



SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

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MOVING BEYOND EXISTING THEORY OF STATE FEMINISM:

INTRODUCING A TYPOLOGY OF STATE FEMINISM

THESIS SUPERVISOR

ASST. PROF. DR. SENEM ERTAN

MASTER THESIS

in

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

MOVING BEYOND EXISTING THEORY OF STATE FEMINISM:

INTRODUCING A TYPOLOGY OF STATE FEMINISM

September 2020

In the state feminism literature, state feminism has generally been attempted to be standardized and mostly focused on developed Western countries. However, ignoring the other countries except the developed Western ones has caused to overlook that state feminism can manifest itself in different ways. On the other hand, in the limited number of researches about the third world countries, the uniqueness of the related country has been discussed and has not been compared with the countries that have traditionally been known as the implementers of the state feminism or the state feminist implementations of these countries have been explained within the context of Western and/or Scandinavian approaches, ignoring the distinctive dynamics of these countries. In this research, it is seen that the peculiar background of the selected countries diversifies the implementations of state feminism. Therefore, one has considered that there is no single type of state feminism; state feminism may be varied depending on the implementer. It is suggested that the relationship between the state and women in each of the states adopted state feminism for different purposes differentiates state feminism. It is also offered an insight into the cases that state feminism does not aim to achieve gender equality and broaden women's rights directly. The characteristics of the relationship between state feminism and the implementer state are revealed through the correlation between three main and five supporting determinants, and thus, the type of state feminism in which the selected countries belonged is determined. Accordingly, forty-one

independent countries are chosen for the analysis, and seven different types of state feminism are proposed as a result. Eventually, each type named in order to indicate their intent by practicing state feminism.

Keywords: state feminism, comparative state feminism, state feminism in third world countries, the relationship between woman and state.



ÖZET

MEVCUT DEVLET FEMİNİZMİ KURAMININ ÖTESİNE GEÇMEK:

DEVLET FEMİNİZMİNİN TİPOLOJİSİNE GİRİŞ

Eylül 2020

Devlet feminizmi literatüründe genel olarak devlet feminizmi tek tipleştirilmeye çalışılmış ve çoğunlukla Batılı gelişmiş ülkelere odaklanılmıştır. Ancak Batılı gelişmiş ülkelerin dışında kalan diğer ülkelere çalışmalarda yer vermemek, devlet feminizminin değişik şekillerde tezahür edebileceğinin de gözden kaçırılmasına neden olmuştur. Diğer yandan, üçüncü dünya ülkelerine dair yapılan sayılı çalışmada ise o ülkelerin biricikliği ele alınmış ve geleneksel olarak devlet feminizminin uygulayıcısı olarak bilinen ülkeler ile kıyaslamaya gidilmemiş ya da bu ülkelerin devlet feminizmi uygulamaları, ülkelerin kendine özgü dinamikleri göz ardı edilerek doğrudan Batı ve/veya İskandinav yaklaşımları çerçevesinde açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışmada ise seçilen ülkelerin kendilerine özgü arka planlarının devlet feminizmi uygulamalarını da çeşitlendirdiği görülmüştür. Bu nedenle tek bir devlet feminizmi olmadığı; devlet feminizminin uygulayıcıya bağlı olarak değişiklik gösterebileceği düşünülmüştür. Farklı amaçlar ile devlet feminizmini benimseyen bu devletlerin her birinde devlet ve kadınlar arasındaki ilişkinin devlet feminizmini farklılaştırdığı öne sürülmüştür. Ayrıca, devlet feminizminin doğrudan cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamayı ve kadın haklarını genişletmeyi hedeflemediği vakalara da ışık tutulmuştur. Devlet feminizmi ve uygulayıcı devlet arasındaki ilişkinin niteliği ise üç adet ana ve beş adet yan etken arasındaki korelasyon ile açığa çıkmış ve böylelikle seçilen ülkelerin ait olduğu devlet feminizmi türü de belirlenmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, analiz için kırk bir adet bağımsız ülke seçilmiş olup sonuç

olarak yedi farklı devlet feminizmi türü önerilmiştir. Nihayetinde, her bir tür, devlet feminizmini uygulamadaki amaçlarını ortaya koyacak biçimde isimlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: devlet feminizmi, karşılaştırmalı devlet feminizmi, üçüncü dünya ülkelerinde devlet feminizmi, kadın ve devlet ilişkisi.



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CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

The term of state feminism was used for the first time in the book called *Welfare State and Woman Power* written by Helga Maria Hernes in 1987 (Siim 1988). The book aims to analyze the political changes in women's issues in the 1970s' Nordic countries and claims that the relationship between gender and state can also be examined within the state institutions. According to Hernes, Nordic democracies had created a space for women's issues within state formation to support social and political transformation for controlling the gendered political power and maintaining balance. With the transformation, women could gain political power and participate in the decision-making process as well as men do. Besides, Hernes argues that unlike men's political mobilization, there was a relationship between women's mobilization and public sector development. This also recommends that there is a difference between men's relationship to the state and women's relationship to the state. The point is that women and the state are intertwined in comparison with men's relationship with the state, and women tend to be more affected by state policies compared to men. As a result, the relationship with the state is impacted and also more decisive in women's lives rather than men's. Accordingly, if their relationship is firm, thus a developed country may develop women-friendly policies, contribute to women's political mobilization, and provide better status for women by using the link with women. (Siim, 1988)

On the one hand, although the state feminism discussion began with Nordic countries as democratic and developed societies in 1987, thanks to Hernes, the discussion about state feminism still preserves its Occidentalistic characteristics. Despite the

small number of researches about the third world, the selected countries that various authors focused on are mostly Continental European or Anglophone countries. Starting from this point, the research aims to analyze state feminism, not just as a policy adopted within the developed countries' state-structure in cooperation with women's movement, but also a phenomenon which may provide insight for gender and state relationship, and implemented by other nation-states within the context of their very own political culture.

In line with this objective, the main research questions are, "Is it possible to consider standardized state feminism?" and "Can state feminism be classified under the various groups?". These questions are essential since most of the scholars are prone to consider the state feminism as a liberal idea and regard as if it might only improve gender equality and empower women (E.g. Lovenduski, 2005; Mazur and McBride-Stetson, 2010; Waylen, 1998; Outshoorn and Kantola, 2007). However, as mentioned before, this literature mostly focuses on post-industrial countries, and it is not simple to notice that state feminism might serve to the interests of the government to change society, especially in newly established countries or implement an economic development plan from this viewpoint. Another, since the state feminism is mostly analyzed as a result of the successful strategies of the women's movements in the industrialized democratic states, the state feminist actions in the modernization or globalization processes may mostly be overlooked due to the insistence of examining Western democracies. Furthermore, the strategy of shaping women as ideal citizens requires a broader understanding of the scope of women's citizenship and women's participation in the decision-making process. Therefore, this research argues that state feminism might be a helpful tool for the state in such ways.

On the other hand, most scholars who deal with the state feminism (e.g., Lovenduski, 2005; Mazur and McBride-Stetson, 2010) consider solitary positive sides of it such as maternity leaves, wage equality, or equal opportunities in the politics by focusing on Western democratic states. Thus, the inclination for generalizing the state feminism as an empowering mechanism for women has become pointed up. State feminism should be considered in a broader context than the emancipation of women be-

cause it aims to pull women to the public sphere and impress them directly. However, the effort of changing society did not be noticed; thus, they mostly pay attention to post-industrial countries. Nevertheless, in countries other than post-industrial ones, state feminism has features of oppressive and directive for women. These features should be remarkable and distinguished from the characteristics of the Western style of state feminism. Herewith, this research also reveals the relationship between the controlling character of state feminism and ideological reproduction. Thus, the *terminus a quo* of this research is putting in touch with filling the gap ignoring the hegemonic background of state feminism in the literature since the state feminist implementations have become on the political agendas, especially after the United Nations' World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

Lastly, this research contributes to the literature by taking state feminism as a theory that might help to examine women and the state relation from the cross-national and broader perspective unrestricted with only developed countries. Since it suggests that empowering women does not always mean democratizing, it might serve the hegemonic desires of non-democratic governments as a part of their autocratic policy-making processes in reality. This research intends to fill a gap in the literature by analyzing other countries rather than Western and industrialized ones.

Briefly stated of the importance of state feminism for this research, it aims to examine state feminism implemented in forty-one countries – except the special administrative regions. These countries are selected regarding their ability for representation, which is measured by their populations that are more than ten million people and their existence in the representative sample of the World Values Survey since its research provides a comparative cross-national analysis with an over-time perspective. Therefore, the aim of this case selection is developing a typology for state feminism and reveal different types of it. State feminist policies afford assistance, especially for the states aiming to modernize, globalize, or marketize. For achieving social transition purposes, the states' agenda has been determined by a consideration that state feminism might be suitable for shaping society.

CHAPTER II

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 FEMINIST DISCUSSIONS OF STATE

Referring to the lack of feminist theory for the state, Mackinnon (1991) points out that in liberal traditions, the state is considered as a neutral arbitrator, and various groups can defend their interest. However, liberalism accepts state intervention on behalf of women. Besides, in left traditions, the state has been seen as an instrument for dominance and hegemony. Accordingly, Marxism is inclined to abolish the state within women ignored by the state. Therefore, women had two choices: to use the state as a tool for improvement for their lives or to be abandoned to masculine civil society. Therefore, she criticizes that feminism had taken an approach for the state by focusing on women's status. This approach also causes the losing sight of being aware of the male character of the state and the male dominance over women in society.

Furthermore, dealing with state feminism may differ from society to society. For example, Scandinavian tradition argues that the state might have a functional role in empowering women because it gives women to gain economic and social opportunities in spite of being protest at first (Dahlerup, 1993). Similarly, in developing countries, the positive perspective for the state originates from the modernizing of women in the process of national independence (Kandiyoti, 1991).

Socialists are skeptical about the state's position. Because the state is an instrument of the ruling class, and gender oppression can be useful for the capitalists. Repro-

duction of the labor force is essential, and production should continue in this perspective. Accordingly, gender is also a matter at hand in the socialist states. The women's oppression and exploitation have been on the front burner, and the division of labor within the household and being workers mean a double burden for the women. (Armstrong, 2020)

2.1.2 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES

The public sphere refers to a particular area that laws are enacted, and political discussions are concluded. Besides, the private sphere is the inside of the house, which is the area of meeting the needs of the family. The head of the family, who is a male, can actively participate in politics in the public sphere. Nevertheless, the woman has been occupied by doing house chores and bearing children in the private sphere. The distinction between the public and private spheres from each other also means that purifying women from politics in this sense. Moreover, inequalities within the boundaries of family and house cannot be a topic of political debates. (Habermas, 1991)

Waylen (2005) explains the division of public and private spheres through gender roles in society. The public sphere comprises of male heads of households, and the private sphere comprises women who are subsumed by men. This approach reflects the vision of abstract individuals who are the only male, and women became hidden due to exclusion from most public activity. This also provokes the neutral political process (such as nationalism, citizenship, state.) to become gendered in actuality. Differently, Susan Moller Okin refuses the public and private spheres' division. For this reason, she argues that public and private sphere division is an ideological instrument to legitimize the exclusion of women from decision-making. Women have been enclosed within the domestic sphere in this sense (Okin, 2008). Therefore, the public and private spheres are vital in order to analyze state feminism since this conception suggests a broader vision for explaining the women's status.

Nevertheless, the main goal of state feminism is empowering women in society through state machinery. However, in order to change the status of women in society, the state should challenge the dichotomy of public and private spheres first since “[a]n ideological dichotomy between domains gendered respectively as male and female, as in ‘a woman's place is in the home’. The public sphere is that of adult males; the private sphere is that of women and children” (Oxford Reference, n.d., para. 2). Thus, because of this restrictive characteristic, the debate on public and private spheres is essential for state feminism.

Historically, politics has been masculine that is originated from the view which created a division between public and private. In this context, the public is considered masculine, while the private is seen as feminine. The communication between these two has traditionally been limited since the division of sexes was significant, and the private and public spheres are divided from each other in society. This means that women’s oppression and exploitation are always on the front burner considering the division of labor within the household is still in-date. Hence, women also have been obliged to work full-time outside of the house. Being responsible for house chores and working at the same time mean a double burden for the women. Another point is that socialist states made efforts for women’s emancipation and aim to empower women to participate in the public sphere. In post-socialist states, most of the achievement was lost after the collapse of the regime. (Howell, 1998)

Accordingly, the connection between the state and the private sphere is derived from the accession problem since the state has been able to manage the public sphere solely. It cannot access the private sphere in traditional societies since the private sphere is considered as the property of man, and it is forbidden to involve. The head of the household is the eldest man, and only he can control the private sphere. If a state aims to create an equal society, it should save women from the private sphere; affect and change the social rules to reach them. (Becker, 1999)

Moreover, state feminism might be beneficial for women’s emancipation in traditional patriarchal societies. Becker (1999) argues that oppressive patriarchal traditions in traditional societies bound women. These traditions give women subordinated roles.

In these societies, women are not considered as equal partners in these family systems. Hence, the private sphere is an essential topic related to women's rights issues for the reason that if a woman is restricted within her house, she could not reach the world outside. Of course, the private sphere is more extensive than just a house, yet a house in the center in the private sphere. Therefore, state feminism should make women access to the public sphere in pursuance of empowering women through state machinery.

2.1.3 CONCEPT OF STATE FEMINISM

Lovenduski defines state feminism as: "the advocacy of women's movement demands inside the state" (2005, p. 4). Therefore, she focuses on the impact of the women's movement on the state policy in her research. She believes that the state responds to women's demands solely when the women's movement cannot be discarded. The only motivation for the state to act in favor of women is considered as the demand that comes from the public or civil society. Under these circumstances, unless there is not an impulse for improving women's status, the state would not step into any action to provide better conditions even though it is an advanced democracy.

Similarly, the definition of McBride-Stetson and Mazur (2010) refers that state feminism is a consequence of the success of women's movements and the promotion of women's rights and gender equality by state-based institutions. The state might be beneficial as a political tool for women because it has the ability to improve women's rights from the top, and the legislative process might be faster and easier. Besides, Mazur and McBride (1995) also suggest that feminist activities have a chance to widespread through democratic states, and the state has become an actor in achieving feminist goals, especially after the end of World War II. They have the opinion that state feminism is a phenomenon that has rallied in the 1960s. They argue that state feminism was issued in advanced industrial societies, which have covered a distance in the democratization process. They give weight to democratization because democratic state structures are central for achieving state feminist policies in this regard. They hold democratic

states in special regard, especially the Western European ones. Democratic states have established women empowering agencies within the scope of equality among citizens and equal opportunities for all.

Additionally, Kantola and Outshoorn (2007) suggest that state feminism was born from the challenge between post-industrial democratic states and second-wave feminism. They draw attention to the institutionalization of women's policy because these agencies are liable for realizing the feminist demand of civil society and assist women to get access to the decision-making area. Similarly, according to Lovenduski (2005), state feminism refers to the feminist activities within the government or public agencies. She argues that state feminism has the ability to influence public policy and ensure achieving feminist goals inside the state apparatus. In this regard, the state should express its determination to provide women's rights with the help of its apparatuses. Hence, women should access the policy-making area more easily or increasing the ability to access, and the actions concerning this aim are also state feminists. Besides, she mostly focuses on women's policy agencies, influencing the policy-making process, accessing decision making, and citizenship issues. Since her concepts are relevant to democratic institutions and results of the democratization process, her work concentrates on Western democratic states as cases to be analyzed. (Lovenduski, 2005) Women policy agencies might be considered as state feminism, but it refers to the institutions that bond state and women's movement's demand to each other; thus, the state will be able to take action to achieve feminist goals. The critical thing is shaping public policies, which improve women's status in the society and respond demands of the women's movement within the state apparatus.

On the one hand, the comparative theory of state feminism of Mazur and McBride (1995) is expounded with three crucial points; state structures which are responsible for empowering women and strengthen women's rights, state offices which are communicators of achieving state feminist goals between state structures and nation, the effect of the political and social factors which define state structures to improving state feminist actions. On the other hand, Lovenduski (2005) stresses the role of women's political representation related to state feminism. She suggests that if a country is

tested for its democratic claims, the first thing to look at is the women's representation in the political area. The rise of the level of women's political representation symbolizes more democracy in this sense. Besides, women's political representation might be considered within the citizenship debates. Therefore, political representation is another critical topic for feminism. She argues that women's interest and equal political representation are linked to each other. Women's citizenship debates were started with the suffrage campaigns, and these campaigns were the very first step for political representation and participation of women. Thereafter, the other feminist demands have come to the board like sexual autonomy, economic empowerment, equal opportunity for work and employment, and anti-violence laws. These topics have increased women's concern about the policy-making area. Political representation is essential because it affords assistance in democratic states for legitimacy. Political representation is a consequence of political institutions and policy implementation.

Likewise, Waylen (1998) also has the same view and tests the level of political representation through citizenship. Citizenship is a significant connection that a woman develops with the state. Citizenship is particularly essential for women because the state has allowed room for women in the public sphere by promoting citizenship. Therefore, the state prevents to keep women in the private sphere, which is limited to female issues and encourages women to join the public sphere, which includes male businesses. Waylen points out that "citizenship and the welfare state highlights the importance of the construction of the public-private divide" (1998, p. 7). Therefore, citizenship, as a part of the public sphere, is a key theme to comprehend state feminism. As well, citizenship and demand for political representation are bounded to each other for feminist claims, because in the 1970s, the women's liberation movements began with the public/private sphere divide. Political representation was a significant point because it was directly linked to policy-making. If women could affect the political area and join the decision-making mechanism, women's demands about the political could also have a chance to be satisfied. Thus, citizenship was a vital tool for women's demands to contact the political area because participation in the policy-making is only possible with the citizenship bound.

Another view is the theory of Kantola and Outshoorn (2007). They consider state feminism as a significant indicator that remarks women's participation in policy-making and decision-making areas. Again, they explain state feminism in the frame of the women's policy agencies. On the contrary, to the others, they analyze women's policy agencies in the different level of national state like regional and supranational levels. Their main point is that the role of the state in satisfying the women's demands. Thus, if the state improves women's access to decision-making mechanisms, women may have broadened roles in the policy-making area.

As a summary, state feminism is discussed within the context of three themes in the literature. The first one focused on the capacity of women's mobility and analyzed women's movements and other feminist activities. The second theme is democratization, along with women's political participation and citizenship. Lastly, the third theme suggesting is state structures and state policy machinery. Starting from this point, it is suggested three main determinants for state feminism in this research, which will be examined in the next chapter.

2.1.4 STATE FEMINISM TRADITIONS

As Mazur and McBride argue (2010), state feminism has not a universal definition since it is cross-national and depends on cultural, social, historical, and political factors. Likewise, not every nation is the same; their circumstances differentiate from each other. Thus, state feminist actions might vary from one to another.

In Anglo-Saxon tradition, women's rights are determined in the context of individualism, and the scope is having equal rights regardless of gender. In this sense, women should have equal rights with men as autonomous, free, and respected individuals by liberal political culture (Sawer, 1995). In the countries adopted the Anglo-Saxon tradition, women's movements have begun with demands for equal opportunities in labor and equal legislation for providing these. The demands comprise of financial rights

such as equal pay for equal work. In addition, the political demands of women, such as suffrage and participation in politics, have also been significant (Geller-Schwartz, 1995; Lovenduski, 1995). Besides, the women's movement is a fundamental determinant in these countries. The movement is not only a participant of the political decision process, but it is a principal actor which directly affect the state apparatus. In the USA and UK, there are independent women organizations which can directly lobby the government and dominate the state's position for women's issue (Lovenduski, 1995). Moreover, femocrats play a vital role in Anglo-Saxon countries, especially in Australia and New Zealand, as a determinant of state feminism. In the sense of Anglo-Saxon tradition, femocrats are the members of parliament who are feminists and aim to direct the policy machinery regarding the feminist demands. The femocrats are not the government officers in this sense; they are feminist all along and take their actions coherent with feminist aims by willingly (Sawer, 1995). Between the women's movement and femocrats, the women's policy agencies have great importance as they reconcile the women's demands and government. Women policy agencies also serve for institutionalizing state feminism since they establish a symbiotic relationship between both sides of women's issues and make feminist claims visible in the decision-making area (Sawer, 1995; Geller-Schwartz, 1995).

Furthermore, Nordic tradition generally argues that the state might have a supportive role in empowering women since it gives women to gain economic and social opportunities (Borchorst, 1995). For example, according to Sainsbury (2005), Sweden has a robust social representation tradition that embraces all members of society. This tradition provides a model of citizenship, which is inclusive. Since it is inclusionary, it does not isolate women from the public. Moreover, state feminism can be seen as shaped by radical leftist ideas, which let ideological debates being promising for women's position in society in Nordic tradition (Borchorst, 1995; Elman, 1995). For example, in Sweden, the primary aim is democracy, and it requires improving women's rights within the emphasis of citizenship rights. Therefore, the frame of the women's rights debate in Sweden is ungendered. Sainsbury (2005) argues that the ungendered frame is positive; because it provides women's unity through having equal rights, it increases women's seats and participation of women to decision-making. However, the

Nordic women policy agencies have not been established compliant with the women's movement. Those have appeared as a result of supporting the policy of traditional family structure and aim to lighten the double burden of women. In this sense, institutional structures have been developed for gender equality and aimed to pull women into the public sphere for bringing women's concerns and feminist agenda forward (Bystydzienski, 1995) (Elman, 1995). In addition, the femocrats are not essential determinants; likewise, Anglo-Saxon femocrats, since they are bureaucrats in the women policy agencies and work for the government, and they may not support feminism always. The Nordic femocrats mostly focus on regulating women's issues in the context of equality and providing women equal opportunities (Bystydzienski, 1995).

Another one, in the European tradition, the women's movement has a distinct role beside the others. European feminism has been well organized and autonomous. - This tradition aware of the patriarchal state and aims to improve women's status through challenging the state. As well as, women's lobby has become strong and able to affect government policies both at national and local levels (Mazur, 1995; Ferree, 1995; Valiente, 1995). Whereas, women policy agencies were established in the 1970s in European countries to respond to women's needs. Nonetheless, there has been a hierarchical relationship between the women's movement and women's political agencies. This situation leads the women's movements have become subordinated by bureaucracy and approached as advisors but not a political actor. Since the relationship between women's movement and women policy agencies is hierarchical, the political party practice of European feminism is also valuable for state feminism regarding political autonomy (Ferree, 1995; Guadagnini, 1995; Mahon, 1995; Mazur, 1995). Accordingly, the European femocrats are generally bureaucrats and workers of women's offices as well as the Nordic ones. This drives them to be indistinct players of the decision-making process for women's issues since they are taking orders from the government (Mazur, 1995; Ferree, 1995). However, the members of parliaments are also active supporters of state feminist activities (Outshoorn, 1995). Besides, European countries combine their feminist policies with economic management. They consider that work and family balance policies are an essential matter and implement policies for paid and unpaid work as well as gendered division of work. The idea of an adult worker model family is linked

with labor market participation and individualized adult behavior since every labor market needs different policy instruments to satisfy (Lewis, Knijn, Martin, & Ostner, 2008).

Additionally, in developing countries, the state is considered beneficial since the modernizing of women was a key part of the process of national independence (Waylen, 1998). In this tradition, there is a distinct disengagement from the old regime. In this sense, the state is constructed as patriarchal in a high level and peremptory in order to establish a new system (Akman, 2015). In harmony with the purpose, the emancipation of women is strong virtues for modernization, which gains the ability to the new regimes separate themselves from the old ones. Thus, the emancipation of women was not a demand within society; it reflects the idea of modern women of the new regime (White, 2003). Nonetheless, religion and culture maintain their importance, and the countries aim to develop moderate policies (Eddouada & Pepicelli, 2010). Also, women are seen as citizens and valuable people who should have citizenship rights (Hatem, 2005). Furthermore, the women's movement is not the principal determinant of this tradition. However, within the modernization and democratic transition, women are enthusiastic enough to struggle for their rights (Tekeli, 1992; Feldman, 2015; Khalil, 2014). Notwithstanding, independent women's organizations are not as strong as in liberal state feminist countries (Hatem, 2005). In addition, women policy agencies have a great emphasis on this tradition. The agencies have let the government regularize the women's issues following clear paths of modernization (Tekeli, 1992). Regarding femocrats, the femocrat is the major actor of the state feminism in this tradition. Unlike with others, this tradition has dominant figures that have a mass of supporters and the ability to shape the future of women's emancipation in these countries (Arat, 2003; Hatem, 1992; Kandiyoti, 1991; Rogers, 2016; Zaki, 2017).

As a summary, four various traditions of state feminism in the literature are examined in this section. These traditions have originated from the one-country-based researches or the comparisons within the same regions. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the various traditions for understanding state feminism.

2.1.5 CRITIQUES OF STATE FEMINISM

Kantola (2006) mentions that the radical feminist concentration of the patriarchal nature of the state. Their approach assists in understanding the role of the state respecting gender inequalities. She assumes that this approach suggests that the state's necessity of being patriarchal since formal and informal patriarchal practices have been accustomed by the state. Therefore, it is not likely to liberate women through a state that is a male-dominated arena causing women's subordination. As a result, state feminism cannot exist since the state itself is patriarchal, and an organization inducing the women to be oppressed from this approach.

On the contrary of the feminist strategies accepting to take advantage of the state capacity to benefit women such as *De la protesta a la propuesta* (from protesting to proposing) movement in Latin America (Rousseau, 2009), there have been some other strategies which approached the state with suspicion (Mansbridge, 2003). Mansbridge (2003) proposes that there have been feminist strategies that refuse to become partners with the state. In addition, social movements have a prospect to work separately and sometimes be against the state since the contentious character of the movements in order to accomplish results.

Furthermore, Dupuis-Déri (2016) proposes the term of state antifeminism that is not merely the contrary of state feminism. Both men and women aiming to conserve the patriarchy of the state might promote state antifeminism. The term refers that "any collective or individual gesture (action or statement) whose effect is to slow, stop, or push back feminism ... [and] ... the mobilizations of the feminist movement (whether in or outside the state)" (Dupuis-Déri, 2016, p. 23). Further, state antifeminism is not an institution within the state; it is an actor challenging state feminist actors within the state about public policies. In consequence, state feminism should be reconsidered along with its opponents in order to provide continuance of the policies supporting women. Besides, its position of leading decision-maker should be revised, and the women's movement should not give up from organizing and protesting outside of the state by deceiving by the state's capacity.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 IDEOLOGY AND IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUSES

The theory of ideological state apparatuses has been developed by Althusser to unveil the state apparatus imposing on minds and subconscious. In order to comprehend state feminism in the context of the theory of ideological state apparatus, it is necessary to comprehend the ideology and ideological state apparatuses. Since Althusser develops his theory of ideological state apparatuses on the ideas of Marx, these ideas have been summarized as a beginning for this section. Afterward, the context of ideology and ideological state apparatus has been explored by focusing on Althusser's *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*.

Marx develops his idea around the historical materialism. Marx (1904) defines historical materialism through that all events throughout history have been originated from economic reasons. This means that every social formation has been identified by their economic conditions. Firstly, the economic structure shows up, and subsequently, social structure ensues in this process. Thus, the two structures are interconnected with each other. Besides, the economic structure has been specified with the mode of production. The term of the mode of production points to a specific type of productive activity within a limited part of history. The relation of production determines the characteristic of mode. This relation occurs between factors of production, which constitute labor, land, and capital (Marx, 2009). Human activity for production is called labor-power, and the non-living other factors call it as means of labor, and production activity is possible with labor-power and means of labor within this context (Engels, 2012). Again, bottom to top, the relations of production determine the mode of production, and the

mode of production displays the economic structure. The economic conditions that occur in the system are called economic base or substructure.

Furthermore, the demand for the possession of means of production causes class struggle. In the class struggle, the different parts of society which each have different means of production and making efforts for the same interest within their group - classes- conflict with each other. As a reason for the class struggle, the group which has the major control of the means of production becomes the ruling class. When a ruling class appears, then the class hierarchy comes about as a result. The role of a class in the production process determines the place of this class in the hierarchy (Marx & Engels, 1998). In the end, economic activities determine social, legal, and political systems, which are called the superstructure as a whole.

As a summary of the above, Classical Marxist Theory mostly focuses on structures. It explains society with the dichotomy of substructure and superstructure. Since these two affect each other mechanically, the role of the individual is almost disregarded; a person cannot mean anything by oneself. To be a subject, s/he should position in a large structure. However, Althusser (2014) disagrees with this idea. According to him, structures exist with individuals, and their consciousness and a structure cannot work solitary automatically or free from human beings. Therefore, the effect of humans cannot be ignored since both substructure and superstructure are affected by human agency. Thus, a theory that explains the state should include the people in a relationship to the state. People have their mind and own consciousness, and these cannot be left unattended by the state. For the reason that if the state makes some rules are imprinted on people's minds, people act upon the state's aims. In this sense, the body of rules symbolizes ideology. With ideology, the state is able to make people act in full compliance with its will. Besides, Althusser reminds us that the underlying element of the substructure and superstructure is production. Thus, production is the main reason for the existence of social orders. Above all, the means of production are the inputs for productive activities, and the means of production should be renewed and reproduced for continual production. In addition, the conditions of production must be reproduced, and these conditions provide production in the best environment.

Furthermore, as a modern term, ideology has been born after the radical social and economic changes in the last hundred years. Habermas (1987) defines ideology differently from the traditional beliefs of the former social formations. According to him, traditional beliefs are dogmatic and limited; they are hierarchical structures. Nevertheless, ideology is a result of pluralist societies and identified with the best interest group. Therefore, since ideology is there for the legalization of the big public projects, it references science and reason to sound logical and persuade others. Accordingly, it is not antique or impeccable, yet it must claim that it is universal to exercise power over people. As of the massive interest in politics in the modern age, the masses should be persuaded rather than control them, and ideology should bespeak to as much as people that it could.

Similarly, Althusser (2014) has a distinctive theory of ideology. He thinks that ideology has the ability to persuade people that they are free and autonomous. All of the ideologies have just one function that is reshaping individuals as subjects, and the subject is important for Althusser's theory because it is an essential element of ideological practices considering ideology reproduces itself through those subjects. The subject has two meanings; one refers to a free individual, and the other refers to the obedient and dependent creature. Thus, ideology both persuades the individual that its actions are free from external influences and regulates the relationship of obedience between subjects. Correlatively, the ruling class owns two kinds of state apparatuses to dominate others. The first one is the repressive state apparatus, and the second one is the ideological state apparatuses. The repressive state apparatuses are the violent side of the state and aim to intervene in daily lives by force. On the contrary, the ideological state apparatuses do not include physical violence. They aim to propagate the state's ideology. They are softer than repressive state apparatuses since they are non-violent. Besides, they are more beneficial for a state for the reason that they might provide stronger obedience and let people think that they act free.

Althusser places emphasis on the methods of continuity of the labor-power that he named it as the production of labor-power. According to Althusser, the state aims to produce labor-power with its own, and it ensures it through establishing an absolute

order. In this way, the production of labor-power becomes related to obeying the rules of the established order. The state creates an abstract object that lets people obey the rules, and it is called ideology. Thus, ideology refers to an imagined existence, although it relates to the real physical world. As a result, the production of the labor force is achievable through ideological referrals.

Apart from that, Althusser puts ideology within the structures. According to the Marxist spatial society metaphor, society has two sub-elements: substructure and superstructure. Substructure symbolizes economic base, and Superstructure does the politico-legal environment. Superstructure sets by the influence of the economic base, which refers to the relative autonomy of Superstructure from Substructure and its reaction as a response. Ideology is located in the area of Superstructure, not in the economic base but mostly in the politico-legal environment. Thereby, ideology may be considered as an apparatus of the politico-legal area. Despite the Classical Marxist theory's categorization of state apparatuses as three categories: policy and law, army, government and state president and legislation. Althusser challenges with this idea. He claims that state apparatuses have two sides; one is repressive, and the other one is ideological. The classical state apparatuses only refer to the repressive state apparatuses. There should be a state apparatus which indicates the state's psychological oppression of people. The psychological oppression does not need physical violence, and from this aspect, it distinguishes ideological state apparatus from the repressive state apparatuses. Therefore, it is possible to consider that the state apparatus is the repressive state apparatus itself.

On the other hand, state power and state apparatus must be considered separately since state power is the aim of class struggle, and the proletariat must take over the state power to begin the process of subversion of the state. Thus, the state is the tool of using the state power, and the tool has two components; physical-repressive one and psychological-ideological one. Once again, in Marxist theory, the state apparatus points repressive state apparatus, which works with violence. However, the ideological state apparatus is free from violence to a large extent. There is only one repressive state apparatus but more than one ideological state apparatus.

Moreover, the state is considered as it is located in the public sphere and moves within the boundaries of the public sphere. Nevertheless, contrary to this opinion, Althusser claims that most of the ideological state apparatus is found in the private sphere. However, in general, the state is apart from the public and private division. Because the state of the ruling class is located out of the public and private division, it can be found everywhere, and it is inclusionary. On the other side, the state is the requirement of this division. Thereby, it is not necessary to discuss if the ideological state apparatuses work within the boundaries of public or private spheres. The main point of the public and private division should be that state apparatuses use force, while ideological state apparatuses use ideology instead. Additionally, there is not any apparatus that can withstand only by force or violence as a whole; they all use ideology less or more.

Ideological state apparatuses work through prioritizing ideology; this is the difference between repressive and ideological state apparatuses. Accordingly, Althusser says that there are three points in which ideological and repressive state apparatuses can be distinguished from each other. First, every state apparatuses function by both ideological and repressive force, yet the difference is while repressive state apparatus prioritizes violence, ideological state apparatus prioritize ideology. Second, the repressive state apparatus is an entity that centralized and organized different elements, yet ideological state apparatuses are numerous and different from each other, and they have relatively autonomous from each other. Third, a unified and centralized organization unifies on repressive state apparatus, yet the ideology of the ruling class unifies ideological state apparatuses. Despite their differences, all of the state apparatuses purpose the same, ensuring the reproduction by the rule of the ruling class. Since the ideology that makes state apparatuses function is the ideology of the ruling class, the ruling class is influential on ideological state apparatuses like it owns the state power. As a result, there is not any class that can hold state power without imposing their hegemony by ideological state apparatuses. Ideological state apparatuses, since they exist in the superstructure, provide reproduction of labor relations by the force of the protection and help of repressive state apparatus.

Furthermore, ideology should work by using subjectivation. It means that ideology calls individuals as subjects. By doing this, ideology finds an opportunity to be the object of the people and infect their minds. Althusser names the action of calling as interpellation. Since the logic of ideology is always the same and independent of the type of ideology, individuals have always been subjects. Ideology only establishes a connection between the main Subject (state) and other subjects (individuals). This duality causes a duality that Althusser calls it as the specular duality. Specular duality is the founder of ideology; it means Subject is itself a subject. This approach argues that specular duality has several sides. First, it reflects individuals as subjects. Second, it suggests that individuals are subjects of another subject; being subject to another subject is called subjugation. Third, the Subject and subjects recognize each other, subjects recognize each other in their entirety, and the Subject recognizes itself. Fourth, subjects recognize and accept what they are and hope that everything is going to be proper if they act appropriately according to ideology. Thus, subjectivation takes a vital place for ideology and ideological state apparatuses since subjects can only exist in the practices that run by ideological state apparatuses.

In conclusion, labor relations determine substructure, and substructure determines the superstructure. Superstructure means state apparatus, which composes of ideological and repressive state apparatuses. They work together for a specific aim, and the aim is dominating the labor class in line with the interest of the ruling class. The suppression of the labor class requires the state apparatus to continue and allows a cycle whose elements interact with each other. Stated in other words, superstructure and substructure unite in ideological state apparatuses since ideological state apparatuses call individuals as subjects and enforce them the practices of the ideology of the ruling class. Herewith, individuals obey the captor of state power and contribute to production through an ideology.

2.2.2 IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUSES AND STATE FEMINISM

It will be discussed state feminism within the context of ideological state apparatuses in this section. It will be claimed that state feminism may be analyzed as an ideological state apparatus.

On the one hand, when society should follow an order, the state seeks legitimacy from as many people as possible, including the passive actors of the society like women who can maintain the political balance in favor of the ruling class against others. It is desirable to reform the political balance in the state's favor by putting additional actors on the scene. Thus, the state gets the ability to communicate to women for their previously unexpected support by making them visible within social and political structures in order to legitimate itself. On the other hand, communicating with women is not effortless for the state. Before that, the state should achieve a set of goals, which are in the interest of women on paper. However, a range of social transformations should take place for the state's intervention in gender relations. Since women are enclosed by the boundaries of the household, private sphere and do not intervene the public issues, the state addresses women (subjectivation) and turns them into vigorous advocates of it (interpellation).

In the case of state feminism, interpellation may manifest itself through state feminist policies that are beneficial for women, and anticipate women to address themselves as subjects in relation to the Subject (state). The whole process of the establishment, the relationship between women and state, is ideological, and the state utilizes ideological state apparatuses in line with the aims of the ruling class by determining particular roles for women. Determining roles for women differentiates to the previous order within the society by including women to the public sphere, and it is also a kind of subjectivation that causes women to find themselves as brand-new individuals since their rights have been broadened and improved, and restored goals have been set for them.

Therefore, state feminism may provide the state to spread its new ideology and ensure the required legitimacy, conditioning the subjects to support it through ideological state apparatuses such as school (e.g., modeling the ideal female citizen of next generations by the increasing rate of girls' school enrollment and providing other opportunities for education), family (reconstructing the gender roles by increasing or decreasing rate of women's participation in labor or birth rate), media (selling the image of perfect women on by organizing campaigns), fashion and makeup (setting trends through first ladies or other relatives). State feminist policies secure women's approval of the state's power by offering a new kind of lifestyle and improving their status in society, making them equals to men and removing the subordination of women. In this way, women get a chance to become subjects in society while previously ignored by answering the call of the Subject owing to state feminist policies.

2.2.3 DETERMINANTS OF STATE FEMINISM

For analyzing state feminism and apply it to the various cases, it is necessary to suggest some determinants to investigate the correlation between them. In this section, there are three main determinants and five supporting determinants. The main determinants are the women's movement, women's policy agencies, and democracy. These three main determinants are vital for the research since the state feminism literature mostly builds their analytical frameworks on them in order to investigate if state feminism exists in a country or not. Democracy is determined as the main determinant regarding the obsession of the institutionalized theory of democratic state feminism in the literature. The women's movement, is one of the main determinants since it is the human factor of the theory of state feminism as an ideological state apparatus and it assists us to better understand the way of interpellation and women's answer the call of Subject. Lastly, the women's policy agencies illustrate the way of subjectivation as a part of the state apparatus; they demonstrate the state's approach of making women active political actors. Thereby, the types of state feminism are suggested concerning the relationship between the main determinants. However, it has been noticed that some similar factors play significant roles in each group. These similar factors are suggested for their supporting roles; they are not as influential as the main determinants, yet they are helpful in categorizing the cases. Accordingly, these factors showed up as the result of case analysis and they are classified under the title of the supporting determinants, which are regime change, new constitutions, and other political milestones; femocracts and symbolic femocrats, lobbying, labor force and economic growth, and international pressure and they will be discussed within the next sections.

2.2.3.1 Main Determinants

In this section, the main determinants of state feminism will be introduced to comprehend the essence of the relationship between women and the state. Therefore, three main determinants are suggested for analysis, which are the women's movement, women's policy agencies, and democracy within the scope of this research. Along with these three determinants, it is possible to reveal the attributes of countries and categorize them under the various groups. Hence, the main determinants are analyzed in this section and it is suggested that they have more than one form.

i. Women's Movement

As a part of social movements, to define what the women's movement is, it is essential to define what the social movement is. Simply, social movements aim to establish a new order and change the conditions of life. Dissatisfaction for the status quo and a new design for the future bring out a social movement. (Blumer, 1951)

Diani (1992) has analyzed the various approaches of social movement such as Collective Behaviour (Turner, 1981; Turner & Killian, 1987), Resource Mobilisation Theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), Political Process (Tilly, 1984), and New Social Movements (Touraine, 1985) and defined social movement as with three components which are a network between the actors of a social event, mutualized identity, and conflict. According to him, social movements emanate from linkages between people or institutions, which share common senses in their selves and face off against each other. The moment of facing off against each other, social conflict can manifest itself differently from another since culture and cultural interpretations differ one from each other. In addition, Barnes (2003) has argued that the individualistic character of social movement is still essential even the movement is a macro-sociological norm within the scope

of rational choice theory¹. Even the practical actions of individuals originate from norm, value, or traditions; personal opinion and morality remain crucial as another component of the social movement.

Appropriately, women's movement portrays a significant role within the social movements, while social and political structures are challenged. Rowbotham (1974) analyzes the history of the women's movement in a broad perspective. She locates the origins of the women's movement upon the 18th century, even the French Revolution. For example, women of the third estate had demanded improvements for education, health, and security to make their lives better. On the other hand, Mary Wollstonecraft was also protesting against society about the situation of women and eliminating women's subordination. These examples show that the consciousness for women's rights was born as a part of social movement centuries earlier (Sanders, 2006; Rowbotham, 1974).

Although there are critiques for the term of waves of feminism due to its metaphorical limitations such as geography, generation, and demography (Snyder, 2008; Afshar, 1996), it is practical to review the history of women's movement with the waves of feminism. Sanders (2006) has identified first wave feminism with Victorian feminism referring to the era it was born. In this era, the late 20th century, the reforms for women's issues focused on social and legal problems since the focused women were mostly middle-class women. As a result, women's rights were limited to particular campaigns such as suffrage and education without the inclusion of others.

¹ "Rational choice theory, also called rational action theory or choice theory, school of thought based on the assumption that individuals choose a course of action that is most in line with their personal preferences. Rational choice theory is used to model human decision making, especially in the context of microeconomics, where it helps economists better understand the behaviour of a society in terms of individual actions as explained through rationality, in which choices are consistent because they are made according to personal preference." (Amadae, 2017, para. 1).

After the first wave of feminism, in the 1960s and 1970s, the second wave feminism has shown up. In this period, women's rights issues were defined in the context of equal pay and opportunity and aimed to embrace the differences between women (Thornham, 2006). As a continuation of these two waves, third-wave feminism also aims to create better conditions for all people, particularly for women from the points of freedom, equality, and justice (Snyder, 2008).

The term women's movement is defined as "those people whose social and political aims are to change women's position in society and increase knowledge about women's condition in society" in Cambridge Dictionary (2019). Thus, a movement should concern women's status and improve the conditions for women to be defined as women's movement due to this definition. Various, Burkett (2019) defines the women's rights movement as a social movement that is based on equal rights and opportunities for women by comparison with men. For this definition, the critical thing is gender equality, and women's rights are considered as a subject of government or jurisdiction.

Htun and Weldon (2012) suggest that the women's movement and feminist movements are not identical, and they should be distinguished from each other. According to them, women's movements are composed of organized women; their focus is independent – the topic would not necessarily be related to women's issues. Lastly, since the topic is without limitation, the women's movement may have feminist or non-feminist ends. On the other hand, feminist movements are generally women's movements, yet there is a possibility for men's inclusion or being men's movement. The focus is on improving women's status and promoting gender equality since the main concern is the disadvantage of women.

Furthermore, suffrage campaigns, for example, were the very first step for political representation and participation of women. It was a sample of the feminist movement and the movement was mostly composed of women. Thereafter, the other feminist demands have come to the board like sexual autonomy, economic empowerment, equal opportunity for work and employment, anti-violence laws. These topics have increased women's concern about the policy-making area. However, the term women's movement will be one of the units of analysis in this research since the research focuses on wom-

en's participation in social movements without regard to feminist or non-feminist consequences.

Moreover, Freeman (1973) has divided the origins of the women's movement into two: women's rights and women's liberation. The branch of women's rights refers to lobbyist groups, legal and separate organizations. This branch is older than the other one and focuses on legal and economic issues. It has started with national organizations and mostly the absence of collective support. However, the branch of women's liberation comprises smaller groups and is organized in universities in the beginning. This branch has interiorized a view that assumes structures and leaders are closed-minded and secluded from others; it adopted a strategy as structurelessness. Nevertheless, it is well mobilized and homogenous since they are emanated mostly from social circles. The differences arise from the different political education and experiences. The first one takes a stand for traditional politics, and the second one does for informal politics. The two branches of the women's movement are essential to understand the characteristics and types of movement.

Accordingly, Molyneux (1998) analyses women's movement under three types; independent, associative, and directed. She characterizes the types following the level of autonomy. The prominent is governing the internal organization of the movement, the structure of the organization. Independent movements are represented by autonomous organizations and independent collective actions, which are the results of women's self-activities. Women decide their aims, interests, strategies, tactics, and structure of their organization. Their autonomy is derived from their community. Associative movements are also independent and autonomous and set their own goals. However, they accept to collaborate with political organizations within the scope of political agreements. The political partner is not superior to the movement in this alliance. Women's associations have the ability to control their organizations and take action for their own benefits. Authority is debatable in this form; the negotiation and conflicts are natural as a part of democratic politics. Directed movements are a subsidiary of the authority from outside and under the control of this political actor. The negotiation is not as natural as in the associative movements. Besides, since the superior actor determines the targets, they

may not concern women's interests all the time. In addition, there might be a lack of social part of the movement considering the lack of ability to identify itself with people. Directed movement is a model that the government or political parties have the ability to control organized women's actions.

Herewith, the position of the women's movement within its relationship to the state is vital for this research since its position will determine the characteristic of state feminism. Therefore, four types of positions for the women's movement are suggested for this research; negotiator, conducted, projected, and outsider. The negotiator women's movement refers that the movement has enough political, social, financial capacity to negotiate with the state. It has autonomy from the state authority and independent from the influence of state or government. In the case of the conducted women's movement, a self-created women movement has been originated from the social dynamics and has the ability to guide the state machinery respecting women's issues. However, the political balance of power stands with the state; it is highly influential over the movement and has the ability to conduct the women's movement's agenda in line with its political agenda. In addition, the projected women's movement indicates that a women's movement planned by the state's authority to organize the society within the scope of a political program. A projected women's movement has limited capacity to determine its own political actions and insufficient influence over the state administration about the women's issues, even though the consultancy role of the women's movement is also mostly hampered. Lastly, the outsider women's movements are alienated from the policy-making process by the state in order to maintain the custom and established system. The outsider women's movements are visible in the society and might access women's daily lives; yet, they are not effective in the policy-making area, and their guidance has been found unnecessary since they have been primarily non-political and excluded from the decision-making mechanism. Consequently, the characteristic of the women's movement will be one of the main determinants of the types of state feminism.

ii. Women's Policy Agencies

Despite the assumption claiming state feminism and the women's policy agencies are identical; the women's policy agencies are a part of state feminism, yet they are on the center when it comes to state feminism (McBride & Mazur, 2013). McBride-Stetson and Mazur define women's policy agencies as established state institutions assigned by state (1995). They suggest that women's policy agencies are institutions created by the state in order to maintain gender equality. The agencies are great partners for women's movement to support them on the existence of disadvantageous conditions (2013).

Besides, based on political developments after the last quarter of the 20th century, states have gained awareness of the women's issue. The women's policy agency has become vital for analyzing women's status and women's rights. Women's policy agencies are tended to be named as state feminism, but Lovenduski (2005) objects this idea. Women's movement demands directly influence the women's policy agencies according to the women's interest. Thus, the duty of the women's policy agencies within the perspective of this idea is influencing state apparatus from inside with the public policies shaped by the feminist claims. Therefore, women's policy agencies are the institution, but state feminism is a process.

In addition, women's policy agencies do not lead the women's movement. The claims of the women's movement affect women's policy agencies to progress. Otherwise, state feminism cannot be successful without women's movement, and it requires women's movement to work properly. (Lovenduski, Baudino, Guadagnini, Meier, & Sainsbury, 2005)

Moreover, Kantola and Outshoorn (2007) also focus on the discussions that explain the state feminism with the underline the role of women's policy agencies as the link between women's movement and the state in the literature. They problematize the representative role of women's movements on behalf of all women along with the accountability and affectivity of women's policy agencies, and they suggest the multi-

level governance for women's policy agencies as a solution. This approach requires the state's authorization the supranational organizations and regional governments instead of centralizing.

Furthermore, Scheidegger encapsulates women's policy agency as a "state entity designated to deliver policies to the area of women's empowerment and promotion of gender equality" (2014, p.19). She stipulates at least one employee should work for a women's policy agency. The women's policies can exist within public administration, parliament, jurisdiction, or be composed of representatives of the NGOs. Besides, the primary concern of the agencies is generally designed as women's empowerment and gender equality.

Therefore, women's policy agencies might be considered as state feminism, but it refers to the institutions that bond state and women's movement's demand to each other; thus, the state will be able to take action to achieve feminist goals. When the analyze women's policy agencies' efficiency, the important thing is determining the public policies that improve women's status in the society and respond demands of the women's movement within the state apparatus in this perspective.

Accordingly, women's policy agencies are one of the main determinants of state feminism for this research. The women's policy agencies are distinguished as two types; superior and bridge. The women's policy agency has two alternative positions concerning its relationship with the state. The first position proposed for the women's policy agency is the bridge role, which refers to characteristic properties of the relationship between the state and the women's movement that include collaboration, interaction, and harmony. The other one is the superior role of the women's policy agency, which refers to a hierarchy - the state's superiority and subordination of the women's movement within an institutional approach.

Besides, the women's policy agencies acting as a bridge between state and women's movement are resistant to the direction and control of them. This kind of agency has autonomy for implementing women's policies and independence from the state's bureaucracy. The policy-making process is negotiated and led by women's poli-

cy agencies as the mediator between the state and the movement. Besides, the various actors of the women's movement have a chance to participate individually. These actors might be found within domestic and international NGOs, academy, the business world, intergovernmental organizations, and femocrats within political parties and parliaments. Therefore, the women's policy agencies acting as a bridge have been charged with closing the gap between state and the movement regarding women's issues.

Contrary, superior women's policy agency refers that a hierarchical relationship composed the women's policy agency as superior and women's movement as subordinate. In this relationship, women's policy agency conducts the women's movement in the way that it is a part of the bureaucracy, and women's movements have not enough power to influence women's issues. However, this does not mean that women's movement is ineffectual; they can provide guidance. Nevertheless, the state has a unique agenda for women's issues and disallows any other actor to intervene. As a result, the feature of the women's policy agencies will be one of the main determinants of the types of state feminism.

iii. Democracy

The third main determinant suggested for analyzing state feminism is democracy. Democracy is essential for the types of state feminism since it gives a clue about the atmosphere of the specific country. Therefore, Becker and Raveloson define democracy as:

“...is a term that comes from Greek and it is made up with two other words *demo*= People and *kratein* = to govern, to rule. ‘Democracy’ can then be literally translated by the following terms: Government of the People or Government of the Majority. Democracy, as a State form, is to be distinguished from monarchy, aristocracy and dictatorship. ... it is exercised by the people, and for the purpose of the people's own interests” (2008, p. 4).

Similarly, Dahl (2020) claims that the concept of ideal democracy might help identify and categorize the current governments as democratic or not. Therefore, he suggests three components for an ideal democracy which are active participation (having equal opportunities to express an opinion before a policy evaluated), equality in voting (having equal opportunities for voting and counting all votes as equal), the informed electorate (having opportunity to learn about the policy and its alternatives). Likewise, the ideal democracy is realized as representative democracy through political institutions. The representative democracy has been described as “which all major government decisions and policies are made by popularly elected officials, who are accountable to the electorate for their actions” (Dahl, 2020).

Thus, democracy has the ability to provide insight into the status of state and people in a specific country. Along with the level of democracy, it is likely to give meaning to the correlation between women’s movement and women’s policy agencies. In this regard, Freedom House’s annual reports named *Freedom in the World* have been utilized to analyze the types of state feminism through its categorization of freedom. Freedom House is an organization suggesting the level of freedom directly correlates with the level of democracy. Specific to the Freedom in the World reports, Freedom House compares the political rights and civil liberties through the globe in order to observe the progress and decline of freedom. (Freedom House, 2020)

In this research, democracy is taken as a main determinant of the type of state feminism; therefore, it has been classified as three groups in line with Freedom House’s categorization for freedom. With this object, the Freedom in World reports between the years of 2006-2020² are examined in order to determine the groups of democracy, and there have been three groups as non-democratic (not free in Freedom House, identified with 0 in the table), semi-democratic (partly free in Freedom House, identified with 1 in

² Since the classification system has been changed on 2006, only the data between the years of 2006-2020 has been taken into consideration in order to ensure data compatibility.

the table), and lastly, democratic (free in Freedom House, identified with 2 in the table). The status of a country has been identified through its average score between the years of 2006 and 2020; the countries with an average of 0 are not free and non-democratic, the countries with an average of 1 are partly free and semi-democratic, and the countries with an average of 2 are free and democratic. (See Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: The Presumptive Freedom Status of Forty One Countries According to the Average of the Aggregate Category and Subcategory Scores of the Freedom in the World Reports of Freedom House between the years of 2006-2020

Free	Partly Free	Not Free
Argentina	Colombia	Algeria
Australia	Jordan	Azerbaijan
Brazil	Malaysia	China
Chile	Mexico	Egypt
Germany	Morocco	Iraq
Ghana	Nigeria	Kazakhstan
India	Pakistan	Russia
Japan	Philippines	Rwanda
Netherlands	Thailand	Uzbekistan
Peru	Tunisia	Yemen
Poland	Turkey	Zimbabwe
Romania	Ukraine	
South Africa		
South Korea		
Spain		
Sweden		
Taiwan		
United States		

2.2.3.2 Supporting Determinants

Although the supporting determinants are not as descriptive as the main determinants, they have an effect upon the types of state feminism. The supporting determinants aim to reveal similar patterns within the groups. Therefore, there are five supporting determinants to investigate the issue. The supporting determinants are distinguished

as apparent or unapparent regarding the majority of the cases within a specific group. In addition, the term of varied is used to define the absence of the majority.

i. Regime Change, New Constitutions and Other Political Milestones

Reismann explicates the regimes change as “the forcible replacement by external actors of the elite and/or governance structure of a state so that the successor regime approximates some purported international standard of governance” (2004, p. 516). In other words, regime change can be simply defined as “the replacement of one regime with another” (Cha, 2016, p.7). Also, Cha (2016) suggests that regime change is the result of “supreme leader’s death or incapacitation” (p. 11) in the absence of prepared political elites or political stability, coup d’état by an organized armed force, “people’s uprising or revolts” (p. 12) organized by civic groups, and the last one, by civil war, that refers the power transition between the groups, and “invasion from other states or defeat in war” (p. 13). Therefore, there should be a force majeure for the disengagement in order to regime change occur.

Similarly, the ratification of a new constitution does also introduce a new kind of governance with a new kind of authority. Since the new constitution vitalizes the state capacity, it is also frequent to desire the state feminism to become on the political agenda when establishing a new order. Besides, the ratification process for a new constitution may be followed by regime changes in order to set a framework for the new political system.

Besides, there might be other political milestones, which are not as compelling as ratifying constitution or regime change, such as signing an international treaty, an election won by a specific candidate or party, or increasing visibility of women’s movements. Yet, they simply lead governments to take action about women’s issues. Since other milestones have inadequate to change the political and social structure in

comparison with regime changes and ratifying constitutions, their effects are limited in general.

In addition, social movements followed by the social and political transformations are fundamental for this research since they allow to track the paths of changes. However, Arab Spring³ is particularly essential since the women in Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen are directly affected by these movements. Ertan and Dikme (2016) draw attention to women's role during the Arab Spring and the movements' effects on women's rights. Women in specific countries had the chance to involve the protests and the democratization processes within this context. Therefore, the women's situation in these countries affected by the Arab Spring and Arab Spring is crucial for some cases. Of course, other social movements with smaller groups have effects over state feminism, and they will be examined within the analysis of the related countries. Yet, since Arab Spring affected the relationship between the state and women visibly, thus it is mentioned especially.

Accordingly, the regime change and ratification of the constitution have importance for the types of state feminism, since certain countries in specific types have been implementing state feminist policies after the regime change or a new constitution in order to gain legitimacy for the newly established regime or building consensus within the society. This determinant helps to understand the differentiation between the groups since it might have a vital role as the starting point for some types, such as ideological, persuasive, and dissociative types. Additionally, the state feminism process might last within specific periods since some political changes may cause the disruptions as breakpoints, and the process may resume on subsequently to these disruptions. For example, a country might experience a political abnormality that causes to stop the

³ “Arab Spring, wave of pro-democracy protests and uprisings that took place in the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 2010 and 2011, challenging some of the region's entrenched authoritarian regimes” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019, para. 1).

process of state feminism and this process might continue after the normalization of the results of the related political abnormality.

ii. Femocrats and Symbolic Femocrats

The term femocrat was invented in Australia in the 1970s in order to spot the feminists in government who were influential in women's politics. Afterward, the term has been used for the feminists in higher positions in the bureaucracy (Sawer, 1995). In this respect, the term of femocrat has been utilized for individuals who have also been significant political actors and groups of femocrats who have been charged in bureaucracy or members of parliaments or political parties within the context of this research.

Correspondingly, Eisenstein (1989) suggests five categories for feminist interventions; bureaucratic-individual which composed of self-identified feminists working in a state institution, bureaucratic-structural that establishes structures within state administration or universities for the advantage of women, legal reform which aims to implement and reconsider legislation in order to promote women's rights, political participation in a leadership role which refers to a self-proclaimed feminist participating in a political campaign, alternative structures which introduce to an alternative feminist organization against the mainstream politics. This categorization bolsters to interpret the function of the femocrats for the types of state feminism regarding their capability.

In addition to the conceptualizations of Sawer and Eisenstein, the term of symbolic femocrat is suggested for describing the individuals who are politically influential figures and solicitous about their illusions of the efforts about the improvement of women's status in their countries. The symbolic femocrats mostly appear in the totalitarian or authoritarian atmosphere in order to replace the women's policy agencies since the agencies are also under the control of the same political power along with other public institutions. The symbolic femocrats play the imitated role as bridges between women and authority and lead the political agenda concerning women's issues. However,

they advocate women's rights on the paper and put out of sight their actual political aim. The hidden political aims may not be explicitly known; still, it is possible to address them a part of power struggles. As a result, the implications raised by the symbolic femocrats have been left half-finished and far from being ideal solutions for the problems of women.

Furthermore, the first lady syndrome might be examined within the context of symbolic femocrats. Mama (1995) explains the first lady syndrome as the wife of a head of state's gaining political power and public influence individually separating from her husband. In the case of first lady syndrome, the first ladies claim that they use their potential to help women and improve women's status and rights by establishing non-governmental organizations in their service as the directors. However, the institutionalism of their efforts regarding the women's issues aims to hide the ambition of increasing fortune and reputation; the problems and demands of the women are not the focus of the first ladies and their NGOs. Thus, The first lady syndrome might be considered as a particular type of symbolic femocrats and the scope of the term can be expanded including the daughters and other female relatives of the head of states.

Along these lines, femocrats and symbolic femocrats are vital for designating the types of state feminism. On the one hand, they might strengthen women's policy agencies with personal devotion following a particular pattern for the feminist ended plans. On the other hand, they might create an illusion for advocating personal political purposes as in the cases with symbolic femocrats.

iii. Lobbying

Lobbying can be described briefly as "any attempt by individuals or private interest groups to influence the decisions of government" by Encyclopædia Britannica (2020, para. 1). According to Felli and Merlo (2006), lobbying generates a compromise in the policy-making process since it creates an area for civil actors to participate along

with the elected candidates. In addition, the lobbies that have a chance to bargain may have the ability to affect the policy outcome. Therefore, since effective lobbying may influence the political agenda to become more moderate, it is not likely that the extreme outcomes rise.

Moreover, Costain (1981) suggests that if a social movement plans to become organized, the first action to do is being active in lobbying in order to express their demands. Lobbying leads an organized social movement since it sets tactics to follow. Similarly, women have been adopted as a collective consciousness to create a women's movement. However, social and economic diversity along women has made it challenging to determine the common interest, and the organizational transformation has also been affected. At this point, she proposes three factors to develop a women's lobby; an external motivation to prompt the members of women's movement to become a lobby, the existence of other groups to help to develop a women's lobby, and the existence of members in the policy-decision machinery in order to provide guidance in the early stages of developing a women's lobby. Hence, developing a women's lobby from the women's movement is a process, yet it is helpful for women to protect their interests and prevent the extreme policy outcomes that are not women's benefit.

Accordingly, lobbying has been favorable in order to define the character of the positions of the women's policy agencies and the women's movements in the relationship between women and the state. If lobbying is visibly applicable in a country, the situation may refer to the influence of women's movement in civil society for women's issues. Hence, lobbying is a supporting determinant for the types of state feminism concerning the main determinants. Lobbying and women's movement should not be confused and they are not interchangeable since their position within the relationship to the state is not identical. For example, significant lobbying might have the ability to impress the parliamentary despite the exclusion of women's movement from the bureaucracy.

iv. Labor Force and Economic Growth

The women's participation in the labor force has been spotlighted since the women have been around one-third of all workers (Tzannatos, 1999). Respectively, Eisenstein (2009) anatomizes women's labor within a historical context. Before industrialization, marriage was a profession for women to survive. Wives were not limited to house chores; they played roles as midwives, educators, food suppliers in the agrarian societies. Along with industrialization, women entered the paid workforce. However, women's participation in the labor force primarily through low-wage service jobs has not caused full gender-equality in respect to economic activity.

Similarly, Oropesa (1993) suggests that the most critical change in the economy of the 20th century is women's participation in the labor force as paid workers, and the change has affected social and economic systems enormously. As a result, the traditional conception of gender has been challenged through female labor participation and economic independence of women, which lead to reidentify women's role within family and society.

Moreover, according to Mazur (2001), women have been at the center of global economic pressures and conflicts since women workers are considered as low-cost and flexible labor rather than men and the prominent beneficiaries of the opportunities provided by the welfare states by reason of family caretaking. Thus, states may implement state feminist policies according to the economic strategy that requires encouraging women to women in the labor force. In addition, economic strategy centered economic growth may require the state to signify the right not to work as in Ukraine (Bazylevych, 2010) in order to save women from the double burden, which refers to the responsibility of a full-time job and the domestic work in the same time and provide employment opportunities for men.

Besides, Luci (2009) examines the women's contribution to the economy as that the women's participation in the labor force promotes economic growth, especially in developing countries, and the labor market policies are regulated in support of women's

entry into the labor market. Therefore, economic policies promoting growth must include the promotion of work opportunities for women. Also, these policies must be assisted with family-friendly policies to prohibit women from giving up working.

As a result, the labor force participation of women and economic growth are remarkable for understanding types of state feminism since they directly affect the gender policies and the position of the state within the relation to women.

v. International Pressure

External pressure might become an accelerator for state feminism, which states should pay attention. In the cases, civil advocacy groups may try to internationalize the women's issues in a country and request political influence from the international organizations or third-party countries in order to apply pressure to the government based on universal values, uniquely human and women's rights. This strategy may also improve the influential strength of local NGOs and media in support of the women's movement.

International pressure on women's issues is discussed within the context of international human rights (Baker, 2008). Feminists were eager to participate in formulating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and the conception of human rights has been expanded along with women's rights (Molyneux, Dey, Malu, & Rowden, 2020), and the context of women's rights was felt into place and broadened its scope in the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995 (Raymond, 1998). In addition, the previous conferences of the Commission of Status of Women, such as in Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985, have also been influential on the state bodies (United Nations, n.d.). Therefore, it may be that the impulse for international pressure for women's issues is the lack of regulations for the sake of human rights, which has been seen as crucial by the international community and international women movement. Moreover, institutionalized global movements and the international

community have promoted gender-equal policies and aroused nation-states to regulate women's rights (Shinohara, 2008).

As the most powerful regional international organization, European Union, established institutions and arrange networks to monitor and advise on gender equality in members and candidate countries in order to promote equal opportunities for women and men (Mazey, 1995). For example, the concept of family-work balance was developed for gender equality by the European Union and set up in the European policy agenda. The concept suggests that the sharing daily tasks between man and woman within the house in order to improve female labor participation (Stratigaki, 2004). Thus, the European Union is an impulse for implementing policies aimed gender equality for the member and candidate countries.

Furthermore, international organizations such as the United Nations might also be affected by the international women's movement to pressure states to secure women's rights and interests. At this stage, domestic actors might have the ability to influence international women's agenda. Still, since not all countries are identical and they have unique backgrounds and structures, their response to the international pressure might be differentiated from each other, and the implementations might vary according to the response to the pressure. (Paxton, Hughes, & Green, 2006)

However, this strategy purposing an achievement with the assist of international pressure may become successful depending on the weight of the sanctions, and there would be regulations in compliance with the demands of civil society, or some government would become against the related implementation following the international pressure and avoid responding these demands. (Kim & Sohn, 2017)

Thus, international pressure may be an impulse for the countries that are voluntary to be influenced by the global climate of gender equality or be a sanction for the countries that have estimated gender equality incompatible with the domestic structures. Accordingly, a country's response to international pressure depends on how it considers women and gender issues. At last, the international pressure becomes visible if the state responds it in any way.

CHAPTER III

3.1 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

As mentioned before, the goal of this research is to develop a typology of state feminism categorizing it into different types determined through the main and supporting determinants and examining the correlation between the variables. For this reason, the unit of analysis is states. Different countries that have different historical, political, sociological, economic backgrounds are chosen regarding their representation ability within the scope of the comparative research design. These selected countries have been affected by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action⁴, which proposed to attach importance to the women's issues on the political agenda. The importance given to the effects of the Beijing Conference and Declaration aims to describe the roles of governments in order to empower women and achieve gender equality world-widely.

The research is designed as a middle-N comparative case study research. According to Collier (1993), the comparison is essential to analyze through understanding the similarities and differences between the units. Coppedge also (1999) explores the advantages and disadvantages of the researches with a small and large number of cases. Small-N analysis refers to analyzing a phenomenon through selecting and observing small numbered of cases ignoring other statements about the issue by examining a lim-

⁴ “The Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women (the Conference), gathered in Beijing in September 1995, seek to advance the goals of equality, development, and peace for all women” (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 1996, p. 4).

ited number of cases with large numbers of determinants. Contrary, large-N analysis refers to the generalization of a large number of cases ignoring the specific characteristics of every case. Therefore, this research contains the middle number of cases in order to avoid the generalization of cases ignoring their features and provide reliability and validity for developing a typology of state feminism by expanding the dataset.

In this research, the state feminism is defined as the set of policy actions of the state authority with the intention of improving women's status irrespective of the feminist or non-feminist results. More importantly, the motivation behind the decision to implement state feminism and the state's concern for women's issues and gender politics are taken into consideration.

Accordingly, in the line with various definitions of state feminism, three main determinants have been designated to analyze state feminism: the women's movement, the women's policy agencies, and democracy. The operationalization of each variable is explained in detail in this section. The women's movement is measured by its position on the relationship to the state, and four characteristics are suggested; negotiator (state is willing to negotiate with women's movement for the women's issue), conducted (state conducts the women's movement for acting in accordance with state's vision plan), projected (state directly projects the women's movement and has the ability to control its activities), and outsider (state isolates the women's movement from the gender agenda) (See Table 3.1). These characteristics are identified for the operationalization according to the state's willingness to pay attention to the demands of the women's movement. They are revealed from the case analyses of this research since the states tend to act within this categorization. Besides, this categorization might be considered as a revised and extended version of Molyneux's (1998) theory of women's movement which suggests three types; independent, associative, and direct as mentioned before.

The women's policy agency are also measured by their position on the relationship between the women's movement and the state. Here, two categories are identified: (1) a role of the bridge which refers to a women's policy agency that positioned equidistantly between the state and the women's movement, and (2) a superior role in which women's policy agencies are hierarchically positioned above the women's movement.

The characteristics of the women's policy agencies are also revealed from the case analyses of the countries. The two characteristics of the women's policy agencies may be simply seen as based on two different approaches which are Occidental (bridge) and Oriental (superior) in the literature. (See Table 3.1)

Lastly, democracy is measured using the *Freedom in the World* reports between the years of 2006-2020 of Freedom House and three levels of democracy is revealed; democratic, semi-democratic, and non-democratic as seen in the Table 3.1. The data of Freedom House is used for determining the characteristics of democracy since it is an independent organization that is dedicated to being against the threats of democracy and founded for expanding democracy. Therefore, its data for levels of democracy is vital for this study since Freedom House's comparative researches and reports suggest a standardized analysis of democracy and freedom. This study also benefits from this standardized analysis of democracy for determining the characteristics of democracy and the selected countries' data of democracy level.

Table 3.1: Three Main Determinants and Their Characteristics

Main Determinants		
Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy
Bridge	Negotiator	Democratic
Superior	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
	Outsider	Non-Democratic
	Projected	

After defining the categories of the main determinants, the potential relation between these variables are analyzed by examining combinations of each categories. In this procedure, only one category can be selected from each determinant to form a specific type of state feminism since the characteristics within the same group are conflicting each other. For example, a women policy agency in a country cannot be superior

and a bridge at the same time. Consequently, it is suggested that there might be several types of state feminism generating the combination of these variables:

$$n(\text{Women's Movement}) = 4, n(\text{Women Policy Agencies}) = 2, n(\text{Democracy}) = 3,$$

$$\text{then, } C_{\text{Types of State Feminism}} = 4.2.3 = 24$$

This calculation shows that in total there are nine characteristics of the three main determinants of state feminism resulting into twenty-four different types of state feminism. Accordingly, the Table 3.2 is indicating twenty-four potential types of state feminism combination by using the main determinants as in the equation above. Nonetheless, these are only possibilities and the existence of the potential types of state feminism does not mean that there are countries that would fit into each category. This is to say that some of the probabilities are practically non-existent such as Probability 3; since a negotiator role of the women's movement can hardly flourish within a non-democratic atmosphere. Similarly, Probability 19 seems not really probable that a democratic country with a bridge women's policy agency would disregard the women's demands by controlling and dictating on the women's movement as a part of the national plan in reality. Besides, these probabilities may not directly correspond to a specific and require to be merged since the main concern of the related states for implementing state feminism are profoundly similar regardless of their level of democracy and also, some semi-democratic countries may not fulfill the requirements of democratization. In addition, some of the possibilities may not correspond to a type practically alone. This kind of possibilities should be merged at this stage. The possibilities that are matched each other may share two identical determinants and have one different determinant. If the characteristics of the different determinant may be fluid (prone to resemble each other) enough, the related countries might converge in the same type of state feminism.

Table 3.2: The Possible Combinations of Three Main Determinants' Categories

Probabilities	Main Determinants		
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy
Probability 1	Bridge	Negotiator	Democratic
Probability 2	Bridge	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic
Probability 3	Bridge	Negotiator	Non-Democratic
Probability 4	Superior	Negotiator	Democratic
Probability 5	Superior	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic
Probability 6	Superior	Negotiator	Non-Democratic
Probability 7	Superior	Conducted	Democratic
Probability 8	Superior	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
Probability 9	Superior	Conducted	Non-Democratic
Probability 10	Bridge	Conducted	Democratic
Probability 11	Bridge	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
Probability 12	Bridge	Conducted	Non-Democratic
Probability 13	Superior	Outsider	Democratic
Probability 14	Superior	Outsider	Semi-Democratic
Probability 15	Superior	Outsider	Non-Democratic
Probability 16	Bridge	Outsider	Democratic
Probability 17	Bridge	Outsider	Semi-Democratic
Probability 18	Bridge	Outsider	Non-Democratic
Probability 19	Bridge	Projected	Democratic
Probability 20	Bridge	Projected	Semi-Democratic
Probability 21	Bridge	Projected	Non-Democratic
Probability 22	Superior	Projected	Democratic
Probability 23	Superior	Projected	Semi-Democratic
Probability 24	Superior	Projected	Non-Democratic

This study analyzes forty-one countries except the special administrative regions. The countries are selected based on a representative sample of the World Values Survey but limiting the sample with a population⁵ of more than 10 million people as in this way units are more comparable. The opportunity for accessing a broader range of resources is also taken into account in respect of their capacity to implementing state feminist policies under the assumption that every country has adopted a different type of state feminism to maintain the balance of political power. The countries selected to explain the logic of the adoption of state feminism by focusing on the similarities of the cases and comparing the groups subsequently categorizing singular cases by their differences.

Therefore, the selected countries for the research are Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Azerbaijan, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Germany, Ghana, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Tunisia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, United States, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and Zimbabwe.

However, this approach has several limitations. First, since the characteristics of the determinants have been specified qualitatively, and there is an asymmetry between the resources – some of the related countries have not been analyzed within the concept of state feminism directly, the groups may be flexible and transitive. Second, a country may feature more than one type of state feminism, yet the most dominant type has become the primary type of related country regarding the relationship between the main and supportive determinants. Third, especially in the topic of women's movement, women in a country have been assumed as a unified group but not a divided entity; thus, the different perspectives, ideas, or interests among women were ignored due to generalizations that we have to conduct during a Middle-N research design. Despite the limi-

⁵ Data for population has been derived from Worldometer.info within January and February 2020.

tations, the most representative samples as possible have been gathered in order to eliminate the erroneous findings. Lastly, there might be other types of state feminism apart from the types in this research that could not be detected since the limited number of cases. Analyzing different countries can lead us to face with the existence of other potential types of state feminism except the ones suggested in this research.



3.2 ANALYSIS

In this section, the countries implemented state feminism will be analyzed within seven different groups regarding the correlation between three main determinants that are women's policy agency, women's movement, and democracy. The main determinants have been conceptualized by the state's position about the related subject to investigate the types of state feminism. In addition, the prominent movements or non-governmental organizations written in the tables analyze the determinants by country in the analysis section. However, if the significant actors are more than one or all actors are equally active, the expression of *no particularly prominent* used for these cases.

Besides, as the results of the association between the determinants, different types of state feminism more than a standardized one are revealed. The typology might be created in order to reveal the original intentions of implementing state feminism.

Moreover, the countries have been categorized with respect to their dominant features, which -are the results of the association between the main and the supportive determinants. These characters are determined by comparison; for example, a women's policy agency can be conservative against the women's movement; however, it can be a bridge compared to others.

Therefore, the forty-one countries case by case and also their women's movements, women's policy agencies and democracy levels are examined one by one to analyze the similarities and differences of the dimensions of state feminism to develop a typology for state feminism in this section. In the following, the comparative analysis of countries will be presented.

3.2.1 TYPE 1 STATE FEMINISM

In this section, the Type 1 state feminism will be discussed as the first group of the types of state feminism. The countries that are implementers of this type of state feminism tend to apply state feminist policies to maintain the devotion for democratic values and equal and consensual society. These countries' state feminist activities are a result of the voluntary action of the State.

In countries implementing Type 1 state feminism corresponds with the Probability 1; women's policy agencies act as bridges, the relationship between the women's movement and the state has been negotiated, and these countries are democratic and positioned as free according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Australia, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Ghana, Netherlands, Poland, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, and the United States.

Although the absence of an institution focused on women's issues, Australia's femocrats in various ministries and other governmental bodies as the representatives of the women's policy agencies (or the tendency of the governmental bodies in this case) are positioned as a bridge between the state power and women's movement. That is because of the less hierarchic bureaucracy and pluralist competitive culture that allows the lobby groups. This structure also leads the negotiation between state power and women's movement along with the direct political advocacy of women. Likewise, United States also has similar features with Australia, small committees within the policy machinery instead of persistent women's policy agencies responsible for the women's issues that serve as a lobbying target for the women's movement. Besides, since the women's movement in the United States is well-organized and focused on state actions, women's movement gets a chance to negotiate with the governmental bodies and influence the political agenda.

Moreover, the women's policy agencies in Brazil, Chile, Germany, Sweden, and Spain are established with the efforts of the political parties in power. Therefore, despite the bureaucratic structure of the agencies, the women's movement has found the oppor-

tunity to influence the gender agenda gaining seats within the parties. Afterward, this has become a tradition as the high-level participation of women to the women's political agencies policy-making processes. However, the women's movement could not get a chance of gathering under the specific pressure group as a result of the positioning within the political parties caused being invisible increasingly. The women's movement prefers to impress the policy-making process directly through the women's policy agencies rather than lobbying in Brazil, Chile, Germany, Sweden, and Spain.

Furthermore, there are not any structured women's policy agencies or prominent women's movements in Poland and South Korea. Still, the cooperation between governmental bodies and women has become influential in order to improve women's rights with the help of external actors' impulsions, such as the United Nations and the European Union. The international actors are particularly vital for these countries because of their experiences with emerging women's movements. Therefore, the state has increasingly acted as the compromiser within its relationship to women in Poland and South Korea.

Additionally, the women's policy agencies are established in order to conduct women-friendly policies in Ghana, Netherlands, South Africa, and Taiwan. These agencies are eager to receive the support of society and NGOs. Thus, women's movements in these countries are featured and organized to negotiate with states. The women's policy agencies and women's movements in Ghana, Netherlands, South Africa, and Taiwan work cooperatively to improve women's status and rights with the help of their democratic atmospheres.

Besides, the most prominent impulse for state feminism in these countries is women's movements. These countries have strong traditions for women's movement, and various interest groups represent women's demands that are visible in civil society (Elman, 1995; McBride Stetson, 1995; Outshoorn, 1995). Hence, women's movements in these countries have opportunities for claiming rights. The women's movements have chosen to become a part of a political party or organization within NGOs for raising their voices. Women's movements present state feminism within NGOs in Australia (Sawer, 2007), Poland (Fuchs, 2013), South Korea (Kim & Kim, 2011), Taiwan (Clark

& Clark, 2018), and United States (Mcbride Stetson & Mazur, 2000) (Mcbride, 2007). As well, some of the women's movements in Germany (Lang & Sauer, 2013; Miethe, 2002), Netherlands (Outshoorn & Oldersma, 2007), Poland (Orr, 2008), Spain (Bustelo, 2016; Gámez Fuentes, 2015) (Bustelo & Ortals, 2007), Sweden (Lindvert, 2007; Hansson & Henriksson, 2013) have chosen to make an appearance through organizing within the political parties. Moreover, the others, the women's movement in Brazil (Bohn, 2009; Bohn & Levy, 2019), Chile (Franceschet, 2007; Forstenzer, 2017; Waylen, 2009), Ghana (Animwaa Yeboah, Adomako Ampofo, & Kyerewaa Brobbey, 2014), and South Africa (Ntuli, 2018; Slamati, 2013) had guided the women's policy agencies established by directly states' will at first and then, they managed to increase their impact over the governmental bodies gradually. (See Table 3.5.)

Besides, states of this group give right to speak to each interest group, since the discussions about the rights of individuals are welcomed in the countries of this group. In these cases, states do not ignore the demands of the society, and herewith, citizens have an environment where they can express their opinions freely. Some of these countries have authoritarian past in their history; however, their current status shows that they have the will to implement policies within the context of democratic values. Since civil society and women's movements are generally stable due to democratization in these countries, it is possible to influence decision-making mechanisms and intervene in the state's policies regarding the status of women by lobbying. Such as Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) in Australia (Lindvert, 2007), European Women's Lobby in the Netherlands (Outshoorn & Kantola, 2007), National Woman's Institute (Instituto de la Mujer; IM) in Spain (Bustelo & Ortals, 2007), and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in the United States (Mcbride, 2007) are the most prominent lobbying groups that were worked with the other companions of women's movement for implementing state feminist policies. Likewise, Ghanaian, South Korean, and Taiwanese women have an impact on shaping women's quota campaigns and make states put into gender perspectives decision-making processes in their countries (Adomako Ampofo, 2008; Kim & Kim, 2011; Huang, 2015; Moon, Chun, Kim, & Kim, 2008). Besides, the 1988 Constitution campaign of the lipstick lobby of Brazil was awe-inspiring and effective and managed to gain massive support. (Bohn, 2009) Lobbying

the national government is also essential and useful in Poland, and the cooperation of women's NGOs is impulsive for it (Orr, 2008). (See Table 3.5.)

Consistently, femocrats can also take in part and affect the decision-making processes of the state such as Australia (Sawer, 2007, 1995), Chile (Bawa, 2018), Germany (Lang & Sauer, 2013), Netherlands (Outshoorn & Oldersma, 2007), Sweden (Bergqvist, Olsson Blandy, & Sainsbury, 2007), Spain (Bustelo, 2016), and United States (Mcbride, 2007). This contribution may have provided acceleration in the implementation of state feminist policies. Femocrats can work in bureaucracy or become a part of parliamentary, but in both ways, they serve as a communication channel between women's movements and women's policy agencies despite becoming agents of the women's policy agencies and other governmental institutions. (See Table 3.5.)

In line with the other determinants above, the women's policy agencies in these countries are designed to cooperate with women's movements. The women policy agencies act as a bridge between the state and the women's movement and allow finding compromise without being influenced by either. Through the meeting of the minds, the states volunteer to take steps to improve women's status, guided by women's movements, and see it as a part of being a democratic country. Women's policy agencies can be good partners for women's movements because of that their ability to put the gender issues in the political agenda and take action for starting the political process or interfere with them in favor of women. Additionally, these countries fulfill their contractual obligations from the conventions and declarations of the United Nations and, if they are members, of the European Union. (Animwaa Yeboah et al., 2014; Bohn, 2009; Bustelo, 2016; Elman, 1995; Forstenzer, 2017; Fuchs, 2013; Fuszara, 2005; Huang, 2015; Kim & Kim, 2011; Lang & Sauer, 2013; Lindvert, 2007; Mcbride, 2007; Outshoorn, 1995; Sawer, 1995; Slamet, 2013; United Nations, 2010a, 2011, 2014a; Waylen, 2009) (See Table 3.3.) Therefore, the main concern of the Type 1 state feminist countries' women's policy agencies is strengthening gender equality machinery and supporting the policies aiming gender-equal societies based on democracy.

Finally, this group is named as compromiser state feminism because the aim of bringing state feminism on the table is compromising between state and women. This

group might be considered as the Western approach of state feminism in the literature, which the women's movement is an influential political actor within a democratic order, and the women's policy agencies come forward to cooperate with the women's movement as far as the women's issues are concerned in simple terms. However, this kind of minimalist approach of state feminism does not allow including other countries apart from North American and European countries.

On one hand, the women's movement benefits from the democratic atmosphere of the country; women are subjectivized within the democratization process as the citizens with equal rights and equal opportunities, and this lets the position of the women's movement within the relationship to the state be a negotiator; it has the ability to negotiate on the gender agenda. On the other hand, the state interpellates the women by gender-sensitive policies and gender mainstreaming by using the women's policy agencies as a bridge since the state aims to make women feel like valued individuals and political actors in consequence of the subjectivation. Therefore, the state follows a strategy that requires compromising with the women since the state purposes to become a democratic country.

Table 3.3: The Determinants of Type 1 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Bridge	Negotiator	Democratic	Apparent	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent (as an Impulse)	
Australia	Offices for Women	Women's Liberation Movement	2.0	Appointment of the First Women's Adviser in 1973	Femocrats	Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL)	Unapparent	UN	Since 1973
Brazil	Special Secretary of Public Policies for Women (SPM)	Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (Abong)	2.0	Transition to democracy in 1984	Unapparent	Lipstick Lobby	Unapparent	UN	Since 1984
Chile	SERNAM (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer)	Chilean Network to Combat Domestic and Sexual Violence	2.0	Plakicite in 1988	Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN	Since 1988
Germany	Women Equality Offices and BAG (Federal Association of Local-Government Women's Offices)	CD-ROM Frauennetze	2.0	Establishing Local Level Women's Policy Agencies in 1980-90s	Femocrats	Apparent	Unapparent	UN & EU	Since the 1980s
Ghana	National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW)	31st December Woman's Movement	2.0	Establishment of the National Council of Ghana Women in 1960	First Lady as Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN	Since 1960
Netherlands	National Women's Council (Nederlandse Vrouwenraad – NVR)	Women's Alliance (Vrouwenalliantie)	2.0	Appearance of the Femocrats in the 1970s	Femocrats	European Women's Lobby (EWL)	Unapparent	UN & EU	Since the 1970s
Poland	Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment	No particularly prominent	2.0	Transition to democracy in 1989	Unapparent	Otrodek Informacji Środowisk Kobiecych (Center for Information on Women's Societies)	Unapparent	UN & EU	Since 1989
South Africa	Commission on Gender Equality (CGE)	New Women's Movement (NWM)	2.0	Transition to democracy in 1990s	Unapparent	Apparent	Unapparent	UN	Since the 1990s
South Korea	Minister of Gender Equality and Family	Korean Women's Associations United (KWAU)	2.0	International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995	Unapparent	Apparent	Unapparent	UN	Since 1995
Spain	National Woman's Institute (Instituto de la Mujer, IM)	15M Movement	2.0	Transition to democracy in 1970s and the establishment of IM in 1983	Femocrats	European Women's Lobby (EWL)	Unapparent	UN & EU	Since 1983
Sweden	Ministry for Gender Equality	Kvinnor till Kvinnor	2.0	Transition to democracy in the 1990s	Femocrats	Unapparent	Regulations on Labor Market	UN & EU	Since the 1960s
Taiwan		National Alliance of Taiwan Women's Associations (NATWA)	2.0	Progressive Party in 2000 and Nationalist Party in 2008	Unapparent	Apparent	Unapparent	UN	2000-2008
United States	President's Interagency Council on Women (PICW)	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)	2.0	Increasing Visibility of Women's Demands in the 1960s	Femocrats	Apparent	Unapparent	UN	Since the 1960s

3.2.2 TYPE 2 STATE FEMINISM

As the second type of state feminism, Type 2 state feminism represents that promoting the improvement of women's status in the society regarding human rights and peacemaking. These states have a past lack of consensus. Therefore, the main goals of projecting state feminism are providing improvement for women's rights as a part of human rights and ensuring social peace.

This type of state feminism corresponds with the Probability 2 and addresses that the women's policy agencies act as bridges between the women's movements and states like in compromiser state feminism, the relationship between the women's movement and the state is negotiated. Women's movements have a chance to conduct women's policies, and these countries are semi-democratic and positioned as partly-freely according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Colombia, Malaysia, and Mexico.

Moreover, there was an urgent need for state feminism because of the armed conflict in Colombia and ethnic conflicts in Malaysia. Similarly, Mexico experienced an economic crisis in 1982, and it affected society destructively. Thus, the state should be inclusive of putting an end to the continuous conflicts that promote peaceful societies. As a result, the women's policy agencies in Colombia, Malaysia, and Mexico tend to be compromisers and negotiate with the women's movement. With this, women's movements responded to the invitations from the states in order to solve the problems of women after the years of social unrest.

In these three countries, the women's movements and women policy agencies are equally keen on implementing state feminism. However, government intervention was seen as essential to overcome the obstacles that occurred from social dynamics. Along with states' approval for the aims of the women's movement being valuable and necessary, the women policy agencies act with a top-down approach and make the women's movement access the administrative power of the state to transform society. Therefore, the agenda of the women's policy agencies are settled by the bargainer actors

who represent the state and the movement. (Aminudin, 2015; Céspedes-Báez, 2014; Lemaitre & Bergtora Sandvik, 2015; Ríos Cázares, 2017) (See Table 3.6.)

Furthermore, the women's movements in the countries implementing –Type 2 state feminist policies have become visible through organizing within NGOs for basic needs and states have tolerated their demands and evaluated them as legitimate because of these demands are directly bond to the human rights such as displacement due to armed conflict, domestic violence, sexual harassment. However, women in these countries were frightened of being discriminated against and not being welcomed at first. (Céspedes-Báez, 2014; Frias, 2010; Ng, Mohamad, & Hui, 2006; Pérez & Breña, 2008) (See Table 3.6.)

Nonetheless, the cooperation between the movements and states has been constructed gradually, and some women may have a fear of the risk of participating in women's movement because of social dynamics. Since these countries are semi-democratic, the option of bargaining for women's movement may not be available because of the gender culture of a political party or government elites (Aminudin, 2015) or armed actors (Lemaitre & Bergtora Sandvik, 2015). (See Table 3.6.)

In brief, this group is called as inclusive state feminism because the aim of bringing state feminism on the table is including women in the decision-making processes for improving human rights. On one hand, the women's movement benefits from an inclusive atmosphere; women are subjectivized within the democratization and humanitarian process, and this makes the position of the women's movement a negotiator in the relationship; it has the ability to negotiate on the gender agenda by humanist sense. On the other hand, the state interpellates the women by humanist policies by using the women's policy agencies as a bridge between them. Thus, the state should be inclusive for women in order to establish a consensus within society. Since the democratization process is continuing and this is the reason why the research needs another type such as inclusive along with the compromiser state feminism.

Table 3.4 The Determinants of Type 2 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Bridge	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	
Colombia	National Planning Department (Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP) and Constitutional Court	Sisma Mujer	1.0	Colombian conflict began on 1964 and 1991 Constitution	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1991
Malaysia	Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development (MWFCD)	National Council of Women's Organisations (NCWO)	1.0	British Colonialism ended in 1957 and Ethnic Questions throughout the 1970s and 1980s	Unapparent	Grupo Plural	New Economic Policy regulating Labor Market	UN	Since 1995
Mexico	National Institute for Women (Inmujeres)	Broad Women's Movement	1.3	Economic Crisis in 1982	Unapparent	Unapparent	Promoting Women's Employment and Productivity	UN	After the late 1990s

3.2.3 TYPE 3 STATE FEMINISM

The third type of state feminism is Type 3 state feminism, which refers to promoting the improvement of the women's status in the society regarding ideological motivations. These states have established plans for social transformations in contemporary societies by mobilizing women's support. White (2003) names it as the state's modernizing project and claims that the project brings about monopolized women's activity. The real intention of the this type of state feminists is the usage of state feminism as an ideological state apparatus by women's public emancipation and as a result of this impressing women to disseminate the state's ideology and providing continuance of the authority of the state.

The Type 3 state feminism corresponds with the Probability 8 and requires a harmonious combination; the women's policy agencies act as superiors of the women's movements actors, the relationship between the women's movement and the state has been conducted by the state, yet it is not adequately controlled by the state. These countries are semi-democratic and positioned as partly-free according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, Philippines, Thailand, Tunisia, and Turkey. In Jordan, Morocco, Philippines, Thailand, Tunisia, and Turkey, the state agencies began to work according to the social transformation plans right after independence. As a result, the women's policy agencies are superior to the women's movements since these plans aimed to create the ideal female citizen image. In order to create the image, these agencies conduct the strategy and political agenda of women's movements. Nevertheless, the women's movements are not entirely dependent on states; they have autonomy since they have existed long before the women's policy agencies established. They should follow the conducted strategy to stay in the game as an actor, or else they would be eliminated from the policy-making process and could not find a chance to influence the policy agencies for the benefit of women.

Besides, Nigeria has a similar background. However, the impulse for the implementing state feminist policies is the end of military rule and the constitution. The main goal was removing the gender oppression and exploitation arising out from the colonial-

ism. Similarly, with the other countries in this group, women's movement has been active as far as compatibly with decoloniality and nationalist ideas.

The major impulse for state feminism in these countries is creating a new type of ideal citizen image, including women. These countries have a mind to encourage women to participate in the public sphere to striking a balance against men who were the most supporters of old regimes. It is not necessary to have an authoritarian regime to apply ideological state feminist policies; however, this type of state feminism requires top-down state action. At this point, the women's policy agencies undertake most of the work and combine expertise and power of the state, and call women's movement actors to contribute the gender agenda within the context of the rules created by the government. Jordan's Ministry of Social Development (Lowrance, 1998), the National Commission for Women (NCW) (Mama, 1995), and National Centre for Women Development (NCWD) and the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs (Ako-Nai & Obamamoye, 2018) in Nigeria, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women – NCRFW (Angeles, 2002), The Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development (DWF) in Thailand (Buranajaroenkij, 2017), The Minister of Women's Affairs, the Family, Children and Older Persons in Tunisia (United Nations, 2010b), and The Ministry of Women and Family Affairs and The General Directorate of Women's Status in Turkey (Müftüler-Baç, 2012) are the examples of the governmental bodies aiming to institutionalize the gender equality. In addition to that, since these countries have passed that they map out to get rid of them and aspire to a sharp break from them, such as an old-fashion regime or colonial past, they take serious state feminism and proceed following a certain plan. They have reformed juridical, political, economic, and social areas to empower women. Various regulations have been made for women's rights, such as the right to vote and to be elected, right to education (Angeles, 2002; Buranajaroenkij, 2017; Watkins, 2020, Mama, 1995; Naciri, 2003; Tekeli, 1992; White, 2003). Additionally, since this state feminism needs a structured pattern to follow, these countries' women policy agencies are highly institutionalized, bureaucratic, and technocratic. The expertise of these agencies is civil servants, and consequently, they are not devoted to the feminist movement. Therefore, their work can be considered as a part of public administration, and it is not possible to expect them to act separately from the government

(Angeles, 2002, 2020; Buranajaroenkij, 2017; Tekeli, 1992; Watkins, 2020; White, 2003). Nonetheless, some charismatic leaders step forward to implementing state feminism, such as King Hussein's sister Princess Basma Bint Talal of Jordan (Lowrance, 1998), Maryam Babangida in Nigeria (Mama, 1995; Oni, 2014), and President Bourguiba in Tunisia (Naciri, 2003) and Kemal Atatürk in Turkey (Tekeli, 1992). These figures are important for these countries because state feminism has been added to the agenda and women empowering laws enacted to improving the women's status. (See Table 3.7.)

Differently, having women's policy agencies characterized as superiors does not mean a lack of women's movement or weakness of the movement. On the contrary, the women's movements are highly bold in these countries, yet they are obliged to render their opinions within the specific limitations in line with the state's ideological intentions. To this respect, the tension between the state and women's movement is palpable, and there is a dispute between them because of the hierarchical imposition (Avramovska, 2015; Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011; El Guabli, 2018; Lowrance, 1998; Oni, 2014). Furthermore, the disagreement may become a real conflict, and temporize may not be on the table. For an extreme example, The Turkish Women's Organization (Türk Kadınlar Birliği) had been closed in 1935 due to the clash of ideas (Tekeli, 1992). (See Table 3.7.)

Therefore, this group is named as ideological state feminism because the aim of bringing state feminism on the table is the ideological transformation by favor of empowered and new regime supporter women. On one hand, the women's movement benefits from the challenges between the old and new regimes; women are subjectivized by the new regime as the ideal citizens in compliance with equality of rights. The state interpellates the women by granting them legal rights and empowering them within the society by using the women's policy agencies as a superior of the women and the center of the state feminist implementations. On the other hand, the position of the women's movement is conducted and expected to act in pursuance of the women's policy agency. Therefore, the state follows a strategy that requires a high level of utilization of ideology to hint at the sharp contrast between previous and current status.

Table 3.5: The Determinants of Type 3 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Superior	Conducted	Semi-Democratic	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Varied	
Jordan	Ministry of Social Development	National Committee for Women's Affairs	0.5	Under the Hashemite rule since 1921 and independent since 1946 Arab Spring	Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	International Connections of Women's Movement	Since 1946 with disruptions
Morocco	Within the Political Party in Charge	An-Nahda Movement and Democratic Association of Women in Morocco (ADFEM)	1.0	Independence in 1956 Arab Spring	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1956 with disruptions
Nigeria	National Commission for Women (NCW), National Centre for Women Development (NCWD) and the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs	No particularly prominent	1.0	End of Military Rule and The 1999 Constitution	First Lady as Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1987
Philippines	Philippine Commission on Women (PCW)	GABRIELA National Alliance of Women's Organizations in the Philippines	1.0	Colonial Past and Dictatorship	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	International Connections of Women's Movement	Since 1986 (Post-Marcos Period)
Thailand	The Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development	No particularly prominent	0.6	Revolution in 1932 and Modernization	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1932
Tunisia	Minister of Women's Affairs, the Family, Children and Older Persons	An-Nahda Movement and Tahar Haddad Club (1977-1987)	1.0	Independence in 1957 Arab Spring	Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1957 with disruptions
Turkey	Ministry of State Responsible for Women and Family Affairs (1990- 2011) General Directorate of Women's Status (Since 1990)	Mothers' Federation and Turkish Women's Federation	0.8	Declaration of Republic in 1923 and EU process between the 1980s-2010s	Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	International Connections of Women's Movement and EU candidature	1926-1934 and the 1980s-2011

3.2.4 TYPE 4 STATE FEMINISM

The Type 4 state feminism corresponds with the Probability 9 and is appertaining to seeking legitimacy in domestic and international politics. In this type, the women's policy agencies act as superiors of the women's movement actors; and the state conducts its relationship to women's movement unilaterally. However, it is not easy to project these movements since international organizations are watching these societies, and the states are cautious about international sanctions. Besides, it is also related to the national development strategy by women's participation in the labor force and financial aids. Further, these countries are non-democratic and positioned as not free, according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Rwanda, Yemen, and Zimbabwe.

Algeria, Egypt, and Iraq reformed the state after independence. However, reforms did not target to remove the colonial practices; they just aimed to establish new regimes. The women's policy agencies are formed under this perspective; the aim was establishing new institutions compatible with the idea of an independent state. Therefore, the women policy agencies in Algeria, Egypt, and Iraq have been superior to the women's movements since they have a specific development plan. For this reason, they conduct the agenda of the women's movement. Additionally, in these countries, there were symbolic femocrats to conduct both women's policy agency and the women's movement in line with authoritarianism.

Likewise, the states were also reformed in Rwanda, Yemen, and Zimbabwe. However, the reforms occurred from genocide (Rwanda), unification (Yemen), and war (Zimbabwe). Similarly, the establishment of the institutions was by force of being an independent state and in line with a strategic plan which aims to gain legitimacy and make the new regime accepted among the internal and external actors. Consequently, the women's policy agencies have worked under the control and monitoring of states along with the women's movement.

On the other hand, alike with ideological state feminism, this type of state feminism also has a strategy for institutionalizing women's issues and establishing women's policy agencies as a pioneer, and the reforms have been top-down. Centre d'Information et de Documentation sur les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme (CIDEF, Centre of Information and Documentation for the Rights of Children and Women) in Algeria (Lorch & Bunk, 2016), the National Council for Women in Egypt (United Nations, 2010c), the Ministry of State for Women's Affairs in Iraq (United Nations, 2014b), the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, the Gender Monitoring Office and the National Women's Council (NWC) in Rwanda (Abbott & Malunda, 2016), the National Women's Committee (NWC) in Yemen (Badran, 2002), and the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA) in Zimbabwe (Ranchod-Nilsson, 2006) can be seen as examples for the prominent women's policy agencies in this group. The women's policy agencies in this group also have a strategy of determining women's roles and tasks in the society in order to secure the extended right to women according to the regulations on behalf of state feminism and women empowerment as the superiors of the women's movements. These agencies have a part of implementing the international agreements for women's rights, such as CEDAW, especially after the Beijing Conference in 1995. However, determining women's capacity can be considered as a limitation by some of the women's NGOs in these countries (Badran, 2002; Efrati, 2004; Pepicelli, 2017). (See Table 3.8.)

Besides, the charismatic leaders who can be seen parts of women's policy agencies are essential for this group as symbolic femocrats. President Bouteflika in Algeria (Lorch & Bunk, 2016), Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt (Hatem, 1992), and Salama al-Khafaji in Iraq (Coleman, 2006) are significant in this perspective. Besides, the political elites and the Ba'ath party in Iraq (Joseph, 1991) may also be considered as symbolic femocrats in this sense. They were significant political figures of their period, which could take action about the women's issues and extending the scope of women's rights, and the substantial and preliminary arrangements about the women's issues were made in under their guidance. Quite so, the initiative was taken in harmony with their political aim and the surrounding power relations. (See Table 3.8.)

On the contrary to the position of the women policy agencies, there are significant women's movements that struggle to take charge of the policy-making process in women issues (Sherbakov, 2014). Also, Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA, Algerian National Women's Union) in Algeria (Lorch & Bunk, 2016), the General Federation of Iraqi Women (GFIW) in Iraq (Joseph, 1991), and the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Center and Network (ZWRCN) and the Musasa Project in Zimbabwe (Osirim, 2001) are the most remarkable actors of the women's movements in this group. Moreover, although still the feature of the relationship women's movements and state is conducted, nevertheless the women's movements have the power to impose their demands such as quotas for women in the parliamentary in Algeria (Lorch & Bunk, 2016), Iraq (Coleman, 2006), Rwanda (Berry, 2015), and Yemen (Al-Sakkaf, 2012) and lobbying for women's policy implementations in Iraq (Joseph, 1991) and Rwanda (Abbott & Malunda, 2016). (See Table 3.8.)

However, the non-democratic atmosphere is not helpful to give a good account of them for participating in the governmental bodies like in Rwanda (Buss & Ali, 2017), Iraq (Koolaee & Akbari, 2017), and Yemen (Kurebwa, 2017). As a consequence, states which adopted Type 9 state feminism have the ability to conduct and influence the women's movement in their countries in line with their political interest. Nevertheless, they are not strong enough to directly suppress the women's movements, considering the vulnerability to the domestic issues at Iraq (Koolaee & Akbari, 2017), Rwanda (Buss & Ali, 2017), Yemen (Al-Sakkaf, 2012), and Zimbabwe (Mashiri, 2013). (See Table 3.8.)

This group of countries is called as "persuasive state feminism because the main concern for the state feminism is legitimizing the authoritarian regime (Lorch & Bunk, 2016) by the instrumentalization of women empowerment for state construction. On the one hand, the women's movement is compelled to support the new regime against the old one; women are subjectivized by the new regime as newcomer political actors for the balance of power. The state interpellates the women as a valued part of society by empowering them by using the women's policy agencies as a superior and the center of the state feminist implementations. On the other hand, the women's movement tends to

be conducted since it is required to follow the path created by the women's policy agency. Hence, the state follows a strategy that requires a gender policy, which can persuade the internal and external actors for recognition and acceptance. Lastly, the difference between the persuasive and ideological state feminisms is that the persuasive state feminists attempt to persuade the domestic and international public opinion with a liberal image to conserve the stability of the authoritarian regime and maintaining power (Berry, 2015; Ranchod-Nilsson, 2006), while the ideological state feminists have the intention for a systematic transformation by receiving the women's support. Interpellation would not be targeted originally; this type of state feminism desires to regulate power relations. (See Table 3.8.)



Table 3.6: The Determinants of Type 4 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Superior	Conducted	Non-Democratic	Apparent	Varied	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent (as a Sanction)	
Algeria	Centre d'Information et de Documentation sur les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme (CIDEF), Centre of Information and Documentation for the Rights of Children and Women)	Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA, Algerian National Women's Union)	0.0	Independence in 1962 Political liberalisation of the 1980s and 1990s Arab Spring	Symbolic Femocrats	Apparent	Unapparent	UN and International Community	Since 1962 with disruptions
Egypt				Independence in 1952 Arab Spring	Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN, Modernizm and International Community	Since 1952 with disruptions
Iraq	National Council for Women	Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU)	0.1	Ba'ath Party and American Intervention in 2003 Arab Spring	Symbolic Femocrats	Apparent	Unapparent	UN and International Community	Since 1974 with disruptions
Rwanda	Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, the Gender Monitoring Office and the National Women's Council (NWC)	General Federation of Iraqi Women (GFIW)	0.0	Genocide in 1994 and 2003 Constitution	Unapparent	Apparent	Economic reconstruction in the post-genocide period	UN and International Community	Since 1994
Yemen	National Women's Committee (NWC)	No particularly prominent	0.3	Unification in 1991 Arab Spring	Unapparent	Apparent	Unapparent	UN and International Community	Since 1991 with disruptions
Zimbabwe	Gender Desk in the Office of the President and Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA)	Zimbabwe Women's Resource Center and Network (ZWRCN) and MUSASA	0.3	National liberation between 1972-1979 Independence in 1980	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN and International Community	Since 1980

3.2.5 TYPE 5 STATE FEMINISM

The Type 5 state feminism corresponds with the Probability 13 and refers to a set of state feminist implementations applied disinclined by force of being a democratic country and not falling afoul with international public opinion. The implementation bodies of this type of state feminists do not intend to improve women's status in the society because of their patriarchy-based organizations and the strong relationship with the market players.

The Type 5 state feminism requires an exceptional combination; women's policy agencies act as superiors of the women's movement actors; the states ignore the demands of women's movement, however, since they are careful about the women's issue because of the international oppression. They tend to improve women's status, mostly in the legal area. Besides, these countries are democratic and positioned as free according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Argentina, India, Japan, Peru, and Romania.

Argentina, Peru and Romania adopted state feminism during the democratic transition. Their focus was not on women's rights or women's issues. They aim to establish democracy after domestic conflicts. Thus, women's issues have become a topic of the conversation about human rights within the scope of democratization. Therefore, these countries have adopted the superior women's policy agencies in order to be compatible with the customary international humanitarian law. In this way, they had a chance to legitimate the political authorities during the transition. As a result, they have not any expectations from the domestic women's movement and are not interested in their participation in the policy-making process mainly.

Likewise, India and Japan have also put state feminist implementations on the agenda in line with the customary international humanitarian law. However, their democratization processes were already completed before the state feminism. Therefore,

they have adopted state feminism in order to preserve their place as democratic countries in the international arena. Their women's policy agencies are responsible for fulfilling the obligations arising from international treaties. As a result, the policy-making process may ignore or at least not pay attention to the demands of women's movements.

The women's policy agencies in this type of state feminist countries have a limited agenda for improving women's lives and gender equality since the advancement of the women's policies demanded from international organizations such as the United Nations or the European Union. These agencies are effective in influencing the policy-making process and creating a campaign for women. Their main goal is to make improvements in the legal area in the countenance of women under the adopted gender strategy derived from the international women foundations. Therefore, it is possible to consider that state feminism occurred from the international pressure; however, the local dynamics do not be inclined to accept the new policies willingly. (Boesten, 2012; Franceschet, 2007; Kano, 2011; Kobayashi, 2004; Miroiu, 2010; Subramaniam, Krishnan, & Bunka, 2014) (See Table 3.9.)

Accordingly, the superior position of the women's policy agencies and the international pressure, which is the only necessary element for the governments to apply state feminist practices, have caused excluding women's movement from the policy-making and decision-making processes. Therefore, the demands of women's movement have become insignificant for the states given the masculine character of the bureaucracy in these countries. These women's movements are very active and have an objective and robust will for changing the living conditions of women. However, because of the exclusion of women's NGOs from participating in politics, they could not get a chance to influence governmental bodies. Their struggle for participating in women politics has not ended since some of them have resorted to the strategy of being participants of political parties or bureaucracy rather than protesting from outside. Nonetheless, their impact is also limited in these cases, no matter they have given up autonomy and independence. Indeed, the exclusion of women's movement from the state machinery might be related to the oblivion of women to participate in daily politics. (Franceschet, 2007; Hurubean,

2013; Kano, 2011; Rousseau, 2009; Subramaniam, Krishnan, & Bunka, 2014, Tomida, 2005) (See Table 3.9.)

As a consequence of seeking international legitimacy with male-dominated state machinery, the Type 5 state feminism gives rise to women to gain rights on the paper. However, since the implementers do not intend to improve women's status in practice, this type of state feminism does not produce real empowerment for women and gender equality and their state feminist implementation are reluctant. The legal achievements of women do not reflect the society in the reluctant state feminist countries. On the one hand, the women's movement is excluded from the decision-making process and women are subjectivized as being symbolic actors, who are excluded from politics. The state interpellates the symbolic image of the women by establishing the women's policy agency to solve the women's issues on the paper. On the other hand, the state should mind appreciating the women for acceptance as a democratic country in the public eye and not neglect the political agenda that is focused on gender equality even it is pretended.

Table 3.7: The Determinants of Type 5 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Superior	Outsider	Democratic	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Apparent (as Sanction)	
Argentina	Consejo Nacional de la Mujer (CNNM)	Mujeres Autoconvocadas para Decidir en Libertad (MADEL)	2.0	Transition to democracy and Menem's anti-abortion agenda	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN	Since 1993
India	National Commission for Women	Lawyers' Collective (LC)	2.0	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN and the International Connections of Women's Movement	Since 1992
Japan	Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Labor	Association of New Women	2.0	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Improving working conditions of women and work-family reconciliation	UN and Internationalism	Since the 1970s
Peru	Women's Emergency Centers	Movimiento Mamaela Ramos and Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán	2.0	Conflict between Shining Path and the armed forces	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN	Since the 1990s
Romania	National Council of Women	No particularly prominent	2.0	Transition to democracy Post-communism	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	UN and EU membership	Since the 1990s

3.2.6 TYPE 6 STATE FEMINISM

The Type 6 state feminisms corresponds with the Probability 14 and the Probability 15 together and point out that implementing state feminism within the context of an executive agenda. The probabilities are merged for Type 6 since the countries of Probability 14 have a non-democratic tendency and similar perspective with the countries of Probability 15 in the case of the women's issues. They address the women's issues and gender politics as an administrative problem and within the context of public administration. The women's issue has been considered as part of demographic regulations. Goertz (1992) explains the women's position in public administration that the biological and social reproductive objects. In this perspective, public administration aims to manage the resources by their functions. As a result, public administration focuses on generalized development, excluding women's demands. Therefore, public administration has not been beneficial for implementing gender-equal policies. Within the context of this kind of state feminism, women's policy agencies act as superiors of the women's movement actors; the states ignore the demands of women's movement since they are using state feminism as an executive tool with the purpose of planning. These countries might be non-democratic or semi-democratic and positioned as not free or partly free according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are China, Pakistan, Russia, and Ukraine. The details can be seen in Table 3.10.

China and Pakistan share a similar view in the case of state feminism. They have specific women's policy agencies to centralize the process of state feminist policy-making. However, since their main concern is women's participation in the labor force and economic development, they tend to ignore the women's movement. Additionally, women's movements have not much chance to flourish as a consequence of political and social conditions in China and Pakistan.

Russia and Ukraine are also akin to the state feminism; they have not specific women's policy agencies since they prefer the distribution of responsibility between institutions for providing women multi-dimensional solutions. However, their perspective of state feminism focuses on the social services for the reproductive activities of

women. Thus, these policies do not aim at the political and economic empowerment of women. In addition, despite the exclusion from the administrative process of state feminism, the women's movements in Russia and Ukraine are able to influence the legislative branch by lobbying as much as the system allows.

The mission of the women's policy agencies in these countries is promoting the gathering of gender-sensitive indicators and improving this data statistically as such as literacy rate, domestic violence, labor force participation, or right to not participation labor force, biological reproduction. Since the key point of the implementing state feminism is making improvements on the paper, the participation in the political, economic, and social activities might be ignored in this state feminism. However, the legal improvements are adopted as a result of the women's policy agencies' demographic projects, and the findings of these projects are remarkable for the male-oriented state machinery. The agencies have the power to direct gender politics in their countries since they are also parts of the bureaucracy. Besides, these agencies are full-capacity superiors; they have the ability to command and ignore the local level administrations and evidence-based policymaking, and they do not need the support of other administrative or political actors. (Bazylevych, 2010; Bhattacharya, 2014; Chen, 2016; Hadi, 2017; Hankivsky & Salnykova, 2010; Rafay, Habib, Tariq, & Ali, 2016; Saarinen & Johnson, 2013; United Nations, 2010d, 2010e) (See Table 3.10.)

Moreover, it is not possible to say in favor of a lack of civil society due to a non-democratic or semi-democratic atmosphere. The Chinese Communist Party has declared itself as the only accredited institution promoting women's interests through a top-down approach and considered the feminism is an ideology of bourgeois; the women's movement has been disregarded in China (Bohong, 2005; Jiang, 2019). Despite the women-friendly provisions in the constitution of Pakistan, the women's participation in daily issues have been ignored by the Pakistani society, and the poor implementation of the laws for the benefit of women have induced that the women's movement has become suppressed in Pakistan (Bhattacharya, 2014; Hadi, 2017; Rafay et al., 2016). Yet, women's movement can get a chance for lobbying in parliament from time to time and

Women's Action Forum (WAF) became the main actor for the collective demands of women (Shaheed, 2010). (See Table 3.10.)

On the contrary to the other examples in this group, the women's movements have a chance to manifest themselves in Russia and Ukraine. Despite being isolated from women's daily lives, women's NGOs are able to take up a position about women's issues. Some of them are strong enough to campaigning and lobbying in the national parliament. However, they could not be influential as much as they would be by the reason for the link between women's movement and state is discontinuous (Hankivsky & Salnykova, 2010; Orr, 2008; Saarinen & Johnson, 2013). In addition, the conflict between the supporters of the women's rights and the supporters of maternalism might cause a weakened women's movement in Ukraine (Orr, 2008). (See Table 3.10.)

In substance, the Type 6 state feminism can be named as executive state feminist together since their approach originates from a lack of awareness about gender issues and the male-dominated viewpoint of state. This perspective of state restrains the women's issue and the gender-sensitive policymaking within administrative tables and survey forms of the statistics. If state feminist implementations increase the governance capacity and correspond to the national plans, they have been approved, and gender equality may take place in the legislation.

After all, the women's movement is excluded from the decision-making process, and women are subjectivized as the statistical indicators and with their reproductive capacity. The state interpellates the units of analysis through the reports of the women's policy agencies. Therefore, the relation between state and women is established as a part of the executive process.

Table 3.8: The Determinants of Type 6 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Superior	Outsider	Non-Democratic or Semi-Democratic	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	
China	National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and National Commission on Health and Family Planning	All-China Women's Federation (ACWF)	0.0		Unapparent	Unapparent	Data disaggregation by sex to manage labor force	Unapparent	Since 1949
Pakistan	Punjab Commission on Status of Women (PCSW)	Women's Action Forum (WAF)	0.8	Reforms of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1986)	Unapparent	Apparent	Achieving rights to job placement	Unapparent	1947-2012
Russia	Ministry of Health and Social Development	ANNA (National Center for Prevention of Violence)	0.0	Bolshevism Collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 Post-Communism	Unapparent	Apparent	Government's social service funding tool	Unapparent	Since 1991
Ukraine	Ministry for Family, Youth and Sport *	Three National Women's Rights Groups (WO, WQ, and WGG)	1.3	Bolshevism Independence in 1991 Post-Communism	Unapparent	Apparent	Improvement of maternal health and reduction of child mortality	EU candidature	Since 1991

3.2.7 TYPE 7 STATE FEMINISM

The Type 7 state feminism as the last type of the state feminism means that the practitioner governments in the related countries aim to dissolve the Soviet layer of their past and removing its influence from the society and corresponds with the Probability 24. However, the commitment to the patriarchal, bureaucratic, and authoritarian order subsists in these countries.

The Type 7 state feminism has a distinctive character; the women's policy agencies act as superiors of the women's movement actors, the women's movement projected by the state, and also state has full capacity to control it, and these countries are non-democratic and positioned as not free according to Freedom House data. The countries in this group are Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan follow a similar path as far as the state feminism is concerned. After independence in 1991, they completed the structural formations of the new republics and adopted new constitutions as post-communist countries. Thus, state feminism has risen to prominence along with the de-Sovietization process. The women's issue has been considered as a national problem since Soviet implementations regarding women's economic and social empowerment. However, these countries claim that Soviet policies alienated women from their nation and culture. Therefore, they have included state feminist policies within the national plans to receive support from the women and transform the society by creating an image of the ideal female citizen. Respectively, the women's policy agencies are superior to women's movement to follow a specific strategy and project the women's movements in compliance with that strategy by the means of the non-democratic atmosphere.

As mentioned before, these three countries are post-soviet countries, and they have been subjected to the Sovietization process. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these countries have started to de-Sovietization process, and sure enough, the women's issue has been affected by the de-Sovietization. For example, the women's emancipation of the Soviets was considered as forced to increase labor productivity, and promot-

ing the Sovietization in Uzbekistan and emancipation was not purposing egalitarian gender roles (Kurbanova, 2005). Likewise, the emancipation of women and promoting women's status during the Soviet era has been seen illusory and unreal, and the regulations targeted women were also seen as a part of Russian colonization in Azerbaijan (Tohidı, 1999). The uneasiness and skepticism toward Russian colonization under the name of Sovietization gave rise to the reexamination of the emancipation of women (Kurbanova, 2005) (Tohidı, 1999). (See Table 3.11.)

As a consequence of de-Sovietization, a trend for being traditionalist has been started in response to the colonial past. Traditional notions such as the sanctity of motherhood, family-based society, and reconstructing gender roles have come to the forefront in the post-Soviet era along with rising nationalism (Ibrahim, 2013; Snajdr, 2008; Tohidı, 1999).

Moreover, the women's policy agencies of this kind of state feminism are positioned as the superiors of the women's movement and control the gender politics in these countries. These agencies play an administrator role in promoting women's status in educational, economic, political, and social areas within the context of the women's role in the reproduction and family following the nationalist agenda influences by modernization, globalization, and marketization (Ibrahim, 2013; Kapysheva, 2014; Khassanova, 2000; Kurbanova, 2010; Tohidı, 1999; Walsh, 2020). The State Committee for Women's Issues in Azerbaijan (Bingham, 2016), the Council on Family, Women and Demographic Policy, and the Gender in Development Bureau in Kazakhstan (Khassanova, 2000), and the Women's Committee of Uzbekistan (Welter & Smallbone, 2008) are one of the prominent agencies in this group. (See Table 3.11.)

Furthermore, including as a result of a non-democratic atmosphere and an insignificant civil society, the women's movements in these countries are also conformably weakened. Besides, most of the NGOs are established by the state itself to project the national plan for the women's issues to fit with the other traditionalist and oppressive implementing (Ibrahim, 2013; Kurbanova, 2010; Sarbayeva, 2016). Besides, Mehriban Aliyeva in Azerbaijan (Ramazanova, 2017), Gulnara Karimova in Uzbekistan, and Dariga Nazarbayeva in Kazakhstan (Kudaibergenova, 2015) have been the most influ-

essential female political actors in these countries as related with the president in their period and might be respected as symbolic femocrats. These essential female political figures are participating and part of the decision-making mechanism of most of the NGOs in these countries. Their influence over the women's movement and women's political agencies has been determinative of the gender agenda in those countries. (See Table 3.11.)

As a summary, the Type 7 state feminism may be seen as a technique for distinguishing Soviet and post-Soviet era by interpellation of the pre-Soviet era in the scope of women's emancipation from Sovietization and adoption of traditional women roles. Additionally, the family is also very substantial, and motherhood has been politicized in this kind of state feminist policy. Therefore, it is possible to consider this state feminism along with familiarism considering the sacredness of the family has been pampering by the state as a part of gender politics.

Therefore, this type of state feminism can be named as dissociative state feminism since the state feminist practices purpose the dissociation of the Soviet layer of the gender politics in the related countries in the context of nationalism and anti-colonialism by the discourse about abolishing the double burden. (See Table 3.11.) The women are subjectivized by the new regime as the memories of the past. The state interpellates the women by re-constitution of traditional gender roles and for that reason, the women's policy agencies are projects the women's movements as the superior of it. Thus, the state pursues a strategy that requires calling the past by making the women fit into the pre-Soviet practices.

Table 3.9: The Determinants of Type 7 State Feminism by Countries

Country	Main Determinants			Supporting Determinants					Period of Analysis
	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure	
	Superior	Projected	Non-Democratic	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	
Azerbaijan	State Committee for Women's Issues in Azerbaijan	No particularly prominent	0.0	Independence in 1991 Post-Communism	Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1991
Kazakhstan	Council on Family, Women and Demographic Policy and Gender in Development Bureau	No particularly prominent	0.0	Independence in 1991 Post-Communism	Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1991
Uzbekistan	Women's Committee of Uzbekistan	No particularly prominent	0.0	Independence in 1991 Post-Communism	Symbolic Femocrats	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Since 1991

3.2.8 INTRODUCING A NEW TYPOLOGY OF STATE FEMINISM

In this section, the results of the case analyses will be discussed in order to explore a new typology of state feminism. Forty-one countries were analyzed one by one within the conceptualization of the potential typology of state feminism using the combination of three main determinants. After the analyses, seven different certain types of state feminism from twenty-four probabilities are revealed as a result. However, this does not mean that the seven types of state feminism can be applicable to all countries in the world as mentioned before; the selected countries lead us find these types regarding their characteristics. Therefore, it is possible to reveal other types with the larger sample size.

In addition, the twenty-four probabilities are only probabilities and may not correspond with the reality. For example, the Probability 19, which requires democracy, the bridged roled women's policy agency, and a projected women's movement, may not match up a type of state feminism in reality since the characteristics of the main determinant are conflicted. Thus, the impractical possibilities should be eliminated in the process of developing the typology. Hence, only matched probabilities can be considered suitable for the typology. By this way, the research intends to emphasize the various dimensions of the state feminism and develop a systematic understanding rather than an approach suggesting one standardized type.

Eventually, the analysis suggested that Australia, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Ghana, Netherlands, Poland, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, and the United States have the similar pattern, which indicates the bridge roled women's policy agency, negotiated women's movement and democracy. Similarly, Colombia, Malaysia, and Mexico have also another mutual pattern, which has the bridge roled women's policy agency, negotiated women's movement and semi-democracy. (See Table 3.3.)

Likewise, Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, Philippines, Thailand, Tunisia, and Turkey shared sense for state feminism, which has the superior women's policy agency,

conducted women's movement, and semi-democracy; while Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Rwanda, Yemen, and Zimbabwe are implementing a type of state feminism, which has the superior women's policy agency, conducted women's movement, and non-democracy. (See Table 3.3.)

Further, Argentina, India, Japan, Peru, and Romania are democratic, while Pakistan and Ukraine are semi-democratic, and China and Russia are non-democratic. Yet, their common ground is that they have superior women's policy agencies and outsider women's movements. (See Table 3.3.)

Additionally, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan have an utterly different approach for state feminism. While they are non-democratic countries, they have superior women's policy agencies which control projected women's movements. (See Table 3.3.)

Table 3.10: The Potential Types of State Feminism by Countries

Probabilities	Countries	Women Policy Agencies	Women's Movement	Democracy
Probability 1	Australia Brazil Chile Germany Ghana Netherlands Poland South Africa South Korea Spain Sweden Taiwan United States	Bridge	Negotiator	Democratic
Probability 2	Colombia Malaysia Mexico	Bridge	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic
Probability 3	-	Bridge	Negotiator	Non-Democratic
Probability 4	-	Superior	Negotiator	Democratic
Probability 5	-	Superior	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic
Probability 6	-	Superior	Negotiator	Non-Democratic
Probability 7	-	Superior	Conducted	Democratic
Probability 8	Jordan Morocco Nigeria Philippines Thailand Tunisia Turkey	Superior	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
Probability 9	Algeria Egypt Iraq Rwanda Yemen Zimbabwe	Superior	Conducted	Non-Democratic
Probability 10	-	Bridge	Conducted	Democratic
Probability 11	-	Bridge	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
Probability 12	-	Bridge	Conducted	Non-Democratic
Probability 13	Argentina India Japan Peru Romania	Superior	Outsider	Democratic
Probability 14	Pakistan Ukraine	Superior	Outsider	Semi-Democratic
Probability 15	China Russia	Superior	Outsider	Non-Democratic
Probability 16	-	Bridge	Outsider	Democratic
Probability 17	-	Bridge	Outsider	Semi-Democratic
Probability 18	-	Bridge	Outsider	Non-Democratic
Probability 19	-	Bridge	Projected	Democratic
Probability 20	-	Bridge	Projected	Semi-Democratic
Probability 21	-	Bridge	Projected	Non-Democratic
Probability 22	-	Superior	Projected	Democratic
Probability 23	-	Superior	Projected	Semi-Democratic
Probability 24	Azerbaijan Kazakhstan Uzbekistan	Superior	Projected	Non-Democratic

After placing the countries into the table indicating potential types of state feminism, the eight types are drawn attention; Probability 1, Probability 2, Probability 8, Probability 9, Probability 13, Probability 14, Probability 15, and Probability 24. The probabilities other than these eight types of state feminism could not found detected within the scope of the analyses of the selected countries for this research. Nonetheless,

Probability 14 and Probability 15 are discussed together as one type since the semi-democratic countries of Probability 14 have non-democratic tendencies and their main concern of implementing state feminism and the results of the implementations are profoundly similar with Probability 15. Hence, it is sensible to place the related countries within a joint type for theorizing.

Therefore, eight probabilities correspond with seven types in this research and this can be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 3.11: The Main Determinants and Types of State Feminism

Determinants Types	Women Policy Agency	Women's Movement	Democracy
Compromiser	Bridge	Negotiator	Democratic
Inclusive	Bridge	Negotiator	Semi-Democratic
Ideological	Superior	Conducted	Semi-Democratic
Persuasive	Superior	Conducted	Non-Democratic
Reluctant	Superior	Outsider	Democratic
Dissociative	Superior	Projected	Non-Democratic
Executive	Superior	Outsider	Semi-Democratic or Non-Democratic

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 indicates the characteristics of the main determinants among the types of state feminism. The types are determined by the relationship between three main determinants that present the position of the state. When the women's policy agency acts as a bridge between women and the state and the state's perspective for women's movement is negotiator; if the country is democratic, it means that the country is compromiser state feminist or if the country is semi-democratic, it means that the country is inclusive state feminist. Similarly, when the women's policy agency acts as a superior of women's movement and the state conducts women's movement, a semi-democratic country is the implementer of ideological state feminism, and a non-democratic country is the implementer of persuasive state feminism. Besides, a superior women's policy agency and excluded women's movement demonstrate reluctant (if the country is democratic) or executive state feminism (if the country is non-democratic or

semi-democratic). Lastly, a superior women's policy agency, along with a women's movement with a projected agenda created by the state in a non-democratic atmosphere address the dissociative state feminism.

Furthermore, the compromiser state feminism suggests cooperation between state and women for gender equality. Inclusive state feminism refers to the efforts of the state for gender equality by including women's demands. Ideological state feminism purposes creating a political order along with women's support. Persuasive state feminism indicates a strategy of the state against women and the international community. Reluctant state feminism represents a shield for the circumstance of international sanctions. Dissociative state feminism is a beneficial tool for dissociating the undesirable recent past. Executive state feminism is an element for planning the resources.

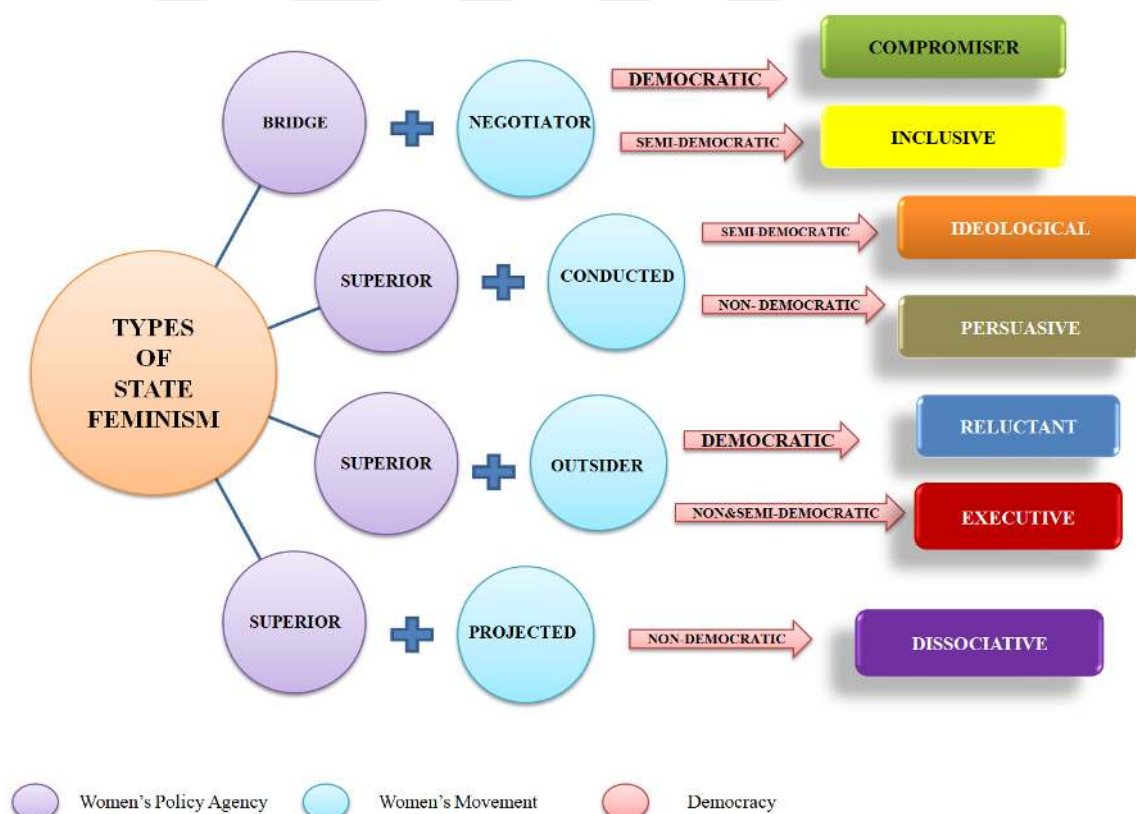


Figure 3.1: Types of State Feminism by the Main Determinants

Moreover, Table 4.2 indicates the general typology of the types of state feminism in the case of supportive determinants. However, it is hard to claim that there is a definite correlation between the supportive determinant determining the type of state feminism since the characteristics (apparent or unapparent) of these determinants may differ from country to country within the groups. Still, this table is helpful in understanding the overall impact of supportive determinants on the types of state feminism. The supportive determinants play a constitutive role in assigning the characteristics of the main determinants and categorizing the data of the selected countries to developing a typology for state feminism.

Table 3.12: The Supportive Determinants and Types of State Feminism

Determinants Types	Regime Change, New Constitution and Other Political Milestones	Femocrats or Symbolic Femocrats	Lobbying	Labor Force and Economic Growth	International Pressure
Compromiser	Apparent	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent
Inclusive	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent
Ideological	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Varied
Persuasive	Apparent	Varied	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent
Reluctant	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Apparent
Dissociative	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent	Unapparent	Unapparent
Executive	Apparent	Unapparent	Apparent	Apparent	Unapparent

Therefore, it is possible to claim that there are seven specific types of state feminism, which are unique and propose awareness for the nature of the relationship between women and state in the related countries.

LAST CHAPTER

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research has suggested that state feminism might be considered regardless of the limited perspective of analysis referring to state feminism as a result of democratization as in the previous studies. In the state feminism literature, the main focus has been industrialized Western countries, and there was a lack of other countries despite the Third World analysis. The researches themed Third World approach the local state feminism process as if examining a Western country and attempt to fit their findings with this perspective. As a result, the Occidental approach causes one to ignore the women in other regions of the world, along with their problems and demands. Thus, this research can develop a broad and systematic understanding of women's issues regarding women's relationship to the state.

Accordingly, this research claimed that state feminism might be a part of the ideological state apparatuses that enables the state to create a special bond with women in order to strengthen its power. The bond was established through the activities of the state aimed at improving women's status irrespective of feminist or non-feminist. This research aimed to reveal the true intention of the state about its relation to women by drawing attention to the utilization of state feminism as an ideological state apparatus. If one can solve the problem of how the state utilizes state feminism as an ideological state apparatus, it might be possible to influence the process for the actual benefit of women.

Moreover, since forty-one countries were examined within the scope of the research, it is not achievable to standardize all of the implementations of given countries. Therefore, the types of state feminism are come out of the patterns that indicate the

connection between the specific characteristics of the main determinants. In this study, I suggest that there are seven types of state feminism: compromiser, inclusive, ideological, reluctant, persuasive, dissociative, and executive. In addition, the countries have been categorized as irrelevant to their geographical position of the countries consequently.

The first one, compromiser state feminism, refers that states and women appear as compromising actors. In this type, the state should pay attention to the demands of civil society and women in order to preserve the democratic image.

The second one, inclusive state feminism, indicates that the inclusive efforts of the state for women in order to build consensus and strengthen the democratic atmosphere. Despite being semi-democratic, these countries have a better understanding of women's participation in the policy-making process.

The third one, ideological state feminism, introduces a semi-democratic state aiming especially women's support for social transformation and is willingly for giving rights to women to a certain extent. Despite the research claims that all suggested types of state feminism have ideological objectives more or less, ideological state feminism has a particular agenda for disseminating and imposing an utterly different ideology.

The fourth one, persuasive state feminism, points out a legitimacy seeking of state in a non-democratic atmosphere. Since these states have a risk to face the internal and external threats, they need to ensure the stability within the boundaries of the country and gather support from the society for the state authority. However, they do not approve of claiming rights, as they are non-democratic.

The fifth one, reluctant state feminism, indicates a state unwillingly implementing state feminist regulations excluding most of the women in the country. However, this state is on alert against an international sanction on behalf of democracy.

The sixth one, executive state feminism, is not enthusiastic about women's status. The main goal is regulating women's issues statistically in order to adopt national

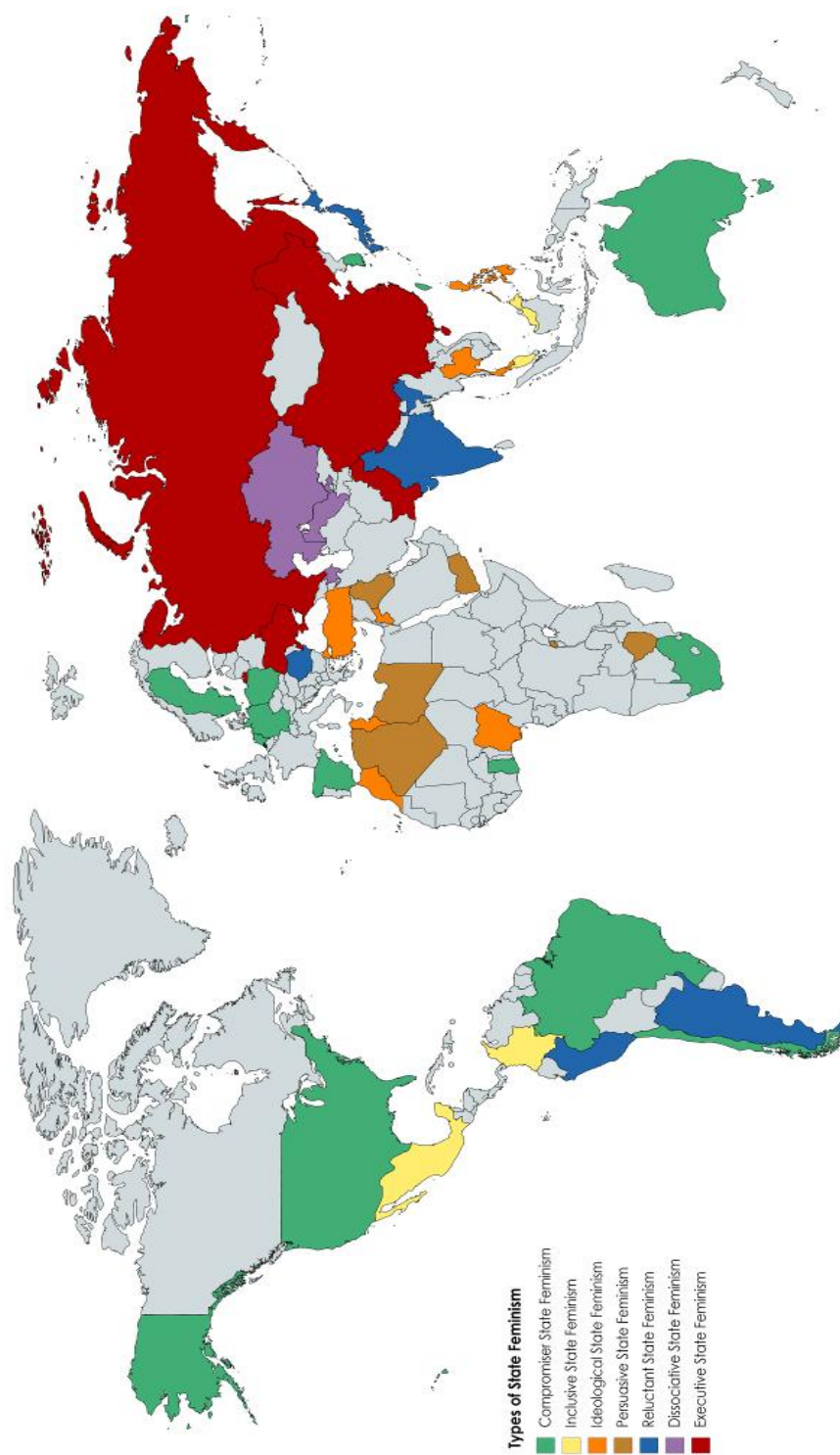
development plans. Women are taken into consideration within the administrative powers; it is not essential to bargaining on women's rights or answering women's demands

The seventh and last one, dissociative state feminism, idealizes the past and aims to remove the changes in the name of returning to the core. This state is willing to erase the memory about the colonial past including the perspective for gender issues and it advocates the gender politics rooted in history.

Besides, Figure 4.2 indicates the categorization of these countries regarding their type of state feminism. In addition, Figure 4.3 is a distribution map, which shows the distribution of the countries by their type of state feminism throughout the world. According to the maps, it is not possible to categorize the countries by their region. It indicates that state feminism does not be affected by the geographical position of a country. Moreover, socio-cultural similarities are not directly relevant to the type of state feminism; two countries share identical language, religion, and ethnicity may adopt different types of state feminism. Furthermore, two countries that are considered as extremely apart from each other may adopt the same type of state feminism. Still, this map suggests a better understanding of the types of state feminism since it has the capacity to show all pieces of the whole.



Figure 4.1: Types of State Feminism by Countries



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Figure 4.2: Types of State Feminism in the World

Accordingly, this research aims to contribute the literature by encouraging other researchers to consider state feminism within the context of ideological state apparatus and post-colonial studies. In this way, state feminism can exceed the limits of Occidentalism and gain strength to provide a better understanding of women's issues and also, has the ability to examine the other countries except post-industrial Western countries which were not examined within the concept of state feminism in the literature before.

Besides, state feminism can come up with the current and continual problems of women throughout the world. A better determination of these problems simplifies governments' work to realize the malfunction of their systems to the detriment of women and implement women-friendly policies with feminist ends. It is also beneficial for the researchers to measure the effectiveness of the women-friendly policies and discover the original purpose of implementing these policies.

However, it is necessary to underline that these types are not absolute. The analysis was performed under the assumption of the frozen status of the selected countries in a point of history. The place of a country may change following the variation of the main determinants in the future. Still, this research proposed to attract attention to the asymmetry of women's status in various countries throughout the world and reveal the roots of the asymmetry.

Therefore, this research can be a starting point for the other researches focused on microanalysis of state feminism. The research aimed to explore a country's state feminist implementations throughout history by zooming the periods or compare few cases considering their situation after global or regional changes by determining the same date range can make use of the theory of types of state feminism. In addition, one can explore the prospective subcategories of the types of state feminism since this research has tended to generalize the features within the groups extremely. Besides, a better look in a limited time and a specific country may lead us to be very competent in state feminism as a deviant or an extreme case. Lastly, since this research has analyzed the typical cases, other countries that are not included in this research can extend the scope of the theory of types of state feminism.

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