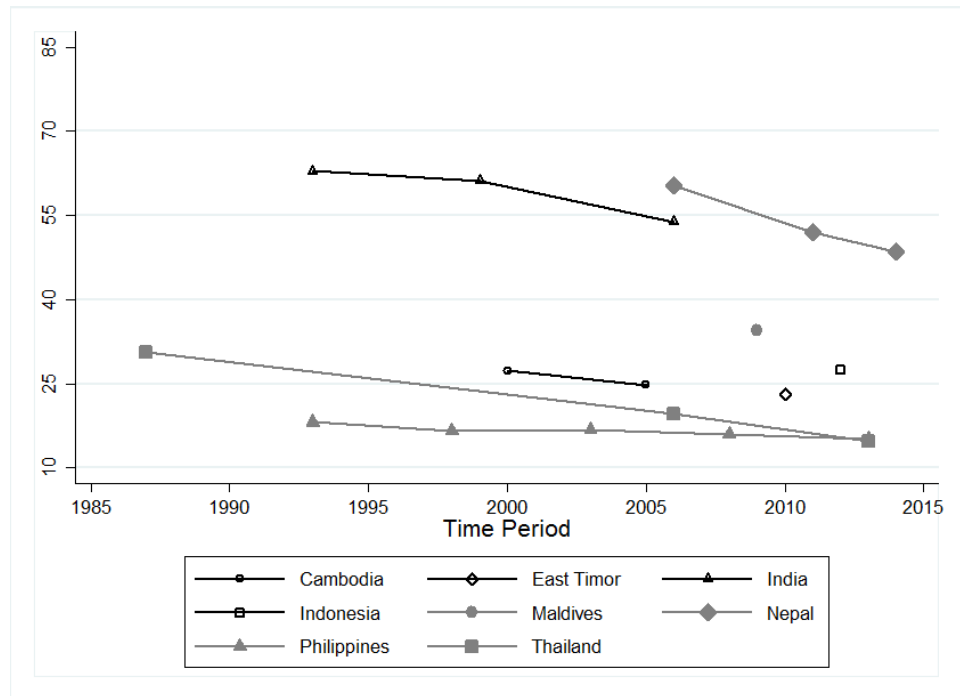
Figure 2.4 South and Southeastern Asia
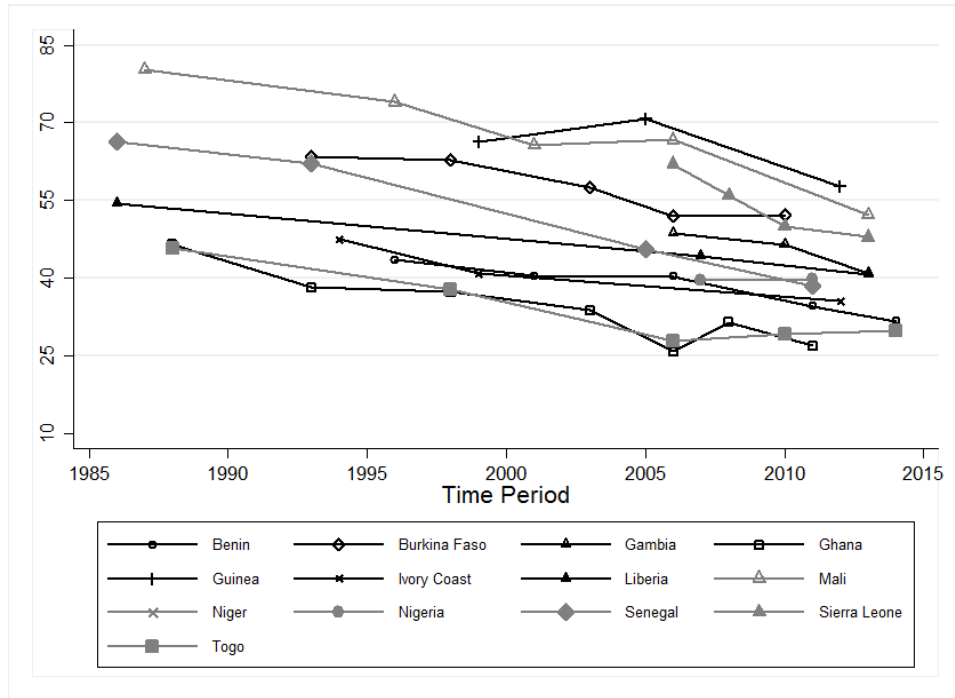
Figure 2.5 Western Africa
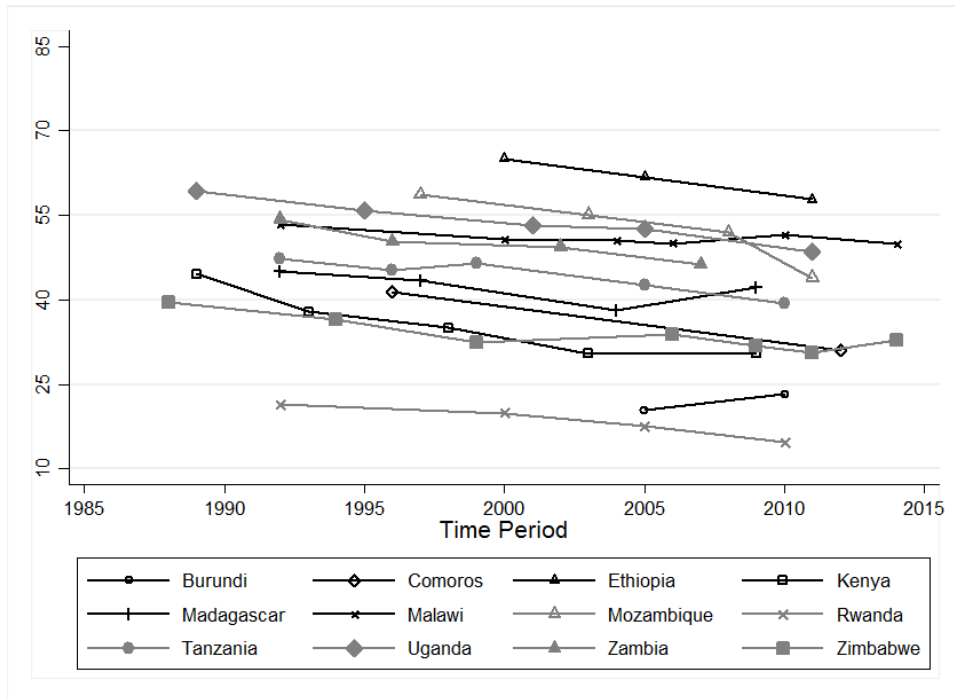
Figure 2.6 Eastern Africa
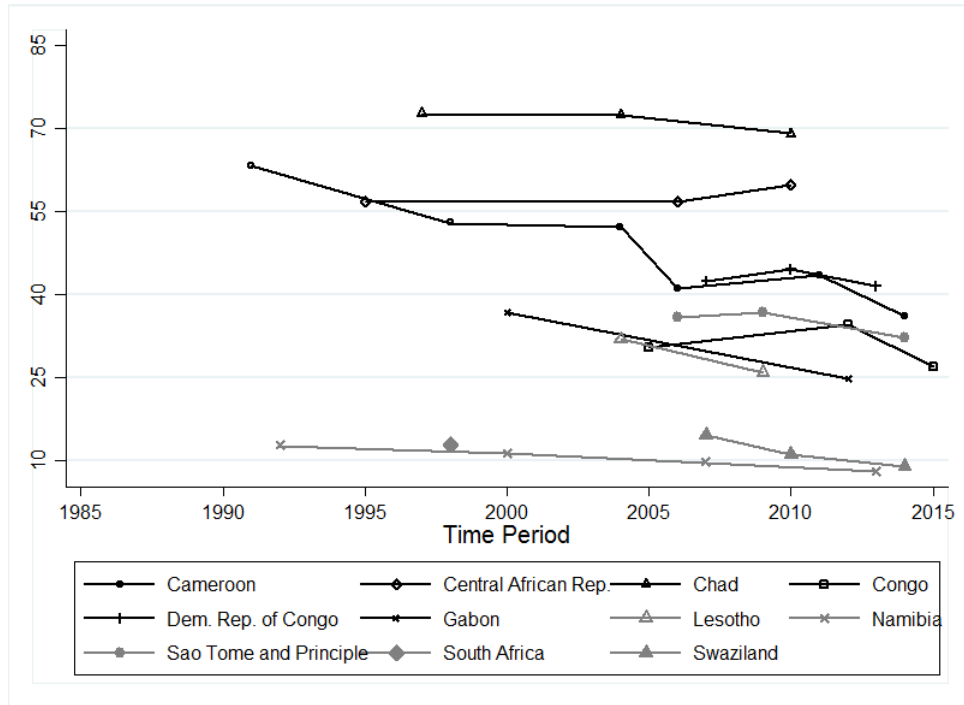
Figure 2.7 Middle and Southern Africa

much larger elsewhere. For example, the standard deviation of the most recent prevalence rate

values within the past 15 years for Middle Eastern and North African countries is 14.53, over

two-thirds of the average prevalence rate (22.12%). Indeed, despite the widespread application of

Islamic doctrines, the prevalence rates of these countries range widely from 5.1% (Tunisia 2012)

to 44.21% (Yemen 2013).

The change of child marriage prevalence demonstrates similar variation. While most

regions have seen a decrease in child marriage prevalence rates, a few Latin American countries

witnessed slight increases over time. For example, the prevalence rate of Morocco decreases by

26.24% between 1987 and 2004, Rwanda 6.39% from 1992 to 2010, and Nepal 8.20% from

2006 to 2011. In contrast, Colombia experienced a 3.79% increase during 1990 and 2010, and

Peru an increase of 0.97% between 1986 and 2007.

The velocity of change can also diverge substantially within regions, depending on the countries. In Africa, for example, the practice decreased 9.5% in Gabon between 2000 and 2012, almost 25% of its initial prevalence rate. Child marriage also endured in Chad, which saw only a 2.8% decrease, compared to its extremely high prevalence. This variance suggests distinct regional marital customs. The large within-region variance, nevertheless, begs for additional explanation.

NATIONAL PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Table 2.2 presents the results of panel regression analysis for child marriage prevalence. Model 1 contains the model with all national-level indicators except the global cultural diffusion variables. Models 2 through 5 test the four global cultural diffusion variables separately. All national-level indicators except national economic status are associated with the dependent variable as predicted. However, only higher secondary education enrollment rate is consistently associated with the reduction of child marriage prevalence.

One unit increase of gross secondary enrollment rate is associated with a decrease of child marriage prevalence rate by 0.17%. The level of urbanization is also negatively associated with the prevalence of child marriage. Without taking the global cultural diffusion effect, each unit of increase produces 0.13% decrease of prevalence rate (Model 1). The effect is diffused, however, when the country ratification of human rights treaties is considered concurrently (Model 4). The effect also becomes insignificant when the index indicator of global cultural diffusion is included.

National economic status, as measured by logged GNI per capita, shows no significant result. In fact, other factors being equal, the increase of logged GNI per capita has a positive

correlation with the prevalence of the practice in all models of Table 2.2. The significant effect of education and urbanization, which indicate individualistic human relations and the proliferation of egalitarian values and, perhaps, dissuasion of child marriage, jointly suggest that it is the social and cultural changes, rather than economic advancement, that are truly relevant to the reduction of child marriage.

Models 2, 3, 4, and 5 examine four types of global cultural diffusion based on different conceptualizations of diffusion channels. All indicators, except for the general organizational membership to all INGOs, are significantly associated with the reduction of child marriage prevalence. A country's membership in WINGOs, whose missions for gender equality relate directly to child marriage, shows a significant effect on curbing the prevalence of child marriage. One-unit of increase in the membership count is associated with a 0.59% decrease of the prevalence rate. In addition, the ratification of CEDAW and CRC, which showcase the basic level of national commitment to addressing the issue, also influences child marriage prevalence rates. Ratifying either treaty decreases the prevalence rate by 2.61%, the largest effects among all explanatory variables.

The global cultural diffusion index also significantly inhibits the prevalence of child marriage. With every one-unit increase in the index value, the prevalence of child marriage decreases by 1.35%. The effect of the logged membership count to all INGOs, which reflects only a country's overall connectedness to global society, is not significantly associated with the dependent variable.

Lastly, Model 6 tests the effect of national marriage policy by including the minimum-age-at-marriage law variable along with the treaty ratification index. I tested both the independent effect of the law and its effect when controlling for the global influence, but I only

showed the latter here. The results indicate that the duration of the law is negatively associated

with prevalence rates. However, the effect is insignificant either when tested independently or

when controlling for the global influence. In a supplementary analysis, I tested the effect of the

Table 2.2 Panel Regression Models on the Child Marriage Prevalence Rates

Independent Variables	(1) National Factors Only	(2) INGO Membership	(3) WINGO Membership	(4) CEDAW Ratification	(5) Global Cultural diffusion index	(6) Minimum-Age-at-Marriage Law
Control						
Population Structure	0.508**	0.520**	0.451*	0.407*	0.383*	0.393+
	(0.178)	(0.180)	(0.181)	(0.180)	(0.185)	(0.216)
Country-level factor						
National Economic	0.363	0.219	0.447	0.365	0.563	0.179
Status	(1.098)	(1.123)	(1.096)	(1.080)	(1.093)	(1.257)
Mass Education	-0.170***	-0.171***	-0.174***	-0.154**	-0.162**	-0.112*
Enrollment	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.056)
Urbanization	-0.132+	-0.132+	-0.126+	-0.102	-0.107	-0.266**
	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.093)
Female Life	-0.118	-0.115	-0.139	-0.165	-0.165	-0.050
Expectancy (at Birth)	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.123)
Population Sex Ratio	0.187	0.188	0.187	0.203	0.206	0.035
	(0.254)	(0.254)	(0.255)	(0.252)	(0.256)	(0.277)
Minimum-Age-at-Marriage Law						-0.161
						(0.114)
Global-Local Diffusion						
INGO Membership		0.525				
		(0.912)				
WINGO Membership			-0.594*			
			(0.280)			
CEDAW and CRC Ratification (0-2)				-2.610**		-2.147*
				(0.845)		(0.932)
Global Cultural Diffusion Index					-1.354**	
					(0.473)	
Constant	15.517	12.672	20.165	23.230	19.583	39.333
	(23.965)	(24.225)	(24.142)	(23.850)	(24.119)	(26.716)
Numbers of Observations	230	230	225	227	222	173
Number of countries	94	94	91	93	90	72
Wald Chi-Squared	149.95***	151.36***	151.64***	159.45***	153.76***	123.36***

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

law with a dummy variable indicating whether the law is in place or not rather than the number of years. The results show that existence of law has a curbing effect on the prevalence rate of child marriage even when controlling for the global influence.

MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS ON THE RISK OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Table 2.3 presents the result of the multilevel analysis on the likelihood of individual respondents being married as child brides. In un-exponentiated form, the coefficients of multilevel logistic regression results are meaningful in showing the directionality of influence each individual variable has. A negative coefficient signals negative association. To understand the size of the effect, the coefficient needs to be exponentiated. One should interpret the exponentiated form of the coefficient as the multiplier of the likelihood of an individual woman to be married before the age of 18.

Across the models, all three individual-factors are significantly associated with the risk in the predicted direction. The effect of personal educational attainment is particularly large. When the global cultural diffusion factors are not taken into consideration (Model 7), personal educational attainment corresponds to a multiplier of 0.332 (exp[-1.103]=0.332), indicating that the likelihood of being married before the age of 18 when a girl finishes primary education is 66.8% (1-0.332=0.668) lower than the likelihood for those dropping out or unenrolled. In the same model, being in a household which can afford electricity reflects a decrease of the likelihood by 47.5% (1-exp[-0.645]=0.475). Living in an urban location predicts a multiplier of 0.638 (exp[-0.450]=0.638), which decreases the odds of a woman engaging in child marriage by 36.2%.

The effects of national-level predictors in Models 7 through12 are mostly consistent with the panel regression results and correspond to the hypotheses. National economic status has a significant negative association with individual risk. The population sex ratio remains insignificant in the multi-level analysis. Compared to its unstable effect in the panel regression analysis, the level of urbanization is not at work in the multi-level analysis. The direction of influence of female life expectancy is consistent with the panel regression result, but the effect is significant in most of the multilevel models.

The effect of national educational level is quite surprising because it not only runs counter to the hypothesis, but it is also the opposite from the panel regression results. There is a minimal positive effect of a country's general educational level, signaling that, other things being equal, young women have a higher risk of child marriage in those countries that have a higher average educational level. While the effect is small (multiplier=1.004), it is undeniable.

To further explore the surprising results, I investigate if specific country outliers have an outsize impact on the results. In the supplementary analysis, I run Models 7 through 12 with four subsets of country-year surveys, each excluding countries from one of the four regions identified in Table 2.1. The results of the supplementary analysis (not shown here) identify the Latin American countries contributing to the shift in direction of the national educational level effect. Among the 52 countries, the gross secondary education enrollment ratio has a significant curbing effect on child marriage. When excluding the Sub-Saharan African countries, the coefficients of population sex ratio flip to positive.

Models 8 to 11 test the effect of global cultural diffusion. All the relevant variables show significant preventive effects on the risk of child marriage. Compared to other significant national-level indicators, the effect of all four indicators is much larger. Every unit increase of

Table 2.3 Mixed-Effect Hierarchical Logistic Regression Models on the Risk of Child Marriage

Independent Variables	(7) National factor only	(8) INGO member-ship	(9) WINGO member-ship	(10) CEDAW ratification	(11) Global Cultural diffusion index	(12) Minimum-age-at-marriage Law
Individual-level Variables						
Household Economic Status	-0.645***	-0.644***	-0.646***	-0.645***	-0.645***	-0.667***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Personal Educational Attainment	-1.103***	-1.100***	-1.101***	-1.103***	-1.102***	-1.018***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Residence Location	-0.450***	-0.449***	-0.447***	-0.452***	-0.449***	-0.426***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Country-Level Variables						
National Economic Status	-0.144***	-0.105***	-0.126***	-0.168***	-0.159***	-0.014
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.031)
Mass Education Enrollment	0.007***	0.007***	0.005***	0.007***	0.005***	-0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Urbanization	-0.001	-0.003	-0.004	0.001	-0.001	-0.039***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Female Life Expectancy (at Birth)	-0.003	-0.005*	-0.005*	-0.005*	-0.009***	0.019***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Population Sex Ratio	0.004	0.007	-0.002	0.002	-0.003	-0.081***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Minimum-age-at-marriage Law						-0.050***
						(0.003)
Global Cultural Diffusion						
INGO Membership		-0.668***				
		(0.067)				
WINGO Membership			-0.052***			
			(0.005)			
CEDAW and CRC Ratification (0-2)				-0.116***		-0.173***
				(0.023)		(0.027)
Global Cultural Diffusion Index					-0.160***	
					(0.013)	
Control						
Year (1987=0)	-0.006***	0.005*	-0.001	-0.002	0.006**	0.027***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Constant	1.048+	4.428***	1.939**	1.617**	2.298***	9.084***
	(0.602)	(0.706)	(0.613)	(0.613)	(0.618)	(0.889)
Country-level Constant	-0.347***	-0.130	-0.335***	-0.364***	-0.315**	0.122
	(0.095)	(0.100)	(0.096)	(0.095)	(0.096)	(0.110)
Log-Likelihood	-184902.37***	-184848.47***	-184561.67***	-184889.32***	-184542.21***	-153302.48***
N of Observations	326,553	326,553	326,111	326,553	326,111	270,254
N of Countries	59	59	58	59	58	50

Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

the logged total membership to all INGOs is associated with a 48.7% shrinkage (1-exp[-0.668]=0.487) in the average likelihood of this country. The effect of the total membership to sampled WINGOs, 5.1%, is smaller but still significant. Ratification of relevant international treaties has a coefficient of -0.056, signaling that the risk of being in child marriage in a country that ratifies CEDAW or CRC is only 89.0% of that of those countries outside either treaty. When a country ratifies both, the risk of a random woman between the age of 20 and 24 being married as a child bride is only 79.2% of that in a country that has yet to ratify either treaty. Keeping all these indicators in mind, the index indicator of global cultural diffusion also decreases the risk by 14.8% (1-exp[-0.160]=0.148) with each one-unit increase.

Model 12 tests the longitudinal effect of the minimum-age-at-marriage law variable with a sample of 50 countries where data for the law is available.[33] With the control of relevant treaty ratification, each additional year after passing a minimum-age-at-marriage statute is associated with reducing the risk of child marriage with a coefficient of -0.050, which translates into a 4.9% decrease in the risk once the country establishes a strict legal age for marriage at 18 with no exceptions.

Lastly, the linear time variable shows a varied relation with the risk of child marriage. When the global cultural diffusion indicators are not taken into consideration, the time variable shows a reducing effect on the risk. When the global cultural diffusion indicators are added into the models, however, the negative association loses significance or flips to positive. In other words, the results suggest that the longitudinal decrease of the risk of child marriage is a function of increasing global effort in fighting child marriage.

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[33] The minimum-age-at-marriage law has a significant reducing effect on the risk of child marriage when it is modeled independently without the control of relevant treaty ratification.

Discussion

The aggregate-level analysis and the multilevel analyses confirm most of the hypotheses. The main concern of this chapter—the influence of global cultural diffusion on individual behaviors—is conspicuous both in the aggregate-level and multilevel analyses. In the following paragraph, I discuss each of the hypotheses individually.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Scholars often argue that the financial security of individuals and the economic development of states are two of the most fundamental indicators associated with changing behaviors. The results of this research generally support these arguments with some reservation. At the individual level, living in a household with better economic conditions is indeed related to a lower risk for child marriage. The indicator used in this paper can reflect the influence of the bride's household economic status as well as the preference of the groom's family. Living in a richer country, however, does not necessarily create a lower prevalence rate but only helps reduce the risk of a young woman becoming a child bride.

The inconsistent effects of national economic status shown in the panel regression models and multilevel regression models may be the result of two different samples of countries. Nevertheless, it suggests ameliorating household economic status can help reduce the incentives for child marriage among parents. The argument that the level of national economic development can change a practice deeply embedded in local culture warrants further exploration.

EDUCATION

An individual's educational attainment, whether to accumulate human capital or to signal parents' willingness to invest in young women and/or assure their basic human rights, is the strongest predictor of reducing the risk of child marriage. Its effect at the aggregate level needs further qualification. The general proliferation of mass education is highly relevant to reducing the prevalence of child marriage. However, when a personal educational attribute is taken into consideration, the national educational level functions differently in certain countries. It seems that the preventive effect of the proliferation of mass education is observable in most countries, but not in Latin America or the Caribbean. Indeed, this region recently experienced a resurgence in child marriage. The precise reason for the relapse is beyond the scope of this research and awaits further exploration.

URBAN RESIDENCE

The effect of urban living is only stable at the individual level. Living in an urban setting frees individuals from the traditional kin network and allows an individualistic lifestyle that may prioritize educational attainment and career aspirations over marriage. It can also mean easier access to educational resources and paid employment, thus creating alternatives for marrying young women in exchange for a dowry. Lastly, living in urban areas may mean that the state can more readily enforce regulations, not to mention the availability of NGO advocacy and resources, if there is any. At the national level and in the analysis for child marriage prevalence, the effect level of urbanization is either irrelevant or unstable at best. The significant but unstable result in the panel regression models may have captured the individual-level effect, rather than the effect of a context factor.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Both demographic factors demonstrate different results in the aggregate-level and individual-level analyses. While none of them have a significant association with a change in prevalence rate, the female life expectancy has a significant effect in determining the risk of child marriage. The different level of significance for the female life expectancy in two analyses may reflect that it is a subjective interpretation of this demographic that really matters. Parents may be less urgent in finding their daughters husbands when they expect their daughters to live longer. There is, however, no universal standard for longevity. A country in which the life expectancy of girls sharply increases may have fewer eager parents than a country that has a longer female life expectancy at birth.

MINIMUM-AGE-AT-MARRIAGE LAW

The effect of legislation on changing individual behavior is always debatable, especially when the law is considered the product of external pressure. Current literature has reached different conclusions regarding the effect of minimum-age-at-marriage law. Some scholars demonstrate the effect of the legislation on reproductive outcomes and suggest similar effects of the law (Bharadwaj 2009; Kim et al. 2013). Other authors question the efficacy of the law because the variated rituals of marriage in different societies make a simple and definite age insufficient for regulating the practice (Bunting 2005; Gaffney-Rhys 2011). Neither side substantiates its objective with empirical data, however.

This paper makes a decisive intervention into the conversation by testing the influence of policy/legal reform on individual behaviors. The results demonstrate that the minimum-age-at-marriage law has a long term effect on reducing both the prevalence and the risk of child

marriage. Although my analysis only concerns a country sample that is smaller than the main model, this paper serves as a first attempt to explore the direct effect of minimum-age-at-marriage law on individuals in different countries across time.

GLOBAL CULTURAL DIFFUSION

In addition to the individual-level and national-level factors, global cultural diffusion, in terms of the organizational connection between the global civil society organizations and local societies, national commitment to global norms, and the overall strength of cultural diffusion, has a consistent and strong effect on reducing the prevalence and risk of child marriage. While the aggregate-level analysis demonstrates the pattern of the variables based on a larger country-year sample, the multilevel analysis allows more precise modeling and confidently shows the effect of global cultural diffusion on individuals.

In terms of the aggregate-level analysis, the number of INGOs to which a country subscribes is the only indicator that does not show a significant association. This result, when compared with the undeniable effect of the other two indicators of WINGO connections and treaty ratification, suggests that it takes targeted effort rather than a generic connection to the outside world to change behaviors. In comparison, all four global cultural diffusion variables confirm a significant effect on reducing the risk of child marriage.

Interestingly, while many scholars often dismiss state commitment to international human rights standards as "window dressing" (Mearsheimer 1994) or "ineffective"(Bunting 2005), the panel regression and multilevel analysis actually demonstrate the opposite. The effect suggests that state ratification of relevant international conventions and the following policy reforms create leverage for further reforms (Tsutsui and Shin 2008). It also fills the gap left in

Kim et al.'s (2013) research on the effect of the law on adolescence fertility. The conceptual linkage between minimum-age-at-marriage laws and adolescence fertility rests on the widely-accepted assumption that most adolescence reproduction takes place within marriages. Preventing child marriages therefore lowers adolescent reproduction rates. This paper connects the missing link by providing evidence that the law actually prevents child marriages. Lastly, the significant result of the index variable testifies to the latest Neo-institutionalist argument that the effect of global cultural diffusion serves as a "bee swamp" through the totality of all diffusion channels (Hironaka 2014). In such a model, the effect size of individual diffusion process may not be isolated.

Conclusion

This paper examines the factors that influence the change of child marriage over the past three decades. The results of panel regression analysis and multilevel analysis demonstrate that education is a critical factor, both at the individual and national levels, for the reduction of child marriage. Resonating previous findings that economic reasons are common for child marriages, household economic status reduces the risk of child marriage. The location of a woman's primary residence (rural or urban) also functions most noticeably at the individual level.

Above all individual-level and national-level factors, this paper argues for the importance of global efforts. International campaigns influence local child marriage practices not only through tangible NGO programs and resources but also through the dissemination of new conceptualizations of "childhood" and "modern family/marriage." Indicators of global cultural diffusion are shown to have significant effects both on reducing the prevalence of child marriage and the risk of individual girls being entangled by child marriage. Both organizational

connections with the world society and the governmental commitment to global norms are associated with the reduction of the practices. The significant effect of the global cultural diffusion strength index in both the panel regression and multilevel analysis suggests that multiple pathways of global cultural diffusion may have an aggregate effect on the change of child marriage practices.

This paper presents unique contributions both to the World Society theory and the developmental literature. This is one of the first studies to examine the influence of global cultural diffusion on individual behaviors. Based on individual-level data and cross-survey research design, the results join the recent scholarship (Kim et al. 2013; Hadler and Haller 2011; Pierotti 2013) to demonstrate how the world society can not only influence policies and policy outcomes, but also individual behaviors.

For those who are concerned with young women's living conditions and human rights, this paper offers a rare opportunity to understand how child marriage changes over time in different regions, and why. The country-year sample spans across continents and time to capture both cross-national difference and longitudinal change. The results, therefore, have wider implications than previous multilevel analysis on the same issue (Garenne 2004). It also indicates that such international endeavors are worthwhile. Despite facing multiple difficulties and some criticism (Bunting 2005; Bunting and Merry 2007), the global effort to combat child marriage has a significant effect independent of national socio-demographic changes.

Indeed, this study has certain limitations. The design of the survey limits the individual level factors under consideration. For example, I cannot verify whether labor force participation and welfare state provisions (Meyers and Gornick 2003) have any influence on relieving the pressure for marrying at a young age. The DHS focus on the respondents' current families, rather

than their families of origin, also limits the possibility of making a direct argument regarding the influence of the latter. Despite the shortcomings, this paper provides a precious opportunity to assess both the social and cultural processes, as well as the deliberate effort, that alleviate the prevalence and risk of human rights violations. The findings, therefore, carry both theoretical and policy relevance.

The latest scholarship on estimating child marriage prevalence corroborates my general argument that child marriage prevalence is decreasing (Koski, Clark, and Nandi 2017). However, it also highlights how the decrease mainly occurs among teenage women. The prevalence rate of young girls even rises in some countries. This paper complements previous literature by emphasizing that "childhood" is constructed, and the concept is legitimized at the global level. The specific global script of childhood does not differentiate children from youth (Boyle, Smith, and Guenther 2006; Meyers and Gornick 2003). While recognizing that various factors may be at work in determining the risk of child marriage for girls and for teenage women, it is beyond the scope of this paper to specify the preventive and risk factors for child marriage among a particular age group. Instead, this research aims to explore the broad patterns of child marriage changes in the widest range of countries possible. Having identified the factors at work at different levels, including the pooled data of a vast number of respondents in a wide range of countries, there is now a further opportunity for more detailed exploration.

Chapter 3

Coming out of the Penumbras: World Culture and Cross-National Variation in Divorce Rates

Introduction

Divorce has increased dramatically in countries around the globe. This shift represents one of the major social changes of the late twentieth century, and a substantial literature has addressed the phenomenon (Coontz 2004; Goode 1993; Härkönen 2014). In addition to many studies examining the individual-level factors that predict divorce, which typically draw evidence from a single country, a handful of comparative analyses explore macro-level explanations for cross-national and historical differences in divorce rates (Cole and Powers 1973; Greenstein and Davis 2006; Hendrix and Pearson Jr. 1995; Kalmijn 2007; Trent and South 1989). These cross-national studies most often base their arguments regarding rising divorce rates on the theories of socioeconomic modernization and the derivative valuational change (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Goode 1993; Lesthaeghe 1983).

This paper adds to the literature the consideration of global cultural diffusion process. Drawing on Developmental Idealism (Thornton 2005; Thornton, Binstock, and Ghimire 2008) and World Society theory (Meyer et al. 1997), this paper argues that a particular form of "modern" family has become increasingly normative and legitimate and has had tangible effects on familial behaviors, such as in the case of fertility preference (Jayakody, Thornton, and Axinn 2008; Thornton et al. 2012), through global diffusion. The cultural principles of individualism, equality, and human rights are increasingly embedded in international organizations and

discourses, and ultimately instruct behaviors regarding the family, including divorces (Boyle, Smith, and Guenther 2006; Frank and McEneaney 1999; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010).

The case of divorce provides an opportunity to extend World Society theory by calling much-needed attention to the global dynamics that explain divorce trends. It offers a test of world society's effect on individual behaviors, an area in which the theory has rarely been put to the test until recently (Hadler and Haller 2011; Kim et al. 2013; Pierotti 2013). Applying the theory to the topic of divorce also differs from conventional World Society studies because international organizations rarely address divorce. I argue that international treaties and discourses may have substantial effects on divorce rates despite the lack of institutionalized efforts to support the individual's right to divorce. In the absence of articulated discourses and organizational resources, new understandings regarding divorce have emerged from the "penumbras" (to borrow the legal term) of human rights treaties and individualist discourses in world society.

The project advances the comparative literature on divorce rates not merely in terms of theoretical understanding, but also with improved data and methods. My research uses a new panel dataset that includes data collected from 85 countries from 1970 through 2008, which covers a larger span of time and a greater number of countries than prior studies have. In addition, the new dataset includes the "gross divorce rate" (the number of divorces per 1000 *married* people), which improves upon conventional studies that employ the crude divorce rate (divorces per 1000 people). Finally, I employ panel regression models whereas most cross-national studies are cross-sectional. The results show an association between new international norms and changing patterns of divorce, suggesting that global cultural diffusion is an important and under-appreciated factor in the worldwide rise of divorce.

Background: Cross-National Divorce Trends and Variations

Insofar as data are available, divorce has become more common in all geographic regions in the late twentieth century (Amato 2010; Asia Research Institute 2014; Härkönen 2014; Kiernan 2001; Kreider and Ellis 2011; Hill and Kopp 2015). The United States and Europe experienced large increases in the crude divorce rate during the 1960s and 1970s. East Asian countries have also seen rising divorce rates since the 1970s (Chen and Li 2014). After divorce was belatedly legalized in many Latin American countries, divorce rates rose in those nations as well (Arriagada 2014).

While divorce rates are generally increasing, there are occasional exceptions. After decades of rapid growth, divorce rates in the United States and some European countries have flattened or even declined (e.g., Germany, Norway, Austria, UK, the Netherlands) (Manning and Brown 2014; Lappegård 2014). Similarly, a few East Asian countries have recently seen declines following very rapid growth (Chen and Li 2014). Additionally, scholars disagree about the direction of trends among a handful of Arab countries (Anser 2014; El-Saadani 2006).

The entire scholarly discussion about overarching trends in divorce rates, however, is based on trends in crude divorce rates, which do not take into account a society's age structure or the size of its married population. The latter is theoretically important because, as some scholars point out, the decline of divorce in some European countries is the result of the proliferation of cohabitation and selection effects rather than any disinclination to divorce (Lappegård 2014). This paper addresses these complexities by measuring divorce in a manner that takes into account the proportion of the married population.

Explaining the Rise of Divorce

The bulk of the literature focuses on individual-level predictors of divorce within a single country—often the United States or countries in Western Europe. Key risk factors for divorce include low levels of education and income, early marriage, and unemployment (for review, see Amato 2010, Härkönen 2014, and Wagner and Weiß 2006). While these risk factors seem reasonable at the individual level with rational calculation, it is difficult to use some individual-level arguments to explain macro-level phenomenon. For instance, the negative relationship between divorce and individual measures of education and wealth are not easily squared with the observed macro-level patterns in most countries: increases in education and wealth parallel higher divorce rates, as shown in previous cross-sectional studies that will be discussed in the following section.[34]

MACRO-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS: STRUCTURAL MODERNIZATION

Early comparative scholarship, such as that of Goode (1993), attributes trends in divorce to aspects of societal modernization, including industrialization, growth of the service sector, and urbanization, that create alternative institutions that may serve as a substitute for the economic and social functions of marriage and family (see also: Cole and Powers 1973; Nimkoff 1965; Ogburn and Nimkoff 1955). The proliferation of mass education is seen as an important dimension of structural change in its own right, and it is also seen as a signal for attitudinal shifts that are otherwise difficult to measure directly. Modernization is also associated with increases in women's status and women's movement into the labor force, both of which make it easier for

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[34] Such discordance between micro-level risk factors and macro-level trends results partly from the sampled countries used by these two types of studies—the majority of micro-level analysis on the risk factors for divorce is produced based on data from the United States and various European countries. Characteristics of education disparity in these countries are quite different from the characteristics of education disparity in Latin American or Middle Eastern countries. While multi-factor analysis of risk factors in these areas is extremely rare, existing study does suggest that divorce risk in these countries increases with increased education attainment (Ahmed 2008).

women to sustain themselves outside of traditional marriage (Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Clark 1990; Cooke et al. 2013; Greenstein and Davis 2006; Hendrix and Pearson Jr. 1995).

Related to this, modernization is thought to drive shifts in societal values, which in turn propel changes in family behaviors (e.g. Jeng and McKenry 1999). While the specific arguments vary,[35] scholars point to a set of value changes, such as the "higher needs" of individual freedom and self-development among people who experience the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1988), post-materialist values of gender equality (Inglehart and Norris 2003), secularization of marital and reproductive behaviors (Lesthaeghe 1983), and individualism (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Ultimately, these perspectives suggest that these structural and cultural changes drive the rise of divorce.[36] Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1a: National wealth is positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

Hypothesis1b: Women's labor force participation is positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

Hypothesis 1c: Mass education enrollment is positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

RELIGION

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[35] Along with the argument of secondary demographic transition (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1988), some recent scholarship has begun to reconsider the notion of value change resulting from economic modernization (Ruggles 2015; Zhang, Wang, and Zhang 2014), while other scholarship suggests that value change has an independent source and transformation processes (Lesthaeghe 1983; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

[36] While structural modernization remains central to comparative studies of divorce, there are also inconsistent findings. Some scholars argue that the association between divorce and economic development is not linear (Trent and South 1989). Others demonstrate the decline of divorce alongside economic modernization processes. In Japan and Islamic Southeast Asian countries, for instance, modernization actually led to a decrease in marriage dissolution in the early twentieth century (Asia Research Institute 2014; Fuess 2004), and the divorce rate in Japan did not accelerate until the 1970s.

The literature identifies religion as a cultural system that affects family formation and divorce, irrespective of economic and social modernization (Nichols 2012; Castles and Flood 1991; Coudert 1893). Family scholars like Therborn (2004) recognize the importance of religion when categorizing the world's major family systems. Scholars point to Catholicism in particular as a religious tradition that stresses the importance of marriage and proscribes divorce—and indeed, many predominantly Catholic societies have historically prohibited divorce (e.g., Chile until 2004). In the case of Islam, scholars have made arguments in both directions. Like Catholicism, a conservative interpretation of Islam may inhibit divorce by establishing a patriarchal society (Mashhour 2005; Htun and Weldon 2011). On the other hand, some scholars have argued that Islam considers marriage to be a secular tie that is dissolvable by men, making divorce easier and less morally stigmatized. Prior cross-national studies have yielded mixed findings on these points (Clark 1990; Fu 1992; Greenstein and Davis 2006; Trent and South 1989), but the arguments are sufficiently common to warrant examination:

Hypothesis 2a: Catholicism is negatively associated with a country's divorce rate.

Hypothesis 2b: Islam may be negatively or positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

GLOBAL CULTURE, DEVELOPMENTAL IDEALISM, AND DIFFUSION

Recent scholarship calls attention to cultural and institutional changes that originate beyond national borders and diffuse across societies (Freedman 1979; Giddens 1992; Meyer et al. 1997). Arland Thornton (2005) argues that the family practices of Western societies, including the nuclear family, individualism, personal autonomy, higher status of women, etc., are constructed as "modern family practices." The concept of "developmental idealism" captures the increasingly widespread belief that evolution toward this type of family is the solution to myriad

social problems of developing countries. As developmental idealism spreads across the global South, national family policies and actual behaviors are transformed.

Two critical issues for these cultural diffusion perspectives concern 1) the source of legitimacy of these projects and values, and 2) the channels through which global cultural perspectives reach local societies. In addition to the importance of mass media, Thornton lists several additional channels, including mass education, social movements, and other devoted organizations, as propagators of the ideal modern family (Jayakody, Thornton, and Axinn 2008). Theoretically, countries that are more exposed to the ideal of "modern family practices" will be more strongly influenced by foreign ideas and values—and behavior should follow.

World Society theory, which shares Thornton's critical take on Modernization theory, argues that legitimated cultural models at the global level influence government policy and individual behavior via a global-local diffusion process. World Society literature calls attention to the expansion of global governance institutions in the post-World War II era (e.g., the United Nations) (Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer, Frank, et al. 1997; Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Hughes et al. 2009). International institutions extoll cultural principles as universally applicable and propagate policy models and scripts for nations to follow—including issues related to marriage and family (Meyer and Jepperson 2000; Meyer 2010). These cultural scripts diffuse through organizational ties between global and national or local actors and/or through individual or organizational actors (e.g. see Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000).

A large number of studies document globally-driven patterns of policy diffusion in domains such as education, women's rights, human rights, and population policy (Barrett 1995; Berkovitch 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997; Risse-Kappen, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999; Schafer 1999; Tsutsui 2006). Moreover, some scholars show that diffusion can affect policy

outcomes, such as influencing policy to reduce child mortality and policy to reduce environmental degradation (Boyle and Kim 2009; Hironaka 2014; Schofer and Hironaka 2005). Other scholars demonstrate that connections to world society also unlock political opportunities (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998), and this is conducive to local advocacies demanding policy implementations and substantive changes. Taken together, these studies suggest that institutionalized global cultural norms can spread across national borders and produce rapid social change (Hironaka 2014).

Recently, scholars have extended the World Society literature by showing that world cultural norms affect individuals in addition to affecting state policy. International norms affect individual-level behaviors such as attitudes toward the environment, violence against women, and fertility. (Givens and Jorgenson 2013; Hadler and Haller 2011; Pierotti 2013; Kim et al. 2013). In alignment with these studies, this paper suggests that global norms may be reshaping individual behavior regarding divorce.

In addition to exploring the extent of the world society effect, this paper extends World Society theory by exploring whether and how world society affects *issues whose relevant global cultural norms are not explicitly codified, articulated, or institutionalized but might be supported within the penumbras of existing treaties and discourses.* Scholars have demonstrated the influence of global cultural principles *when they are codified and articulated*, for instance, in international treaties, conferences, and organizational resolutions, *and institutionalized*, for instance, as the mission of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), international regimes, United Nations development goals, and public/private grants and aid. By contrast, world society effects are fragile or absent when the cultural scripts are sharply contested, such as with the abortion policy (Boyle, Kim, and Longhofer 2015). However, many topics fall

somewhere in between: they fall under areas that are briefly or broadly addressed by international treaties but are not explicitly singled out or vociferously contested. The question is whether general international norms and institutions have "spillover" effects on more specific issues.

The legal term *penumbra* provides a useful (if somewhat loose) analogy for thinking about how the effects of global culture may have influence beyond formal codified rules and discourses, potentially spilling over into new domains. The penumbras of the law are invoked to characterize areas in which legal rights and duties are not explicitly codified but may be inferred from existing law. For instance, the US constitution does not explicitly guarantee a right to privacy, but judges have argued that such rights are implicit in the constitution (Dixon 1965; Henly 1987). The analogy is loose in that there are no powerful judges in world society who can formally invoke the penumbras of global culture. Nevertheless, I argue a similar pattern where international discourses may spill over into new domains. Fundamental norms in areas such as human rights provide a basis for individual and organizational actors to sketch out scripts addressing novel issues that have not been directly addressed in existing treaties or institutionalized discourses—such as divorce.

World Cultural Principles, Penumbras, and Divorce

In contrast to typical World Society studies, the topic of this paper—divorce—does not receive much attention in the international sphere and is not the focus of international treaties or rules. Instead, one can find copious treaties on individual and women's rights, which strongly support women as autonomous decision makers who ought to have the freedom to choose their own destinies. The issue of divorce tends to come up obliquely, as one facet of gender equality.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, Article 16, for instance, asserts that both men and women should have "equal rights to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution," and that marriage should be established only with the "free and full consent of the intending spouses."

Global norms and scripts regarding marriage are clearly rooted in modern egalitarian individualism, as opposed to the various historical alternatives such as traditional familism or patriarchy (Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010). Marriage is characterized as a voluntary individual choice between consenting adults, as opposed to occurring at the discretion of parents, families, or clans, as has been common in many historical contexts. Marriage is not characterized as a mandatory or obligatory stage of the life course, but rather as a specific relationship that one is entitled to enter (or not) based on one's will.

In line with developmental idealism arguments, this voluntary (and implicitly nuclear) family is privileged in global discourses as "the natural and fundamental group unit of society…entitled to protection by society and the State" (United Nations 1948). Under this conceptualization, the corporatist functions of marriage, including collective resource pooling, reproduction for continuation of lineages, or communal bonding, should not overshadow the individual in marital choice. Spouses are characterized as equal actors, stripped of their gender, social status, and other characteristics. Subsequent human rights treaties—the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)—reiterated this language almost verbatim (United Nations 1966a, 1966b). The Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) built on this framework and clarified the meaning of gender equality, which entails rights and responsibilities regarding reproduction, children, personal life choices, and property.

In addition, the treaty reiterates that spouses should enjoy the same rights and responsibilities both "during marriage and at its dissolution" (Article 16[c], United Nations 1979).

The UN Declaration and subsequent treaties do not espouse or even mention an explicit right to divorce. Rather, the issue of marital "dissolution" only comes up in the context of gender equality with regard to marital and familial decisions. If divorce is permitted under national law, spouses should be accorded equal rights and protections. At the same time, by invoking the possibility of marital dissolution, international treaties (and key organizations like the UN) clearly adopt an individualist and voluntaristic understanding of the family in which divorce may be a legitimate possibility. This sharply contrasts with many traditional family systems, where divorce is unequivocally proscribed (e.g., traditional Catholicism) or is a familial rather than personal decision.

Despite the absence of a clear "right to divorce" in international treaties, women's rights groups and social movements organizations have taken cues from international treaties and discourses in pursing various progressive reforms around the world. Groups concerned with women's rights or divorce access have focused on the fundamental principle of individualism and the explicit "equality" frame that have been enshrined in the international treaties and discourses. For example, monitoring documents of the international women's movement have included divorce policies and statistics as one indicator of the status of a country's women (Morgan 1996). CEDAW state parties have mentioned divorce law amendments in their periodic reports as a sign of treaty compliance (e.g. Albania 2002, Cyprus 2004, and India 2005). And, national women's movements have addressed the lack of freedom or unequal grounds of divorce for women as one of their concerns (e.g. see Dontopoulos 1982 for Greek; Agnes 1994, Agnihotri and Mazumdar 1995 for India; Chew 1994 for Singapore). Scholars have argued that

such demands are related to the codification of women's rights at the international level (Jones and Ramdas 2004). It is worth noting that women's activists have frequently taken an approach that mirrors how the issue has been framed at the global level: they have treated divorce as part of the broader agenda of marriage reform and gender equality.[37]

In conclusion, international treaties give scant attention to the topic of divorce, and there has never been an official UN agenda focused on promoting divorce. But, international treaties and organizations articulate general norms of individualism, voluntarism, and women's rights, and the possibility of divorce is treated as legitimate. In such an environment, governmental and non-governmental actors have taken cues from the international community and demanded a more equal and tolerant environment for divorce. In sum, *actors—ranging from women's groups to national governmental bodies—distilled new norms about divorce from the penumbras of world society*, despite the absence of specific international rules on the issue.

The hypotheses below follow:

Hypothesis 3a: Individualism and gender equality in world culture are positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

Hypothesis 3b: The spread of relevant world cultural principles to nations (via organizational ties, treaty ratification, and the like) is positively associated with a country's divorce rate.

Data and Methods

This paper analyzes cross-national data on divorce rates from 1970 to 2008. The analysis begins in 1970 because data on key variables—including divorce rates—are sparse in prior years. Furthermore, 1970 is early enough to capture the key processes at hand, including the

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[37] For example, India's divorce reform took place under the broader movement for reform that moved toward a unified, non-sexist civic code (Agnes 1994).

intensification of the human rights and women's rights regimes in the international sphere (e.g., Berkovitch 1999) and the rapid growth of divorce rates around the world.[38] In total, 85 countries were included in this study, whilst the data availability varies for each between 1970 and 2008. Countries with fewer than 300,000 people—mainly Pacific and Caribbean islands—were excluded because the divorce rates fluctuate greatly in these countries due to small population as denominators.[39] Countries included in the analysis are listed in Table 3.2. The sample includes countries from all major global regions, although data are sparser in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East. Consequently, these regions are underrepresented in the analyses. Descriptive statistics and correlation between variables are presented in Table 3.1.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

This paper improves upon previous comparative studies of divorce by using the *gross divorce rate*, measured as the number of legally registered divorces per thousand *married* people. As previously mentioned, the crude divorce rate, which is measured as the number of legally registered divorces per 1000 *total* people, does not take into account the society's age structure and marriage rate. Because this research examines countries with varied population structures and marriage patterns, it is preferable to measure the rate among the actual population at risk of divorce. The gross divorce rate is also arguably more meaningful, given broad trends toward marriage decline in some countries.[40] The gross divorce rate is measured as follows:[41]

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[38] A handful of countries began to experience rapid growth prior to 1970, but the post-1970 period effectively captures the "rise of divorce" for most of the world.

[39] Also, a number of tiny islands appear to be extreme (high) outliers in terms of divorce rates. The results of this study should not be generalized to small island nations.

[40] Graphing the correlation between the gross divorce rate and crude divorce rate reveals that there is indeed variation in the size of the married population among the sampled countries and over time. The pairwise correlation coefficient between the crude divorce rate and gross divorce rate shows medium to high correlation (0.7602, $p<0.0001$), and the scatter plot of the two measurements demonstrates that gross divorce rate in some countries is

$$Gross\ divorce\ rate = \frac{number\ of\ legally\ registered\ divorces}{number\ of\ married\ people}$$

$$= \frac{crude\ divorce\ rate}{proportion\ of\ population\ that\ is\ married}$$

$$= \frac{number\ of\ legally\ registered\ divorces}{total\ number\ of\ people} \div \frac{number\ of\ married\ people}{total\ number\ of\ people}$$

The crude divorce rate data listed in the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* (henceforth the *Yearbook*) are reported by individual UN member countries based on their vital statistics. The *Yearbooks* consistently include multiple years of data, but the date range included in each edition varies. When multiple editions overlap on the time range and report inconsistent data, I use data reported in the more recent edition, assuming revised estimates are superior. In instances where colonies or disputed areas have gained independence, I merged the data under the names of the newly independent countries. I treated those countries or areas whose territories changed during their transitions (most often because of secession or integration) to new political entities as different countries and did not combine the data prior to the transition. The gaps between the annual measurements were filled by interpolation.[42] The married proportion of the population is measured by dividing the total number of married people by the total number of people. Both datasets come from the United Nations Statistics Division.[43]

As is generally the case for cross-national datasets, important limitations and caveats must be acknowledged. The UN data on divorce relies on countries' self-reports. The accuracy of

indeed higher because the proportion of marred population is taken into consideration. The scatterplot is available upon request.

[41] Other research tries to improve the measurement by presenting the number of divorce per thousand people who are age 15 and older (e.g.El-Saadani 2006). While this arguably improves upon on the crude divorce rate, it still does not take into consideration the size of the married population.

[42] I used this technique to fill in 8.8% of the gross divorce rate data. Models with non-interpolated gross divorce rate data yield consistent results, except for the results of the effect of economic development.

[43] To calculate the proportion of the population that is married, I used data representing the number of population by marital status instead of the dataset that directly presents the proportion of the population that is currently married or in a union. The latter data comes from the compilation of data from Demographic and Health Surveys and Multiple Indicators Clustered Surveys and is limited to developing countries.

the data therefore hinges on government infrastructures accurately registering divorces and calculating the rates, and the ability of such infrastructures to do so may be limited in poor countries (thus, for instance, controls for GDP and state capacity are essential). In addition, national divorce laws and their implementation may affect truthful registration. Stringent divorce laws create barriers for couples and may result in couples divorcing without legal registration. This issue is partially addressed by adding control variable reflecting the equality level of a country's divorce law. As countries with "gender equal" laws are often those where divorce laws have been liberated as well, the registration rate in these countries can reflect the actual number of divorces more accurately. Lastly, local customs regarding whether to end the marriage by customary law or formal law poses a challenge to measuring divorce rate by national marriage registry record.

Despite these limitations, this dataset is arguably the most comprehensive and comparable dataset on gross divorce rates that is currently available. The data accuracy concerns, which in most cases leading to under-report of divorces, also poses a less serious problem than overestimating of growth trends and exaggerating the influence of global cultural norm diffusion.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent measures are described below. Unless otherwise specified, the data source is the *World Development Indicators* (WDI, World Bank 2012).

Economic Development. I use the natural log of real Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (in 2005 US dollars) as the indicator for economic development.

Women's Labor Force Participation. The extent of female labor force participation is measured by the percentage of women above age 15 who are active in the labor force. I calculated the

Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics and Correlation of Variables

	A)	B)	C)	D)	E)	F)	G)	H)	I)	J)	K)	L)	M)	N)	Mean	S.D.
A) Gross Divorce Rate	1.00														4.08	3.07
B) Divorce Law	0.22	1.00													2.71	0.74
C) Government Capacity	0.05	-0.21	1.00												0.20	0.08
D) Population Sex Ratio	-0.26	-0.39	-0.12	1.00											97.56	4.19
E) Youth Dependency	-0.30	-0.48	0.16	0.59	1.00										44.80	20.85
F) Economic Development	0.17	0.48	-0.43	-0.31	-0.71	1.00									8.88	1.32
G) Female Labor Force Participation	0.39	0.49	-0.01	-0.53	-0.80	0.50	1.00								31.76	12.41
H) Mass Education	0.33	0.34	-0.06	-0.43	-0.82	0.68	0.73	1.00							79.58	26.70
I) Catholic Population	-0.21	0.29	-0.20	-0.02	0.19	0.03	-0.33	-0.27	1.00						41.68	38.52
J) Muslim Population	-0.10	-0.70	0.28	0.31	0.38	-0.44	-0.38	-0.23	-0.42	1.00					12.71	29.26
K) INGO Membership	0.21	0.34	-0.19	-0.46	-0.70	0.76	0.57	0.72	-0.02	-0.27	1.00				6.82	0.83
L) WINGO Membership	0.14	0.19	-0.29	-0.24	-0.50	0.67	0.44	0.60	-0.12	-0.21	0.84	1.00			6.20	4.30
M) CEDAW Ratification	0.14	0.23	0.08	-0.20	-0.34	0.04	0.41	0.38	-0.03	-0.08	0.35	0.22	1.00		0.68	0.47
N) World Society Index	0.23	0.28	-0.20	-0.42	-0.65	0.71	0.59	0.72	-0.11	-0.24	0.95	0.96	0.43	1.00	0.69	0.79

percentage based on data from the online International Labour Organization database.[44]

Mass Education. I used the gross secondary education enrollment ratio to indicate a country's overall level of education. The measure refers to the number of students enrolled in secondary education, regardless of their age, divided by the population within the age range for secondary schooling. Because the measurement does not exclude those students who are beyond the typical age for secondary education, rates can exceed 100%.

Religion. The *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Barrett, Kurian, and Johnson 2011) provides information on the size of each country's Catholic and Muslim populations at four time points (1970, 1995, 2000, and 2010). To determine the proportion of the population that is Catholic or Muslim, I divided the number of individuals affiliated with the religion in a specific year by the total number of individuals for that same year.

Global Culture: Institutionalization and Diffusion. This study employs several measures of global culture and institutions, which may shape divorce patterns at the national level. Consistent with prior studies, I measured INGO ties to capture the overall influence of international organizations and discourses on specific countries. The measurement serves as a proxy for various channels through which globally-legitimized cultural principles diffuse to local settings (see Boli and Thomas 1997). I examined general ties to any INGO as well as specific ties to Women's INGOs (WINGOs), which may more directly capture the normative and social movement pressure regarding women's rights that is brought to bear on particular countries. INGO ties are measured as the natural log of a country's total INGO membership count, while the Women's INGO membership counts are based on a random sample of 25 women's INGOs.

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[44] The data measuring both female labor participation and the religious population were collected by my colleague Rachael Russell. I am greatly indebted and hereby express my sincere gratitude.

Both INGO measures are based on data from the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (UIA 1948-2015).

Country treaty ratification is also commonly used to measure the global cultural pressures that are exerted upon nations (e.g. Frank, Hironaka, and Schofer 2000). I employed a time-varying dummy variable reflecting a country's ratification of CEDAW as an indicator of the state's commitment to the cultural principles of individualism and equality. The years prior to ratification were coded as 0 and the years after ratification were coded as 1. Finally, I created a "world society index" by factoring all three global cultural diffusion measures. The index is used to measure the overall strength of global cultural diffusion of individual country-years.

Control

Demographic Factors. I controlled for the age dependency ratio because a high dependency ratio can discourage divorce. The age dependency ratio is measured as the ratio of the people under the age of 15 to the people between 15 and 64 years of age. While the population sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) can affect the tendency for divorce in that a surplus of men can render men less willing to "give up" their wives, its effect is never significant. Other demographic factors, including age structure and the proportion of the population that is married, are addressed in that they are incorporated into the denominator of the *gross* divorce rate.

State Capacity To address the selection bias and under-reporting/under-registration problems inherent to my data, I tested two additional controls, the first of which is state capacity. State capacity is measured by government consumption as the percentage of GDP. The data for this calculation was gathered from The Penn World Tables (CICUP 2012).[45]

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[45] Other measures, such as the logged number of government personnel, are sometimes used. However, the government consumption figure is available for a larger set of countries and across a wider range of years.

Divorce Law Equality. The second additional control that I tested was the equality level of divorce. I extracted data on divorce laws from the family law dataset developed by Htun and Weldon (2012). The dataset includes indicators of family laws for 75 countries at four time points (1975, 1985, 1995, and 2005). I used three binary variables indicating gender equality of divorce laws: whether divorce can be initiated by both men and women, whether both women and men can be granted child custody, and whether the assignment of property upon divorce is equal. I combined the dummies into an ordinal scale that ranged from 0 to 3 where larger values indicate a higher level of equality. While gender equity is not the same as having a more individualistic and permissive law, the two generally coincide as a practical matter. It is rare to have a divorce law that grants men and women equal opportunity for child custody or equal share of property yet strongly restricts an individual's freedom to divorce. Because the divorce law index reduces the dataset quite drastically (from 85 to 51 countries), I include it in a separate table.

METHOD

I used pooled panel regression models to investigate the effect of global and national variables on national divorce rates from 1970 to 2008. The unit of analysis for the models is the country-year. Using panel regression analysis is an improvement upon previous cross-sectional studies of divorce rates, which have used ordinary least squares regression analysis, because it includes longitudinal information. However, panel regression datasets involve non-random within-country errors that violate the assumption of ordinary least squares regression. Researchers commonly address this issue by using a panel model with either random or fixed effects, but the results of a Hausman test suggest that a fixed effect model is preferable (Halaby

2004). Fixed effect models focus on longitudinal change within each country, effectively controlling for time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity among countries. This is especially important for my analysis because marital change is an "overdetermined phenomenon," a result of many of complex factors leading to the same result (Coontz 2004).

Robustness Checks

I conduct two additional analyses to ensure the robustness of the results. First, although the dataset compiled here includes the best data available, one can imagine several sources of selection bias. For example, the infrastructure and governance capacity needed to collect vital statistics may be limited in poor and/or unstable countries, leading to non-random missing data. Additionally, countries that do not legally allow divorce (or did not until recently) might not gather divorce statistics, which may correlate with variables such as religion. I addressed the issue of selection bias by using a Heckman sample selection model (Woolridge 2004). I used logged GNI per capita, the percentage of each country's Catholic and Muslim populations, the share of government consumption of GDP, and the equality level of divorce law as potential sources of selection bias. The results of my Heckman model are generally consistent with the results of the panel regression models (See Appendix A).[46] The Heckman models were only used to test the robustness of the findings from the main models because the availability of data for divorce law and government consumption greatly limits the sample size. Insomuch as the data for the first-stage specification are available, the Heckman correction analysis suggests that economic power and government capacity affect reporting of divorce data, but the overall results remain similar to the panel regression models. I also examined the same models using the crude divorce rate as a dependent variable, controlling for age structure and the proportion of the

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[46] The only exception is the effect of memberships to all INGOs. The coefficient of this independent variable loses significance in the model.

population that is married. For most explanatory variables, the results are consistent with the models when gross divorce rate is used as a dependent variable in terms of the direction and significance of effects. I have included the results in Appendix B.

Results

I first summarized regional patterns in divorce and trends over time. Descriptive statistics of each country's gross divorce rate are presented in Table 3.2. While the gross divorce rate varies by both country and region, the gross divorce rates are highest in Northern/Western Europe and in European settler colonies in North America and Oceania (the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). At the other extreme, Southern Europe and Latin America are the regions with the lowest average divorce rates, which may reflect the influence of Catholicism. It is worth noting that the gross divorce rates of countries in the Eastern Europe and Central Asia region demonstrate vast variation. The high gross divorce rates of some countries in the regions are generally understood as the result of the egalitarian and lenient divorce laws of communist countries (Htun and Weldon 2011; Therborn 2014). The variation among these countries, however, is considerable.

Meanwhile, the regional ranking of total INGO memberships differs slightly from the regional ranking of gross divorce rates. While Western Europe does not rank the highest in terms of gross divorce rates, the countries in the region, on average, hosts the highest national counts of total INGO memberships. Being second to Western Europe, North America and Northern Europe rival one another for their countries' average total INGO memberships. In comparison, Central and Western Asian countries have the lowest average national counts for INGO memberships.

Table 3.2 Descriptive Statistics of National Gross Divorce Rate

Country	Mean	Min	Max	Country	Mean	Min	Max	Country	Mean	Min	Max
Sub-Saharan Africa				Syria	1.98	1.50	2.40	Tajikistan	1.21	0.99	1.77
Mauritius	1.97	1.57	2.84	Tunisia	3.10	2.41	4.65	Turkey	1.66	0.77	2.97
South Africa	2.69	2.69	2.69	**Eastern Asia and Pacific**				Ukraine	8.02	7.38	8.72
North America				China	1.13	0.95	1.44	**Western Europe**			
Canada	5.25	3.03	6.42	Hong Kong	3.97	3.97	3.97	Austria	4.22	2.94	5.87
United States	9.60	6.54	11.53	Indonesia	3.00	1.97	4.08	Belgium	4.28	1.29	7.88
Latin America and Caribbean				Japan	3.01	1.96	4.48	France	4.03	1.74	6.18
Brazil	1.27	0.66	2.01	Korea,Rep.	2.99	1.06	7.46	Germany	5.05	4.31	5.78
Chile	0.91	0.34	1.23	Macao	2.16	1.71	2.58	Ireland	1.94	1.67	2.16
Costa Rica	3.97	0.51	8.18	Mongolia	1.87	1.52	2.29	Luxembourg	3.36	1.27	5.21
Cuba	11.03	7.89	19.44	Thailand	1.35	0.80	2.03	Netherlands	4.07	1.41	5.24
Dominican Rep.	9.33	1.74	15.23	**South Asia**				Switzerland	4.57	3.09	6.24
Ecuador	1.09	0.68	2.23	Sri Lanka	0.45	0.40	0.50	United Kingdom	6.55	6.17	7.07
El Salvador	2.76	2.08	3.59	Nepal	1.99	1.99	1.99	**Northern Europe**			
Guatemala	0.92	0.63	1.16	**Eastern Europe and Central Asia**				Denmark	6.22	3.95	7.32
Honduras	1.55	1.17	2.35	Armenia	1.54	1.12	2.04	Finland	5.62	2.98	7.05
Jamaica	3.79	3.79	3.79	Azerbaijan	1.81	1.47	2.32	Iceland	5.01	4.88	5.19
Mexico	1.48	0.81	2.21	Belarus	8.31	6.50	10.06	Norway	4.54	1.84	6.29
Nicaragua	1.83	1.15	3.08	Bulgaria	2.60	1.62	3.55	Sweden	6.02	3.36	7.27
Panama	3.38	2.35	4.04	Czech Rep.	6.45	4.89	7.13	**Southern Europe**			
Paraguay	3.95	3.38	4.82	Cyprus	2.08	0.41	4.52	Albania	1.73	1.02	2.63
Peru	0.46	0.33	0.61	Estonia	8.43	7.90	8.78	Croatia	1.83	1.57	2.17
Puerto Rico	9.43	8.62	11.04	Hungary	5.17	4.21	6.29	Greece	1.31	0.78	2.03
Trinidad and Tobago	3.58	2.90	4.63	Kazakhstan	19.01	14.37	25.35	Italy	0.93	0.34	1.82
Uruguay	4.07	2.51	8.25	Kyrgyz Rep.	3.52	2.82	4.68	Macedonia	0.99	0.61	1.38
Venezuela	3.60	1.53	5.92	Latvia	7.13	5.20	12.27	Portugal	2.47	0.13	6.97
Middle East and North Africa				Lithuania	7.64	7.64	7.64	Slovenia	2.57	1.79	3.24
Egypt	4.27	2.21	6.70	Moldova	6.81	5.16	9.83	Spain	1.49	1.23	1.98
Iran	1.80	1.08	2.92	Poland	2.26	1.50	3.67	**Oceania**			
Israel	4.03	3.33	4.69	Romania	3.07	2.51	3.46	Australia	5.61	2.08	9.73
Jordan	3.09	2.83	3.46	Russia	11.49	9.96	13.93	New Zealand	6.29	3.71	8.63
Kuwait	4.68	4.68	4.68	Slovak Rep.	4.22	3.26	5.29	Total	4.08	0.13	25.35

Figure 3.1 presents the longitudinal trends of average gross divorce rates by region. To simplify the presentation, I use fewer regional categories than are listed in Table 3.2 (for instance, Europe has been combined with the United States and Canada). The average gross divorce rate of all countries (represented by a solid line with solid square data markers) saw a historical increase from 2.643 to 5.476 divorces per 1000 married people over the course of four decades. As shown in Figure 3.1, the average gross divorce rate rises slowly at the outset and increases more rapidly beginning in the mid-1980s. This pattern mainly reflects trends in the Latin America, Europe and Central Asia, and East Asia and Pacific regions. As Figure 3.1 demonstrates, the East Europe region, which includes former Soviet Union countries that had not previously reported independent data, experiences a spike in the average gross divorce rate in the late 1980s due to the inclusion of data from the former Soviet Union countries and a series of exceptionally high gross divorce rates from Kazakhstan.[47] Other regions, including the Sub-Saharan Africa region and the Middle East and North Africa region, also demonstrate a long-term increase in gross divorce rates.

Figure 3.2 juxtaposes the longitudinal trend of the average global gross divorce rate with key measures of global cultural influences (number INGO and WINGO memberships, as described above). Both measures of global organizational connection began to rise in the late 1970s, and it is worth noting that since then, the ebb and flow of the average gross divorce rate has resembled that of the average WINGO membership count (although with a lag of a few years and a calmer slope).

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[47] The gross divorce rate data of Kazakhstan begins in 1989 with a measure of 26.866 divorces per thousand married people. The number dropped drastically, to 14.374 in 1999, and increased to 18.181 in 2008. While the population of Kazakhstan decreased from 16.24 million to 14.92 at the time when the gross divorce rate plummeted, there is no detectable data irregularity with regard to the measures that were used to calculate the gross divorce rate from 1989 to 1999.

It is not coincidental that the WINGO membership count increases around 1985 and 1995, the years during which the World Conferences on Women took place in Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). The World Conferences on Women in Nairobi served as the first international conference on women since the adoption of CEDAW. As a result of the conference, the general assembly recognized the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies that identified various women's rights issues with urgency and suggested basic strategies for approaching them, which provided powerful new language for local activists (Pietilä and Vickers 1996). The Nairobi conference also led to much greater mobilization and interaction among women's rights activists around the world. Furthermore, the World Conferences on Women in Beijing introduced the concept of "gender mainstreaming" in the Beijing Platform of Action as a mechanism for member states to achieve gender equality (Bunch and Fried 1996). While the international women's movement did not explicitly address divorce as part of its core agenda, the cross-national exchange of advocacy experiences among organizations may have helped to embody and crystallize new views on divorce based on increasingly taken-for-granted global women's rights discourses.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 present panel regression models showing national and global effects on countries' gross divorce rates. Table 3.3 contains results from the full set of countries, and Table 3.4 repeats the models with additional measures (national divorce law and government consumption control) that reduce the sample size substantially (model 1b to 4b). As shown in Table 3.3, all national-level indicators have effects consistent with the prior literature (and with the hypotheses listed above). The levels of economic development, female labor force participation, and secondary education enrollment are positively associated with the gross divorce rate. The economic status yields the largest raw coefficient. In model 1a, every one-unit
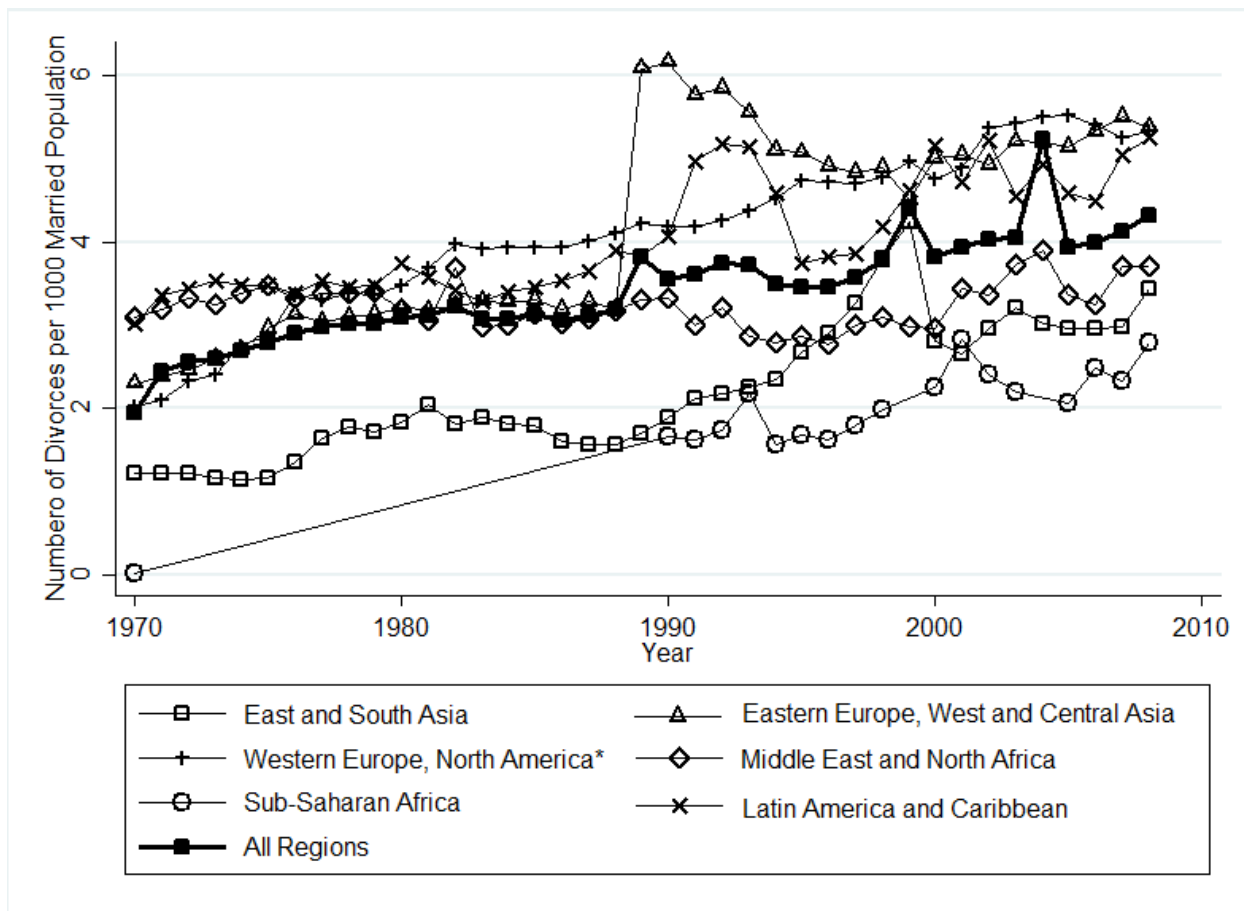
Figure 3.1 Average Gross Divorce Rate Trends, By Region

* This category also includes Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

increase of logged GNI per capita is associated with 0.474 additional divorces per 1000 married people. The effect of increased secondary education enrollment is also stable and significantly related with rising gross divorce rates (the coefficients range from 0.015 to 0.018).

As expected, Catholicism has a prohibitive effect on the gross divorce rate. Each one-unit increase in the proportion of the population that identifies as Catholic is associated with 0.071 fewer divorces per 1000 married people. Across the models, the percentage of the population that
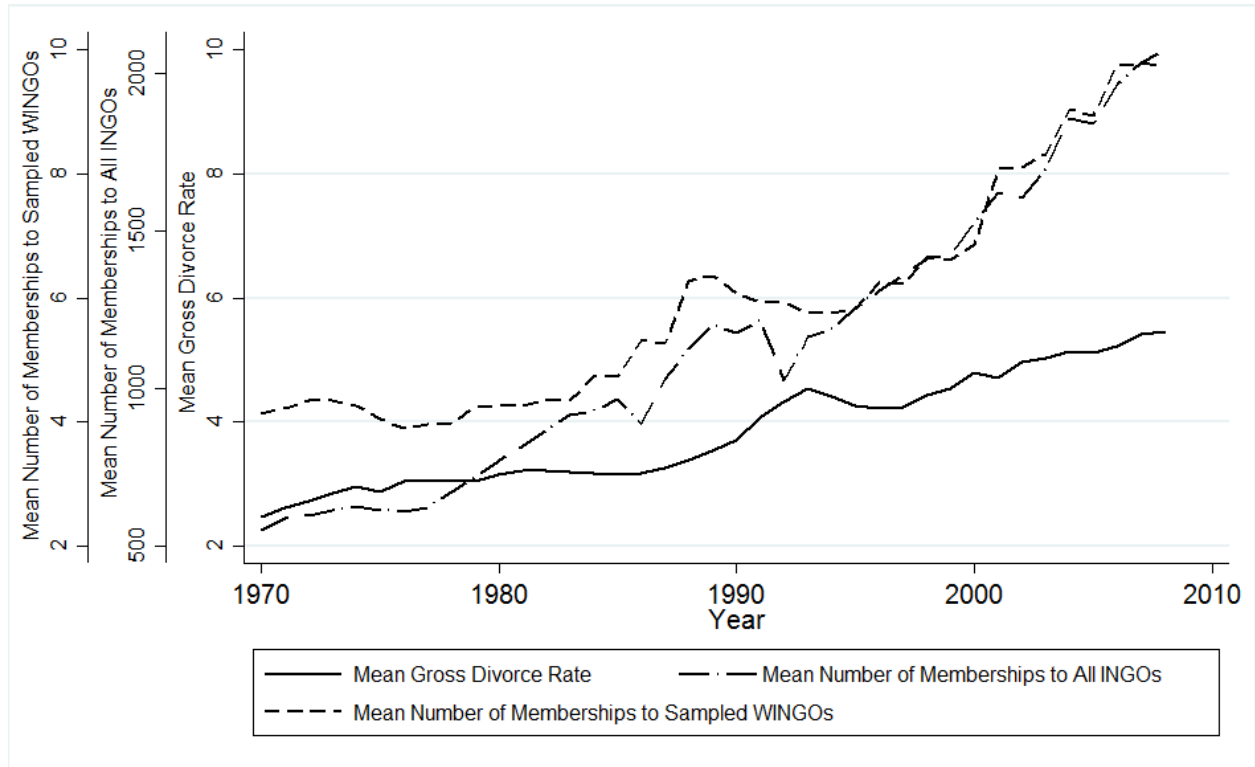
Figure 3.2 Divorce Trends and INGO Trends (INGO/WINGO Membership)

identifies as Muslim is negatively associated with the gross divorce rate, except in model 1a. The two demographic controls—the age dependency ratio and the population sex ratio— are generally not significant.

Turning to the primary focus of this paper, the results show evidence that the gross divorce rate is influenced by global culture in addition to national-level factors. All three cultural diffusion indicators (INGO membership, WINGO membership, and CEDAW ratification) have significant positive associations with the dependent variable, as do the index indicator of global institutionalization of the two cultural principles. Net of all national factors, a one-point increase in the three diffusion indicators—membership to all INGOs, membership to sampled WINGOs,

Table 3.3 Panel Regression Models on Gross Divorce Rate

VARIABLES	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 4a
Control				
Sex Ratio	0.002	0.039	0.032	0.007
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.033)
Youth Dependency	-0.002	-0.003	-0.000	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
National Factors				
Economic	0.474**	0.342+	0.536***	0.361*
Development	(0.175)	(0.178)	(0.161)	(0.181)
Female Labor Force	0.029***	0.033***	0.027**	0.028***
Participation	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Expansion of	0.015***	0.019***	0.018***	0.014***
Mass Education	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Catholic	-0.071***	-0.061***	-0.069***	-0.067***
Population	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Islamic	0.022+	-0.040***	-0.037***	0.021
Population	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Global-level Factors				
INGO	0.243*			
Membership	(0.108)			
WINGO		0.049**		
Membership		(0.016)		
CEDAW			0.271**	
Ratification			(0.089)	
World Society				0.319**
Index				(0.097)
Constant	-1.413	-2.344	-2.943	0.683
	(3.323)	(3.406)	(3.390)	(3.321)
Wald Chi-square	66.89***	58.75***	58.96***	67.54***
N of observations	1,739	1,811	1,818	1,732
N of countries	85	84	85	84

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

and the state ratification of CEDAW—are associated with 0.243, 0.049, and 0.271 more divorces

per thousand married people, respectively. Each additional unit of increase in the index (model

4a) is associated with an increase the gross divorce rate by 0.319 and has the second-largest

effect. Resonating with the findings regarding the world trend of sex laws reform (Frank, Camp,

and Boutcher 2010), the significant result suggests that the legitimation of world cultural principles at the global level can propel local responses.

Table 3.4 adds additional measures—gender equality of a nation's divorce laws and government capacity—which capture both the legal limitations on divorce and the state's administrative capacity to record divorces. The sample is reduced to 52 countries[48] due to limited availability of data regarding the two additional controls. Unsurprisingly, the results show that both the equality level of the divorce law and government capacity have a positive effect on the number of registered divorces. The latter presumably results from more meticulous recording of legal divorces. The former may reflect better state recording of divorce (compared to countries with stringent traditional divorce laws, where some may not be recorded) as well as the direct effect of law equity on the divorce rate.

Research on the relationship between divorce law and divorce practice, based on data from Western Europe, suggests that the enactment of lax divorce laws (e.g. unilateral divorce, no fault divorce) does not automatically produce more divorce, but the actual implementation of such divorce practices does (Kneip and Bauer 2009). Thus, one may speculate that the positive association reflects better recording of divorces more than encouraging additional divorces. The direction and significance of most coefficients for both the national and global factors in models 1a through 4a remain consistent even with the additional controls. However, the coefficient of women's labor force participation shrinks and become insignificant. Furthermore, we observe with the additional controls that the youth dependency ratio becomes significantly associated with a higher gross divorce rate.

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[48] Countries/areas that are completely excluded from model 1b through 4b include Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kuwait, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Luxembourg, Macao, Macedonia, Mauritius, Moldova, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Sri Lanka, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Trinidad and Tobago, and Tunisia.

Table 3.4 shows that the global variables all remain positive when additional controls are introduced, though one of the two INGO variables loses statistical significance. Based on corollary analyses, this change is due to the much smaller sample size rather than the inclusion of the control variables. In any case, the remaining world society measures remain positive and significant.

Table 3.4 Panel Regression Models on Gross Divorce Rate, with Additional Controls

VARIABLES	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 4b
Control				
Divorce Law	0.423***	0.477***	0.424***	0.466***
	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.116)	(0.118)
State Capacity	5.569***	5.114***	5.527***	5.291***
	(0.752)	(0.749)	(0.741)	(0.755)
Sex Ratio	0.021	0.040	0.035	0.031
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Youth Dependency	0.015*	0.013*	0.017**	0.015*
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
National Factors				
Economic	1.481***	1.205***	1.580***	1.166***
Development	(0.264)	(0.250)	(0.221)	(0.268)
Female Labor Force	0.009	0.011	0.006	0.007
Participation	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Expansion of	0.020***	0.018***	0.020***	0.018***
Mass Education	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Catholic	-0.143***	-0.140***	-0.146***	-0.140***
Population	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Islamic	-0.159***	-0.227***	-0.213***	-0.181***
Population	(0.031)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.032)
Global-level Factors				
INGO	0.060			
Membership	(0.139)			
WINGO		0.061***		
Membership		(0.017)		
CEDAW			0.198*	
Ratification			(0.098)	
World Society				0.312**
Index				(0.115)
Constant	-9.180*	-7.662+	-10.311*	-6.836
	(4.162)	(4.179)	(4.117)	(4.231)
Wald Chi-square	51.85***	63.12***	61.81***	52.87***
N of observations	1,264	1,290	1,290	1,264
N of countries	52	52	52	52

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Discussion

The results presented in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 support the core arguments of this paper. The evidence is consistent with conventional modernization arguments, and it demonstrates that religion has a substantial effect on the gross divorce rate.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Results show a strong positive association between economic development and rising divorce rates, as shown in previous cross-sectional studies. Many mechanisms have been suggested to explain this. Modernization creates strains and opportunities, ranging from harsh working conditions resulting in marriage breakdown to greater spousal independence, especially among women, triggering ideational transformations conducive to divorce, such as new norms of gender equality and individual freedom.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

The panel analyses presented here reaffirm the importance of female labor force participation on the gross divorce rate. Engagement in employment makes economic independence possible for women but also creates conflict between work and family. Both situations can trigger marital strains and also afford women the economic ability to divorce.

EXPANSION OF MASS EDUCATION

The results show a strong effect of mass education on divorce. The proliferation of secondary education can influence gross divorce rate not only by promoting cultural values favorable to divorce, but it can also create conditions for divorce by augmenting the human capital of women in the labor market, especially in developing countries. However, this effect

can be observed even when controlling for female labor force participation, which suggests that alternative mechanisms—such as attitudinal/value shifts—may be involved.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

The finding suggests that Catholicism and Islam both reduce the incidence of divorce. While Catholicism has clear sanctions prohibiting divorce, the Islamic influence on divorce is more complex and multifaceted. On the one hand, Sharia law does not see marriage as a sacred commitment and generally allows men to initiate divorce through rather simplistic processes. On the other hand, it limits the grounds on which women can initiate divorce. The unequal status between women and men can further discourage women from opting out of their marriages (Esposito and DeLong-Bas 2001). It is worth noting that this study uses the proportion of a country's population that adheres to a certain religious faith to explore how the pervasiveness of certain religious doctrines may affect divorce patterns. However, religion can lead to other powerful macro-level effects, such as religious law or public policy. Alternative measurement, such as using a dummy variable for state religion, would be a productive way to explore religious effects in the future.

WORLD CULTURE AND DIFFUSION

In addition, the results suggest that cultural principles that are recognized and codified in world society appear to diffuse into a national context through global-local organizational connections and national treaty ratification, and measures of global linkages are associated with the higher gross divorce rates. The measurements of individual diffusion indicators and the general measurement of the level of institutionalization are both positively associated with the

gross divorce rate. The former association suggests that increased connections to global organizational actors and the cultural principles they enact is related to increasing gross divorce rates, net of other national processes. The consistently significant coefficients associated with WINGO membership counts and CEDAW ratification across models testify to a possible diffusion effect that results from a country's connection to global organizational actors concerning the issue of marriage and through the state's commitment to world cultural principles. The significantly positive coefficient of the CEDAW Ratification variable indicates that the state's recognition of the two world cultural principles, individualism and gender equality, is connected to local changes in marital patterns.

Conclusion

This paper extends the comparative literature on divorce by incorporating recent theories on the influence of global cultural diffusion. Incorporating the demographic theory of Developmental Idealism and the World Society theory of cultural globalization, the findings suggest a potent influence of the world cultural principles of individualism, human rights, and gender equality, in addition to socioeconomic modernization and religious influence. Using panel data and a more precise measurement of divorce rate also improve the accuracy and comparability of the data.

Against the backdrop of increasing global influence on local affairs, this research extends globalization studies and World Society theory in two ways. First, this research examines world society's effect on individual behaviors. Recent studies demonstrate that global cultural scripts can produce substantive changes in individuals' private lives (Kim et al. 2013; Pierotti 2013). This research joins the quest to determine the ways that world society impacts individuals and

tests—in the case of divorce, whether the global cultural scripts blueprinting individuals' lives shape national patterns of individual behaviors. My findings suggest that, in addition to national factors identified by previous literature, connections to world society have a substantial effect on whether a society demonstrates a divorce pattern that adheres to the global cultural principles pertaining to the dissolution to marriage.

Second, this research explores the gray area of the world society effect—the issue areas where global cultural scripts are relatively under-articulated and under-institutionalized. Most world society studies examine cases in which the global cultural scripts are highly articulated in international treaties and programs. On the contrary, issue areas with controversial or competing scripts—such as abortion—do not evidence strong world cultural effects (Boyle, Kim, and Longhofer 2015). The case of divorce, however, falls in between these two extremes. The results presented in this paper suggest that the diffusion of world cultural principles can still influence the national divorce pattern even when the cultural script is relatively under-articulated and thus exists only in the penumbras of world culture.

This project converses with the general intellectual dialogue regarding historical trends toward individualism. Scholars have largely concurred that the increase of divorce has been accompanied by the individuation of marriage (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Cherlin 2009; Giddens 1992; Inglehart and Norris 2003). While most theorists view the change as a natural evolution of the modernization processes, my research adds support to the recent argument that international social planning that begins at the global level and diffuses throughout the world shapes the private lives of local people (Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Frank and McEneaney 1999). The diffusion argument more aptly accounts for the puzzle of why societies with vastly different customs and development levels all experience the transformation of marital patterns,

whereas for modernization theory, broadly speaking, economic or fundamental cultural changes are the prerequisite for changing marital patterns.

Granted, the claim of a world society effect on the propensity of individual behaviors requires some qualification. Because this research uses aggregate statistics rather than individual-level data, the findings cannot directly infer the causes of individuals' decisions. However, current individual-level data do not support longitudinal comparison among a large set of countries, though harmonization of national surveys may allow such analyses in the future.[49] Replication of current findings with individual-level data, when they are available, would be a valuable next step in the cross-national study of divorce.

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[49] For example, the Minnesota Population Center is currently incorporating the Demographic and Health Survey, which contains records for marital status. However, these datasets mostly focus on developing countries, making comparison between developing and developed countries difficult.

Chapter 4
Divorce in Developing Countries: A Multilevel Analysis

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 3, scholars of family sociology repeatedly call attention to the rising divorce rate as one of the most important family changes throughout the twentieth century (Coontz 2004; Goode 1993; Härkönen 2014; Lester 1996). The fact that the same phenomenon that takes place in vastly divergent national contexts intrigues scholars and demands explanation. The explanations, as reviewed and examined in Chapter 3, also account for the variation in divorce rates among countries. Because of the conspicuous differences in divorce rates across different countries, some scholars even argue that distinctive family systems persist and that the institution of family is not converging around the world (Therborn 2014; Härkönen 2014).

Extending the research from Chapter 3, this chapter explores another important indicator of divorce: the individual's risk of experiencing divorce. Sociologists of family have accumulated a substantial amount of literature focusing on how individual-level factors affect the risk of divorce in a variety of single, mostly Western countries. (For reviews of the individual-level factors, see Amato 2010, Härkönen 2014, and Wagner and Weiß 2006). Meanwhile, scholars also take advantage of comparative divorce analysis to explore the macro-level processes that affect the divorce rate (e.g. Clark 1990; Cole and Powers 1973; Fu 1992; Fu and Heaton 1995; Greenstein and Davis 2006; Hendrix and Pearson Jr. 1995; Kalmijn 2007; Trent and South 1989). The current literature, however, exhibits several insufficiencies. Individual-level analysis focusing on a single country lacks a comparative research setting to validate the arguments regarding the factors that influence divorce in various societies (for the only exception,

see Härkönen and Dronkers 2006). Comparative studies, in contrast, rely on aggregate-level data and can only explore the macro-level influence on national-level patterns. Lastly, most studies sample European and American countries (including North American and Latin American countries) and have not had the opportunity to explore the divorce pattern in other areas.

My study pooled 156 integrated Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) from 62 countries to conduct multilevel analysis of the individual, national, and global factors that affect women's risk of divorce in developing countries. The results confirm the effect of most individual-level factors that have been identified by previous research but refute many claims regarding national-level contextual factors. At the same time, the analysis confirms that diffusion of world cultural principles elevates the risk for divorce. The findings provide further evidence that world society influences individual behavior.

Divorce rates: trends and variation

Scholars tend to agree that the level of divorce varies (either by country, by region, or by the type of family system), but they debate whether there is a sweeping upward trend in the incidence of divorce. It is generally agreed that Northwestern European and North American countries exhibit the highest divorce rates, followed by the Middle Eastern and North African countries in which marriages can be dissolved by male repudiation. In Latin American countries, the official divorce rates are consistently low due to strong religious disapproval. Asian families are traditionally seen as having low divorce rates as well, but the societies in this region are fast-changing. Figure 1 in Chapter 3 illustrates average divorce rate trends by region. However, a region's general rank should not overshadow the fact that some societies or ethnic groups may have divorce rates equal to or higher than those of Western societies. For example, the divorce

rates in Iran between 1966 and 1983 (Aghajanian 1986) and Malaysia in the 1950s (Jones 1997) were comparable to or higher than the divorce rates in the United States and Northwestern European countries.

While the characteristics of divorce rates in different regions are less contentious, there is little agreement regarding whether divorce rates is rising in all countries. Insofar as data are available, all geographic regions witnessed a long-term rise in the divorce rate throughout the twentieth century, albeit not without short-term fluctuations (Amato 2010; Asia Research Institute 2014; Chen and Li 2014; Härkönen 2014; Kiernan 2001; Kreider and Ellis 2011; Hill and Kopp 2015). The trend seems clearer in the late twentieth century. Regression analysis confirms that North American and Northwestern European countries indeed experienced an increase in their divorce rates between 1950 and 1985 (Lester 1996). Beginning in the 1970s, East Asian countries also saw a steady rise in their crude divorce rates (Chen and Li 2014). After several Latin American countries legalized divorce, the divorce rates in this region also increased (Arriagada 2014). The very limited evidence from some African countries also suggests an increase in the incidence of divorce (Reniers 2003; Takyi 2001).

Despite the century-long general trends, some scholars emphasize that divorce did not rise throughout the entire twentieth century. For example, scholars argued that the divorce rates in the United States and some European countries have plateaued or even declined since the 1980s (Manning and Brown 2014; Lappegård 2014). [50] Furthermore, East Asian countries recently experienced a wave of divorce decline after the spike of divorce rate at the turn of the century (Chen and Li 2014). Divorce rates also dropped among the Muslims in Southeast Asia

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[50] Looking closely at the divorce rates of individual European countries nevertheless reveals that only a few forerunners experienced the stagnation of divorce (including Germany, Norway, Austria, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands). Others still witnessed a monotonous increase of divorce rate (e.g. Czech Republic, Sweden, Belgium, Portugal, France, Greece, Italy, et cetera).

between 1950 and 1980 (Jones 1997). At the same time, studies of Arab families in the last few decades contend that this region's divorce patterns diverged from those of the European countries. According to El-Saadani's (2006) study, the number of countries with high divorce incidence persisted at a high level, but most Arab countries experienced a declining divorce rate during the last three decades of the twentieth century. In short, the literature generally agrees that divorce became more common throughout the twentieth century, but regional variations existed and divorce rates stagnated or even reversed in some countries during certain time periods.

In the following section, I will review the literature regarding the individual- and national-level factors that predict divorce. I will examine the single-country studies that identify the individual-level risk factors, and I will also examine comparative studies that explore the structural contexts within which divorce occurs. I will show that these studies complement each other. My analysis will then further expand the literature by considering the influence of global diffusion on divorce in developing countries.

Literature review

This section reviews the theories regarding predictors for the risk for divorce. Some factors function both at the individual and national levels while others function as either a micro-level or a macro-level process (but not both). I will first discuss the individual-level factors and follow with a discussion of the national-level factors, using the same numbering in the hypotheses to group the same type of factor functioning at different levels (e.g. religion, demographic factors). Because this chapter focuses on developing countries, I give special attention to how these factors function in developing countries when relevant studies are available.

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL FACTORS

Personal Economic Status

Qualitative and quantitative studies from all regions confirm financial strains as a common reason for marital dissolution (Gharaibeh and Bromfield 2012; Bala 2005; Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977; Habibi, Hajiheydari, and Darharaj 2015; Kalmijn and Poortman 2006; Poortman 2005). A higher income stabilizes a family, regardless of whether it's shared or the man's income or larger family assets (Ross and Sawhill 1975). The stabilizing effect of higher shared spousal income is substantiated by Raz-Yurovich's (2012) research on Jewish families in Israel as well. There is, however, less consensus on the effect of the woman's income. Some scholars maintain that the woman's income has the same stabilizing effect on marriage as the man's (Greenstein 1990; Rogers 2004). Others argue that this stabilizing effect only exists in societies in which marriages are symmetric—that is, where there is less gender-role specialization and greater equality between spouses. In societies where gender-role specialization is still part of the institution of marriage, women having higher income than men suggests that men are not fulfilling their roles, which increases the risk of divorce (Ross and Sawhill 1975).

Hypothesis 1a: Women's personal economic status is positively associated with the risk of divorce in developing countries.

Female Educational Attainment

Empirical studies repeatedly show negative association between personal educational attainment and the risk of divorce (Jalovaara 2001, 2003; Mott and Moore 1979; Tzeng and Mare 1995). Some scholars argue that women's education reflects the couple's class background and relates to stronger incentive to maintain marriages (Goode 1963). Others argue that women's education increases access to a myriad of resources (economic, cultural, and social) to support

the relationship as well as helping women to develop the cognitive skills to maintain the quality of marriage (Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977; Härkönen and Dronkers 2006). However, recent studies disagree on whether the negative effect persists in different time periods and with longer marriage (Härkönen and Dronkers 2006; South 2001; South and Spitze 1986). Kreager et al. (2013) do not reject the negative association altogether; instead, they argue that women with higher educational attainment are more likely to leave marriages in which domestic violence is present thanks to the economic independence and psychological empowerment their educations may have achieved. Altogether, the literature seems to suggest that female education is a double-edged sword. Education not only cultivates women's intelligence to maintain marriages but also gives women the tools necessary to leave unsatisfying marriages.

To date, there is no conclusion regarding the association between female educational attainment and divorce in developing countries. Based on a comparative study of both developed and developing countries, Härkönen and Dronkers (2006) argue that the level of women's education can increase the risk of divorce when the economic cost and cultural stigma of divorce are high. Bivariate analyses of Muslim societies suggest the empowerment thesis between female education attainment and divorce rates (Aghajanian and Thompson 2013; Al-Krenawi and Graham 1998; Jones 1981) while multivariate analysis of Latin American countries, as well as Turkey and Ghana, shows that women's education has a weak effect—if any—on divorce (Arias and Palloni 1999; Demir 2013; Goldman 1981; Takyi 2001). The analysis of divorce predictors in South Korea in the 1990s and 2000s shows that this negative effect is only present for women who have college degrees (Lee and Bumpass 2008). Longitudinal research on Taiwan demonstrates that the female educational level and divorce risk initially formulate a positive association. However, the association between poverty and divorce later offsets this relationship

(Chen 2012). The studies of South Korea and Taiwan are based on data from East Asian societies, a region where the overall levels of education and economic development have skyrocketed since the 1970s and approach those of developed countries at the turn of the century. The authors of both studies mention that divorce has been destigmatized in this region during the past couple of decades. Comparing these results with results from other developing countries aligns with Härkönen and Dronkers' argument.

Hypothesis 2: In developing countries, women's personal educational attainment is positively associated with the individual risk of divorce.

Female Employment

The aforementioned discussion points to the argument that female employment income destabilizes marriages. Female employment, however, does not only influence marriage through the income it generates. Scholars propose both the "absence" and the "independence" theses to explain how female employment creates tension within marriages and/or leads to marital breakdown. The former thesis, absence, argues that working outside of the family trumps women's domestic responsibility and creates tension between partners. An increase in the number of hours that a woman works is therefore associated with increased marital instability (Cooke et al. 2013; Greenstein 1990; Kalmijn and Poortman 2006; Poortman 2005; Spitze and South 1985). The latter thesis, independence, states that employment provides women with financial independence and weakens their willingness to salvage their marriages if relationships sour (Hannan, Tuma, and Groeneveld 1978; Ruggles 1997; Sayer and Bianchi 2000; South 2001). Other scholars add evidence for the reversed causal relationship of divorce pushing women into the labor force (Hou and Omwanda 1997; Ogawa and Ermisch 1994).

Divorce studies based on data gathered from developing countries support the independence thesis and show a negative relationship between female employment and divorce with various evidence types. Aghajanian and Thompson (2013) describe the recent rise of crude divorce rates in Iran and the concurrent increase in female labor force participation rates. Bivariate analysis of regional differences in China's divorce rates demonstrates the independence thesis as well (Yi and Wu 2000). Multivariate analyses of South Korean and Israeli data also support the association between female employment and marital instability (Lee 2006; Lee and Bumpass 2008; Raz-Yurovich 2012). An analysis of Ghana, however, does not find a significant difference in the risk of divorce when comparing women who are employed with profession and non-professional positions (Takyi 2001).

Hypothesis 3: Women's employment is positively associated with the risk of divorce in developing countries.

Urban Residence

Stronger social cohesion and intertwined connections between families through marriages in rural areas discourage divorce. In contrast, living in urban areas liberates individuals from kinship control and opens the door to more employment opportunities, both of which result in higher risk of divorce (Kalmijn 2007; Kalmijn and Poortman 2006; Shelton 1987). Furthermore, studies on divorce trends in Latin American, Southeast Asian, and African countries demonstrate that women living in urban areas either have higher risk for divorce or higher rates of divorce (Goldman 1981; Hirschman and Teerawichitchainan 2003; Takyi 2001).

Hypothesis 4: Living in an urban area increases women's risk of divorce in developing countries.

Personal Religious Affiliation

Personal religious affiliation influences an individual's decision to divorce. There is abundant research on the influence religiosity has on divorce (see Lowenstein 2005; Kalmijn 2007 for review). Being more religious (regardless of which religion a person is affiliated with, although most studies compare members of various Christian denominations to those who are not religious at all) decreases a person's likelihood of divorce. Scholars, however, disagree with the extent to which individuals are affected by their religion's doctrines. Kalmijn, de Graaf, and Janssen (2005) argue that there is no significant difference between the effects of major religions. Teachman (2002), nevertheless, demonstrates that Catholicism is negatively associated with the risk of divorce. An analysis of Ghana, however, supports the opposite; being affiliated with Catholicism in that country is actually associated with higher risk of divorce.

Hypothesis 5a: Women who are affiliated with Catholicism or Islam have a lower risk of divorce in developing countries.

Demographic Factors: Age at Marriage

Based on the available data, I examined two demographic factors in this chapter: age at marriage and population sex ratio. Spouses who marry early can be immature, and it is this low maturity level (rather than age itself) that can cause marital instability. Because marriage and education are almost always mutually exclusive, marrying at a young age also results in undereducated spouses that do not have many resources available to them (economic or social). Therefore, the age at marriage forms a negative association with the risk of divorce. Research on divorce in both developed and developing countries substantiates this argument (Gharaibeh and Bromfield 2012; Bala 2005; Goldman 1981; Hirschman and Teerawichitchainan 2003; Jones 1981; Lazo 1992; Moore and Waite 1981; Ross and Sawhill 1975).

Hypothesis 6a: The women's age at first marriage is negatively associated with the risk of divorce in developing countries.

NATIONAL-LEVEL FACTORS

Level of Socioeconomic Development

At the macro level, scholars argue that modernization processes create extra-familial institutions that replace some of the family's functions, rendering it easier for individuals to divorce (Ogburn and Nimkoff 1955). Goode (1993) also argues that the conjugal family becomes the dominant family form in an industrialized society because it fits better with the demands of the production system. As one of the characteristics of this type of family, divorce becomes rather common in industrialized society as well. (A detailed argument about the conjugal family's fit with industrialized society is explained in the dissertation's introductory chapter.) Both arguments—those about the modernization process and the conjugal family—suggest a positive correlation between socioeconomic development and divorce.[51]

Scholars have developed their arguments about the causes for divorce based mostly on advanced industrial societies. Their arguments suggest that social changes accompanying urbanization (including loosening kinship control, expanding educational opportunities, and increased employment opportunities) can both liberate individuals and destabilize marriages (Takyi 2001). With Ghana as an exception, case studies on the causes for divorce in developing countries do not necessarily support this argument.

For instance, studies of divorce trends in early twentieth century Japan (Fuess 2004) and among Muslims in three late-twentieth century Southeast Asian countries (Jones 1994) challenge

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[51] Early comparative divorce studies also suggest a curvilinear correlation (Clark 1990; Trent and South 1989) between the level of socioeconomic development and crude divorce rates, while more recent studies do not support the findings (Greenstein and Davis 2006; Kalmijn 2007).

the theoretical arguments regarding the effect of socioeconomic development because they both demonstrate a decrease in the crude divorce rate even as the society modernizes. In all of these countries/societies, the traditions are relatively tolerant of divorce (either due to customs or religion). Modernization, to these countries, means legal reforms or government policies aiming at suspending the customs of easy union dissolution before any child is born, (for instance, the case of Meiji-era Japan). It can also mean constraining the male's absolute power during divorce or deterring divorce by creating additional conditions that must be met in order for divorce to be granted (for instance, in the case of Muslims in Southeastern Asia). In the case of Japan, the crude divorce rate stopped decreasing in the 1970s and then began to climb. However, the three Southeast Asian countries in Jones' research have not yet witnessed a reverse trend.

In addition to changing local culture, modernization processes such as compulsory education and participation in the labor force can delay the timing at marriage and thus result in marriages that aren't as easily dissolved. Other studies support the negative association from a different angle by showing rising divorce rates during national turmoil and falling divorce rates during economically prosperous periods (e.g. Iran by Aghajanian and Thompson 2013; Nepal by Bala 2005). Fu and Heaton's (1995) cross-sectional study also demonstrates a negative association between the level of socioeconomic development and crude divorce rate.

Hypothesis 1b: The level of socioeconomic development in a developing country is positively associated with a woman's average risk for divorce in that country

Religious Doctrine

Religion tends to regulate divorce both through its doctrines and through influencing national marriage law (Nichols 2012; Castles and Flood 1991; Coudert 1893). For example, the Catholic Church has strongly opposed divorce as Latin American countries have reformed their

marriage laws (Barrancos 2006; Blofield 2001; Haas 2005). The influence of Islamic teaching is more complicated, however. One the one hand, Islam does not view marriage as a sacred bond between spouses, and it grants men fairly simple divorce processes. On the other hand, Muslim women's overall unequal status makes divorce a more difficult choice for them. Empirical studies tend to suggest that Muslim societies have high divorce rates, some of which are comparable to European societies (Aghajanian 1986; Aghajanian and Thompson 2013; Fu and Heaton 1995; Jones 1994, 1997; Jones 2007).

Hypothesis 5b: A developing country in which Catholicism is the dominant religion is associated a lower average individual risk of divorce than a developing country in which Catholicism is not the dominant religion; a developing country in which Islam is the dominant religion is associated with a higher average risk of divorce than a developing country in which Islam is not the dominant religion.

Demographic Factor: Sex Ratio

Existing comparative studies consistently emphasize the influence of sex ratio in explaining cross-national differences among divorce rates (Clark 1990; South and Trent 1988), but there is little consensus on how it actually influences divorce rates. Some argue that an undersupply of women discourages men from giving up their marriages (Clark 1990; Trent and South 1989), but a few make different arguments. For instance, Hendrix and Pearson Jr. (1995) argue that scarcity of women accords women larger bargaining power and reduces fears of being unable to remarry after divorce. Moreover, Fu (1992) argues that when there is an undersupply of men, women are less likely to leave unhappy marriages. Others suggest a curvilinear relationship between population sex ratio and the risk of divorce, indicating that imbalance between the sexes—regardless of which sex is scarce—lowers the partners' willingness to

divorce (Greenstein and Davis 2006; Guttentag and Secord 1983). Unfortunately, there has been no divorce research to date that considers the sex ratio's effect on individual risk of divorce in developing countries. Without this critical information, and in the absence of scholarly consensus on the issue, I have formulated my hypothesis based on the aggregate-level analysis.

Hypothesis 6b: The population sex ratio is significantly associated with the risk of divorce in developing countries.

Global Cultural Diffusion

As argued in the previous chapter, world society can have a penumbra effect on issues like divorce, even in the absence of an institutionalized campaign targeting divorce. World cultural principles, including individual freedom, consent, and equality, are integrated in the ideology of "developmental idealism" (Thornton 2001). The ideology motivates local marriage reforms in pursuit of a modern society. While such ideology may not have explicit direction regarding divorce, like it does in the case of child marriage, local actors can still infer reasonable principles to follow regarding divorce. Historical studies of divorce reform in Iran (Aghajanian and Thompson 2013), Peru (de Munoz and de Salonen 1976), and India (Levitt and Merry 2009) all mention the influence of a "global women's rights package" (Levitt and Merry 2009, 446) that entails the principles of equality and autonomy in divorce. Indeed, the diffusion of world cultural principles not only results in national policy changes, such as sex law reforms (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010) and policies against child marriage (Gaffney-Rhys 2011), but it also propels valuational change toward rejecting violence against women (Pierotti 2013). This chapter goes further and examines whether the diffusion of world cultural principles has a tangible effect at the individual level as well as at the national level.

Hypothesis 7: the global diffusion of world cultural principles, including individualism, equality, and voluntarism, is positively associated with individual risk of divorce in developing countries.

Data and methods

This research pools data found in the country-year surveys from the DHS databank to understand the risk of divorce in developing countries. I used harmonized country-year surveys from the Integrated Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS) project (which was established by the Minnesota Population Center) and then used the same coding system to incorporate country-year surveys that had not been processed by the IDHS. After being merged with the national-level indicators, the final dataset (which includes all data necessary for regression analysis) includes 62 countries and 156 country-year surveys. Table 4.1 summarizes both the countries and the years in which the surveys were conducted. Over half of the sampled countries and country-year surveys are from African countries. In contrast, Asian countries are underrepresented, both for the number of countries and the number of country-year surveys. Among the Middle Eastern and North African countries included in the DHS project, only Morocco has complete enough data to be included in the sample.

To assure correct calculations by using only the portion of the population at risk for divorce, I only included data from respondents who reported being married either at the time of the survey or at any point prior. Excluding respondents who lacked a marital history helped to adjust for the influence of age structure and more accurately determine the proportion of the population who were divorced. Because some country-year surveys[52] interviewed all women in the sampled household who were married at any point, regardless of their ages, I excluded those respondents whose ages were outside of the standard DHS survey age range.

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[52] These country-year surveys included Colombia (2005, 2010), India (1993), Namibia (2013), and Nigeria (1999).

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

For my study, the dependent variable, an individual's risk of divorce, is defined as the likelihood of a respondent being currently divorced. Based on the categorical survey question of the respondent's current marriage/union status (V501), I formulated a binary variable to indicate whether a person's current union status was divorced. The "divorced" status was coded as 1. Married, widowed, separated, and other statuses were coded as 0 (not divorced). On the DHS surveys, the wording of the question determining marital status included both the terms "marriage" and "union," and "marriage" could therefore include consensual, informal unions based on local customs. Likewise, the term "divorce" could also refer to a wider range of practices than terminating a legal marriage. Because the survey question did not differentiate between the status of "married" and "remarried," the dependent variable does not capture those respondents who remarried after divorce. With little information available regarding the pattern of remarriage following divorce for most of the sampled countries, [53] the data may underestimate the proportion of the society's population who have ever divorced to a variated degree. Even with this bias, the data are nevertheless a valuable source that allow for the exploration of divorce patterns in countries with little or no alternative individual-level data.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Individual-level Indicators

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[53] Al-Krenawi and Graham (1998) indicate that Muslim women in Israel have a low expectation of remarriage. At the same time, other studies show that remarriage is almost universal in some African societies (Reniers 2003; Solivetti 1994). In cases where the expectation for remarriage after divorce is low, the estimate of the proportion of the population that is divorced is more accurate. If remarriage is almost universal, those remaining divorced could be doing so as a result of other major issues denying the respondent the opportunity to remarry. Those female respondents who can withstand the pressure to remarry and instead remain single after divorce warrant further exploration. Regardless, the contrasting findings suggest that there is not a universal tendency toward remarriage after divorce.

Based on the literature review and hypotheses, I used the following DHS survey responses as indicators to test relevant individual attributes.

Personal Economic Status. Although the DHS surveys do not directly measure respondents' incomes, they capture the individual respondents' economic statuses by recording whether a respondent's household contains certain assets (such as a radio, television, refrigerator, motorcycle/scooter, and car/truck) and recording their living conditions (including whether the household has electricity and the material of the house floor).[54] From the series of economic-related questions, I used "whether the household has electricity" (variable v119 in the DHS dataset) as the main indicator for individual women's economic status since electricity is one of the basic criteria for a modernized lifestyle. Additionally, the question is the most widely-administered question regarding a household's living conditions among all DHS surveys. It should be noted that this same question has also been used to measure household economic status in research on other topics (such as the reports of child marriage risk analysis mentioned in Chapter 2).

While the electricity indicator was commonly employed by researchers, using it to make inferences about an individual's risk for divorce should be done particularly cautiously.[55] The DHS survey questions ask about the ownership of all items and assets in the household in which the woman lives *at the time of survey*, but not at the time of divorce. Therefore, the indicator of a woman's current household type might not accurately reflect the type of household she lived in at the time of divorce. A divorced respondent's personal economic status is implied by the economic status of her own household or the household of her family of orientation; for a

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[54] Needless to say, the survey design imposes on researchers who wish to use this indicator the assumption that the household's overall economic status is equal to a woman' individual economic status. This assumption, however, is not without problems. In societies where the family assets are, by default, men's property, household economic status does not directly translate into women's individual economic status.

[55] Existing divorce studies that use DHS data, such as Takyi (2001), do not take this problem into consideration.

Table 4.1 DHS Country-year Surveys included in the sample, by country

Country	Year	Country	Year
Eastern Europe/West Asia		Nigeria	1990, 1999, 2003, 2008
Albania	2009	Rwanda	1992, 2000, 2005, 2010
Armenia	2000, 2005, 2010	Sao Tome and Principe	2009
Azerbaijan	2006	Senegal	1993, 2005, 2011
Kazakhstan	1995, 1999, 2012	Sierra Leone	2008
Kyrgyz Republic	1997, 2012	South Africa	1998
Moldova	2005	Swaziland	2007
Tajikistan	2012	Tanzania	1992, 1996, 1999, 2005, 2010
Ukraine	2007	Togo	1998
Africa		Uganda	1995, 2001, 2006, 2011
Benin	1996, 2001, 2011	Congo DR	2007
Burkina Faso	1993, 1998, 2003, 2010	Zambia	1992, 1996, 2002, 2007
Burundi	2010	Zimbabwe	1994, 1999, 2006, 2011
Cameroon	1991, 1998, 2004, 2011	**Latin America/Caribbean**	
Central African Rep.	1995	Dominican Republic	1991, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2013
Chad	1997, 2004	Guatemala	1995
Comoros	1996, 2012	Haiti	1995, 2000, 2006, 2012
Congo	2005, 2012	Nicaragua	1998, 2001
Ethiopia	2000, 2005, 2011	Bolivia	1994, 1998, 2003, 2008
Gabon	2000, 2012	Brazil	1991, 1996
Ghana	1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008	Colombia	1990, 1994, 2000, 2005, 2010
Guinea	1999, 2005, 2012	Guyana	2009
Ivory Coast	1994, 1999, 2012	Paraguay	1990
Kenya	1989, 1998, 2003, 2009	Peru	1992, 1996, 2000
Lesotho	2004, 2009	**Asia**	
Liberia	2007	Cambodia	2000, 2005
Madagascar	1992, 1997, 2004, 2009	East Timor	2010
Malawi	1992, 2000, 2004, 2010	India	1993, 1999, 2006
Mali	1987, 1996, 2001, 2006	Indonesia	2012
Morocco	1992, 2004,	Maldives	2009
Mozambique	1997, 2003, 2011	Nepal	2006, 2011
Namibia	1992, 2000, 2007	Philippines	1993, 1998, 2003, 2008
Niger	1992, 1998, 2006, 2012		

married respondent, her personal economic status is represented by the economic status she shares with her husband.

With this concern in mind, I chose to employ this indicator for the following reasons. Existing studies agree that women suffer financially (Burkhauser et al. 1990; Holden and Smock 1991). It is reasonable to assume that in cases where a divorced woman formed a female-headed household, her economic status could be worse than it was prior to divorce. If any bias exists, the measurement would lead to underestimating the effect of women's economic status rather than overestimating. Therefore, an existing bias would actually strengthen a finding confirming the hypothesis. In cases where the respondent returned to her family of orientation following divorce, the bias would also not damage a finding that confirms the hypothesis. Admittedly, it is harder to estimate the relationship between the economic status of a respondent's family of orientation and family of procreation. Assuming a homogamous pattern, a divorced respondent's household economic status should not be vastly different from her household's economic status during marriage. Therefore, neither scenario is likely to exaggerate the positive effect of women's economic status on the likelihood to divorce.

Personal Educational Attainment. The DHS surveys also provide several ways to measure educational attainment, including literacy level, the highest educational level attained (expressed as no education received, primary, secondary, and higher education), summary of educational achievement (complete/incomplete primary, complete/incomplete secondary, higher education), and total years of education. To avoid incompatibility among educational systems, I used the total number of years of education received (v132).

Female Employment Status. I used the yes/no survey question "whether a woman is currently working at a job or business" (v714) to indicate employment status. To distinguish employment

from household labor, most DHS surveys included a preface signaling the differences and defining "working" as engaging in jobs that required women to work outside of the home and paid in cash and/or in-kind as payment. However, some surveys conducted during Phase 1 do not include such explanations.

The female employment status measurement has a similar issue as the indicator for economic status: the question asks about *current* working status (status at the time of interview). The question does not gather information about whether a divorced respondent worked prior to divorce. Because respondents would either have to support themselves after divorce or seek support elsewhere (possibly from their families of orientation), a respondent is more likely to continue working or start working than stop working after divorce. As a result, the regression result may overestimate the positive association between divorce and employment. Unfortunately, there is no other indicator in the DHS surveys to adjust for such bias. The result, therefore, must be interpreted with caution.

Urban Residence. The DHS surveys include two questions related to the respondent's residence—all surveys recorded her current de facto location of residence (recoded as a binary option, either a rural or an urban area) and surveys given in the first five phases (until 2009) recorded the location of her childhood residence. For maximum data inclusivity, I used the current residential status (V025) to indicate whether the respondent's residence is rural or urban. Again, the measurement only captured the respondent's residential status *at the time of the survey* but not at the time of marriage or divorce. The current literature provides little enlightenment about women's post-divorce migration patterns. To better understand the potential bias due to migration after divorce, I cross-tabulated childhood residence and current residence for respondents who were divorced at the time of interview. I assume that husbands' and wives'

childhood residential locations are geographically close to each other, and I treat childhood residential status as a proxy for respondents' residences prior to divorce. The results show that following divorce, most respondents remain in in approximately the same type of residential location where they lived during childhood. For those who did migrate, only 8% of all divorced respondents moved from urban areas[56] to rural areas, but 16% moved from rural to urban areas. Although residential location does not change for the majority of respondents, the migration pattern toward urban areas suggests a slight possibility for overestimating the positive association between residence location and risk for divorce.

Personal Religious Affiliation. In addition to national-level indicators, I also used the survey question about religion (v130) to conduct two dummy variables that indicated whether the respondent identified as Catholic or Muslim. Not all country-year surveys inquired about respondents' religious affiliations; therefore, using these two individual-level indicators reduced the sample size to 54 countries and 128 country-year surveys. The reduced sample size excluded several Latin American countries known to be Catholic. I decided to present the main models with only national-level indicators for broader country inclusivity. The results of individual-level indicators are reported separately in the Appendix C.

Age at Marriage. I used survey data that calculated the respondents' ages at the time of their first marriage or union using the birth date and the date of their first marriage/union as reported by the respondents. However, the calculation is inaccurate for respondents who have married more than once. In these cases, the age at their most recent marriage would not correctly indicate the age at which they entered into the marriage that ended in divorce. The basic descriptive statistics show that 84.64% of respondents only married once. For these respondents, the age at marriage correctly recorded the age of the marriages that were relevant to their current marital status. For

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[56] Here the term "urban" encompasses capital cities, large cities, small cities, and town areas.

the 15.36% of respondents who have been married more than once, the statistic results may underestimate the positive association between age at marriage and its stabilizing effect on marriage.

National-level Indicators

Based on the hypotheses, I used the following national-level measurements to indicate a country's level of socioeconomic development, its religion, and its sex ratio. Unless otherwise noted, data for all national-level indicators were acquired from the World Bank World Development Indicators dataset. I interpolated the independent variables for maximum data availability.

Level of Socioeconomic Development. Like previous comparative divorce studies (Fu 1992; Greenstein and Davis 2006; Trent and South 1989), I used a development index to indicate a country's level of socioeconomic development. The index is the factor score of four indicators: gross national domestic product per capita (logged), infant mortality rate, female life expectancy at birth, and the percentage of the population that that lives in an urban area. The index comprehensively summarizes a country's level of economic advancement, quality of health, gender equality status, and degree of urbanization. Preliminary analysis shows that all four of these indicators load strongly on a single factor.

Religion. Following the practice used in Greenstein and Davis' analysis (2006), I conducted two dummy variables to indicate instances in which a country's dominant religion is either Catholicism or Islam. A dominant religion was defined either as having more than 75% of a country's population affiliated with the religion or being recognized by the state as the country's official religion. The proportion of the population affiliated with Catholicism in each country

was derived from the PEW Research Center's online data; the CIA World Factbook provided information regarding the proportion of the population affiliated with Islam, and it also provided information on state religion.[57] Considering that a dominant religion has a lasting effect on a country even when the religious proportion of the population fluctuates or after the state disestablishes a state religion, this variable represents a country's religious characteristics and is not time-varying. Among the sampled countries, seven are Catholic-dominant and twelve are Muslim-dominant.

Population Sex Ratio. The population sex ratio is expressed as the number of men per 100 women in a country-year. A smaller number signals a surplus of women whereas a larger number indicates a shortage.

Global Cultural Diffusion Indicators

Lastly, I also tested the effect of global diffusion of individualism and equality as general cultural norms regarding marital decisions using four global cultural diffusion factors.

Global-local Connectedness. I created two variables to indicate different aspects of global-local connectedness. I used the logged total count of national membership to all international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and the total count of membership to 25 sampled women's international non-governmental organizations (WINGOs) to indicate a country's overall connectedness to world society and to indicate a country's subscription to an INGO sector directly concerning the issue of divorce. The data for both indicators was taken from the *Yearbook of International Organizations*.

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[57] The data for each country's Catholic population was retrieved from the PEW Research Center website: http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/table-christian-population-in-numbers-by-country/. Retrieved on February 6th, 2017. The CIA World Factbook data was retrieved from the CIA website: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html. Retrieved on February 6th, 2017.

State Commitment to World Cultural Principles: I used the dummy variable of whether a country has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as an indicator of commitment to world cultural principles. The CEDAW articles encompass a comprehensive description of the ideal form of marriage—one based on equality and individual freedom from beginning to dissolution. I collected the ratification data from the United Nations webpage.

Global Cultural Diffusion Index: I created an index of the sum of z-scores of all three indicators above. The index indicator reflected the overall strength of world society's influence on a country at a specific year.

METHOD

To analyze the individual's risk for divorce, I used pooled multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression models. Multilevel analysis is appropriate here because I am interested in understanding an individual-level outcome that is affected by factors at both the individual and national levels. I employed the binomial logistic regression model to accommodate the dichotomous dependent variable. Logistic regression has more flexible requirements and is more well-suited for the dependent variable in question. I used Stata's QR decomposition to fit the regression models.

I started by testing each independent variable separately to isolate its effects. I further estimated eight equations to explore the effects of different combinations of independent variables. In model 1 and model 2, I tested all individual-level factors and all national level factors separately. After considering the socioeconomic factors but not the cultural and demographic factors in model 3, I tested the composite effect of all individual-level and national-

level factors in model 4, except for the global cultural diffusion indicators. Models 5 through 8 tested the independent effects of each global cultural diffusion indicator.

Scholars have cautioned about potential estimation bias when pooling surveys with different sampling structures. For demographic surveys that use complex sample design, such as the DHS surveys, not all respondents have equal sampling weight. Researchers must take into consideration each individual respondent's sample weight when obtaining descriptive statistics. However, statisticians have recommended using unweighted models in situations where the sample weights are not a function of the dependent variable; this is because unweighted models yield estimates with smaller standard errors (Winship and Radbill 1994). When conducting my multilevel analysis, I followed the recommendation by presenting weighted descriptive estimates, but I did not take into account the sample weights of individual country-year surveys.

To assure the robustness of the findings, I conducted several supplementary analyses. First, I used the wealth index (in the form of a factor score) as the indicator for personal economic status to test the same models in a subset of country-year surveys. This subset includes 48 country-year surveys conducted between 2003 and 2010 in 42 countries. Using the wealth index indicator also causes the dataset to lose two thirds of the respondents. Therefore, the results must be interpreted cautiously. Second, I replaced the two state religion indicators with the indicators of the proportion of the population that identifies as Catholic and as Muslim, as derived from The World Christian Encyclopedia (Barrett, Kurian, and Johnson 2011). This is a time-varying indicator, and I employed it to capture the subtle fluctuation of religious influence. The subset used in this analysis is comprised of 60 countries and 137 country-year surveys.

The wealth index itself lost significance in the models. Furthermore, the two indicators of Catholic and Muslim populations remain insignificant in their effects. Neither replacement

changed the direction or significance of influence of any individual-level variable. The effects of national-level religion and wealth index indicators were almost the same. The effect of the level of socioeconomic development became positive and insignificant in models using the wealth index. The effect of global cultural diffusion remained positive in both supplementary analyses, but the effect lost significance when tested with the wealth index.

Results

Figures 4.1 to 4.8 present the weighted estimated proportion of women who are divorced in each surveyed country, calculated as the percentage of women between ages 15 and 49 who reported their current marital status as divorced. Each figure presents country data from one of the following geographical regions: Eastern Europe and Central and West Asia, Western Africa, Eastern Africa, and Middle and South Africa, Central America and Caribbean, South America, South and Southeast Asia.

Primary analysis shows that there is large heterogeneity in the proportion of the female population that is divorced, both within and among regions. Of all the regions studied, Eastern Africa and Middle/Southern Africa have some of the largest divorced populations by proportion. More than 6 percent of the female population that had ever been married was divorced in Burundi, Kenya, Zambia, and Namibia entering the twenty-first century. However, these two regions also show the largest variance in the percentage of female population that is divorced. For instance, the lowest estimated percentage of divorced females among all country-year surveys is also recorded here (0.4% in Sao Tome and Principe, 2009).

The Central America and the Caribbean region hosts the lowest percentage of divorced females, and the highest percentage in the region never exceeds 3.3% (Haiti, 2006). The percentage of divorced women in Central American and Caribbean countries mostly ranges

Figure 4.1-4.8 Percentage of Divorced Population among Ever-Married Women (age 15-49), by Region, by 5-year Interval
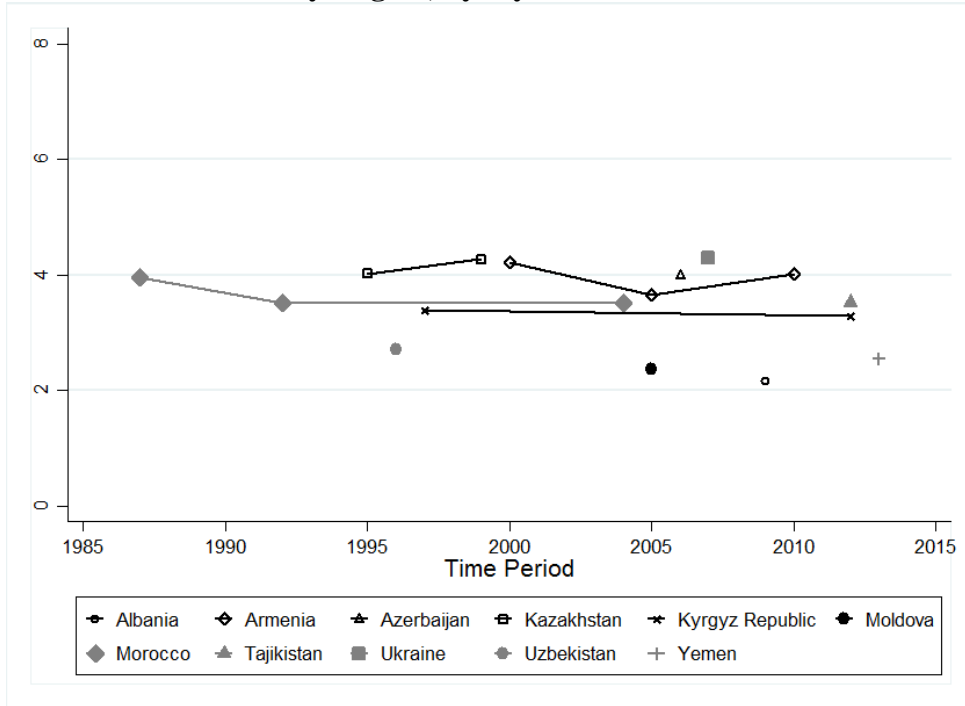

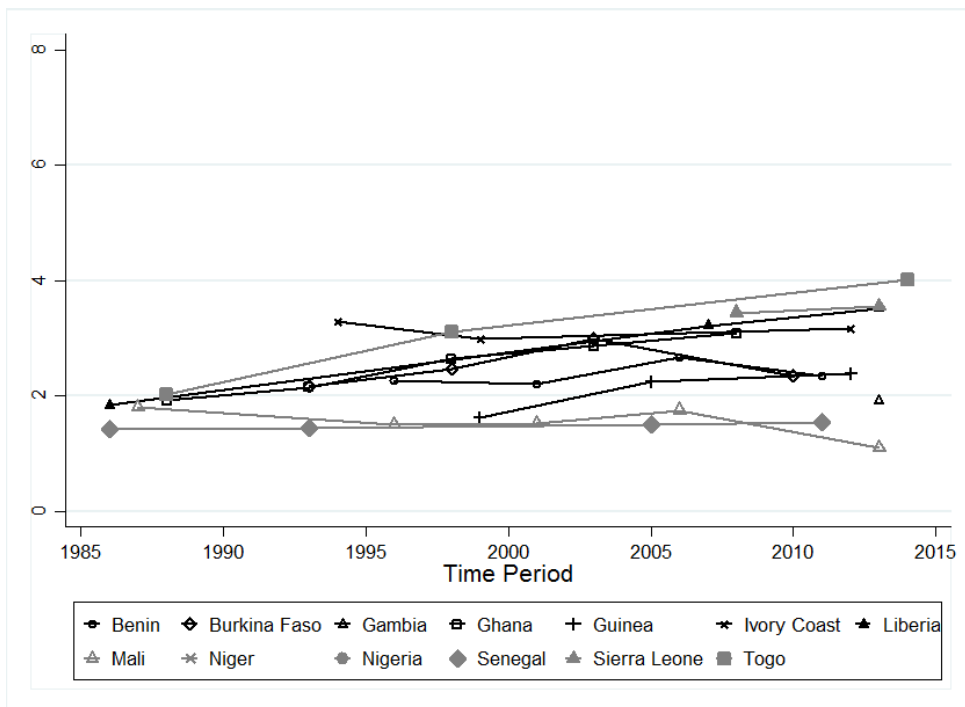**Figure 4.1 Eastern Europe and Central and West Asia**

Figure 4.2 Western Africa

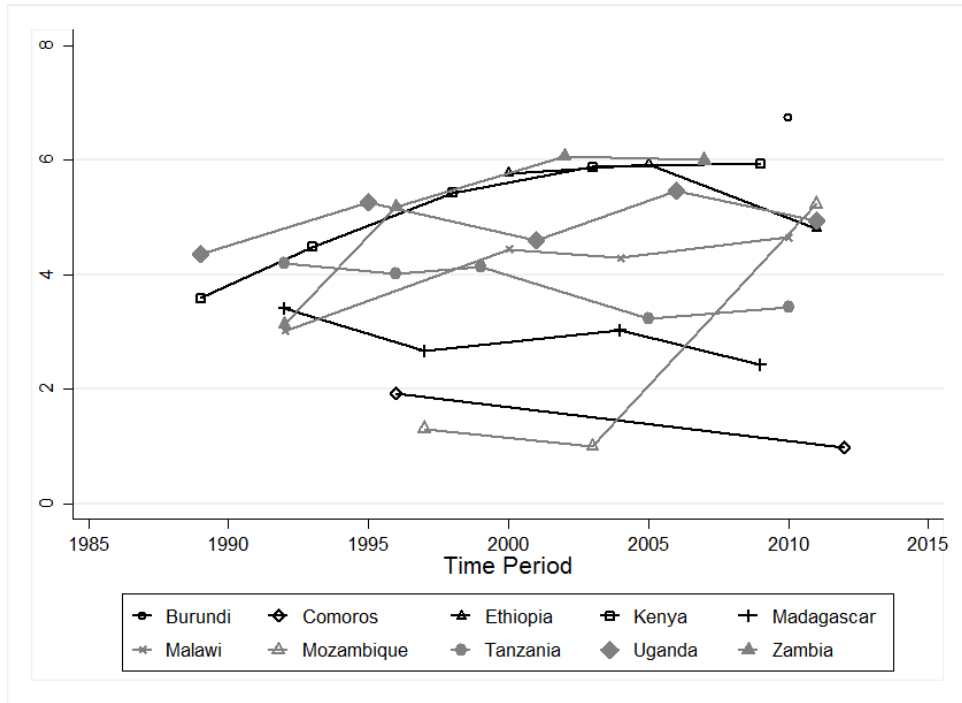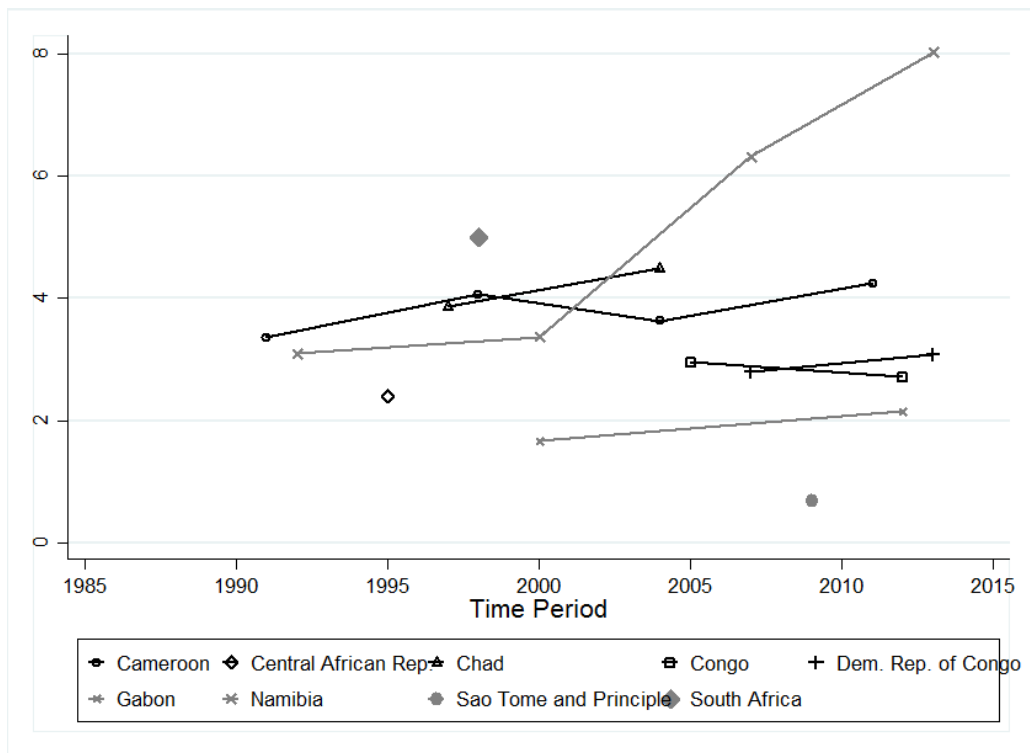**Figure 4.3 Eastern Africa**

Figure 4.4 Middle and Southern Africa

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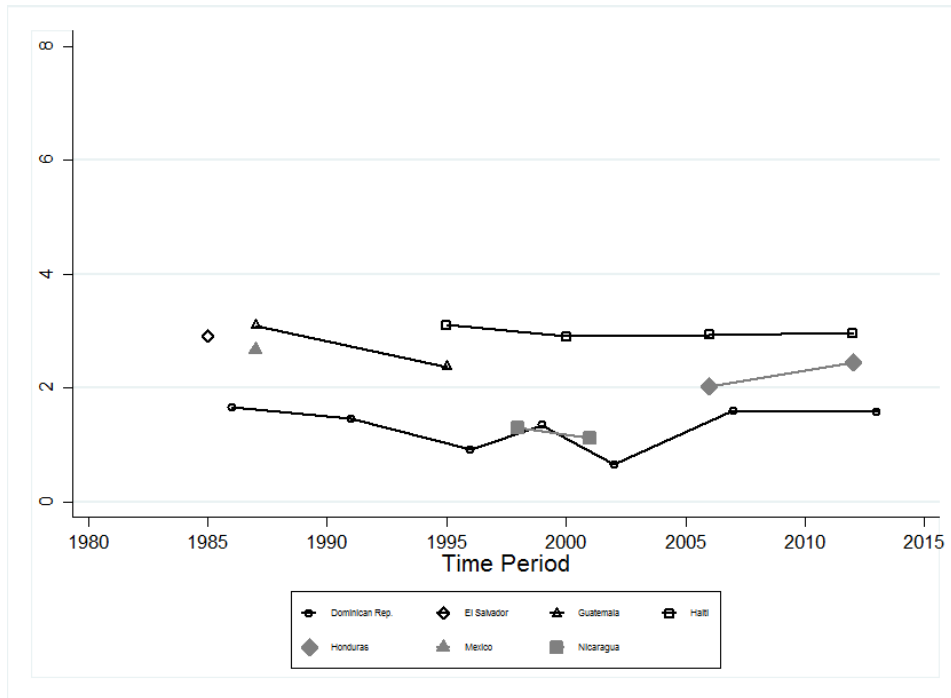
Figure 4.5 Central America and Caribbean
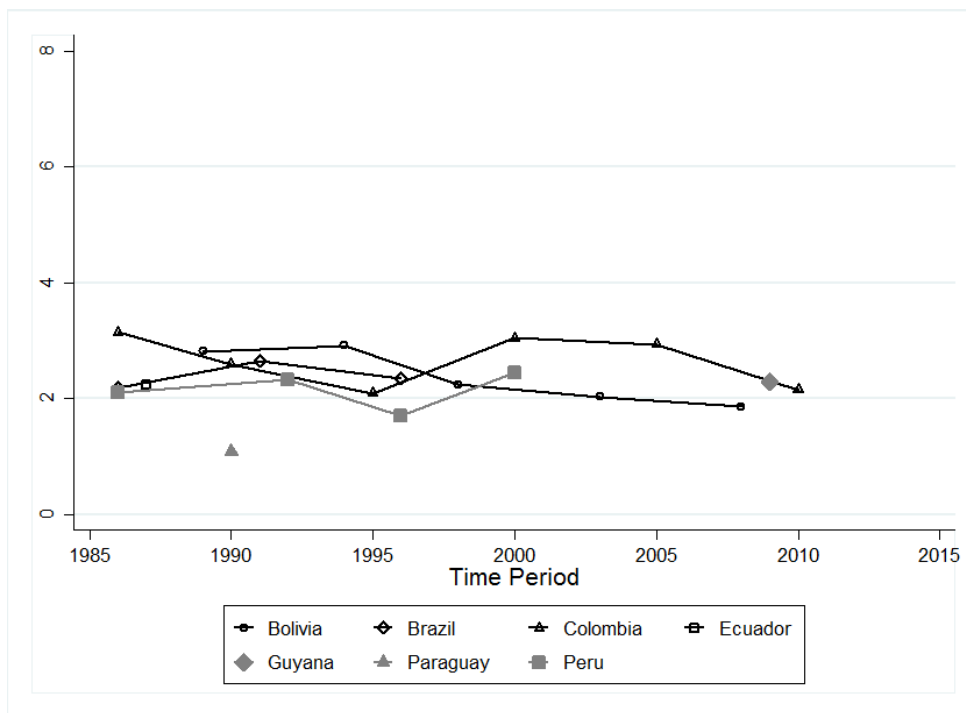
Figure 4.6 South America
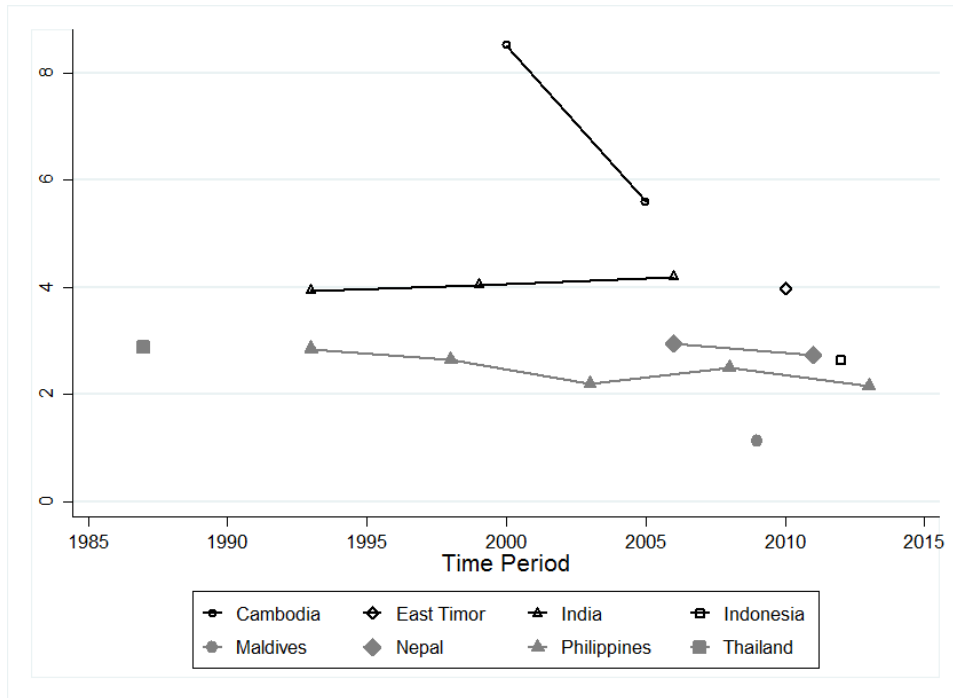
Figure 4.7 South and Southeast Asia
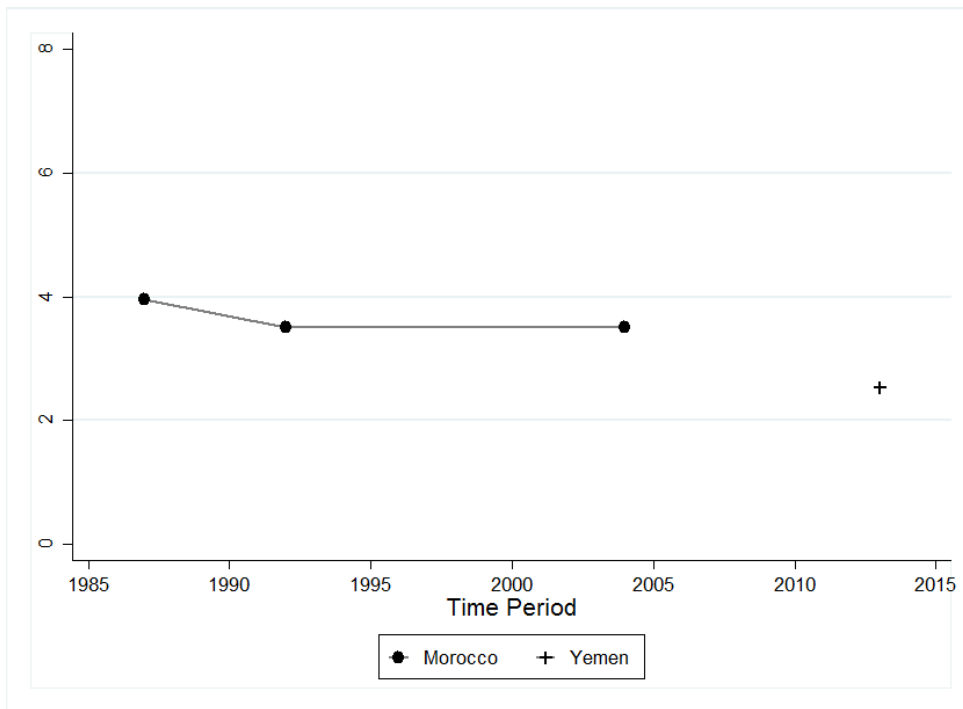
Figure 4.8 Middle East and North America

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between one and two percent. The Dominican Republic even has the second lowest value across all regions. Countries within other geographic regions, including the Eastern Europe and Central and West Asia, Western Africa, and South and Southeast Asia, demonstrate variation in the percentage of population that is divorced. For example, among the Eastern European and Central and West Asian countries, the percentage of the population that is divorced can be as high as 4.58% (Armenia) and as low as 2.4% (Uzbekistan). Mali, the Western African country that has the lowest percentage of divorced females, maintains a divorced population of around 1%. Meanwhile, the country with the highest percentage of divorced females within the region has a divorce rate almost four times higher than that of Mali, comparing the most recent estimates.

The longitudinal trends for the sampled countries also vary significantly. All African regions show a visible increase in the divorced population. For example, the percentage of divorces among Namibia's female population that has ever been married rose from 2.92% to 5% over a span of 20 years. Similarly, the percentage of Kenyan women who are divorced rose from 3.7% in 1989 to 6.35% in 2009. The trends for other regions, however, are less obvious and less consistent. The percentage of the female population that identifies as divorced in Latin American countries mostly fluctuates. There is no clear upward trend, and there are some instances where divorce rates decline (e.g. Bolivia and Dominican Republic). Likewise, the trends for the South and Southeast Asian countries in the sample vary greatly. The proportion of the population that identifies as divorced in the Philippines decreases slightly, for example, whereas the proportion grows in India.

Table 4.2 presents the results of a multilevel logistic regression. From top to bottom, it presents the logged coefficients of individual-level independent variables, national-level independent variables, and the four indicators of global cultural diffusion (INGO

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membership, WINGO membership, state commitment, and world society index). For the ease of understanding each factor's direction of influence, I report the logged odds of the respective variables. The plus sign signals a positive association between the variable and the risk of the individual respondent being currently divorced. Independent variables with higher values are associated with a greater risk of divorce. The minus sign indicates that the risk of divorce decreases when the value of an independent variable increases. To understand each variable's effect size, the coefficient needs to be exponentiated to acquire the odds ratio. The odds ratio functions as a multiplier of the risk of an individual respondent being currently divorced.

The first four equations explore the influence of individual-level factors and national-level contexts without taking into consideration the indicators of global cultural diffusion. Model 1 shows the effect of all individual-level factors, including the respondents' economic status, education attainment, employment status, residential location, and age at first marriage/union. The models show that all individual-level factors have significant effects on the individual risk for divorce. For instance, a more wealthy household (one that has electricity) increases the risk of divorce by 5.1% (exp[0.050]-1=0.051). Other conditions being equal, a woman who currently has a job is 2.06 times more likely to divorce than one who does not. Living in an urban area also increases the risk of divorce by 45.1% (exp[0.372]-1=0.451). On the contrary, respondents' educational attainment and age at first marriage are negatively associated with the risk of divorce. The risk of divorce multiplies by 0.934 (exp[-0.068]=0.934) with each additional year of education. In other words, the risk shrinks by 6.6% with each additional year of education. The risk of divorce also decreases slightly when a woman marries at an older age. Other factors being equal, a woman who marries when she is five year older than another woman will have a risk of divorce that is 3.5% lower than that of the woman who marries at a younger age (the fifth power

Table 4.2 Logistic Regression Results for the Effect of Individual and National Level Factors on the Risk of Divorce (Odds Ratio): Currently and Previously Married Women Aged 15-49, 1987-2013

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Individual-level Variables								
Economic Status	0.050***		0.049***	0.056***	0.049***	0.053***	0.055***	0.051***
	(0.013)		(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Educational Attainment	-0.068***		-0.070***	-0.071***	-0.072***	-0.070***	-0.071***	-0.070***
	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Employment Status	0.725***		0.724***	0.734***	0.732***	0.732***	0.735***	0.733***
	(0.010)		(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Urban Residence	0.372***		0.370***	0.375***	0.377***	0.374***	0.376***	0.375***
	(0.011)		(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Age at first Marriage	-0.007***			-0.008***	-0.008***	-0.008***	-0.008***	-0.008***
	(0.001)			(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
National-level Variables								
Development Index		-0.172***	-0.031	-0.074**	-0.252***	-0.068**	-0.085***	-0.096***
		(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Catholic Country		-0.377*		-0.396	-0.394	-0.452+	-0.398	-0.446+
		(0.177)		(0.263)	(0.297)	(0.252)	(0.265)	(0.254)
Muslim Country		-0.419**		-0.316	-0.082	-0.282	-0.309	-0.255
		(0.156)		(0.211)	(0.239)	(0.208)	(0.212)	(0.210)
Population Sex Ratio		0.009+		0.007	0.004	0.007	0.008	0.007
		(0.005)		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Global Cultural Diffusion								
INGO Membership					0.525***			
					(0.049)			
WINGO Membership						0.017**		
						(0.005)		
State Commitment							0.138**	
							(0.042)	
World Society Index								0.063***
								(0.012)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Individual-level Constant	-3.618***	-4.284***	-3.745***	-4.172***	-7.144***	-4.188***	-4.408***	-4.400***
	(0.086)	(0.477)	(0.084)	(0.521)	(0.600)	(0.521)	(0.526)	(0.524)
National-level Constant	-0.427***	-0.742***	-0.433***	-0.446***	-0.323***	-0.492***	-0.440***	-0.483***
	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.094)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.093)
N of								
Respondents	1,551,722	1,600,348	1,551,802	1,452,819	1,449,960	1,443,858	1,452,819	1,443,858
N of countries	63	67	63	62	62	60	62	60

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

of the odds ratio, calculated by exponentiating the log odds of -0.007). The effects of each individual-level variable are stable across all models, and the effect sizes intensify with the national-level variables and indicators of global cultural diffusion.

I also tested the effect of an individual's religious affiliation (whether a respondent is Catholic or Muslim) for a smaller subset of countries. The results are presented in Appendix A. Both indicators are significantly associated with the risk of divorce, but in opposite directions. According to model 1 in Appendix A, identifying as Muslim decreases the risk of divorce by 34.2% (based on the same specification of indicator as model 1 in Table 4.2, exp[-0.419]=0.658), whereas being a Catholic increases the risk by13.2% (exp[0.124]=1.132).

In model 2, I consider only the effect of national-level contexts. All four contextual factors (developmental index, Catholic country, Muslim country, population sex ratio) have significant influence on the risk for divorce when tested with only national-level factors. In a country with a higher level of socioeconomic development, the average risk of divorce is lower. The risk of divorce is also lower in a country with Catholicism or Islam as the dominant religion, whereas the risk for divorce increases in a country where there are more men relatively to women. The effect of Catholicism at the national-level is therefore different from the effect of an individual's affiliation with Catholicism. With a one-unit increase of the development index, the individual risk of divorce lowers by 15.8% (1-exp[-0.172]=0.158). Controlling for other factors, in a country where more than 75% of the total population identifies as Catholic or Catholicism is recognized as the state religion, the risk of divorce is 68.6% (exp[-0.377]=0.686) of the risk for an individual in a non-Catholic country. The risk of divorce in a Muslim-dominant country (one where more than 75% of the population identifies as Muslim) is 65.8% (exp[-0.419]) of that in a

non-Muslim dominant country. Finally, a country's population sex ratio has a small positive effect (a multiplier of 1.009) on the risk of divorce.

While they exhibit the same direction of influence across all models, the significance of these national-level factors' effects is not as stable as that of the individual-level factors. For example, the development index only loses significance when all socioeconomic factors at the individual and national levels are tested together in model 3. Otherwise, it is significant when considered together with all other national-level factors, and it is also significant when considered together with the indicators of global cultural diffusion (models 4-8). The effect size of the level of socioeconomic development shrinks in model 4, when all individual-level factors and national-level contexts (except for the global diffusion indicators) are considered. Otherwise, the effect size is similar across Model 6 to 8. In model 5, where all individual and national-level factors are tested with a country's total logged membership to all INGOs, the discouraging effect of the development index is particularly large (with the log odds of -0.252, translating into a multiplier of 0.777). While their effects remain negative, the effects of the two religious indicators are not significant when considered together with other factors. The population sex ratio's minimal effect is not significant in any model except model 2.

Models 5 to 8 each test a single indicator of global cultural diffusion, including a country's total number of logged INGO memberships, the number of memberships that a country has to 25 randomly sampled WINGOs, the time-varying dummy of a state's ratification of CEDAW, and the world society index of the three aforementioned indicators (INGO, WINGO, and CEDAW). The effects of all four indicators on the individual risk of divorce are positive and significant. After controlling for all other factors, the individual's risk of divorce in a certain developing country will be multiplied by 1.69 (exp[0.525]=1.69) with every one-unit increase of

the logged membership count to all INGOs. The risk will increase by 1.7% (exp[0.017]-1=0.017) with every additional membership to the sampled WINGOs. Other conditions being equal, the risk of divorce is 1.148 times higher in a country that has ratified CEDAW than in a country that has not. The overall estimation of a country's embeddedness in world society, as indicated by the world society index, increases the risk of divorce by a rate of 6.5% with every one-unit increase.

Discussion

This study analyzes the effects of individual-level factors and national-level contexts on the risk for divorce in 62 developing countries. The results confirm the effects of household economic status, personal educational attainment, employment status, urban living status, and age at first marriage as well as the level of national socioeconomic development. Because there have been virtually no comparative divorce studies that focus on developing countries and use individual-level data, this section reviews how the findings speak to extant divorce literature, which is based on different sets of country samples than the set that I used. Most of the findings support my hypotheses, while others provide insights into existing studies and suggest potential revisions to current understanding of the factors that influence divorce in developing countries.

PERSONAL ECONOMIC STATUS

Previous literature has argued that spouses' wealth is relevant to maintaining a marriage, but the effects vary for men, women, and couples (when considered as a unit). Marriages tend to remain intact when either the husband possesses a large sum of wealth or a large sum of wealth is shared by the couple. However, increasing women's income has the potential to break down marriages. In particular, my research examines arguments about women's economic status and

finds that women with higher personal economic status are at a higher risk for divorce. The result also suggests that there is still a strong gender-role specialization for each spouse in the societies being examined. Women's increased economic status therefore does not simply stabilize the family. Rather, it creates disappointment among husbands, or, just as likely, disapproval from their wives.

While my findings support hypothesis 1a, the meaning of this result warrants further discussion. The data was drawn from the "current household economic status" question on the DHS surveys. This status may refer to the couple's economic status for a respondent who is currently married, while it could also refer to a woman's economic status in a female-headed household or the family of orientation's economic status for a divorced respondent. Because the prevalent property systems throughout the world tend to be patriarchal, it is harder to equate household economic status to women's personal economic status than it is to equate household economic status to men's personal economic status. Because of the survey question's design, the indicator is also less sensitive in measuring married women's personal economic status than divorced women's personal economic status. Therefore, the finding is a testimony for the instigating effect of high economic status on the risk for divorce, but it might not provide as much evidence for how women's poor personal economic status discourages divorce.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Contrary to hypothesis 2, the total number of years of education received by the respondent is negatively associated with the divorce risk. In other words, women's increased educational attainment makes marriages more stable in this sample of developing countries. There are several possible explanations for these results. First, this study's statistical test already

controls for the economic factors that influence a woman's decision to divorce. That is to say, the difficulty of leaving a marriage due to insufficient economic resources has already been captured by the economic status and employment status indicators. The indicator of education, therefore, captures the beneficial skill obtained through education to maintain marriage, such as communication skills and professional skills. Second, it is likely that women who have the freedom and opportunity to pursue education will marry later. According to this study's statistical test results concerning the age at first marriage, the risk of divorce decreases when the respondent marries at an older age. In addition, the very freedom that allows women more education can also allow them to choose a mate of their own preference, leading to fewer dissatisfactory marriages. Lastly, families that allow women to receive more years of education than their peers are likely families that do not need their daughters to make financial contributions at a young age. Such families also have fewer economic incentives than those who rely on a young girl's financial contribution to pressure their daughters to remain in an unhappy marriage.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

The statistical results show that being currently employed has a strong positive effect on the risk of divorce (hypothesis 3). However, the result requires some qualification. As discussed in the data and methods section, the design of the indicator most likely leads to overestimation of the proportion of women who are currently working and who also worked prior to or at the time of divorce, thereby amplifying the positive association. However, cross-tabulating marital status and employment status allows some room for a rough estimation of the degree to which divorce encourages employment, and hence how much overestimation there could be. The cross-

tabulation shows that among all female respondents who are currently married (irrespective of country), 52.72% have some form of job outside of their families, and the percentage of divorced women who hold a job outside of the family increases to 67.63%.[58] The difference between the percentage of married and divorced women who are employed is about 15%. The cross-tabulation for individual countries shows that the largest difference between the proportion of working women among married and divorced respondents is seen in Paraguay (32.30%). For most countries, however, the differences fall around or below the average (15%), while the differences are generally larger in Latin American and Asian countries and quite small in some African countries.

URBAN RESIDENCE

According to the analysis, living in an urban area increases the risk of divorce (hypothesis 4). The results once again require qualification because the survey question employed as an indicator asks about the respondent's *current* residence location rather than residence location at the time of divorce. However, the preliminary analysis of migration patterns (which was presented in the data and methods section) suggests little possibility of overestimating the positive association due to the relatively strong tendency of migrating toward urban areas after divorce.[59] Here I further cross-tabulated current residence location and marital status. From the 62 countries included in model 4, the proportion of divorced respondents living in urban areas is higher than the proportion of married respondents for 47 countries. Assuming that marital status is unrelated to the respondents' residence location, there should not be a

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[58] The numbers of the proportion of employed respondents in the sampled countries are mostly higher than the common estimates of female labor force participation provided by international organizations. The high number could be the result of a lenient definition of "working" in the questionnaires.

[59] Of course, the pattern may be the result of a country's urbanization patterns. Due to the absence of further data on the expansion of urbanization within each country, I do not delve into this possibility.

significant difference between the percentage of married and divorced respondents who live in an urban area. Therefore, the increase suggests that there is a drive for divorced respondents to live in urban areas. However, the increase in the number of respondents who live in urban areas following divorce is not large (for the majority of countries, the difference is less than 10%), and there are also 15 countries for which married respondents show a higher percentage of urban residence than their divorced counterparts. Still, the data suggests that overestimating the effect of urban residence is minimal.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The results once again confirm that respondents' age at first union/marriage is negatively associated with the risk of divorce (hypothesis 6a). The effect, however, is rather small. The result may reflect a wide range of normative or average age at marriage across different societies. The result, therefore, may advocate for the stabilizing effect of a relatively older and more mature spouse rather than an absolute effect of a higher age at marriage. In contrast, the population sex ratio does not have a significant effect on individual risk of divorce (hypothesis 6b). The aggregate-level analysis in Chapter 3 suggests the same results.

LEVEL OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Unlike previous comparative divorce studies, which consistently find that a country's level of socioeconomic development positively corresponds to divorce rate (Greenstein and Davis 2006; Trent and South 1989), my analysis shows a negative association between a country's development index and individual risk of divorce (hypothesis 1b). The contrast also exists between the results discussed in this chapter and those discussed in the previous chapter

(where the level of socioeconomic development is indicated by logged gross national income per capita and secondary education enrollment). The difference may result from a different sample of countries in this study in comparison to previous studies. While previous comparative studies, including the analysis in Chapter 3, pooled samples from both developed and developing countries, the research for this study only includes developing countries. Furthermore, countries sampled in this study only contain a small amount of overlap with previous studies (for instance, there only two countries overlap with Greenstein and Davis's sample). The vastly different levels of socioeconomic development, coupled with higher divorce rates in developed countries, may have affected the positive association in previous studies. In other words, the positive association between development index and risk for divorce does not seem to exist when excluding countries that have a high development index and high divorce rate.

Beyond the methodological explanations for differences in results, variations in the ways that socioeconomic development affects divorce risk is a reminder that structural modernization can trigger different changes to the institutions of marriage and family. The process of industrialization once liberated European individuals from family economy, but for countries in the semi-periphery and periphery, improved economic conditions may not be large enough to release individuals from the family's collective resource pooling function (Smith 1992). For example, Clark's research demonstrates the discouraging effect of economic dependency on divorce rates because it "deprives women of equal access to the public sphere and confines them, through normative definition, to the private sphere" (Clark 1990, 47). Although Clark's argument ignores the fact the women in the semi-periphery and periphery are often drawn into the workforce rather than staying in the private sphere, he is insightful in pointing out that in developing countries, dependent development replicates gender inequality in European countries

and discourages divorce. Current social modernization processes, such elevating women's status, may lead to processes that are opposite of what developed countries once underwent. For example, advocating for gender equality can mean constraining the degree of male discretion in divorce (Levitt and Merry 2009). Therefore, such advocacy can result in tightening divorce regulations rather than liberating them.

RELIGION

At the national level, living in a country whose dominant religion is either Catholic or Muslim has a significant effect on the individual's risk of divorce. Similarly, both indicators of individual religious affiliation are significantly associated with the risk of divorce. However, my findings regarding the direction of Catholicism's influence at the individual level disagree with previous theoretical argument. My research suggests that compared to non-Catholic respondents, women with Catholic affiliation actually have a higher risk of divorce (hypothesis 5a). The result may be due to the absence of respondents from several Latin American countries in the models, where divorce is disapproved by the dominating Catholic churches. However, considering that the indicator of Catholicism as dominant religion is not significant even when these countries were included in the sample, the surprising finding may have some implications regarding the meaning of religion in a different context. The results might indicate that the Catholic doctrines may be less relevant in proscribing divorce than its symbolic meaning as a Western religion. Those who can access Western religion and/or immerse in it may also be those with access to the Western culture that is permissive of divorce. Takyi's analysis using DHS survey data from NGhana reaches the same conclusion (Takyi 2001).

Conclusion

This comparative paper explores the risk factors for divorce at multiple levels. It understands the individual decision to divorce as a combined effect of factors at the individual, national, and global levels. While the attributes of personal lives affect the cost/benefit calculation of divorce, national-level factors presuppose the contexts within which such decisions are made. Building on previous literature, this paper argues that diffusion of the world cultural principles of individualism, equality, and consent, as argued in Chapter 3, adds another relevant context to consider.

This research explores the risk factors for divorce in 62 developing countries between 1987 and 2013. The current divorce literature tends to formulate arguments based on a combination of data from both developed and developing countries. However, due to availability of their self-reported vital statistics, developed countries are often over-represented in the study samples. There is no guarantee that conclusions based on such data can apply to developing countries with vastly different socio-economic conditions. Previous literature on developing countries also made opposite arguments on certain factors, such as level of socioeconomic development. This chapter therefore seeks to extend the existing divorce literature by exploring factors affecting individual risk of divorce among this under-explored set of developing countries.

Based on the results of multilevel logistic regression, my research not only confirms the effect of most individual-level factors identified by previous literature, it also evaluates the debates surrounding several factors. My results regarding the influence of national-level factors, however, do not agree with the findings of existing comparative divorce studies. For example, I find that the level of socioeconomic development does not increase the risk of divorce, but rather

lowers it. However, this chapter confirms the arguments made in the existing divorce literature that personal economic status, educational background, employment status, residence location, affiliation with Catholicism and Islam, and age at first marriage are influential in determining the individual's risk of divorce. My analysis shows that the risk of divorce is higher for a woman who has higher personal economic status, is employed, lives in urban area, and/or has Catholic faith. In contrast, her risk of divorce will be lower if she receives more education, gets married at an older age, and/or is affiliated with Islam. The results particularly stress the gender differences of the effect of economic factors and adjudicate between the divergent propositions in the literature regarding the effect of female education. The results of multiple models consistently support the stabilizing effect of education.

Unlike the findings of previous studies, the divorce risk patterns presented in this chapter contend that a higher level of socioeconomic development in a developing country is associated with lower average risk of divorce. My research finds that when the country's dominant religion is either Catholicism or Islam, the effect on the individual's risk of divorce is not significant. My research also shows that population sex ratio does not have a significant effect. Regarding the effect of national context, the results of my research refute almost all conclusions from the previous comparative literature, possibly due to a country sample that is very different from samples used in prior research. While the existing cross-national studies on aggregate-level divorce rates provide a broad view of the determinants of divorce based on a wide range of countries, the analysis in this chapter demonstrates realistic results for developing countries.

In addition to the individual and national-level analysis, my findings also testify that the diffusion of global cultural principles affects individual behavior. All indicators of global cultural diffusion have consistent positive associations with the risk of divorce. Studies using

World Society theory have proved that the diffusion of global norms and cultural scripts has affected national policies, policy outcomes, and individual values. This research extends the theory by testing the effect on the marital behavior of divorce. In addition, continuing to examine the penumbra effect discussed in Chapter 3, the results presented here further confirm that the penumbra effect exists at the individual level as well.

The major limitation with the analysis resides in the measurement of indicators. As previously discussed, several indicators suffer from the doubt of reverse causality and/or the potential overestimation of their effects on divorce risk because the DHS surveys record women's status at the time of the survey rather than recording their status at the time of divorce. In addition, the sample underrepresents Asian countries and Middle Eastern countries. Lastly, due to the limited availability of data, I was not able to test the effect of divorce law on the risk for divorce, as in the last chapter.[60] Bearing these shortcomings in mind, this research nevertheless fills in an important theoretical and empirical gap in the divorce literature by examining major arguments based on an under-studied group of countries. It also contributes greatly to World Society theory by examining individual behaviors with cross-national data at the individual level.

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[60] Among the sampled countries, my divorce law dataset only provides information for 13 countries.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Globalization processes have driven many family changes, including the promotion and discouragement of certain family practices with international development projects and human rights norms. This dissertation examines how the diffusion of global cultural norms and projects influence local marital behaviors by comparing two practices, namely, divorce and child marriage. It explores how these practices change over time by looking at aggregate-level indicators of divorce rates and child marriage prevalence and individual-level indicators of the risks associated with these two behaviors. By analyzing how various factors at the individual, national, and global levels influence changes, it substantiates World Society theory's argument regarding the top-down influence on individual behaviors. By studying two marital behaviors with discrepant global attention, it also develops a robust understanding of how the world society influences individual behaviors through different mechanisms. The dissertation, therefore, contributes to the sociology of globalization, family, gender, culture, and social demography. The findings are both theoretically and empirically relevant, and as a result they carry policy implications.

Family Changes and Global Cultural Diffusion

This dissertation joins the long literature of family changes and argues that the Neoinstitutionalist World Society theory provides insight into the concept of cultural diffusion. In the introduction chapter, I review the sociological theories that account for the cross-national

and longitudinal changes of families with respect to the elevating rates of divorce and the rising age at marriage. Early theories attribute these family changes to structural and cultural modernization processes, including industrialization, proliferation of mass education, secularization, and individualization. Cultural transformation, according to some scholars (e.g. Lesthaeghe 1983), can be independent of structural changes; to most scholars, however, it is a derivative process triggered by structural changes. Reflecting on these arguments, the Developmental Idealism theory calls attention to the cultural diffusion of an ideal family as the shaping force of family changes, especially in the late twentieth century. The belief that evolution of families toward the Northwestern European type of family is beneficial to national development has been the foundation of an ideational project propelled by global institutions aiming at reforming reproductive and nuptial practices (Thornton 2005; Thornton et al. 2012).

The World Society theory enriches the Developmental Idealism theory with its strength in explaining the global cultural diffusion process. Since the second half of the twentieth century, the world society has become a major source and promoter of many social reform projects. These projects are based on legitimate cognitive scripts that define how states, organizations, and individuals view the world, themselves, what goals these actors should pursue, and how they should pursue them. By defining these ontological and epistemological issues, the world society persuades local actors' policies, preferences, and practices. The institutions of family and marriage likewise fall under the influence of the world society.

In the empirical chapters, I assess this influence on the issue of child marriage and the issue of divorce. The descriptive analysis shows a general decrease of child marriage and a gradual increase in the incidence of divorce, with regional variations in the speed of changes. In Chapter 2, the panel regression and multilevel regression results demonstrate how the indicators

of global cultural diffusion significantly reduced the prevalence of child marriage and the individual risk of becoming a child bride. In Chapter 3, I examine the global cultural diffusion effect on gross divorce rates in a wide range of countries over 40 years. All other global cultural diffusion indicators are positively associated with rising divorce rates, except for a country's overall connection to the world society, indicated by a country's total INGO membership count. Lastly, in Chapter 4, I focus on the individual risk of divorce in developing countries only. The results of multilevel analysis once again testify the effect of global cultural diffusion on increasing the likelihood of divorce. These results are significant in the models that take into consideration local processes suggested by existing literature. Therefore, they demonstrate that although local forces transform family practices, the influence of global cultural diffusion is also at work.

Discrepant institutionalization and Multiple Diffusion Mechanisms

In addition to contributing to studies of family changes, this dissertation also further develops the World Society theory. As I discuss in the introductory chapter, World Society theory recently began to explore the effect of global cultural diffusion on individuals. This dissertation not only joins the literature and explores the effect on *individual behaviors*, it also adds nuances to the theory by exploring how the influence of global cultural principles and projects affect family issues with discrepant levels of institutionalization in the world society.

Reviewing the relevant documents of the United Nations in the introductory chapter, I argue that the ideational project reforming familial practices does not influence all practices at the same time and with the same strength. The United Nations did not dedicate an event to "the families" until the 1990s, and the initial events never developed into a resourceful regime. In

terms of campaigns addressing individual familial behaviors, the population control regime started relatively early (in the 1970s), while an organized campaign against child marriage did not emerge until the 1990s. The meager and belated attention paid to the family as an entity and the discrepant resources allocated to specific familial issues, I argue, reflect how the world cultural principles characterize family issues. The institution of the family belongs in the realm of "universalism of particularity" and the private sphere. In principle, the world society celebrates cultural diversity and refrains from intervening into local cultural practices. Among issues concerning familial practices, only those that are framed as relevant to the goals of legitimized actors—such as the state and individual—can assume legitimacy and motivate international campaigns or regimes. For example, the early development of population control at the global level reflects the framing that connects lowering fertility to national economic development. The cases of child marriage and divorce further elaborate my argument.

In the empirical chapters, I examine whether child marriage and divorce have undergone similar framing processes and their resultant international mobilization. In Chapter 2, I argue that the reconceptualization of childhood and girlhood at the global level caused the emergence of anti-child marriage campaigns. This helped redefine child marriage as not merely a local marital custom, but a denial of the full development of two legitimized actors: the child bride and the state. It not only violates the basic human rights of the child, but also negatively impacted national development. The practice is no longer under the protection of culture diversity and global intervention is justified. As a result, successive international human rights treaties gradually established the normative minimum age at marriage. The international advocacy framing of child marriage also attracted growing attention and support.

In other words, this is a standard case of global cultural diffusion. Child marriage is a development issue backed by explicit international norms with growing resources devoted to combat the practice. International and local NGOs establish networks that diffuse rationales and action plans. National governments ratify and promote human rights treaties and commit to combating the practices. These organizations in turn influence individuals who are shaped by the script of childhood embedded in the campaigns and programs, and fewer people remain willing to get married or marry their daughters at a young age.

In contrast, the case for divorce is less straightforward. Whereas there are explicit treaty articles that prohibit child marriage, there are only general world cultural principles that can be applied to the issue of divorce. I argue that for divorce and other cases where there exist only cultural principles rather than institutionalized and explicit norms, global cultural diffusion can still have a "penumbra effect." The penumbra effect refers to the diffusion processes through which only the principles, but not any substantive action plan, are disseminated. However, local actors can still infer from these basic principles the proper instruction of reform regarding a specific issue. In the case of divorce, although international treaties never explicitly demand loosening and/or equalizing divorce practices, local actors, including individuals, activists, and state policy makers, can still infer from three relevant world cultural principles: individualism, equality, and voluntarism (consent). I argue that in-between the cases in which there are explicit norms and institutionalized resources, and the cases in which competing framing prevent any consensus and mobilization, most of the social issues belong to the gray area in which penumbra effect may takes place. The concept of "penumbra effect," therefore, can have wider application.

In summary, my examination of two marital behaviors with different levels of institutionalization substantiates the effect of global cultural diffusion on individual behaviors.

More importantly, the comparison of the two cases reveals that cultural diffusion may take place through divergent mechanisms. It can occur through the global-local organizational connections and state commitments to international norms. The world's cultural principles can also be diffused without an explicit goal. These principles await enactment in specific issues, which can then inform the creation of other social reforms when needed.

Limitations

The main limitation of conducting a cross-national social demographic study resides in the availability and quality of data. The difficulty multiplies when the study includes a temporal factor. The main data sources of this dissertation's dependent variables are self-reported vital statistics and the surveys sponsored by global institutions and international aid. The data quality of the former depends on the infrastructure and law, which I discuss in Chapter 3; the latter depends on whether sponsor agencies and host countries agree on implementing the survey and the quality of the surveys. As a result, this dissertation excludes all countries it intends to study and the reporting bias is a potential concern. In addition, some of the individual-level indicators are likely to be biased because the relevant survey questions did not inquire the information the way this research needed. As a result, the findings of individual-level factors often require qualifications. Another data issue concerns the temporal factor. It is more difficult to obtain data that are older, and the quality of old data is more questionable. Additionally, the sponsoring project of the DHS predetermines that the dataset in question is cross-sectionally dominant.

In Chapter 3, I use the Heckman test to explore what factors contribute to reporting bias, and I asses how much the reporting bias affect the result. I then use supplementary analyses in Chapters 2 and 4 to evaluate the validity of the indicators. Although the results of the robustness

checks remain relatively the same, especially for the indicators of this thesis' main concern, I am aware that the supplementary tests also have their limitations and cannot fully safeguard the validity of the analysis. The empirical work in this dissertation, which attempts to understand the marital changes in underexplored parts of the world, is not able to capture and demonstrate the characteristics and trends of divorce and age-at-marriage of some societies. It is possible that there are other data sources unknown to me due to language and geographic barriers. The task of uncovering these data, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The potential issues caused by incomplete longitudinal data are not only methodological but also epistemological. A cross-sectionally dominant dataset intensifies the dilemma of choosing fixed or random effect models. The former reaches a more confident yet conservative estimation. The latter is a more relaxed model that takes advantage of the cross-sectionally dominant quality of the dataset, although at the price of using country differences to make inferences on longitudinal trends. This dissertation pays close attention to the latter concern. Arland Thornton criticized the method of "reading historical sideways" used by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century family scholars (Thornton 2005). While using random effect models, I remain aware of the problems involved in transposing cross-cultural data into a story of unilineal family evolution, and I make sure to avoid making such arguments.

The last major limitation of this dissertation concerns the relatively little attention given to the detailed history of how the world society has (or has not) paid attention to marital practices. My work focuses on empirically testing whether the global cultural diffusion has an actual effect on marital practices, but it does not describe in detail how child marriage advocates gain increasing support to become a major development goal. It does not explore how local actors infer from the world cultural principles to pursue divorce reforms or why they decline to reframe

the issue as a human rights issue and seek support at the global level. As the World Society theory becomes more interested in the origin of institutions (Hironaka 2014), I believe the exploration of these topics would be valuable in creating a nuanced history of world society and how it functions.

Concluding Reflections

Both the World Society theory and Thronton's Developmental Idealism theory critically reflect on modernization processes. Toward the end of the dissertation, I dedicate this section to reflect on what takes place on the ground when world cultural principles effectively condemn child marriage and liberate and equalize spouses during union dissolution.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, the concept of child marriage derives from a grand cultural transformation concerning the emergence and consolidation of "childhood" as a life stage. Western scholars argue that child marriage violates human rights and obstructs national development. Thornton, however, criticizes the ideology behind the conceptualization that oversimplifies the relationship between a "primitive" type of family with underdevelopment in developing countries. Indeed, such a conceptualization equalizes child marriage as a "developing world problem" and ignores that child marriage, by its definition, is also an issue waiting to be addressed in some developed countries, including the United States. At the same time, advocates readily point out that keeping girls in school would only be an effective preventive strategy if there is a real opportunity for these girls to use what they learn at school to support themselves and/or their families. Otherwise, there is little incentive and significant hardship involved in sending girls to school rather than marriage. (Rembe et al. 2011).

Meanwhile, when discussing the liberating force of individualism, equality, and freedom, it is often conveniently ignored that almost all studies confirm that women suffer from divorces in multiple aspects regardless of whether they are in developed or developing countries (for review of the consequences of divorce, see Härkönen 2014; Hill and Kopp 2015). Women may not fully enjoy the freedom to divorce due to economic hardship, stigma, and the persistent high pressure of remarriage in many societies. It may take much more time to change these unfavorable contexts than to have the global cultural diffusion persuade more determined women to leave their bad marriages. Liberating and equalizing the legal processes of divorces, as suggested by the experience of Taiwan's women movement, is only the first step in a long journey, but it is certainly not the ultimate victory (Chang 2009).

No sociology research is value-free, and the findings of marital measurements almost always have policy and moral implications. I admit that, as an individual, I endorse the world cultural principles of gender equality and individual freedom that lay the foundation for women to choose when to marry and whether to end marriage. The findings of this dissertation testify that the global cultural diffusion of the explicit development goals and fundamental cultural principles aids the transformation of behaviors toward the directions that correspondent to the goals, or the logical inferences from these principles. However, I do not wish to paint a rosy image of liberation and equality, nor do I wish to convey a unilineal evolutionist argument that developed countries are the ideal society or the ultimate stage of family evolution to which developing countries should aspire to become. The forces that affect divorce and child marriage come from here (the local processes) and there (the global diffusion), but every society must decide what marriage should look like there while respecting a woman's will as much as a man's.

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APPENDIX A. Results of Heckman Correction Models

VARIABLES	Model1c	Model 2c	Model 3c	Model 4c
Control				
Divorce law	0.423***	0.477***	0.424***	0.467***
	(0.115)	(0.114)	(0.113)	(0.115)
State Capacity	5.612***	5.139***	5.570***	5.317***
	(0.769)	(0.770)	(0.760)	(0.773)
Population Sex Ratio	0.021	0.040	0.035	0.031
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Youth Dependency	0.015*	0.013*	0.017**	0.015*
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
National Factors				
Economic	1.485***	1.208***	1.584***	1.169***
Development	(0.258)	(0.245)	(0.217)	(0.262)
Female	0.009	0.011	0.006	0.007
Employment	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Expansion of	0.020***	0.018***	0.020***	0.018***
Mass Education	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Catholic	-0.143***	-0.140***	-0.146***	-0.139***
Influence	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Islamic	-0.159***	-0.227***	-0.213***	-0.181***
Influence	(0.030)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.031)
INGO	0.060			
Membership	(0.136)			
WINGO		0.061***		
Membership		(0.017)		
CEDAW			0.198*	
Ratification			(0.096)	
World Society				0.312**
Index				(0.112)
Constant	-6.674	-5.804	-8.131+	-4.608
	(4.195)	(4.197)	(4.156)	(4.242)
SELECT				
Divorce law	0.033	0.056	0.056	0.033
	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.053)	
State Capacity	5.448***	5.742***	5.742***	5.448***
	(0.495)	(0.487)	(0.487)	(03495)
Economic	0.623***	0.615***	0.615***	0.623***
Development	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Catholic	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**
Population	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Islamic	0.003*	0.003*	0.003*	0.003*
Population	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Constant	-6.104***	-6.130***	-6.130***	-6.103***
	(0.304)	(0.304)	(0.304)	(03.304)
Athrho	0.015	0.009	0.015	0.009
	(0.082)	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.082)
ln(sigma)	-0.039+	-0.035+	-0.032	-0.042*
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Wald's Chi-square	9112.45***	11697.34***	11608.30***	9173.81***

Observations	1,939	1,965	1,965	1,939
Censored Observation	675	675	675	675
Uncensored Observation	1,264	1,290	1,290	1,264

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

APPENDIX B Results of the Panel Regression Models on Crude Divorce Rate

VARIABLES	Model 1d	Model 2d	Model 3d	Model 4d	Model 1e	Model 2e	Model 3e	Model 4e
Control								
Divorce Law					0.141***	0.126***	0.120**	0.147***
					(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
State Capacity					2.228***	2.072***	2.153***	2.155***
Married Population	0.321	0.401	0.367	0.425	1.301***	1.475***	1.216***	1.486***
	(0.295)	(0.306)	(0.298)	(0.300)	(0.340)	(0.340)	(0.328)	(0.341)
Age Structure	0.016	0.015	0.020	0.017	-0.006	0.005	-0.004	0.002
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Sex Ratio	0.029**	0.036**	0.029**	0.036**	0.057***	0.048***	0.048***	0.058***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Youth Dependency	-0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.004	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
National Factors								
Economic Development	0.291***	0.239***	0.277***	0.247***	0.628***	0.551***	0.628***	0.564***
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.054)	(0.084)	(0.078)	(0.073)	(0.084)
Female Employment	0.012***	0.016***	0.012***	0.014***	0.006*	0.006*	0.005+	0.005+
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Expansion of Mass Education	0.004***	0.006***	0.004***	0.005***	0.006***	0.005***	0.005***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Catholic Population	-0.015***	-0.013**	-0.014**	-0.013**	-0.041***	-0.037***	-0.038***	-0.040***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Islamic Population	0.003	-0.006	0.003	-0.005	-0.078***	-0.045***	-0.041***	-0.087***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.010)
Global Cultural Diffusion								
INGO Membership	0.094*				0.101*			
	(0.039)				(0.050)			
WINGO Membership		0.008				0.017**		
		(0.006)				(0.006)		
CEDAW Ratification			0.064*				0.026	
			(0.029)				(0.031)	
World Society Index				0.090**				0.154***
				(0.035)				(0.040)

Constant	-5.889***	-5.559***	-5.484***	-5.473***	-9.465***	-8.449***	-8.260***	-8.966***
	(1.478)	(1.485)	(1.460)	(1.446)	(1.749)	(1.695)	(1.700)	(1.698)
Wald Chi-sqaure	85.26***	74.11***	74.95***	84.89***	73.72***	72.30***	71.21***	74.16***
Number of Observations	1,706	1,778	1,785	1,699	1,232	1,258	1,258	1,232
Number of Countries	84	83	84	83	51	51	51	51

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

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Appendix C. Logistic Regression Results for the Effect of Individual and National Level Factors on the Risk of Divorce (Odds Ratio): Currently and Previously Married Women Aged 15-49, 1987-2013, Using Individual Religious Affiliation Indicators

	Model 1	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Individual-level Variables							
Economic	0.045**	0.037**	0.044**	0.038**	0.043**	0.043**	0.042**
Status	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Educational	-0.068***	-0.071***	-0.070***	-0.072***	-0.071***	-0.071***	-0.071***
Attainment	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Employment	0.680***	0.678***	0.692***	0.688***	0.691***	0.693***	0.690***
Status	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Urban	0.401***	0.401***	0.407***	0.410***	0.407***	0.408***	0.408***
Residence	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Catholic	0.124***	0.124***	0.117***	0.119***	0.117***	0.117***	0.117***
Affiliation	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Muslim	-0.419***	-0.417***	-0.356***	-0.365***	-0.357***	-0.356***	-0.358***
Affiliation	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Age at first	-0.008***		-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
marriage	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
National-level Variables							
Development		0.117***	0.052+	-0.173***	0.051+	0.048	0.029
Index		(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Population Sex			0.027**	0.036***	0.029**	0.028**	0.031***
Ratio			(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Global Cultural Diffusion							
INGO				0.604***			
Membership				(0.059)			
WINGO					0.013*		
Membership					(0.006)		
State						0.137*	
Commitment						(0.053)	
World Society							0.061***
Index							(0.014)
Individual-level	-3.478***	-3.541***	-6.084***	-10.631***	-6.270***	-6.336***	-6.639***
Constant	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.915)	(1.052)	(0.930)	(0.922)	(0.934)
National-level	-0.431***	-0.414***	-0.362***	-0.187+	-0.402***	-0.353***	-0.389***
Constant	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.100)	(0.103)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.101)
N of Respondents	1,189,461	1,189,530	1,090,743	1,087,921	1,088,707	1,090,743	1,088,707
N of countries	55	55	54	54	53	54	53

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1