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Pathways to Empowerment: Repertoires of Women's Activism and Gender Earnings Equality

Maria Akchurin^a and Cheol-Sung Lee^a

Abstract

This article examines how different repertoires of women's activism influence gender earnings equality across countries. We develop a typology of three forms of mobilization—professionalized women's activism, labor women's activism, and women's activism in popular movements—emphasizing distinct actors, patterns of claims-making, and inter-organizational ties among women's organizations and other civil society groups in multi-organizational fields. Based on data on membership and co-membership ties built using World Values Surveys, we test the effects of different repertoires of women's activism on earnings equality between women and men in 51 countries. We also consider a gendered development model and the role of welfare states as main explanatory variables in accounting for the gap in earnings. Our findings suggest that even in the presence of these alternative explanations, women's activism matters. Furthermore, women's organizations with access to institutional politics, through either direct advocacy or ties to unions or professional associations, have had the most success in promoting gender earnings equality. Our research contributes to prior work on social movement outcomes by conceptualizing women's mobilization in the context of fields and further testing its effects on distributional outcomes in a comparative perspective.

Keywords

women's activism, gender earnings equality, social movement outcomes

Women today have more political and civil rights, tend to be better represented in positions of power, and have better access to educational and labor market opportunities than in the past. However, the gap between women and men persists in advanced industrial democracies as well as in developing and least developed nations. What factors explain this gender gap across societies? Many scholars have attempted to account for variation in women's political and economic rights, positions of power, and opportunities. Sociologists of work have extensively studied the gender pay gap, emphasizing

occupational segregation (Charles and Grusky 2004; Petersen and Morgan 1995), employers' and male colleagues' exclusionary practices toward women (Reskin 1988), the role of coordinated wage bargaining (Blau and Kahn 2003), and policy support for women's

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employment (Stier, Lewin-Epstein, and Braun 2001). Other scholars have studied the question of women in politics, examining women's political participation outcomes (Paxton 1997), connections between women's movements and state machineries designed to improve the status of women (Stetson and Mazur 1995), and how women's organizations foster institutional change in the political arena (Clemens 1993; McCammon et al. 2001; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Skocpol 1992). Yet few studies explore how civil society groups mobilizing for women's economic rights influence women's economic positions relative to men, especially from a cross-national perspective. In this article, we investigate how such collective action affects the gender income gap.

Much has been written about the consequences of mobilization, reflecting continued interest in incorporating movement outcomes into social movement scholarship. Some studies elaborate how organizational structure, strategic capacity, leadership, and other movement characteristics influence outcomes (Andrews 2001; Ganz 2000; McCammon et al. 2008). Others focus their attention on how the political and cultural contexts in which movements mobilize mediate the impact of collective action (Amenta 2006; Amenta, Caren, and Olasky 2005; McCammon et al. 2001). The vast majority of studies examine political outcomes, often breaking down the policy process into different stages to gain a more fine-grained understanding of the moments at which movements are likely to influence policy (King, Cornwall, and Dahlin 2005; Soule and King 2006). Scholars have also begun to consider different domains of outcomes, incorporating biographical and cultural movement outcomes (Bosi and Uba 2009; Giugni 2004) and market outcomes (King and Pearce 2010) alongside policies, but most studies continue to emphasize political, not distributional, outcomes.

Our study moves this research tradition forward in three ways. First, we propose that social movements have socioeconomic and distributional consequences that have not received serious attention in existing literature. Including distributional consequences broadens the

scope of outcomes studied in social movement scholarship and enables us to investigate the processes by which mobilization may influence patterns of social stratification. Second, whereas much scholarship on social movement outcomes draws on cases from the United States, our study takes a cross-national, comparative perspective. This focus opens up the possibility to think beyond movement pressure in a conventional U.S.-based polity model and points to new questions about how distinct patterns of inter-organizational ties in different contexts affect mobilization outcomes. Finally, by taking a field-based perspective (Curtis and Zurcher 1973; Fligstein and McAdam 2011; Klandermans 1992; Minkoff and McCarthy 2005) to examine how women's associations and their ties with other civil society groups in multi-organizational fields relate to the gender income gap, we add to existing studies that tend to focus on the consequences of variation in the internal characteristics of single movements.

We propose that women's organizations mobilizing in different associational fields¹ develop divergent structures and repertoires of activism. We construct a typology of three paths women's movements take in fighting for women's economic empowerment, conceptualized as earnings equality between women and men: (1) professionalized women's activism, centered on women's advocacy organizations and activist professionals; (2) labor women's activism, centered on connections between the women's movement and the labor movement; and (3) women's activism in popular movements. In each case, women's movements are embedded in a particular set of organizational ties, with the potential to have positive, negative, or no consequences for gender equality outcomes, understood as a type of collective good gained by challenger organizations for women as a larger social group (Amenta and Young 1999). We explore how women's organizational capacity, built on their own status as well as their embeddedness in other associations, affects gender earnings equality across countries.

In the following sections, we discuss each pathway of women's mobilization and hypothesize how each type relates to earnings

Table 1. Repertoires of Women's Activism

	Professionalized Women's Activism	Labor Women's Activism	Women's Activism in Popular Movements
Main Agents	Professional women	Women unionists	Varied
Main Organizational Form	Advocacy group	Labor union and cross-union ties	Varied (e.g., neighborhood associations, local action groups)
Allies	Professional associations and trade unions, civil rights groups, women activists in government agencies, and centrist/reformist parties	Women's organizations, male unionists, and social democratic or leftist parties	New social movements (e.g., human rights, environment, global justice), pro-democratization movements
Agenda Channeling and Claims-Making	Lobbying, litigation, watchdog functions, consciousness raising, information dissemination	Union women's mobilization within the labor movement, local organizing, ties between union women and women's organizations	Demonstrations and other direct action, pressuring local officials, transnational advocacy networks

equality. We do not expect all forms of embeddedness to necessarily improve outcomes. We anticipate that professional and labor women's activism may have strong positive effects on gender income equality, but women's activism in popular movements may not. We use social network analysis tools to operationalize each pathway, relying on cross-national data on memberships and co-memberships of women's associations and other civil society groups. Finally, we test the relationship between different forms of women's activism and gender earnings equality.

Along with repertoires of women's activism, we consider a gendered development model and the role of welfare states as main explanatory variables in accounting for the gender earnings gap. The gendered development model explores how structural or sectoral differences originating from general economic development processes across countries (Kuznets 1955) create income disparity between women and men; the welfare state model focuses on social policies and social transfers (Esping-Andersen 1999; Korpi 2000) in reducing the gender gap in

earnings. We test these three different models of the gender income gap with a diverse set of cross-national data.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND HYPOTHESES

Women's organizations may influence gender income equality via three important forms of mobilization in associational fields: professionalized women's activism, labor women's activism, and women's mobilization in popular movements. As Table 1 summarizes, each type differs in its main agents, organizational forms, patterns of inter-organizational ties, and strategies for pursuing goals and making claims.

Professionalized Women's Activism

Professionalized women's activism refers to women's activism undertaken by women's advocacy groups and activist professionals. These organizations are typically nonprofits that rely on a full-time staff and diverse funding sources, including grants and membership

contributions; they typically work in an associational field where they collaborate with other advocacy groups, professional associations, and allies within government institutions (Banaszak 2010; Schlozman 1990). This type of women's activism emphasizes rights politics shaped by a liberal model that underscores equal opportunity and equal legal rights (Whitehouse 1992). In the labor market context, this signifies that women have equal competence to men and thus merit equal treatment in recruitment, wages, working hours, and promotion opportunities for comparable work. We expect that groups associated with this form of activism influence gender income inequality via several routes.

First, these groups rely on legal and administrative strategies, such as lobbying policymakers and participating in litigation for key court cases related to equal pay, equal employment opportunity, and anti-discrimination legislation, as well as working with specialized administrative agencies. As groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Women's Equity Action League have done with respect to the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the United States (Burstein 1991; O'Connor 1980), and as similar organizations are doing in the European Union (Cichowski 2007), expert-based legal advocacy groups not only lobby but also fight to enforce legislation through the courts. They mobilize their constituents for letter-writing campaigns, petitions, and marches to bolster their formal strategies by raising awareness and generating public support for their cause. Advocacy organizations also work directly with administrative agencies to implement and enforce equal pay laws (Ratner 1980). Although they often target specific cases of inequality, such efforts create broader pressure by mobilizing public opinion and altering the stakes for employers who engage in discriminatory behavior.

Second, women's advocacy groups and activist professionals work through professional associations to promote professional women's interests at the national and local

levels, create networks of women committed to women's empowerment in the workplace, and offer opportunities for skills development and information sharing. Advocacy groups and women's professional associations also generate publicity about cases of legal mobilization and produce research documenting the gender income gap, with the potential for consciousness raising and catalyzing local action (McCann 1994). For instance, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, a national membership organization for professional women in the United States, has worked on the issue of pay discrimination, mobilizing its base to generate resources, educate the public, and pressure policymakers (Spalter-Roth and Schreiber 1995). Organizations like the National Association of Women Lawyers have lobbied legislators to promote equal pay legislation and pay equity and worked on challenges confronted by women in the legal profession (Smith 1999). The American Association of University Women and the American Medical Women's Association have done similar work for their members. We expect this type of mobilization will reduce the gender pay gap primarily through its effect on middle-class women, thereby increasing the total amount of earnings for women.

In short, professionalized women's activism tends to employ the organizational repertoire of public advocacy and pressure politics, combining approaches such as legal mobilization and public information campaigns, in which activist professional women play an especially important role. To operationalize this type of mobilization, *we hypothesize that a higher presence of women in professional associations will contribute to greater gender earnings equality.*²

Labor Women's Activism

In labor women's activism, union women play a pivotal role in promoting women's economic empowerment. In contrast to strategies of professionalized women's activism, this form of mobilization emphasizes women workers' agendas in tandem with labor rights.

Despite continued challenges faced by women in the labor movement, during the late twentieth century, activist labor women slowly came to occupy union leadership positions in many industrialized countries and successfully promoted wage-earner women's interests such as equal pay, generous parental leave, and childcare (Hunt 2002). With an increasing share in local unions, union confederations, and social democratic or other reformist parties, women built networks within and across labor organizations (Curtin 1999). Here we highlight not only union women's efforts to gain power resources within unions, but also their politics based on cross-organizational coalitions, especially with women's associations. We emphasize that the two forms of politics are closely associated with each other in associational fields.

We expect that stronger organizational linkages between union women and women's associations achieve higher gender income equality through two mechanisms. First, women-union linkages in fields create a new logic of solidarity centered on wage-earner women's interests. Women-specific concerns are channeled between women's associations and union women through associational ties, encouraging women to pay attention to women-specific issues as they acquire growing organizational strength within unions. With increasing leadership roles within unions, union women promote women members' concerns regarding not only equal pay and promotion opportunities but also leave policies and daycare support. Institutional provision of daycare—either at workplaces or through employer reimbursement—is critical for women's stable employment and, consequently, for the maintenance of women workers' skill levels relative to their male counterparts. Therefore, we expect women-union associational ties will greatly improve women's stable employment and pay scale by mobilizing union women to be attentive to women-specific concerns.

Second, women-union connections in associational fields may greatly improve union women's capacity to channel their interests by creating denser and wider cross-organizational policy networks beyond

union-employer workplace politics. Such organizational linkages may foster potential policy alliances between women's associations and labor unions around women's interests. In the United States, union women have forged ties bridging the two movements despite a complex relationship between organized labor and the women's movement (Milkman 1985). Feminists in the United Steelworkers of America, for instance, developed spaces "between" the women's movement and the labor movement, linking "feminist policy issues" with "more conventional collective bargaining concerns, such as pensions, job security, and wages," and pursued legislative and collective bargaining strategies in tandem (Fonow 2003:5). Nordic countries offer abundant examples of such ties. Swedish union women, for example, have collaborated with women's organizations linked to the Social Democratic Party (SDP) to incorporate issues like pay equity and the dual career model into the SDP party platform (Karlsson 1998); and union women and the women's movement in Denmark and Iceland have collaborated within national women's councils (Dahlerup and Gulli 1985). Such coalition politics build policy networks with women officials in local and federal bureaucracies, women researchers in universities, and women politicians in political parties (Colgan and Ledwith 2002). Women-sponsored policies such as pay equity, generous maternity benefits, separate taxation, public daycare, and parental leave, as well as legal stipulation of anti-discrimination in employment and layoffs in corporate and government organizations, may thus be effectively formulated, discussed, negotiated in larger associational fields consisting of formal and informal associations, and eventually implemented at the state level (Hobson 1993; Mazur 2001; Sainsbury 1999).

Women-union coalition politics thus contribute to gender wage equality through internal and external influences. On one hand, internal coalition politics lead union women to place women-specific concerns on traditional union agendas, which helps women workers demand comparable wages and

maintain their employment and skills. On the other hand, external coalition politics mobilize pro-women labor market and social policy reform agendas in larger associational fields, including political parties and local state institutions. The larger policy networks based on women–union linkages jointly pressure reformist or labor parties to adopt their policy agendas and they electorally support parties that embrace wage-earner women’s concerns. Both internal and external coalition politics promote women’s longer, nonintermittent career development, which contributes to greater earning equality between women and men. *We therefore hypothesize that greater co-memberships between women’s associations and labor unions will contribute to greater gender earnings equality.*

Women’s Activism in Popular Movements

Women also mobilize for economic empowerment in popular movements. For instance, women have mobilized to improve their economic positions in the context of broad popular movements against authoritarian regimes and around standard-of-living issues (Campo 2005; Safa 1990). Much of this activism has occurred in the context of crisis, when women joined human rights and pro-democracy groups to protest abuses by military dictatorships, or took to the streets to bring attention to unacceptable living conditions exacerbated by economic instability (Jaquette 1994). Frequently, such mobilization is driven by what Molyneux (1985:233) calls “practical gender interests,” which tend to involve actions based on immediate needs like food scarcity or inadequate public service provision. In Latin American countries such as Mexico and Brazil, for example, popular women’s organizations emerged in urban areas, bringing together militant feminists’ and housewives’ associations to demand improved social services. Playing on their traditional female roles as “nurturers of family and community” (Alvarez 1994:15), these community-based feminists protested authoritarian regimes at the local level and attempted

to improve living conditions by demanding better municipal services in urban areas (Stephen 1997) and criticizing regimes’ economic policies and detrimental effects on living conditions. In such contexts, poor and working-class women draw on their experiences as women and as low-income urban residents when mobilizing around the daily issues confronting their households and communities (Bennett 1995).

In this form of mobilization, activists are opposed to or lack access to the traditional lobbying and interest-group tactics of professionalized women’s advocacy groups. Likewise, they tend to resist being incorporated into, and are excluded by, existing institutions that are often built on patriarchal hierarchies, such as labor unions and established political parties (Alvarez 1990; Feijoo 1998). Consequently, they tend to favor grassroots organizing and seek solidaristic ties with a wide range of civic associations and popular social movement sectors, often emphasizing local material concerns and bridging their identities as women with the goals of the broader movement. Embedded in local neighborhood associations, human rights groups, environmental groups, and similar organizations, they pursue network-based co-memberships, issue-bridging, and resource-sharing as mobilization tactics.

Although seeking economic empowerment and popularizing women’s interests in the broader associational field, this type of activism does not typically target the gender income gap directly. Despite having certain strengths, we therefore do not expect that the popular movement version of women’s activism will be strongly associated with higher earnings equality. We expect women’s activism in popular movements will reflect two other tendencies in women’s movements in associational fields. First, women’s embeddedness in other social movements or civic associations may reflect the exclusion of feminist concerns from institutionalized channels and existing, male-dominant formal organizations. Second, women’s organizations’ involvement in diverse popular movements may detract from a movement’s internal

coherence, leading to insufficient coordination of primary agendas and ineffective use of already limited resources. Such factors may result in a situation where gender earnings equality is treated as just one of many potential issues to address, in both the social movement community and the policymaking process. *Therefore, we expect a high degree of embeddedness of women's associations in the associational field—especially linkages with new social movement associations such as environmental, human rights, and peace groups—will not improve earnings equality between women and men.*

Gendered Development Model: Industrialization and the Role of Welfare States

We also consider the association between general economic development and the gender earnings gap as one of our main explanatory models. Following Kuznets's (1955) model of growth and income inequality, we expect that in societies where the majority of men and women remain in the agricultural sector, both genders will participate in household-level cultivation and harvest labor. In such economies, the gender income gap will be relatively low. However, in industrialized countries, urbanization and industrialization encourage a labor force shift from traditional to industrial sectors (Alderson and Nielsen 1999). In such situations, men will be more likely to find jobs in modern industrial sectors and therefore will enjoy the greater share of national income, relative to women. Accordingly, we expect the gender income gap will be wider in countries with an intermediate level of economic development.

However, in countries where economic growth reaches a certain threshold of industrialization, other alternative institutional and structural factors replace industrialization's negative effects on women's income potential relative to men. One of the most significant of these mechanisms is the role of welfare states. We anticipate that social spending and social policy provisions supporting the rights of women as workers and caregivers (Huber and

Stephens 2001) contribute to higher earning equality between women and men by increasing women's "capacity to form and maintain an autonomous household" (Orloff 1993:320; see also Pateman 1988) through income maintenance and labor market participation.

Previous studies note that paternalistic welfare states reinforce gender hierarchies (Katzenstein 1987; Orloff 1993), and that even well-developed family policies can exacerbate occupational sex segregation by channeling women to female-typed jobs (Mandel and Semyonov 2005). Women in social democratic countries have witnessed unusually strong occupational segregation (Esping-Andersen 1990). Nevertheless, welfare states may also have beneficial effects on gender earnings equality. First, social transfers focusing on maternity and daycare will boost women's capacity to enter or remain in the labor market. Women's capacity to remain in the labor market despite childbearing and rearing is essential for skill development and wage increases over time, because part of the wage penalty for motherhood is explained by breaks in employment, the need to take part-time work, and less experience leading to lower earnings (Budig and England 2001). In countries with generous social transfers and gendered social policies, women are less likely to be penalized for childrearing responsibilities and therefore more likely to build their careers without intermittence (Esping-Andersen 2009). In such societies, women are more likely to achieve narrower gender income gaps. Second, welfare states create public service jobs that tend to provide more job opportunities for women than for men. Left-wing governments have consciously created jobs in areas that typically employ more women than men, such as daycare, elder care, and after-school programs (Benner and Bundgaard Vad 2000). Women have better mobilized their interests in the public sector, where workers enjoy strong bargaining power. In both developed and developing countries, women in the public sector have attained higher wages than they would in the private sector. We therefore expect a bigger public sector will contribute to higher gender income equality.

Nevertheless, we expect different forms of women's activism will have independent—either positive or negative—effects even after controlling for the influential effects of sectoral or occupational transformations in the labor market that fundamentally reshape women's income potential. Our claim—that different forms of associational strength or embeddedness of women's activism are associated with women's greater or lesser income capacity relative to men—emphasizes the importance of women-led social movements and their contributions in accounting for gender earnings equality.

DATA AND MEASURES

This study examines the relationship between different types of women's activism and the gender income gap in 51 countries on five continents. We used multiple ordinary least squares regression (OLS) with robust HC3 estimators based on a heteroscedasticity-consistent covariance matrix, which is designed for a relatively small sample size (below 250) (Long and Ervin 2000).³

Measurement of Dependent Variable

We are interested in the effects of different forms of women's activism within national associational fields on the aggregated earned income gap between women and men at the country level. Our dependent variable is the gender income gap in each country, measured by the average estimated female-to-male earned income ratio published between 2007 and 2009 in the World Economic Forum's *The Global Gender Gap Report* (Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi 2010). The published measure for each year was constructed using data of the latest years available from the late 1990s to the late 2000s.

The estimated value of female-to-male earned income is an important aspect of women's economic empowerment because it captures the quality of women's economic participation. Because women are often relegated to either low-wage jobs or less prestig-

ious positions within organizations (Cohen and Huffman 2003; England 1992; Petersen and Morgan 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993), the amount of women's income relative to men's is expected to capture the degree to which women are disadvantaged due to the quality of jobs, lower chance of promotion, and implicitly imposed norms regarding family obligations, such as more household work and childcare responsibilities.

Measurement of Independent Variables

We measured the main independent variables (forms of women's activism) and political variables, such as democracy and women's world society presence, at the beginning (circa 1999) of the time window of the dependent variable (the late 1990s to the late 2000s), so the political mechanisms can precede or at least correspond to the earlier measurement times of the earnings gap. We specified other economic controls at the same time as the political variable (circa 1999). All economic variables and the measure of democracy were calculated as three-year averages to lessen the noise from unexpected yearly fluctuations.

Repertoires of women's activism. Following previous social movement literature, we generally assume that movement organizations more densely linked with other social groups, such as unions or new social movement associations, will be likely to access more diverse and richer movement infrastructures and resources (Andrews 2001; Edwards and McCarthy 2004). However, we also assume that resources in associational fields around women's movements are unevenly distributed within and across societies, which will significantly affect patterns of women's mobilization, their influence, and gender inequality outcomes.

We pay attention to the patterns and types of women's activism originating from inter-organizational linkages as well as their own organizational strength. In constructing the following membership and co-membership

data, we aimed to operationalize how women as challengers build organizational resources with seemingly neutral but potentially conscientious allies in associational fields against the existing incumbent male-dominant institutional order (Zald and McCarthy 1979). Specifically, we are interested in the degree to which middle-class professional women tend to mobilize their own organizational resources using their existing associational capacity, as well as the degree to which middle-class women's associations build coalitions with women in working-class organizations (union women) or grassroots social movement associations (women in popular movements).

We measured repertoires of women's activism based on different patterns of associational ties using associational co-affiliation data. Whereas many existing studies use organizational-level characteristics, such as membership density or numbers of chapters of particular organizations, to gauge movement activity (e.g., Andrews 2001; Soule and King 2006), the benefit of our measure is that it is especially suited to (1) making a broad comparison across countries (using comparable survey data based on random sampling, rather than using directory data that may not be comparable in the same way across countries); and (2) converting survey data into network data, thereby allowing us to measure linkages and embeddedness, as opposed to only organizational presence or strength.⁴

Our main independent variables, membership and network measures of women's activism, were based on individual-level survey data constructed at the country level to capture associational structures around women's activism. To construct these variables, we used the World Values Survey's Wave 4 module (1999 to 2002). This module contains 54 constitutionally independent countries; we used 51 countries due to data availability for other variables. Considering the wide range of associational types ($N = 15$), the sufficient number of developing countries ($N = 36$), and the availability of measures for women's empowerment, we chose to use only Wave 4 for this study. With these individual-level survey data, we constructed an $n \times n$ associational

affiliation matrix for each country, in which conventional measures of network structure can be calculated with some modifications (Borgatti and Everett 1997; Breiger 1974; Faust 1997). In the affiliation network matrix, each cell value represents the number of common and non-directional memberships shared by two types of organizations.

To measure different aspects of women's activism, we constructed and tested the following measures. For professionalized women's activism, we used women's membership in professional associations, gauging the overall strength of professional women in civil society, calculated as the number of affiliated members divided by the number of total women respondents in each country module. For labor women's activism, we built a co-membership measure between labor unions and women's associations, divided by the smaller membership of the two types of associations. This measure captures the degree to which women's organizations have organizational linkages with union women, enabling them to build organizational ties for resource and agenda sharing.

The next measure, women's activism in popular movements, was conceptualized as the co-membership density of women's associations with popular movement associations, and measured as the sum of co-memberships with popular movement associational types (excluding its own membership value), divided by its own membership value. The formula for co-membership density of women's associations with popular movement groups, CM_w , is as follows:

$$CM_w = [\sum(A_k) - N_i] / N_i,$$

where A_k is the size of co-membership of women's associations with the relevant associations, and N_i is the membership of women's associations. We constructed a measure based on the co-membership density of women's associations with peace, human rights, environmental, and local action groups (i.e., new social movements).⁵ Part B in the online supplement presents values for these three measures for all countries in our sample.⁶

Alternative explanatory variables. We tested two sets of alternative explanatory variables along with our main independent variables. The first set tests the general development model; the second set takes into account the role of welfare states. First, we included as our main baseline model the linear association of the gender earnings gap to general economic growth. To operationalize this trend, we introduced GDP per capita (purchasing power parity [PPP], constant 2005 international \$; average of 1997 to 1999, World Bank 2011) to capture the initial growth effect stemming from industrialization.

To capture the effect of the welfare state, we used a general public sector size indicator and an indicator for gender-related welfare state policies. Public sector size was measured by public health expenditure as a proportion of GDP (average of 1997 to 1999, World Bank 2011). We tested dummy variables for the presence of legal social security provisions, in which the existence of statutory programs guaranteeing family allowance, maternity, and survivors' insurance protections is coded 1, and their absence is coded 0. These data came from Appendix B on Social Security Coverage and Expenditure in the *World Social Security Report 2010/11* (International Labor Organization 2010).

Controlling for state socialist legacy. In addition to our main independent variables, we controlled for the effect of state socialist legacy. Under state socialism, women formally participated in the political sphere via state-controlled women's organizations that had policy input through state-sanctioned channels (Stites 1978). Women's liberation was framed as existing in a symbiotic relationship with the state socialist project—women could only be free under a noncapitalist regime, and these regimes needed women's liberation to be successful. In practice, class trumped gender: women's organizations had little autonomy, many women retained subordinate roles in the private sphere, and women's rights were secondary to the project of building socialism (Einhorn 1993; Lapidus 1982). Still, party

bureaucrats' commitment to centralized wage setting and full employment fostered a system that produced relatively low rates of economic gender inequality, especially in the context of a compressed wage distribution, and the state guaranteed the right to "equal pay for equal work" to encourage women to enter the labor force (Brainerd 2000).

As these regimes disintegrated during the late twentieth century, the state socialist legacy lingered in some social policies and institutions, influencing trajectories of women's equality across the region. For example, while acknowledging its shortcomings, Pascall and Manning (2000) write that under the Soviet regime, legal entitlements such as equal pay and equal opportunities facilitated women's presence in the labor market, and they suggest post-Soviet states' legislatures have likewise embraced these principles. Some scholars have also argued that sectors of the economy most closely linked to the state socialist legacy tend to have smaller gender gaps (Krizkova, Penner, and Petersen 2010).

Given the diversity of post-transition trajectories across countries in the region, the importance of the state socialist legacy may gradually fade as new institutional arrangements are consolidated and women's organizations mobilize to influence the gender income gap. Still, we expect countries with a state socialist legacy, while continuing to manifest patterns of gender inequality, will nevertheless tend to have higher earnings equality between women and men, on average. For this measure, we used a single indicator variable to capture effects of the historical legacy of countries that formerly or currently have state socialist regimes.

Other control variables. We controlled for other important determinants of the gender income gap at the country level. Using the average values of 1999 to 2001 data from the Freedom House index of civil liberties (Freedom House 1999, 2000, 2001), we controlled for the extent of democracy to see if democracy provides more opportunities for women's mobilization in civil and political society or for women's interests to be captured in

policymaking processes, thereby reducing the gender income gap. We also controlled for female secondary school enrollment (percent gross; average 1997 to 1999; World Bank 2011) to consider the potential effect of human capital factors, such as education, on the gender income gap. To take the labor market context into account, we tested women's employment in the nonagricultural sector, which is the share of women working in industry and services, as a percentage of total employment in the nonagricultural sector. We calculated this variable based on averages of country-level data between 1997 and 2006 to maximize data availability.⁷

We included control variables for Catholicism and Islam to account for cultural attitudes that may affect gender equality (Ahmed 1992; Bayes and Tohidi 2001; Kenworthy and Malami 1999). Data for these variables came from Kenworthy and Malami (1999), who suggest that religion matters for political gender inequality outcomes. We extend this logic to apply to economic equality, considering whether in countries where Catholicism and Islam represent the dominant religious norms with important cultural authority, women are more likely to fulfill traditional women's roles in the economy and within organizations, and are therefore less likely to move up to better jobs and positions.

Finally, we controlled for the influence of women's international mobilization. Prior literature has considered the work of transnational feminist movements (Ferree and Tripp 2006), women's rights in global governance institutions (Meyer and Prugl 1999), and women's rights from a world society perspective (Berkovitch 1999; Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997). This work shows that international women's movement organizations and international organizations promoting women's rights may pressure governments to institute and enforce equal opportunity policies or family policies conducive to improving women's positions in the labor market. We measured women's world society presence using Union of International Associations (UIA) data on country memberships in women's international nongovernmental

organizations (INGOs) in 1999 (Berkovitch 1999; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008).⁸

Reverse Causality and Instrumental Variable Approach

We recognize it is possible to formulate alternative causal hypotheses based on existing social movement theories. For professionalized women's activism, for example, improved middle-class women's earnings (leading to higher earnings equality between women and men) enable them to fund professional advocacy organizations, thereby leading to greater involvement in professional women's groups. This explanation, based on resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1987), would posit an opposite causal argument: higher gender earnings equality should result in the stronger development of professionalized women's activism. A similar logic could be applied to labor women's activism: working-class women's improved earnings will strengthen their support for working-class organizations, especially labor unions, which will, in turn, provide stronger incentives for women's organizations to build connections with unions. In this explanation, the causal relationship is opposite the original hypothesis, which posited that labor women's activism will lead to higher gender earnings equality. Our third hypothesis may also be vulnerable to this endogeneity issue. Women's difficulty in getting access to decent jobs, and consequential lack of resources to create advocacy organizations, will be reflected in high earnings inequality between women and men. Women's lack of access to resources (jobs and income) will thus lead to their greater involvement in other kinds of noninstitutionalized and potentially more disruptive popular movements (Piven and Cloward 1977).

Because conventional regression analyses cannot exclude these explanations, we employed instrumental variables (IV) regression. Instrumental variables can address potential endogeneity problems because they are correlated with X but uncorrelated with the error term; they should therefore reflect

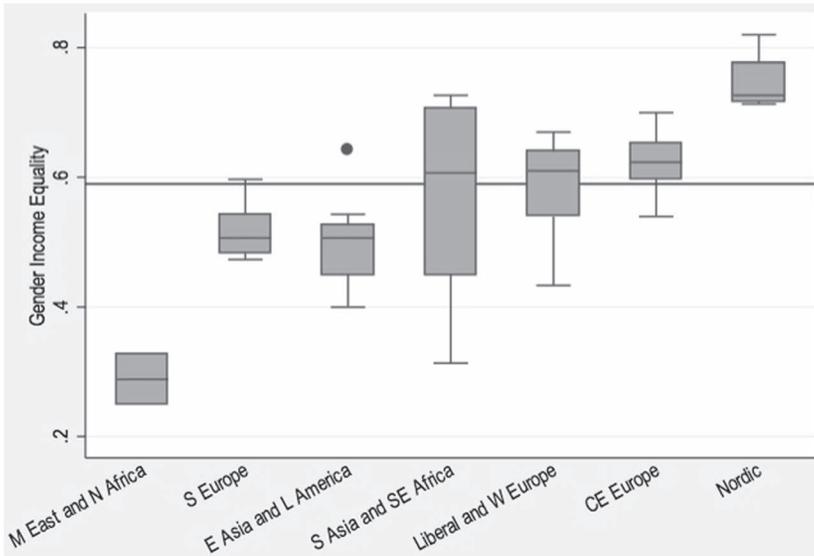


Figure 1. Gender Income Equality across Regions

the effect of X on Y not subject to endogeneity concerns (Wooldridge 2002). We used three instruments: (1) a co-membership density measure for men's cultural associations as an instrument for professional women; (2) men's co-membership between unions and welfare associations (normalized by the smaller membership) for women-union ties; and (3) a co-membership density measure for men's youth associations for women-popular movement ties. Gender earnings equality cannot affect these instruments (a more egalitarian income distribution is not likely to lead men to participate in these associational or co-membership activities), which are highly correlated with their instrumented variables (.7, .54, and .68, respectively), so they function as appropriate instruments for women's activism variables.

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Figure 1 presents box plots of regional disparities in gender income equality. Gender income equality is exceptionally high in Nordic countries, compared to other regions, and it is lowest in Middle Eastern and North African countries. Central and Eastern Europe, South Asia, and Eastern and Southern Africa also display striking patterns: Central and Eastern Europe has the second highest gender income equality among the seven regions; South Asia and Eastern and Southern Africa, the least economically developed regions in the sample, have higher gender equality, on average, than Southern Europe, East Asia, and Latin America. Although we see a wide range of variation within each region (especially for South Asia and Eastern and Southern Africa), both between- and within-region variations suggest it is necessary to develop alternative explanatory factors beyond the level of economic development.

Table 2 displays summary statistics of three measures of women's activism and gender income equality by region. Not only Nordic, liberal, and western European countries but also South Asian and African countries have relatively high scores on professional women's advocacy, and they also tend to have higher gender income equality than do the other regions. The next column, women-union ties, shows that several regions have comparable scores on this indicator, but Nordic countries have a noticeably high score on this measure, which accounts for their notably

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Table 2. Descriptive Statistics (Means) of Measures of Women's Activism and Gender Income Equality by Region

Region	Professional Women's Advocacy	Women-Union Linkage	Women-Popular Movement Linkage	Gender Income Equality
Nordic	.11	.58	.60	.75
Central and Eastern Europe	.04	.20	.54	.62
Liberal and Western Europe	.08	.19	.60	.59
South Asia and Eastern/Southern Africa	.10	.23	1.01	.57
Southern Europe	.04	.15	.72	.52
East Asia and Latin America	.03	.10	.64	.49
Middle East and North Africa	.01	.19	.35	.29

Note: Eastern and Southern Africa includes South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda; East Asia and newly industrialized countries (NICs) includes China, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore; Central and Eastern Europe includes Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Russia, Slovak Republic, Romania, and Slovenia; Latin America includes Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela; Liberal countries include Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States; Middle East and North Africa includes Turkey and Morocco; Nordic countries include Denmark, Iceland, Finland, and Sweden; South Asia includes Bangladesh, India, Philippines, and Vietnam; Southern Europe refers to Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Malta, Portugal, and Spain; Western Europe refers to Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

high gender income equality.⁹ In Nordic countries, women-union linkages coexist with professional women's advocacy. However, in liberal and western European countries, only one form of activism is prevalent in each region (professionalized women's advocacy groups in liberal countries and women-union ties in western Europe). The third column shows mean values for women's embeddedness in popular movements for each region. It suggests a potential negative relationship between the indicator for women's activism in popular movements and gender income equality. South Asia and Eastern and Southern Africa, Southern Europe, and East Asia and Latin America have relatively higher scores than do advanced industrial democracies, but their gender income equality indices are lower. Especially in these regions (with the exception of South Asia and Africa), relatively high women-popular movement embeddedness scores are combined with low scores on the other two measures. The distribution of the region-based means suggests that gender income equality tends to be lower in parts of the world where

women's associations lack access to more institutionalized forms of activism and are more involved in popular movements. Finally, Central and Eastern European countries score relatively high on gender income equality, despite their relatively low levels of all three activism measures (with the exception of women-union ties), yet this is to be expected due to the state socialist legacy effect.

REGRESSION RESULTS

Table 3 presents regression results for a series of models estimating the effects of women's mobilization on the gender income gap. Model 1 includes baseline effects of a country's level of economic development, the extent to which its civil liberties are guaranteed by democratic institutions, the influence of Catholicism and Islam, the presence of women's INGOs, and state socialist legacies on gender income inequality. The variables for Catholicism and Islam are both statistically significant at the .05 level, with a negative effect on the female-to-male earned income ratio. Such findings are consistent

Table 3. Results from Heteroskedasticity-Consistent Robust Regression Models

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
GDP per capita (log)	-.007 (.25)	-.027 (1.07)	-.025 (1.01)	-.014 (.58)	-.041* (2.55)	-.0444† (1.81)	-.008 (.41)
Democracy	-.007 (.41)	.003 (.16)	.001 (.06)	.013 (.63)	-.006 (.40)	-.004 (.26)	.020 (1.09)
Catholicism	-.079* (2.63)	-.070* (2.37)	-.070* (2.28)	-.008 (.23)	.012 (.51)	.012 (.47)	.036 (.89)
Islam	-.204** (2.89)	-.189** (2.72)	-.183* (2.58)	-.170* (2.03)	.025 (.30)	.018 (.21)	-.155* (2.21)
International women's NGOs	.001 (.99)	.000 (.44)	.000 (.37)	.000 (.33)	.000 (.41)	.000 (.38)	.000 (.30)
State socialist legacy	.084* (2.53)	.070† (2.01)	.080* (2.12)	.083* (2.07)	-.025 (.61)	-.022 (.48)	.081† (1.95)
Public health expenditure (% GDP)		.023† (1.69)	.026† (1.78)	.010 (.73)	-.009 (.71)	-.010 (.72)	-.002 (.18)
Gendered social policies indicator			-.028 (.44)	.005 (.08)	-.011 (.18)	-.011 (.18)	.029 (.54)
Professionalized women's activism				.749* (2.47)	.552* (2.22)	.573* (2.12)	1.267† (2.00)
Women-union linkage				.264** (3.06)	.265** (4.16)	.260** (3.76)	.447† (2.00)
Women's activism in popular movements				-.076† (1.81)	-.062† (1.76)	-.064† (1.80)	-.154† (1.86)
Women in nonagricultural sector					.012** (4.17)	.012** (3.21)	
Women's secondary school enrollment					.000 (.50)	.000 (.50)	
Constant	.645* (2.08)	.723* (2.56)	.718* (2.53)	.559† (2.01)	.427** (2.35)	.447† (1.78)	.496* (2.05)
R ²	.38	.43	.44	.60	.79	.79	.51
N	51	51	51	51	51	50	51

Note: Absolute value of *t* statistics in parentheses.
†*p* < .10; **p* < .05; ***p* < .01 (two-tailed tests).

with other work showing gender ideologies are influenced by religion (Ahmed 1992) and demonstrating similar effects of religious factors on gendered political outcomes (Kunovich and Paxton 2005; Paxton 1997). Both religions are presumed to have negative effects on gender earnings equality through entrenched cultural norms that encourage women's traditional roles in the economy and discourage women's active participation in labor markets and leadership within organizations.

Model 1 also considers the effect of a state socialist legacy, which has a positive coefficient, statistically significant at the .01 level. These findings support our hypothesis, which posits that countries with institutional legacies of state socialism will have a lower gender income gap, on average. In this context, women's organizations had little autonomy and a formal state-sanctioned role, but they promoted women's economic roles in tandem with predominantly male party bureaucrats who viewed women's workforce participation as crucial to achieving party goals. Effects of the state socialist legacy have persisted through the democratic transition period, despite variation in transition experiences and recent experimentation by women's groups in former Eastern-bloc countries with different forms of mobilization.

The remaining control variables in the first model do not have statistically significant results. Democracy and the presence of women's INGOs influence the political and cultural settings in which women's groups mobilize (Paxton 1997; Paxton et al. 2006), but they do not have a statistically meaningful effect with respect to gender income equality. Finally, although the level of economic development has implications for the types of economic opportunities available to women, it is not statistically related to the gender income gap in this initial baseline model.

In Models 2 and 3, to gauge the effect of the welfare state, we introduced the size of social spending measured by public health expenditure (as percent of GDP) and an indicator variable for countries that had enacted all three key social policy programs supporting women's rights as workers and caregivers—

family allowance, maternity benefits, and survivors' benefits. The coefficient for public sector size is positive and statistically significant at the .1 level, which is consistent with prior findings regarding the positive effects of generous social transfers and public sector employment on gender income inequality. In the subsequent model, we introduced the indicator variable for gendered social policies, but it is statistically nonsignificant in the presence of the baseline controls.¹⁰

In Model 4, we tested three measures for different forms of women's activism in the presence of the baseline model and two welfare state variables: professional women, co-memberships between women's associations and labor unions, and women in popular movements. First, the positive, significant effect of women affiliated with professional associations is consistent with our first hypothesis: professional associations will be more likely to incorporate women's policy demands into their agendas when women participate. This also serves as a proxy indicator for professional women who participate in interest group politics of professionalized women's advocacy. High levels of women's membership in professional organizations suggest that such organizations incorporate and represent women's interests via occupational groups and connections with established institutions; consequently, professional women's membership has a positive effect on the gender income ratio.

The significant effect of co-memberships between women's organizations and labor unions on gender income inequality confirms our hypothesis that women participating in labor unions, as well as ties between unions and women's groups, play decisive roles in reducing the gender earnings gap. These results lend credence to our claim that labor women and their coalitions with women's groups will not only influence labor unions' agendas by promoting women members' concerns, but will also build dense policy networks beyond workplaces, which greatly increase women's groups' access to institutional politics. This mechanism will significantly improve gender earnings equality.

In this model, the coefficient of the popular movement measure is negative and significant at the .1 level.¹¹ Such results indicate that women's movements' linkages with new social movement associations have a negative, but weak, effect on income equality, controlling for other types of women's activism. These results suggest that, given the same level of women-union linkages, women's movements' greater connections with new social movements may not be conducive to gender income equality. This result, if not as impressive as those for the other two types of women's activism, is consistent with our original hypothesis: at the same level of women-union linkages, strong women's activism in new social movements and broader popular movements may mean that women's economic demands are not being adequately channeled into the policy process, and thus are failing to affect gender income equality. In such societies, wage feminists' concerns with equal pay will be less represented in formal partisan or institutional politics, and gender wage gaps will therefore remain wide.¹²

Note that, with the introduction of these three women's activism variables, the public sector size variable is no longer significant. These results support our earlier claim that women's activism not only activates welfare states through their influence via policy networks but also promotes equal pay and opportunities at workplaces. We find that these direct and indirect mechanisms drive welfare state effects to be nonsignificant. Note that introduction of these three forms of women's activism boost the *R*-square from .44 to .60, which is equivalent to a 36 percent increase from the amount explained in Model 3.

To take into account gendered structural changes in the labor market, Model 5 controls for women employed in the nonagricultural sector, which is positive and significant at the .01 level, suggesting that women's higher participation in nonagricultural jobs is associated with better gender earnings equality. With the introduction of women in the nonagricultural sector, all three women's activism variables

remain statistically significant and the effect of labor-women ties becomes even stronger. In addition, GDP per capita turns statistically significant and has a negative effect on gender earnings equality, and state socialism legacy becomes nonsignificant. Because women are typically well represented in the nonagricultural sector in countries with a state socialist legacy, it is not surprising that state socialism loses significance. Once the confounding effect of the late-industrial/post-industrial gendered labor market transition is considered, the growth factor captures the effect of labor force transition from the traditional to the modern sector. The significant negative effect of GDP per capita suggests the initial industrialization process is primarily a gendered process that disproportionately boosts men's income, thereby increasing the gender earnings gap. In Model 6, we control for women's secondary school enrollment, but it is not statistically significant and results for the other variables in the model remain largely the same. In summary, our findings reveal that professionalized women's activism and women-union ties contribute to greater earnings equality, whereas women's activism in popular movements has a negative effect, controlling for other forms of mobilization. Women's mobilization in associational fields remains important when controlling for sectoral transformations in the labor market and the role of welfare states.

Model 7 in Table 3 shows IV regression results. We employed a generalized method of moments (GMM) estimator for instrumental variable regression specifying a weighted matrix that is appropriate for heteroskedastic error term and degrees-of-freedom adjustments for small-sample statistics. Overall, results are not markedly different from those of previous models. The variables measuring professional women's associational activity, women's embeddedness in popular movements, and women-union ties are statistically significant at the .1 level. State socialist legacy and Islamic religion are also statistically meaningful controls. Based on the Hausman endogeneity test,¹³ we conclude that endogeneity

does not seriously distort the conventional OLS estimates.

CONCLUSIONS

We proposed that civil society organizations affect women's economic empowerment, emphasizing different organizational repertoires of women's activism and conceptualizing the effect of mobilization in terms of challengers' relative success in altering broad patterns of gender stratification across countries. Building on prior literature on movement outcomes, we investigated how women's organizations' capacities and their inter-organizational ties in associational fields affect earnings equality. Professionalized women's advocacy groups work with professional associations, civil rights groups, and allies within the state to reduce the income gap through legal mobilization and battles for pay equity and equal opportunity rights. Women allied with strong labor unions and leftist political parties attain wage increases through coordinated wage bargaining and bridging gender- and class-based issues, creating cross-organizational policy networks and a new logic of solidarity centering on wage-earner women's interests. Women in popular movements, however, tend to be embedded in broad-based networks—such as local neighborhood associations, human rights organizations, and religious groups—that may provide spaces for claims-making without leading to access to the policy channels necessary to directly address income inequality.

Past research shows that collective action is likely to be more effective when movement organizations have diverse leadership and access to inter-organizational networks, enabling them to adapt strategies and tactics to pursue their goals, mobilize resources to respond to political opportunities, and employ disruptive and routinized means when appropriate (Andrews 2001; Ganz 2000; McCammon et al. 2008). Here, we took the insight that inter-organizational ties matter for movement impact and developed it with respect to women's

mobilization for economic empowerment, specifying three ideal-typical configurations of ties and investigating how women's organizations' ties to other kinds of organizations have shaped repertoires of mobilization across countries. In our view, such patterns of ties and organizational repertoires are an important part of the movement infrastructure (Andrews 2001; Zald and McCarthy 1987) affecting movement outcomes.

Based on our cross-national analyses, we found that different forms of embeddedness in associational fields have different implications for movement influence on equality outcomes. On one hand, women activists working on gender pay equity issues can leverage inter-organizational linkages with unions and professional associations to gain access to valuable material and symbolic resources, using their ties to generate support for their cause. For example, overlapping memberships and resource sharing between women's groups and labor unions can critically benefit wage-earner women's activism, creating opportunities to mount a sustained challenge in favor of gender earnings equality. These forms of embeddedness may also give women's associations access to multiple kinds of influence. On the other hand, when women's associations mobilize as part of broader popular movements with many competing agendas, inter-organizational linkages may not lead to greater earnings equality. Linkages among newly emerging organizational populations with high founding rates are more likely to make organizational goals diffuse, waste limited resources, and expose groups to higher rates of failure and eventual disbanding (Aldrich and Ruef 2006; Minkoff 1999). Women's investment of resources in noninstitutionalized social movements may thus not be effective in altering the earnings gap, even though it can be important for other goals.

Our findings generally suggest that embeddedness with access to divergent ways of engaging with formal politics is associated with greater earnings equality between women and men. Women's organizations with access

to such forms of mobilization, through either direct advocacy or coalition efforts with other organizations such as professional associations and labor unions, are in especially strong positions to promote gender earnings equality. Consequently, it is critical for the success of gender egalitarian economic agendas that women build formal and informal networks via professionalized associations, local unions, union federations, and reformist parties, even though such organizations also have the potential to engage in discriminatory practices or reinforce social closure and gender hierarchies (Katzenstein 1987; Pateman 1988).

While testing these arguments about different repertoires of women's activism, we also considered the independent effects of mobilization relative to other possible explanations, taking into account the role of welfare states in reducing the gender income gap. Regression results confirm the main storyline of the welfare state literature: gendered social policies, transfers, and public sector jobs play significant roles in reducing the gender income gap, even in this larger sample embracing developed and developing countries. However, the fact that the initially significant welfare state size loses its explanatory power once different forms of women's activism are introduced implies that various organizational repertoires of women's activism influence gender income gaps directly and indirectly through welfare states. Our findings suggest that, when a significant association between the institutional characteristics or performance of the state and socioeconomic outcomes is identified, different forms of women's mobilization may be shaping both state policies and their distributional outcomes.

Further research is needed to investigate additional questions at the intersection of scholarship on movement outcomes and inequality. For example, to refine our understanding of how embeddedness in associational fields affects movement outcomes, case studies can explain how inter-organizational ties influence mobilization for women's economic

empowerment on the ground and in distinct political contexts, examining the dynamic relationship between disruptive tactics, consciousness raising, and strategies relying on engagement with institutionalized politics. Other studies could analyze the impact of different forms of mobilization over time or on inequality among women. Likewise, conceptualizing embeddedness in associational fields as part of movement infrastructure may be extended to linkages among other kinds of movements. For instance, it is plausible that environmental movements' various forms of embeddedness in associational fields may lead to divergent movement repertoires and outcomes in terms of passage of environmental regulations and policy implementation. We may also ask how immigrant rights or LGBT movements' coalition politics—with labor, professional lobbying groups, and new social movements such as human rights groups—could affect patterns of claims-making and produce more or less favorable outcomes. We believe that pursuing and answering these puzzles along the lines of our theoretical and analytical strategies will enrich social movement scholarship.

By investigating how organizational repertoires influence movement outcomes from a field-based perspective, we attempted to connect social movement scholarship with the study of economic gender inequality. Our emphasis on organizations mobilizing in fields addresses a gap in the outcomes literature, which has a rich body of knowledge on the roles of internal organizational characteristics and political context, but less work that explicitly investigates the significance of movement groups' embeddedness in broader fields of civil society organizations. We not only brought stratification outcomes, a central topic in sociology, to the attention of social movement scholars, but we also highlighted the importance of social movement groups as an organizational category that deserves more attention in studies of inequality.

As the global organization of production and welfare state restructuring processes

shift, movement organizations will continue to adapt their efforts to influence economic gender inequality, perhaps giving rise to new organizational repertoires. Studying how women's mobilization influences income inequality—incorporating distributional outcomes into our understanding of movement effects, and political and associational processes into explanations of the gender income gap—will therefore continue to be important.

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Notes

1. By associational field, we refer to a type of organizational field comprised of civil society organizations that “interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purposes of the field, the relationships in the field . . . and the field's rules” (Fligstein and McAdam 2011:3). Women's organizations operating in distinct associational fields employ different organizational repertoires (Clemens 1993, 1997; McCarthy and Walker 2004), that is, models of mobilization with different key actors, patterns of inter-organizational ties, and ways of making claims. We use *associational fields* instead of *multi-organizational fields* in the rest of the article.
2. We use women's membership in professional associations as a proxy measure of professionalized women's activism. We recognize this does not perfectly measure professional women's advocacy, but we believe it is a satisfactory proxy because the presence of women members in professional associations in associational fields is likely highly correlated with this form of associational activity.
3. Our data, coding syntax, and statistical commands are available upon request. Following a reviewer's suggestion, we tested GLS random-effects models using multiple observations (three years) of the dependent variables and economic controls (maintaining one wave of political variables including

the women's activism measures), as well as using bootstrapping techniques to see if these estimates were robust across different subsamples. These results are largely identical with results reported here based on OLS with robust HC3 estimators (see Part A of the online supplement [<http://asr.sagepub.com/supplemental>]).

4. As a reviewer pointed out, co-affiliation may not necessarily immediately lead to “strategic alliances” among social movement organizations (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). However, we contend that shared associational memberships may eventually lead to formal alliances at the organizational leadership level in the long term. For example, bottom-up pressure from local grassroots union activists embedded in community organizations and other social movement associations led the AFL-CIO's top leadership to embrace and seek social movement unionism at the confederation level (Fantasia and Voss 2004).
5. Co-membership ties between women's associations and political parties is another potential measure of women's ties with other organizations in associational fields. We tested this measure in the presence of our women's activism measures and baseline controls, but it was not statistically meaningful; we therefore do not present these results in the main text. Results are available upon request.
6. We tested alternative independent variables based on membership data (women in professional associations, women in unions, and women in popular movements) and co-membership data (women's organizations and professional associations, women's organizations and unions, co-membership between women's organizations and popular movements) (see Table S4 in the online supplement). Women's union membership and women-union ties have a persistent and stable statistically significant effect; the other measures lose significance due to multicollinearity. We chose to use professionalized women's activism, women-union ties, and co-membership density of women's groups with popular movements because they are the most theoretically relevant and empirically well-functioning with the lowest collinearity. Professionalized women's activism tends to mobilize around its own resources focusing on its own interests and agendas; labor women and women in popular movements typically try to mobilize broader coalition politics in the larger civil society.
7. We used 1997 to 2006 average values for this variable due to missing data. Results, however, are largely identical even if reduced 1997 to 1999 data are used.
8. We thank Wotipka and Ramirez (2008) for sharing their data, which are an extension of Berkovitch's (1999) data on women's INGOs, based on data from the Union of International Associations.
9. To address the concern that Nordic countries disproportionately influence our regression results, we

- tested a model controlling for the potential regional effect using a Nordic dummy. Our women's activism variables remained statistically significant, suggesting that the women–union linkage variable accounts for within-region variations other than the difference between Nordic and non-Nordic countries. Results available upon request.
10. Gendered social policy is highly correlated with civil liberty (corr. = .6) as well as public sector size (corr. = .7).
 11. The highest variance inflation factor scores for Models 4 and 5 are 4.13 and 4.68 (public health expenditure), but our three measures of women's movements do not have serious multicollinearity problems.
 12. Part C of the online supplement provides a correlation coefficient table. Part D of the online supplement presents regression diagnostics (Belsley, Kuh, and Welsch 1980) and reports regression results after eliminating two influential outliers (Moldova and Iceland). Results are largely identical to those reported here.
 13. Wu-Hausman F test is .911 (p -value = .445) and Durbin-Wu-Hausman Chi-sq test is 3.6 (p -value = .308), implying that the null hypothesis that regressors are exogenous cannot be rejected.

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