THE CHANGING LOGIC OF POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP: CROSS-NATIONAL ACQUISITION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE RIGHTS. 1890 TO 1990*

Francisco O. Ramirez
Stanford University

Yasemin Sovsal

Harvard University

Suzanne Shanahan

Duke University

We analyze the acquisition of women's suffrage in 133 countries from 1890 to 1990. Throughout the twentieth century the influence of national political and organizational factors has declined and the importance of international links and influences has become increasingly important. These findings indicate that the franchise has become institutionalized worldwide as a taken-forgranted feature of national citizenship and an integral component of nation-state identity: The prevailing model of political citizenship has become more inclusive.

"The miracle has happened! On May the 29th the Finnish Diet agreed to an Imperial proposal from the Czar concerning changes in the constitution of Finland, which changes also political suffrage and eligibility to the Diet for Women, married and unmarried, on the same conditions as for men. . . . Our victory is in all cases great and the more so as the proposal has been adopted almost without opposition. The gratitude which we women feel is mingled with the knowledge

that we are much less worthy of this great success than the women of England and America, who have struggled so long and so faithfully, with much more energy and perseverance than we. I use this occasion to bring the thanks from the women of Finland to our sisters all over the world who have, by their untiring work, educated public opinion and thus enabled us to gain our rights. May we be worthy of them!"

— Alexandra Gripenberg (1906) ¹

Between 1890 and 1994, women in 96 percent of all nation-states acquired the right to vote and seek public office. What in 1906 appeared to be a "great victory" for women in Finland went virtually unnoticed in South Africa in 1993. Contemporary South Africa witnessed no distinct struggle for women's suffrage, no debate questioning a women's right to vote, and no celebrations

*Please direct correspondence to Francisco O. Ramirez, School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305 (ramirez@leland. stanford.edu). The authors share equal responsibility for this paper. We thank Deborah Barrett, Collette Chabbott, Lynn Eden, David John Frank, Paula Frederick, Elizabeth H. McEneaney, Holly McCammon, John W. Meyer, Susan Olzak, Mary Rauner, David Strang, Marc Ventresca, and Pamela Barnhouse Walters for their input on earlier drafts.

of the simultaneous acquisition of the franchise by women and men of color. The right of universal suffrage was already both an institutionalized feature of the nation-state and a core element of an incorporative model of political citizenship.

Historically, citizenship was gendered (Pateman 1994; Walby 1994). The abstract category of citizen was male; thus men were the bearers of civil, political, and social rights (Orloff 1993). Over time, however, through organizational carriers such as the United Nations and through various international conventions and treaties, a discourse on universal rights for individuals that ex-

¹ From Alexandra Gripenberg, "The Great Victory in Finland," *The Englishwoman's Review*, July 16, 1906, pp. 155–57. Reprinted in Bell and Offens (1983:229–30).

plicitly included women became strongly linked to national independence, national development, and political citizenship (Nadelmann 1990). Older arguments about whether women should be viewed as persons and whether women were capable of making autonomous electoral decisions have not been revisited. A new logic of political citizenship has undercut the plausibility and legitimacy of these arguments.

We develop a sociological account highlighting the various roles of national and international social movement organizations in the worldwide acquisition of female suffrage and the diffusion of a gender-neutral model of citizenship in which universal suffrage is a central element. We argue that suffrage rights gained in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were forged only in part by protracted national struggles and the local social mobilization of women. From the outset, we believe, the battle for women's suffrage was an international crusade drawing on universalistic principles. By international we mean that both the supporters of and the opponents of female suffrage movements were attuned to the successes and failures of franchise movements beyond the boundaries of their nation-states (Daley and Nolan 1994). These movements also were international insofar as they sought to create a global forum for debate and involved many types of international women's organizations, including both Christian and socialist groups (DuBois 1994). By universalistic we mean that the aspirations and attacks on the proposed franchise for women often appealed to world models and principles that transcended local or even national boundaries. Ultimately we contend that by the 1930s the localized national movements and their organizational infrastructure were overshadowed by transnational influences that eventually dictated a particular model of citizenship in which women held the franchise. We maintain that during the twentieth century national factors have grown less important to this struggle as the locus of debate has become internationalized. Using data from 133 countries from 1890 to 1990, we empirically examine this process and the universal and international character of the franchise for women.

THE GLOBALIZATION OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: WORLD CULTURE AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Women's franchise movements arose from contradictions between the abstract individual and the gendered boundaries separating the public domain and the familial domain (Connell 1990). These contradictions were most evident in the West, where the rights of the individual citizen had been developed earlier and more extensively (Bendix 1964). The relationship between social movements and citizenship development is conceptualized most accurately as reciprocal (Turner 1990). Social movements enhance the membership of citizens. Citizenship status then serves as the legitimate basis for future claims on the state, new demands for extended rights, and new social movements (Barbalet 1988). The new movements typically do not seek the same goals as their predecessors. In the long run, however, the acquisition of citizenship status by various groups results in greater social mobilization by these same groups. A more activist and welfare oriented state is often the unintended consequence of expanded social movements and enhanced citizenship status. Thus the acquisition of the franchise during the earlier and more contested period has helped foster more receptive political structures and stronger women's social movements.

Inclusive models of political citizenship became more influential, partly because of geographical proximity and spatial diffusion, but also as a consequence of cumulative national enactments emancipatory outcome. The dominant status of the West increased the attractiveness of the social and political models that initially developed there. Over time, alternative models were defeated; universal franchise came to be strongly associated with struggles for national independence and the birth of the nation-state (Jayawardena 1986). Conceptually, then, we view the timing of independence as a "window of opportunity" which increases the likelihood that suffrage rights will be extended. If countries do adopt dominant models, they most likely do so immediately, not after years of protracted debate and discussion.

This point of departure suggests that a field of nation-states has developed over time and that this field pressures members and aspiring members to adhere to preferred models of nation-statehood and citizenship. This field increasingly constitutes a common quasi-legal framework, is the object of extensive professional discourse, and influences nation-states in their pursuit of legitimated goals, such as progress, justice, and equality. There are neither clear technologies nor certain means for advancing these goals, but they are the subject of much professional discourse worldwide. This field or framework defines appropriate models of political citizenship.

The international field of nation-states has been discussed more narrowly as a set of international regimes (Krasner 1983) and more broadly as a world polity (Meyer et al. 1997). Many international relations theorists advocate considering the role of international regimes—that is rules, norms, and beliefs—in influencing the rights of women in societies with varying internal structures. As Halliday (1988) stated boldly: "The constitutions of women's position in society and economy and of women's position in the home owes much to changes that are international and transnational. At the cost of some exaggeration it is possible to . . . assert that the personal is international" (pp. 421–22).

According to this perspective, nation-states are conceptualized as entities embedded within a worldwide cultural framework that influences their constitution and activity through exposure to world standards and principles of political citizenship (Robertson 1992; Thomas et al. 1987). Nation-states often enact similar political scripts, and these similarities suggest that they are part of a transnational organizational field. Thus the emergent and more inclusive models of political citizenship were not treated as state secrets, but rather were forwarded as blue-prints for progress everywhere.

This universalizing presumption was especially evident with respect to women's capacity for electoral participation. Victories in New Zealand, Australia, and Finland were not regarded elsewhere as examples of local color, but as markers of a transnational development of worldwide significance. Nor did these early successful movements oper-

ate as if they were localized. On the contrary, they reflected an awareness and even an appreciation of women's organizing efforts in other parts of the world. The case of Finland and Finish women's gratitude toward the efforts of women in England and America illustrate an important point: Many suffrage movements presumed that their actions were part of an expressly international collective struggle, and they gained a sense of women's universal camaraderie even in the face of significant domestic opposition (DuBois 1994). Other lines of thought, in contrast, located social change in national processes of modernization and political development, and would view acquisition of women's suffrage as a peculiarly national victory.

WORLDWIDE ACQUISITION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: PATTERNS AND ANALYSES

We consider the empirical evidence pertaining to our argument about the changing nature of political citizenship and the women's franchise. In Figure 1 we outline the world pattern of the acquisition of the franchise for women and plot cumulative percentages of countries in which women gained the franchise from 1890 to 1990.² We also include the cumulative percentages of male suffrage acquisition in this figure to provide a historical referent to the women's case.

Female suffrage began with the 1893 legislation in New Zealand; Australia was next to act—in 1902. By 1900, women had gained the franchise in fewer than 1 percent of the world's countries, as compared with some 18 percent for men.³ A smaller, early wave of suffrage extensions between 1900 and 1930 occurred mostly in European states. A sec-

² The primary data used to illustrate these trends are the dates when the franchise was *first* extended to women in various countries throughout the world (from Boulding 1976; Sivard 1985). A complete list of these 133 dates is supplied in Appendix A.

We recognize that suffrage is extended periodically under one political regime and then revoked under another. When suffrage rights are withdrawn, however, they are withdrawn for both men and women, never for women alone. Thus it is important to ascertain when the principle of one adult, one vote was first set forth.

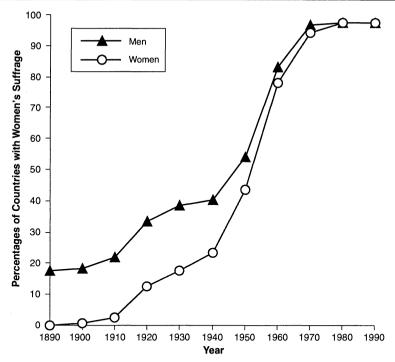


Figure 1. Cumulative Percentages of Women's and Men's Suffrage Acquisition: 1890 to 1990

Note: Number of countries = 133.

ond, more dramatic wave occurred after 1930: The percentage of countries in which women received the franchise rose steadily until 1980, when women possessed the franchise in nearly all countries. By that time, the only countries that had not extended suffrage to women were those in which men, too, had yet to acquire voting rights: Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait.

A clear pattern emerges in Figure 1. This pattern has two important dimensions; both dimensions highlight the historical period effects critical to the extension of female suffrage. First, throughout the twentieth century franchise rights proliferated rapidly for both men and women. The gap between the number of countries with male suffrage and those with a universal franchise narrows over time. Only three countries that became independent in the twentieth century (Austria, Ireland, and Libya) extended suffrage to men prior to women.

Second, the largest wave of countries extending the franchise to women apparently occurred after 1930: Both men and women attained suffrage in the wake of decoloni-

zation and the concomitant dramatic increase in the number of independent nation-states (Strang 1990). It is striking that in these newly independent states, suffrage rights were granted simultaneously to men and to women. After 1945, no newly independent country extended suffrage rights to men only but not to women. Yet many long-independent, more "modern" states, particularly those with a long history of male suffrage, waited decades before extending suffrage rights to women. Thus, for example, French men gained suffrage rights in 1875, but women waited another 69 years—until 1948; Swiss men had the vote in 1848, but women waited another 123 years—until 1971, long after most of the women in the newly emerging countries were already voting. In the post-World War II era, then, women's suffrage became the standard.

MODELS

To further understand the global nature of the suffrage movement we rely on an event history framework. Event history methods allow us to use cross-national data over a long historical period and to analyze the historical timing of women's suffrage across countries (Tuma and Hannan 1984). Furthermore, the method allows us to conceptualize women's suffrage acquisition as a single global process that helps to explain why, at any given point in a theoretically meaningful historical period, one country is more likely than another to extend the right to vote to women. We look at the acquisition of female suffrage in 133 countries from 1890 to 1990—from the time when New Zealand extended the vote to women to the present.⁴

Exploratory analyses led us to choose a linear exponential formulation. This model assumes that the instantaneous transition from origin state (no female suffrage) to destination state (female suffrage) at time t does not depend on time t, but depends only on a vector of variables. The general form of the model is $r(t) = \exp(\mathbf{B}'\mathbf{X})$, where r is the instantaneous transition or hazard rate, \mathbf{X} is a vector of covariates, and \mathbf{B} is the corresponding vector of effect parameters. We modify this model using a piecewise formulation with internal period effects.⁵

We parse the 100-year period into two key eras—1890 to 1930 and 1931 to 1990. This periodization corresponds to the theoretical distinction between eras of innovation and contestation and eras of consolidation and institutionalization. Such a distinction has proved useful in previous institutional analyses of organization change (Tolbert and Zucker 1993) and national change (Bradley and Ramirez 1996). These studies illustrate that variation in the internal characteristics of organizational and national units is less consequential over time when isomorphism processes prevail.

In our study, the first period represents an era in which international organizational support for the universalistic character of the nation-state is relatively underdeveloped. Also, in this period the women's movement is often associated with the proliferation of national women's political organizations

(DuBois 1991). The second period represents a time of dynamic global change with rapid worldwide decolonization, the reorganization of international politics after World War II, and the rise of a truly international women's movement that culminated in numerous declarations of rights for women (Berkovitch forthcoming). In the descriptions above and in analyses of the dynamic models that follow, these two periods represent two different, key aspects of a change in logic.

DATA AND MEASURES

Political Struggle and Social Movements

Numerous covariates are included in our linear piecewise models. These covariates cluster along the two dimensions of our argument: political struggle and social movements, and world culture and isomorphism. We expect all social movement variables to have a stronger effect before 1930 and all world cultural effects to have a stronger effect after 1930. The timing of independence should affect suffrage acquisition throughout the 100-year period. In some way, each of our three indicators of social movements and citizenship is a measure of susceptibility to suffrage denoting a particular characteristic of each potential actor.

The first measure, Western status, is a dummy variable equal to 1 if the country was an "earlier political modernizer" and 0 if later or not at all. Following Black (1968:90–93), we define Western status to include most of Eastern and Western Europe as well as the

Tunless otherwise specified, all covariates are taken from publicly available data sets.

⁴ This periodization is both conceptually and technically central to our analysis. We assume no country is at risk of suffrage until New Zealand first extends the right; at that point all countries become susceptible.

⁵ We thank an anonymous review for suggesting a piecewise formulation.

⁶ Examples of the numerous international conventions ratified to ensure women's rights in the public sphere include: equal pay for equal value, 1953; equal political rights, 1954; maternity protection, 1955; equality in employment, 1960; equality in education, 1962; and equality of marriage rights, 1962.

⁸ To preserve the integrity and diversity of our sample of nation-states and to include the maximum number of cases, we rely on a constant set of countries (N = 115) for which we have complete information for each variable employed. This subset of our original 133 countries is identified in Appendix A. These countries constitute our set of entities "at risk" of adopting women's suffrage starting in 1890.

"White settler" colonies of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. These countries typically experienced earlier political modernization. We expect that these Western countries will exhibit a national propensity to alter the vision of citizenship in favor of *less* male-oriented or male-dominated models.

The next indicator, welfare citizenship, refers to the number of key welfare state initiatives in place in the decade preceding the acquisition of female suffrage. These initiatives include social security, a national health policy, worker's compensation, maternity leave, and family benefits. This indicator provides a measure of a state's activism and of the propensity to institute change on behalf of its citizens. Countries with an established commitment to welfare and social rights might similarly have a commitment to political rights.

The last indicator, national organizations, measures the strength of the domestic or national women's political movement within each country. ¹⁰ This indicator summarizes, at 10-year intervals, the number of political organizations whose mission is expressed by themes of emancipation, political participation, socialism, or democracy. Countries with more national political organizations are more likely to enact female suffrage. This variable measures the strength of social movements which should be more important during the earlier period (before 1931) when the suffrage movements, though aware of one another, had a more national orientation.

World Culture and Isomorphism

We expect that the three indicators of world culture and historical isomorphism will have stronger effects, net of the related independence effect, in the post-1930 era as the norm of female suffrage takes root. The first indicator, regional cumulative percentage, measures the total number of countries in a country's own region that have enacted female suffrage legislation. By 1930, for ex-

ample, 14 European countries had extended suffrage to women, but only 2 Asian and Pacific countries (New Zealand and Australia) had done so. This variable is updated at fiveyear intervals. The proximity of one country to another seems important. If many countries in a region are enacting suffrage, perhaps those which have vet to do so reconsider their policies. Regional cumulative percentage may be analogous to "peer pressure" among countries: Countries within a single region might tend to imitate one another. We expect that this effect will be more important over time with an increase in the density of countries that have enacted legislation for women's suffrage.

Our second measure of isomorphism is a world suffrage count, which represents the number of countries worldwide that enacted suffrage in the previous decade. This measure also is updated every five years. Here we look more at a "general contagion" effect, rather than at the diffusion effect assessed by the regional cumulative percentage. If countries everywhere enacted women's suffrage, we would view this as a change of norm and, more broadly, a shift in the logic of political citizenship. Accordingly we would expect that impact of world suffrage count would become more significant over time. The more that countries extend suffrage to women, the more likely it is that other countries will do so.11

Our third measure of isomorphism, alliance participation, attempts to capture the internationalism of the suffrage movement and the increased likelihood that this may effect a change in national legislation. This indicator is a dummy variable measured at a single point in time (1 = participant, 0 = nonparticipant), denoting participation in the 1906 Women's International Suffrage Alliance as drawn from the Handbook of International Organizations (1989). We expect that participation in this organization would be important throughout the entire 100-year observation period. This variable should become

⁹ Data for this variable are drawn from the *United States Social Security Bulletin* (1986).

¹⁰ Data for this variable are drawn from three sources: Hosken (1977), Jayawardena (1986), and Shreir (1988).

¹¹ Similarly, as the number of "at-risk" countries becomes very small, we would expect to observe an exhaustion effect, whereby countries that have held out for the entire century might become even less likely to enact legislation, despite the worldwide trend.

more important as female suffrage becomes an increasingly important aspect of citizenship rights globally and as international links imply greater normative control over the behavior of states.

And finally, independence era is a dummy variable measured at five-year intervals. It equals 1 if the country becomes independent in the five years preceding or following female suffrage. Here we capture the notion of the "window of opportunity" noted earlier: Countries are more apt to reconceptualize citizenship when a regime changes and/or after decolonization. Furthermore, the data illustrate that over time, independence and the enactment of suffrage for both men and women (universal suffrage) become not a string of disparate events, but a single political process. ¹²

RESULTS

The findings shown in Table 1 are straightforward. In the first period (1890-1930) each of the social movement indicators—Western status, welfare citizenship, and the number of national women's political organizations makes the extension of women's suffrage more likely. The effects of Western status and the number of national organizations are statistically significant. Western status has a dramatic effect: Independent Western states have a rate of suffrage acquisition 12 times greater than other states. In comparison, with each additional national women's political organization, the rate of suffrage acquisition increases by 4 percent. These results suggest the type of country most likely to grant female suffrage in this early period: independent, Western countries with a strong national women's movement.

Table 1. Effects of Political and World Culture Variables on Rate of Women's Suffrage Acquisition: 1890 to 1990

1890-1930	1931–1990						
-8.01**	-5.85**						
(.81)	(.39)						
ial Movement	's						
2.49*	-1.71**						
(1.21)	(.70)						
.34	.35**						
(.28)	(.12)						
.38*	.13						
(.20)	(.17)						
phism							
.24	.83**						
(.72)	(.42)						
.07	.04**						
(.06)	(.01)						
25	1.27**						
(1.00)	(.48)						
1.99**	1.27**						
(.74)	(.25)						
	-8.01** (.81) ial Movement 2.49* (1.21) .34 (.28) .38* (.20) rphism .24 (.72) .07 (.06)25 (1.00) 1.99**						

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors; N = 115; chi-square = 178.94 (d.f. = 14).

In contrast, none of the isomorphism variables are statistically significant: the regional cumulative percentage of countries with female suffrage, a count of all countries with female suffrage, and a dummy variable for whether or not a country is a participant in the International Suffrage Alliance. The behavior of other states, whether within a state's own region or throughout the world, seems inconsequential in this early era. Furthermore, participation in the International Suffrage Alliance actually shows a negative (although not significant) effect. Isomorphism does not appear to be central in this period.

Finally, we find a large and significant parameter estimate for independence era, sup-

tions have data for these variables over our long time interval. In addition, we checked for the effects of democracy, participation in World War I, concentration of political authority, general extent of political rights, and antistate violence. Again, the initial findings disappeared in the expanded multivariate models. Finally, we initially included a measure of historical time, but we removed it later because it had no effect on the models presented here.

¹² In preliminary analyses we employed numerous control variables; we checked for the effects of colonialism, urbanization, level of primary education, literacy rate, population growth, and government revenue per capita. In univariate analysis each of these variables had a positive and sometimes significant effect on the rate of female suffrage acquisition. With the addition of other covariates, however, these effects ceased to be significant. Moreover, much of this information is not available for the full set of 133 countries we are studying. In fact, the data are systematically biased because only the more developed na-

^{*}p < .05 **p < .01 (two-tailed tests)

porting the idea that emergent nation-statehood constitutes a window of opportunity for extending the franchise to women. The rate of suffrage acquisition is seven times greater during this independence window.

These three factors, taken together, provide a general sociological understanding of the early suffrage movement and how the standard of political citizenship was beginning to shift. Before 1930, independence provides a strong catalyst for change in countries that possess a certain political and cultural standing—that is, Western status. During this early period, domestic or national factors are much more salient than are international or transnational influences.

The second period (1931–1990) reveals a different pattern for both the social movement and isomorphism variables. Countries with Western status are more than five times less likely to enact suffrage than countries without Western status. The number of national organizations seems to have little impact on the rate of suffrage acquisition. With the establishment of each new welfare initiative, however, the rate is increased by 7 percent. Thus, activist states with a concern for social welfare are most likely to enact women's suffrage in this later period.

Isomorphism variables also show consequential differences in the later period: The impact of the international environment is overwhelming. Both regional changes and global changes in the number of countries with suffrage increase the rate of suffrage acquisition. Indeed, with every percentage point increase in the regional percentage of countries, the rate of franchise acquisition increases by almost one percentage point. The world count, or the number of countries worldwide that have enacted suffrage in the previous decade, has a smaller but still significant effect. The most dramatic estimate is the parameter for participation in the suffrage alliance: Participation increases the rate more than threefold. Thus the modal type in this latter period is "already institutionalized." Countries apparently are affected much less strongly by internal factors and much more strongly by shifts in the international logic of political citizenship. Meanwhile, independence remains a major catalyst for change in this later period, increasing the rate fourfold.

SUMMARY

The comparison between the two periods is straightforward. Early on, national factors weigh heavily in determining women's suffrage acquisition; in the later period, international factors become more influential. This generalization holds true for all three indicators of isomorphism, which show larger and statistically significant effects in the 1931-1990 period. The generalization also applies to two of the three social movement indicators, which show larger and statistically significant effects in the 1890–1930 period. The exception is the social welfare variable. which is more consequential in the later period. This finding suggests that social and political rights may have been coupled more loosely in the earlier period (Heidenheimer 1981), but are linked more tightly in the more recent era and in the agendas of the more recently independent countries. The earlier trade-offs between socioeconomic security and participatory opportunity no longer seem to operate.

Throughout these analyses, the period of independence has had a positive and significant effect on the acquisition of women's suffrage. This finding suggests that national political independence in this century has constituted a window of opportunity for women's suffrage legislation.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the world, the status of women is increasingly a major theoretical, social, and political issue. Scholarship and debate has focused on gender inequalities and has gauged these inequalities against the dominant assumption that women are indeed persons and citizens. This assumption is a takenfor-granted feature of national and international agendas today, but it was highly contested a century ago. As a standard, it was partially shaped by, and shaped in turn, the nearly universal acquisition of the franchise by women.¹³

¹³ Obviously the acquisition of the franchise did not create equality between the sexes in many other respects, but it would be difficult to imagine progressive gender policies with respect to education, employment, and marital status in the absence of enfranchised status.

Worldwide and regional patterns illustrate the universalization of women's suffrage. Further, this event was preceded by national independence and male suffrage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but since 1930 these three events increasingly have become a single political process. This fact is both an observable reality and a highly legitimated model for organizing the national polity. The gender-inclusive principle of political citizenship is evident in national polities with electoral arrangements and is mandated strongly in international discourse. The earlier temporal sequence, from national independence to male suffrage to female suffrage, is not repeated in a single case after World War II. Varying national debates regarding women and citizenship gave way to international isomorphism affirming women's franchise status.

Why did so many otherwise dissimilar nation-states follow a similar path with respect to the political incorporation of women via the franchise? We argue for the existence, development, diffusion, and influence of a more inclusive world model of political citizenship. Authentic nation-statehood was predicated increasingly on adherence to this model, and the model itself was articulated increasingly by more nation-states, by international organizations, and by women's suffrage movements. Thus nation-states and aspiring nation-states became more receptive to women's suffrage throughout the twentieth century. In line with globalization theories, we assume that world models and international standards would be more consequential in the more recent period; the event history analyses support this premise. Moreover, the importance of some key endogenous variables declines over time. This change further supports the idea that legislation for women's suffrage is increasingly a product of the transnational environment rather than of local or national forces.

Francisco O. Ramirez is Professor of Education and (by courtesy) Sociology at Stanford University. His gender-related publications include "World Polity and Gender Parity: Women's Share of Higher Education, 1965-1985" (with Karen Bradley, Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization, vol. 11, pp. 63-91) and "From Women's Suffrage to Reproduction Rights? Cross-National Considerations" (with Elizabeth McEneaney, International Journal of Comparative Sociology, forthcoming). He also undertakes cross-national studies focusing on the links among education, science, and economic development.

Yasemin Soysal is Associate Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. Her research focuses on historical origins and contemporary reconfigurations of citizenship and the nationstate. She is author of Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe (University of Chicago Press, 1994). She is writing a book that explores the emerging forms of claims-making and mobilization by minority and regional groups on national education, and explicates the changes in nation-state identities through an analysis of history and civic textbooks in the postwar Europe.

Suzanne Shanahan is Assistant Professor of Sociology and North American Studies at Duke University. Her research interests concern the relationships among social inequality, political mobilization, and collective identity formation. Her current projects include studying nationalism and identity politics in Great Britain and Ireland, assessing the impact of economic regionalism on racial and ethnic conflict in North America, and (with Sanjeev Khagram) evaluating the use of causal explanation in the study of globalization.

Appendix A. Countries and Corresponding Years of Women's Suffrage Acquisition

Country	Year	Country	Year	Country	Year
New Zealand	1893	Luxembourg	1919	United Kingdom	1928
Australia	1902	Poland	1919	Ecuador	1929
Finland	1906	Germany (prewar)	1919	South Africab	1930
Denmark	1915	Canada	1920	Spain	1931
Norway	1915	United States	1920	Brazil	1932
Netherlands	1917	Sweden	1920	Uruguay	1932
USSR	1917	Iceland	1920	Thailand	1932
Austria	1919	Ireland	1922	Sri Lanka	1934
Czechoslovakiaa	1919	Mongoliaa	1924	Turkey	1934

(Appendix A continued from previous page)

Country	Year	Country	Year	Country	Year
Burma	1935	Jamaica	1953	Mauritius	1959
Cuba	1942	Mexico	1953	Morocco	1959
Dominican Republic	1942	Columbia	1954	Tunisia	1959
France	1944	Ethiopia	1955	Cyprus	1959
Guatemala	1945	Ghana	1955	Zaire	1960
Indonesia	1945	Nicaragua	1955	Nigeria	1960
Japan	1945	Peru	1955	Burundi	1961
Hungary	1945	Cameroon	1956	Gambia	1961
Italy	1945	Central African Republic	1956	Rwanda	1961
Liberia	1946	Chad	1956	Sierra Leone	1961
Panama	1946	Congo	1956	Zimbabwe	1961
Trinidad/Tobagoa	1946	Benin	1956	Tanzania	1961
Romania	1946	Gabon	1956	Paraguay	1961
Yugoslavia	1946	Guinea	1956	Uganda	1962
Argentina	1947	Ivory Coast	1956	Kenya	1963
Venezuela	1947	Madagascar	1956	Libya	1963
China	1947	Mali	1956	Iran	1963
Philippines	1947	Mauritania	1956	Malawi	1964
Vietnam	1947	Niger	1956	Zambia	1964 1964
Bulgaria	1947	Senegal	1956	Afghanistan Botswana	1964
Malta ^a	1947	Sudan	1956		1965
Israel	1948	Togo	1956	Singapore Lesotho ^a	1966
South Korea	1948	Egypt	1956	Guyana	1966
North Korea ^a	1948	Burkina Fasoa	1956	Yemen, PDR ^a	1967
Belgium	1948	Kampuchea ^a	1956	Swaziland	1968
Costa Rica	1949	Laosa	1956	Fiji	1970
Chile	1949	Pakistan	1956	Switzerland	1971
India	1949	Haiti	1957	Bangladesh	1972
Syria	1949	Honduras	1957	Jordan ^a	1974
El Salvador	1950	Lebanona	1957	Portugal	1976
Barbados	1950	Malaysia	1957	South Africab	1993
Nepal	1951	Algeria	1958	Oman ^a	None
Bolivia	1952	Somalia	1958	Qatar	None
Greece	1952	Iraq ^a	1958	Saudi Arabia	None
Taiwan	1953	Albania	1958	United Arab Emirates ^a	None

^a Country not included in Table 1.

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