WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE STATES: A RESOURCE
MOBILIZATION ANALYSIS

DISSERTATION

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By

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This dissertation fills a conspicuous gap in the literature on the U.S. woman suffrage movement by developing and testing a model of state woman suffrage success. This model is based on a version of the resource mobilization perspective on social movements which emphasizes the importance of social movement organizations (such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association) as resource-gathering agencies which can exploit the structure of organized politics by mobilizing their own resources and neutralizing those of opponents. Accordingly, this model taps four alternative types of variables used by woman suffrage scholars to explain state success: state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, and liquor and allied interests (opponents of woman suffrage) as well as demographic characteristics.

Data on these variables were drawn from a variety of sources, including the six-volume History of Woman Suffrage, U.S. Census publications, the extensive historical literature on the woman suffrage movement in specific states and regions, and miscellaneous almanacs, directories, and yearbooks. These data are path analyzed using multiple regression techniques.
to determine which variables explain level and timing of state success, respectively, and to what extent.

While all four sets of variables helped to explain level of state woman suffrage success, timing of success was explained by state political structure and demographic characteristics only. These findings indicate that the political and demographic context of NAWSA mobilization was equally important as, if not more important than, mobilization itself. The exceptionally strong effects of demographic characteristics on both level and timing of success indicate that the native-born and white populations of the states were more than mere demographic categories. They were political constituencies which may have regarded woman suffrage as one possible means of guaranteeing their electoral majorities where threatened by large minority populations.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first U.S. women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Yet, woman suffrage was not extended nationwide until the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1920. The long Congressional campaign of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) for a federal woman suffrage amendment has received considerable scholarly attention. In striking contrast, however, its concurrent, frequent, and often successful skirmishes with state legislatures over state suffrage laws have escaped equally rigorous scrutiny. Considering the momentum gained by the federal amendment campaign as the number of woman suffrage states increased, this anomaly marks a curious gap in woman suffrage research. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap by combining and weighing several piecemeal explanations of level and timing of state success which are suggested in the woman suffrage literature.

There were wide variations in the level and timing of state woman suffrage success. States granted six types of partial suffrage as well as full suffrage. These six types may be assigned to two levels, token and limited suffrage, according to their impact on national and state politics,
especially Congressional passage and state ratification of the federal amendment. School, tax and bond, and municipal suffrage were token types, because they had negligible effect on national and state politics. Most of the twenty-eight token victories were won by the turn of the century. Presidential, primary, and territorial suffrage were limited types, because they had some effect on national and state politics. Most of the eighteen limited victories were won during the five years preceding the federal amendment's ratification. Of course, gaining full suffrage had considerable effect on national and state politics. The fifteen full victories were scattered between 1890 and 1920. (See Figure 1 for a map illustrating the level and timing of state success.)

Previous efforts to explain these successes have implicated four sets of variables: NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, liquor and allied interests, and demographic characteristics. The framework of the resource mobilization perspective is used to combine these piecemeal explanations in a more comprehensive model. This model is analyzed statistically to provide a more complete explanation of state woman suffrage success.

After tracing the history of organized woman suffrage agitation, this chapter reviews the literature on resource mobilization as well as woman suffrage and states the hypotheses based on the conclusions of these previous studies.
Fig. 1--Level and Timing of Highest State Women Suffrage Successes
The History of Organization for Woman Suffrage

The National American Woman Suffrage Association was the most stable and enduring woman suffrage organization in the United States. It was also the last and most truly national organization in a series of attempts to effectively mobilize women at the state as well as the federal level. The development of NAWSA may be traced from the Seneca Falls Convention, the National Woman's Loyalty League, the American Equal Rights Association, and the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations.

Woman's Rights: Seneca Falls and Its Aftermath

The first Woman's Rights Convention in the United States was held at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19 and 20, 1848. The chief organizers of this landmark event were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. The two women had first discussed the idea of such a gathering eight years earlier. In 1840, the World Anti-Slavery Society held its convention in London. Lucretia Mott and her husband, James, attended as delegates from Philadelphia. The trip doubled as a honeymoon for Elizabeth Cady Stanton, whose new husband, Henry, was a delegate from Boston. Over the protests of a few men, the convention denied official seats to the American women delegates. During the spirited debate over this action, the eloquence and wit of the matronly Mrs. Mott impressed the new Mrs. Stanton. As a result, they had a series of conversations--first in London and later in Boston--in which
they agreed on the need for a woman's rights convention. For a number of personal reasons, however, they did not act on this decision until their paths crossed again several years later in upstate New York (26, pp. 241-42).

Notwithstanding its being long planned, the convention was called only eight days in advance and, consequently, was hastily organized. Just three days before the convention, Stanton and Mott met with a few relatives and friends to draft a declaration to be offered for the acceptance of the convention. The Declaration of Sentiments, which was based on the Declaration of Independence, was discussed freely and, with minor amendments, adopted unanimously. Following are a few representative excerpts:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal . . .

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman . . . . To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen . . . he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

. . . In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master . . .
He has so framed the laws of divorce . . . regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

. . . because women do feel themselves . . . deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States (39, pp. 5-7).

Resolutions to redress each of these grievances were also passed unanimously, except for the one on woman suffrage, which was sufficiently controversial that it passed by only a small majority.

During the next decade, Stanton, Mott, Lucy Stone, and other early feminists lectured widely on woman's rights, established local woman's rights societies, and organized state and national conventions.

The Civil War: National Woman's Loyalty League

When the Civil War began, the woman's rights movement came to a standstill. The last National Woman's Rights Convention of the antebellum era was held at Albany, New York, in 1861. The cessation of feminist agitation was only grudgingly accepted by Stanton and Anthony. As abolitionists, they were skeptical of Lincoln and uncompromising toward the
slave states. Furthermore, they were too political and too accustomed to being leaders to do war relief work (8, pp. 108-9).

Fortunately, they did not have to sit on the political sidelines for long. By 1863, the fate of the proposed constitutional amendment banning slavery was doubtful. (The Emancipation Proclamation had only freed slaves in rebel states.) Henry B. Stanton suggested that his wife and their friend might direct their considerable energies toward this worthy cause:

The country was never so badly off as at this moment . . . You have no idea how dark the cloud is which hangs over us . . . We must not lay the flatteringunction to our souls that the proclamation will be of any use if we are beaten, and have a dissolution of the Union. Here then is work for you . . . put on your armor and go forth (8, p. 110).

Taking up this challenge, Stanton and Anthony issued a call to all of their friends in abolitionist and woman's rights circles for a meeting of the "Loyal Women of the Nation" in New York City on May 24, 1863. Hundreds of women crowded into Dr. Cheever's Church of the Puritans on Union Square to hear the two organizers as well as Lucy Stone and—out of retirement for the occasion—Angelina Grimke Weld.

Before the meeting adjourned, the National Woman's Loyalty League (NWLL) was founded. As president and secretary, respectively, Stanton and Anthony led the League's drive to collect signatures to petitions asking Congress to pass the Thirteenth Amendment. Before the NWLL disbanded in August 1864, 400,000 signatures were collected and presented to
Congress. On 18 December 1865, the amendment abolishing slavery was ratified (8, p. 110).

The role of the NWLL in national politics has been vastly underrated. It was important not only for the decisive role it played in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, but because it taught woman’s rights advocates the value of organization, which they had previously regarded as constricting and harmful (8, p. 111).

**The Negro's Hour: American Equal Rights Association**

In the wake of the NWLL abolition campaign, the National Woman's Rights Convention of 1866—the first after the Civil War—echoed with renewed vigor the antebellum rhetoric claiming a parallel between the enslavement of the Negro and the subjection of woman. The Reconstruction period was just beginning; so, court battles to guarantee Negro suffrage still loomed in the states, and woman's rights advocates were confident that woman and Negro suffrage could be achieved in tandem.

In this hope, the National Woman's Rights Convention was re-christened the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) and re-dedicated to the cause of equal (i.e., woman and Negro) suffrage. Represented by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry B. Blackwell, the AERA tried to establish an insoluble link between Negro and woman suffrage in Kansas, the first state to address the issue. Despite their best efforts during a long, often
difficult campaign, the AERA suffered a resounding defeat. With abolitionists fearing defeat if the two reforms were linked and feminists just regaining their momentum, the franchise was extended to Negroes, but not to women (26, pp. 431-32).

This loss severed the longstanding ties between abolitionism and early American feminism, thereby eliminating a major obstacle to the eventual development of a truly national movement—that is, one with a southern wing. It was, indeed, a Pyrrhic victory.

The Split: National and American Woman Suffrage Associations

In 1868, a woman suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution was first proposed in Congress. After the disastrous equal suffrage campaign in Kansas the year before, the early feminists agreed that woman suffrage would have to be won on its own merits; however, they were sharply divided over strategy. The New York group led by Stanton and Anthony favored the simpler and more direct method of amending the federal constitution. Pointing out that the state legislatures would have to be dealt with sooner or later, the Boston group led by Stone and Blackwell, pursued the more gradual method of enfranchising women through the states.

This division was formalized in 1869 when the Stanton-Anthony faction formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the Stone-Blackwell faction, the American Woman Suffrage Association (ASWA). The NWSA, which was the product
of a coup d'etat in the feminist ranks of the AERA, restricted its membership to women only and worked on behalf of a number of woman's rights issues. The AWSA, which offered a more democratic alternative to the NWSA, opened its membership to men as well as women but restricted its work to the advocacy of woman suffrage. During their two decades of separate agitation, negligible progress was made toward woman suffrage.

The Reunion: National American Woman Suffrage Association

In 1890, after two decades of separate agitation, the two organizations reunited to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. As the nineteenth century closed, the first generation of American feminists passed from the scene either by death (e.g., Stone) or retirement (e.g., Stanton, Anthony).

In 1900, Anthony was succeeded as NAWSA president by Carrie Chapman Catt, who chaired the NAWSA Organization Committee. For personal reasons, however, Catt resigned after only four years and was succeeded by Anna Howard Shaw, who was more orator than organizer. After a decade of organizational stagnation and haphazard activity, Shaw gracefully stepped aside when Catt was able and could be persuaded to resume the position.

Catt was the architect of NAWSA's winning strategy which coordinated a number of previously competing forces to agitate for woman suffrage at both the federal and state levels. Notably, NAWSA encouraged its state affiliates
to campaign for various types of partial suffrage where full suffrage victories seemed unlikely. The accumulated state successes won under this plan are credited with increasing electoral pressure on Congress until it passed the federal amendment and with creating a climate favorable to its ratification by a sufficient number of state legislatures.

The Resource Mobilization Perspective

This dissertation employs the resource mobilization (RM) perspective to analyze NAWSA's campaigns for woman suffrage in the states. In recent years, the RM perspective has emerged as the leading theoretical challenge to the traditional "hearts and minds" approaches to social movements. A comparison of these two theoretical viewpoints calls attention to the distinctive elements of the RM perspective.

Traditional social psychological theories deal with social movements as diffuse phenomena (43, 51, 52). These approaches identify a discontented population's shared grievances and generalized beliefs about their redress as necessary conditions for a social movement to develop. Consequently, "hearts and minds" scholars tend to examine the extent and intensity of grievances, whether based on absolute or relative deprivation, and the development of ideologies, which express shared grievances and formulate generalized beliefs about their redress.
The RM perspective, by contrast, focuses on distinct social movement organization (SMOs). It emphasizes that their success depends on external sources of support (such as linkages with other groups), efficient resource mobilization, and societal support rather than constraint of movements (7, 19, 39, 28, 34, 50). Thus, RM scholars are concerned with how economic and political conditions govern the availability of resources for social movements and how SMOs try to exploit these conditions to achieve their aims.

These two diverse approaches to the study of social movements may be further compared with respect to their advocates' views of movement support bases, strategy and tactics, and relationship to the larger society. McCarthy and Zald (28, pp. 1216-17) provide the comparison shown in Table I.

There are two versions of the resource mobilization (RM) perspective, which Perrow (34) labels "RM I" and "RM II." They differ in the comparisons they draw between social movements and other phenomena, their uses of the terms "resource" and "mobilization," and the extent and outcome of their applications.

RM I is chiefly represented by Oberschall (34) and Tilly (50), who compare social movements to ordinary interest group politics. They regard social movements as parts of ordinary politics rather than revolutionary departures from it. Like
**TABLE I**

THE RM PERSPECTIVE VS. TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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<td>The aggrieved population provides the necessary resources for a social movement</td>
<td>Social movements may or may not be based upon the grievances of beneficiaries. Conscience constituents may provide major sources of support.</td>
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| Strategy and Tactics | Social movements try to persuade, bargain, or coerce their target groups to change. The choice among these alternatives may be influenced by the movement's relationship with its target group, its previous success, its ideology, and/or the style of its leadership. | The primary strategic tasks of social movement organizations are to mobilize support and neutralize opposition. How well they are able to achieve these tasks depends on the extent to which SMOs either compete or cooperate. |

| Relationship to the Larger Society | Traditional case studies focus on the effects of the society upon social movements. | Society provides the structural context which SMOs must exploit to be successful. |
interest groups, many social movement organizations (SMOs) seek to establish, protect, or advance the political status of some aggrieved constituency. To achieve such goals, both types of organizations attempt to exploit the structure of organized politics by mobilizing the resources of supporters and neutralizing those of opponents.

These authors recognize a wide variety of resources and ways of mobilizing them. Oberschall (47, p. 28) identifies material assets, such as income, as well as non-material assets, such as commitment, as resources. He regards mobilization as the process by which discontented groups assemble and invest resources in the pursuit of their goals. Tilly (50), however, distinguishes between material assets, such as funds, which he regards as resources, and non-material ones, such as loyalty, which he regards as conditions affecting the probability of resource delivery. He expands the concept of mobilization by referring to it as the process by which a group merely gains control, rather than possession, of needed resources.

This version of the RM perspective has been applied successfully to a wide range of social movements—both historical and contemporary, progressive and reactionary, American and European (e.g., 14, 41, 45). Aveni (5) and Jenkins and Perrow (19) employ RM I in case studies of the civil rights and farm workers movements, respectively. They
credit linkages with other SMOs and government agencies for resources mobilized by certain SMOs (NAACP, United Farm
Workers). Shorter and Tilly (41) and Tilly (50) employ RM I
in more complex statistical analyses of nineteenth century
American and European labor movements. These studies demon-
strate the use of levels of organization and activity as proxies for level of resource mobilization. They also report
a high positive correlation between level of resource mobili-
ization and level of social movement success.

RM II is chiefly represented by McCarthy and Zald (28,
57), who compare social movement organizations (SMOs) to
businesses. New businesses develop during prosperous times,
due to the increased availability of capital from investors.
Some of this capital supports professional managers who try
to package and market products at minimal overhead to achieve
maximum profits. Likewise, new SMOs develop in prosperous
times, due to the increased availability of discretionary
resources from conscience as well as beneficiary constituents.
Some of these resources support professional leaders who try
to package and market issues at minimal cost to achieve
maximum gains. These authors suggest a narrow view of social
movements by focusing on strictly economic resources, such
as money and labor power, and on the aggregation of resources
as mobilization.

This version of the RM perspective has been applied with
limited success to only a few movements from the 1960's.
McCarthy and Zald (57) and Perrow (36) employ RM II in studies of student-related movements, such as civil rights and peace, while Johnston (20) applies it to Transcendental Meditation. All of these researchers attribute the level of social movement success to the availability of sufficient resources to employ professional leaders and to support their use of sophisticated promotional and recruiting techniques.

RM I and RM II have been applied to a diverse sample of social movements that occurred between 1950 and 1972. Among these movements were civil rights, students, peace, farm workers, welfare rights, ecology, women, and American Indians. After coding and analyzing news stories on these movements, Perrow (49) concludes that RM I is more valid than RM II. He reports that his evidence does not support RM II’s explanation of these movements as outlets for surplus money and labor power during the prosperous Sixties. The civil rights, peace, farm workers, and American Indian movements began during the Fifties, while the peace, ecology, and women’s movements persisted into the Seventies. Siding with RM I, he concludes that, to generate or sustain a social movement, one needs something more than the resources available during prosperity: namely, a social movement organization. The movements which began earlier had SMOs which effectively mobilized whatever meager resources were then available. Those which persisted later had SMOs which mobilized the resources of affluent times so efficiently that they were able to continue after prosperity waned.
These case studies illustrate a major issue distinguishing RM I and RM II: the temporal priority of resource availability and SMO formation. RM II advocates contend that the availability of resources during prosperity is the major impetus to the formation of new SMOs. RM I advocates counter that new SMOs may be begun on meager resources, but that they are essential to the development, maintenance, and growth of resource mobilization. Certainly, there is an element of truth in each view. It is risky to assume that new SMOs will be formed whenever resources are plentiful. Yet, some resources must be available for new SMOs to be formed. Once formed, however, SMOs can act to increase their access to sometimes scant resources. RM II's priority on resource availability (as a condition for SMO formation) is more appropriate for studies of the origins of social movements, but RM I's priority on the formation of SMOs (as agencies which can increase resource availability) is more appropriate for studies of the outcomes of social movements. This dissertation falls in the latter category.

Previous RM research has two major shortcomings which limit its applicability to this dissertation. One limitation is that few previous studies seek to explain why a social movement succeeds or fails. Most RM scholars have addressed other issues, such as which circumstances foster the development of social movements (e.g., 15, 28, 50), how movements mobilize resources (e.g., 6, 15, 41, 44, 50), and how society
either prevents or constrains resource mobilization (e.g., 15, 34, 50). The other limitation of previous studies is that they do not submit the RM perspective to the rigorous empirical tests demanded of a complete theory. Applied primarily in illustrative case studies, the resource mobilization perspective is only at the conceptual stage of development (e.g., 7, 36, 45, 57). Nonetheless, the few partial tests of the RM perspective raise several important methodological issues to be addressed by this study.

Guidance from the few preceding empirical tests of RM influenced several major decisions about the methodology of this study. One of these decisions was to select the unit of analysis. Tests of the RM perspective to date have used only two units of analysis: events and organizations. Various applications of RM to American and European labor movements employ individual events (e.g., strikes, riots) as the unit of analysis. This event strategy is limited in two ways: 1) it allows one to assess only immediate consequences for the social movement organization (SMO) itself, and 2) it assumes that SMO activity is necessary to achieve change. It precludes the examination of long-term outcomes and those which occur without the impetus of SMO activity. Neither of these restrictions applies to this study. In some states, woman suffrage was
won only after decades of agitation; in others, it was
won early, but without any apparent organized demand.

To explain the success or failure of 53 SMOs in the
U.S. between 1800 and 1945, Gamson (15) used organizations
as the unit of analysis. He generated a list of SMOs
from a variety of historical accounts and excluded those
which failed to meet his operational definition of a
"challenging group." He used the same accounts for information on organizational characteristics and outcomes. This
reliance on historical accounts for data on SMOs is
problematic, because such data sources do not provide comparable indicators of level of resource mobilization for
different organizations and they do not provide data on
level of resource mobilization and its outcomes at regular
intervals. Snyder and Kelly (45) suggest that internally
generated data sources on SMOs are the only ones like to
provide the detailed information required to follow SMOs
over a long time span. NAWSA's *History of Woman Suffrage*
(which will be discussed in more detail later) and *Victory: How Women Won It* meet these requirements for this study.

Instead of organizations or events, this study employs
political units of analysis (in this case, states). This
strategy offers two major advantages: data are more readily
available for political units than organizations or events,
and one is able to compare a large number of cases with
wide variation in both RM and social movement success. Such
an analysis of resource mobilization requires data on three types of phenomena: social movement success, resource mobilization itself, and the context of resource mobilization. Accordingly, this study seeks to explain state woman suffrage success in terms of widely used proxy measures of resource mobilization and readily available indicators of state political structure, liquor and allied interests, and demographic characteristics. The data from which these variables were constructed were selected from a variety of sources. NAWSA publications, such as History of Woman Suffrage, provide data on NAWSA mobilization in the states. Data sources for state political structure include American Yearbook and World Almanac. State data on liquor and allied interests and demographic characteristics are available from the U.S. Censuses of Manufacturers and Population, respectively.

Previous RM studies guided decisions on how to measure resource mobilization and its structural and demographic context. Pertinent examples of this research and its guidance for this study are taken up in the following discussions.

To summarize, RM I is preferable to RM II as a framework for this dissertation for three reasons. First, RM I's comparison of SMOs with interest groups is more appropriate, since this study is an analysis of the movement which claimed political rights for American women. Second, its broader
definitions of "resource" and "mobilization" accommodate the crude measures of these variables employed here. Third, the larger body of empirical research on RM I not only supports its theoretical validity, but provides many methodological precedents for this study.

**Resource Mobilization and Woman Suffrage**

The theoretical value of the RM perspective for this study is that it outlines the general framework for a model of state woman suffrage success. McCarthy and Zald (28), Tilly (50), and Oberschall (34) agree that social movements consist of distinct social movement organizations which exploit society's central political process by mobilizing support and neutralizing opposition. So, state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, and liquor and allied interests, respectively, are included in the model as likely structural variables affecting for state success. Oberschall (34) and Tilly (49, 50) also attribute effects on mobilization and other structural conditions to such demographic characteristics as religious and ethnic composition, urbanization, and population density. So, percent affiliated Protestant, percent native/white, and settlement, respectively, are included in the model as likely demographic (determinants) of the three sets of structural conditions which influenced state success.
While the RM perspective identifies these categories of variables and provides a general framework for their analysis, it provides little precedent for predicting the direction in which the specific variables in this study affected state woman suffrage success. The conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature is the basis for such directional predictions.

NAWSA Mobilization

Mobilization is a difficult phenomenon to measure. Since few social movement organizations are either able or willing to provide detailed records of their memberships, finances, and activities, the sort of data necessary to measure the mobilization of specific resources with precision is rarely available. Consequently, as the following discussion illustrates, most RM research has simply relied upon available indications of organization and activity as evidence that some resources have been mobilized.

Organization-as-Mobilization

A number of RM studies employ the organization-as-mobilization option. In his studies of English workers, Taylor (45) asserts that the information of associations is critical to mobilization. Likewise, Tilly (47) argues that mobilization requires deliberate organizational effort; therefore, organization is evidence in itself of mobilization.
He indicates that organization costs resources which might otherwise be made available to support activity. Oberschall (32) adds that early organization not only saves the expenditure of resources to organize at propitious times for action, but also provides historical models for action. In their research on French labor activity between 1830 and 1968, Shorter and Tilly (41) use union membership and years of labor organization existence as indicators of mobilization. In other historical analyses of European and U.S. labor activity, Snyder (44) and Lynd (25, 26) also use union membership as a mobilization indicator. In studies of present-day U.S. feminism, Almquist and others (1, 2, 3), have used numbers of National Organization for Women chapters and National Women's Political Caucus representatives as measures of organization-as-mobilization. Most relevant to this study, however, is the precedent set by Aminzade (4) to study French workers between 1830 and 1871. For different groups of Marseille workers, he was able to determine the number of labor organizations and the number of years of prior existence of each organization. He combined these indicators by ranking each group high or low on each item and summing scores to form a crude index of organization-as-mobilization.
NAWSA Organization

The states varied widely as to when and how extensively they were organized. It is sometimes difficult to specify when the woman suffrage movement reached a state. For some states, the same year dates the first meeting, first organization, first state organization, and first continuing state organization. In 1867, for instance, Lucy Stone's lectures on woman suffrage in New Jersey led to the formation of a New Jersey WSA, that state's first organization, first state organization, and first continuing state organization (18, Vol. III, p. 479). In other states, however, a different year dates each of these various criteria. While Minnesota suffragists first met in 1866, that state's first organization, a local one, was not established until 1869, its first state organization was not established until 1881, and it had to be re-organized in 1883 (18, Vol. III, pp. 649-57).

The extent of NAWSA organization in a state is indicated by the number of woman suffrage associations (WSAs) which developed there. There are four types of statewide organizations: State Woman Suffrage Associations, Men's Leagues for Woman Suffrage, College Equal Suffrage Leagues, and affiliates of the National Woman's Party (first known as the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage).
Each state had at least one major NAWSA affiliate, a State WSA, which either developed to coordinate existing local WSAs or later organized branches in major cities and towns. Whichever developed first, the State WSAs received valuable resources (e.g., workers, funds) from lower tiers of organization (e.g., precinct, local, county levels). In addition, the three other types of possible statewide organizations—Men's Leagues, College Leagues, and Woman's Party affiliates—were ancillary to the State WSAs. Usually, however, where there was more than one statewide organization, there was also a coordinating body made up of representatives of each. The three types of ancillary organizations were important because they brought into the movement those who, while sympathetic, were not likely to join the regular State WSAs.

The first Men's League was organized at New York in 1910. It began with "twelve men of civic influence" and was built pyramid-style until "In the suffrage parade of 1912, the (Men's) League four abreast extended five blocks along Fifth Avenue." By the following year, Men's Leagues had been formed in most states and a National Men's League was founded (18, Vol. VI, pp. 484-85).

During 1908, College Leagues were organized on campuses in fifteen states. That same year, at the annual NAWSA convention, these organizations banded together to create the National College League. Graduates and faculty members
from Bryn Mawr, Barnard, Radcliffe, Smith, and the Universities of Wisconsin, California, and Chicago were among its officers and board members. These Leagues helped make woman suffrage a reality by raising the political consciousness of a generation of college women (12, p. 235).

The Woman's Party (then the Congressional Union) split from NAWSA in 1913 to work in Washington, D. C., and to a lesser extent in the states for the federal woman suffrage amendment only. Prior to that year, it had been the Congressional Committee of NAWSA. For some time, however, its chairman, Alice Paul, had disagreed with NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt over the policy of seeking state suffrage as an avenue to winning the federal amendment. Paul and her organization preferred to work for the federal amendment directly by lobbying Congress and agitating in the militant style of the British suffragettes. Eleanor Flexner, in *Century of Struggle*, argues that assessments of the Woman's Party have over-emphasized its militancy rather than acknowledged that it was

... the only effective group working for a federal suffrage amendment. They took up that issue when it was dead, and brought it very much to life, a service for which even Mrs. Catt gave them credit (12, pp. 269-70).

**Activity-as-Mobilization**

Many RM studies also employ the activity-as-mobilization option. Snyder (44) not only uses activity as a measure of mobilization, but also contrasts interaction among movement
adherents with interaction between adherents and external forces. Besides examining the success and failure of strike activity, he distinguishes between lobbying and social/recreational/educational activities. Lobbying activities include distributing printed material, forming coalitions, and supporting candidates for election. Social/recreational/educational activities include exchanging information and financing cooperative efforts. Similarly, in his studies of English workers, Taylor (46) constructs an "index of political articulation" which includes number of demonstrations to support a cause as well as number of meetings to demand reform.

Inter-organizational linkage is yet another widely used measure of activity-as-mobilization. Lipsky (27) identifies the involvement of sympathetic third parties as one of the few strategies available to politically powerless groups to acquire resources. Accordingly, inter-organizational linkage is identified by diverse representatives of the RM perspective as a major determinant of social movement success.

Aveni (6) calls attention to the importance of the strength and breadth of linkages between organizations. He specifies three regions on a continuum of linkage strength: 1) personal support (e.g., making personal donations, attending marches or rallies), 2) organizational support (e.g., representing one's organization officially, allocating some of its resources to the other organization), and 3) overlap
in organizational boundaries (e.g., serving as an advisor or member of the other organization's board of directors). Linkage breadth simply refers to the number of different organizations with which an organization has established linkages. Although not very systematically, Aveni (5) applied these linkage concepts to the NAACP to illustrate how they might be measured.

**NAWSA Activity**

State WSAs regularly reported two types of activity to promote state woman suffrage success: meeting in annual conventions and lobbying for woman suffrage bills in state legislatures. If a State WSA was active, it usually held a convention each year. Some especially active state WSAs met twice a year. Such meetings provided an opportunity to conduct various kinds of business necessary to maintain an ongoing social movement. State and national leaders gave lectures which were usually designed to rally the state's suffrage forces. Public officials and leaders of other movements publicly endorsed woman suffrage. Reports on the past year's events, organizational growth, and any progress toward woman suffrage success were shared. And, of course, plans for the upcoming year were made. Invariably, the top priority in every State WSA's plans was lobbying for woman suffrage bills in the state legislature. Woman suffrage lobbyists met with legislators to present
them with tracts and petitions and monitored legislative sessions to confirm that promised votes were cast in favor of woman suffrage bills.

Data on NAWSA Mobilization

NAWSA organization and activity at the state level is most comprehensively described in The History of Woman Suffrage (18). Written and published as the movement progressed, this remarkable six volume work stands in a class by itself. The first three volumes were almost literally scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, speeches, and letters which had been hoarded by Stanton, Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. While no literary masterpieces, these volumes provide a practically inexhaustible stock of primary source material, most of which might have become lost or inaccessible to later scholars. Owing to Anthony's later collaboration with professional writer Ida Husted Harper, a more readable style and a clearer format characterize the last three volumes. These editorial improvements make essentially the same types of records much more readily available.

Volumes III, IV, and VI contain chapters on each state which report the number, type, and years of organization of state WSAs, the proceedings of state WSA conventions, and the disposition of all woman suffrage bills brought to a vote of the legislature. Assessments of the effects of
these variables on state success tend to be speculative and to be limited to a single state or region. Yet, most of the articles on individual states (9, 33, 44) and books on particular regions (13, 31, 43) suggest that NAWSA mobilization was a major contributor to state success.

In addition to conventions and campaigns for bills, state WSAs engaged in a third type of activity: developing linkages with other social movements. State WSA presidents usually occupied positions in other movement organizations, ranging from simply being a member to being the president. Data on these types of linkages were found in three biographical reference works: *Woman of the Century* (54), *Woman's Who's Who* (56), and *Notable American Women* (32).

A considerable portion of the woman suffrage literature acknowledges the movement's abolitionist origins, its alliances first with temperance and populism and later with labor and progressivism, and its eventual endorsement by the woman's clubs (e.g., 12, 22, 35, 39). Nonetheless, a less speculative analysis of these relationships has only recently been made possible by the development of the concept of linkages.

**NAWSA Mobilization Hypotheses**

From the foregoing observations, the following hypotheses about the effects of NAWSA mobilization on state woman suffrage success may be derived:
1. The earlier and the more extensive NAWSA organization, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

2. The greater the level of NAWSA activity, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

State Political Structure

Many analyses of state policy proceed from the assumptions of the RM perspective in their efforts to assess the impact of state political structure on policy decisions. Likewise, many woman suffrage studies suggest that various aspects of state political structure may have promoted or deterred state success. Yet, these previous studies of the politics of woman suffrage are limited in two ways. First, they tend to focus on the long fought battle for a federal amendment rather than the frequent and often successful skirmishes over state suffrage laws. Second, they also manifest more concern with historical description than structural analysis.

Resource Mobilization and State Political Structure

Recent state policy analyses have examined three aspects of state political structure: party control, legislators per capita, and legislative professionalism. Just as these characteristics appear to increase the chances of success for contemporary interest groups, so it seems likely that they might also have affected the chances of success for NAWSA.
Party Control

Party control refers to the extent to which the majority party controls the three decision makers in a state's legislative process: its House and Senate and its Governor. The underlying assumption of this variable is that passage of woman suffrage bills, like legislation or any other issue, was easiest in states where the majority party controlled both houses of the state legislature and the governorship. Where control of the state legislature is split, opposing parties can prevent a bill's passage in one or the other house. Similarly, an opposition Governor can veto legislation passed by the legislature.

Party control has been described as an influential characteristic affecting state legislative action on educational expenditures, civil rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment. According to Angel (5), party control is a major component of the legislative decision making process. He suggests that educational lobbyists who know which part is in control can direct the mobilization of their resources more effectively. Where one party controls both houses of the legislature and the Governorship, resources otherwise needed to win the support of a second powerful party can be used to redouble efforts to win a single majority party's support. Erikson (11) credits the passage of state civil rights laws during the late 60's and early 70's to the extent that the Democratic advocates of such laws controlled state
legislative houses and governorships. The Deep South states, the obvious exceptions, were a minority of the Democratic states. Few civil rights guarantees passed in states where control of the legislative process rested with Republicans or was split between the two major parties. In a more recent case, however, Robey (38) found that strong party control, regardless of the party, favored a state's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Unlike civil rights laws, the ERA, until recently, had the longstanding endorsement of both major parties. Likewise, if woman suffrage had the support of one major party, it had the support of the other. In its case, however, a constitutional amendment was long sought before the two major parties finally endorsed it. Consequently, this study contains no predictions about which major party was more likely to enact woman suffrage.

**Legislators Per Capita**

Legislators per capita refers to the number of state legislators relative to the state population. This ratio of legislators to constituents is an indicator of constituency size. Legislators with small constituencies were more likely to be responsive to NAWSA as well as citizen lobbying for woman suffrage.

First, voters from small constituencies had greater access to their legislators to communicate their preferences.
According to the Citizen's Conference on State Legislatures (8), legislature size relative to population is one of many variables which determine the extent to which state legislators are accessible to their constituents. Other variables affecting legislator access are structural characteristics of legislatures (e.g., length of sessions, salaries) which are represented in this study's index of legislative professionalism. McCrone (29) concurs that legislators with small constituencies are more likely to be knowledgeable about the causes being advocated by their constituents. Thus, such legislators may have been more likely to know if their constituents were advocating woman suffrage.

A second reason for legislators with small constituencies to be responsive to voter lobbying efforts is that they may be either disposed or constrained to do so. Legislators are more likely to be disposed to be responsive when they are sympathetic to causes championed by their constituents. In a critical study of lawmaking in the fifty states, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures (8) suggests that states with a greater number of legislators relative to their populations are more likely to represent a diverse range of age, ethnic, ideological, political, and economic groups. So, smaller constituencies may have been more likely to elect representatives sympathetic to woman suffrage.
Legislators are more likely to be constrained to be responsive when the voting strength of their constituents is greater. David and Eisenberg (10) demonstrate that voters in small constituencies are more powerful than those in large constituencies (see also 13, 37, 52). One vote in a small constituency simply counts more toward the achievement of a majority than the same vote in a large constituency. So, in states with small constituencies, NAWSA could tip the balance of electoral support for pro-suffrage legislators and woman suffrage referenda with the support of fewer voters. Thus, by placing greater power in the hands of individual voters, small constituencies may have increased the cost-effectiveness of NAWSA mobilization.

Legislative Professionalism

Legislative professionalism refers to a set of structural characteristics which affect the legislative timetables and compensation of state legislators. Two assumptions underlie the use of this variable. First, states whose legislatures met longer and more frequently and whose legislators served longer had more time to consider legislation. Second, state whose legislators were better paid were less likely to be preoccupied by other interests (e.g., the liquor industry) or to be tempted by political corruption. Legislative professionalism has been singled out as a predictor of recent changes in state laws pertaining to women (3). More
professional legislatures tend to have more time and resources to address legislative issues.

**Woman Suffrage and State Politics**

The political conditions encountered by state campaigns to enfranchise women have received scant analysis. What attention is given to these campaigns has been less than comprehensive in terms of either structural detail or geographic scope.

Two contributions to the woman suffrage literature provide limited discussions of state political conditions encountered by woman suffrage proposals. *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (7), the inside story of NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt and her associate Nettie Rogers Shuler, is more than the autobiographical account one might expect. Like historian Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle* (12), however, its assessment of the impact of state political differences is selective, discursive, and speculative. For instance, both authors note that the endorsement of a popular referendum was not necessary for legislatures to enact territorial and presidential suffrage, that some states permitted foreign-born settlers to vote against woman suffrage before becoming citizens, and that Southern politicians feared the eventful enfranchisement of large black populations of woman suffrage was enacted.
Several regional analyses of woman suffrage politics shed more light on this issue. Although geographically limited, these observations on how regional political differences affected state success suggest two more aspects of state political structure: procedural simplicity and electoral restriction. In *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (16), political scientist David Grimes credits early western successes to the power of territorial governments to set voter qualifications by simple legislative acts. In *Strong-Minded Women* (33), League of Women Voters officer Louise Noun explains the lateness of midwestern and northern successes in terms of procedural obstacles to precipitous reform (e.g., larger majorities required for passage, limitations on the number of amendments per election) found in the more established states. In *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee* (46), historian Elizabeth Taylor attributes southern recalcitrance to the supposed threat woman suffrage posed to the traditional balance of power (i.e., white Democratic supremacy).

**Procedural Simplicity**

Procedural simplicity refers to the ease or difficulty with which legislative action may be taken. At the state level, full woman suffrage could be achieved only by the complex process of constitutional amendment; but, partial woman suffrage was possible through the simple process of
Each method of enfranchisement faced its own set of procedural obstacles.

The states varied in their procedures for amending their constitutions. Many states required more than a majority (some 2/3, others 3/5) of the legislature to pass a constitutional amendment. In several states, amendments had to win the approval of two consecutive sessions of the legislature. Most states also required that an amendment be ratified by the electorate in a popular referendum. Of those which did, some states required only a majority of those voting on the amendment, while others required a majority of those voting at the election. Lastly, some states limited the number of amendments per election to two or three.

Through statutory legislation, state legislatures controlled several kinds of partial suffrage (including limited and token types). The U.S. Constitution left it to state legislatures to determine the qualifications for voters in Presidential elections. For most of the period under study, state legislatures reserved jurisdiction over public schools, tax and bond issues, city charters, and primary elections. Voting qualifications in the territories were controlled by their own legislatures and, as they became states, by constitutional conventions. Thus, the various kinds of token (school, tax and bond, municipal) and limited
(presidential, primary, territorial) suffrage could be granted by simple acts of the state legislatures.

The states varied in their procedures for enacting statutory legislation. Some states provided the initiative so that the electorate might petition the legislature to act where it had not, or even enact legislation independently from the legislature. Many states also provided the referendum so that the electorate might endorse or veto acts of the legislature. The majority required to pass statutory legislation, like constitutional amendments, also varied among the states. Lastly, many state constitutions included provisions restricting lobbying.

Electoral Restriction

Electoral restriction refers to the extent to which three types of voter qualifications—tests of citizenship, tax payment, and literacy—were used to restrict the size and composition of the electorates in the states. These tests were selected because they were employed throughout the period under study.

Two other methods for restricting the electorate, grandfather clauses and white primaries, were employed historically, but neither was appropriate for the time frame of this study. Grandfather clauses were not widely introduced until after the turn of the century and were declared unconstitutional in 1915. The first white primary was not held until three years after passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.
That citizenship was not a requirement for voting in some states class for some explanation:

... By the naturalization law, immigrants were granted the privilege of citizenship after a five year's residence. Male citizens became voters in all States when qualified by age and residence in accordance with their laws. Fifteen states, impatient to attain numbers and prosperity, offered to foreign-born settlers the inducement of a vote before citizenship had been acquired, the declaration of intention to become a citizen, or "first papers," being the sole qualification required in addition to those of residence (7, p. 161).

Since state politics was perceived to be dominated by political machines supported by vested interests, such tests were believed to be in the interest of woman suffrage. Catt explains the NAWSA view about why new immigrant voters and others posed a threat to state success:

After the war the Negro, and the foreign-born together with the illiterate American voter, offered continual temptation to unscrupulous interests ... whose privilege or profit was affected by ... the fate of a legislative bill. Wherever there is money, there will be corruption ... and wherever there is a large portion of an electorate too ignorant to understand party differences or the nature of political issues, a combination is created which will never fail to produce an extreme variety of corruption (7, p. 164).

In other words, Negro, foreign-born, and illiterate voters were regarded as possible pawns of the coalition of vested interests which opposed woman suffrage.

State Political Structure Hypotheses

From the foregoing observations about the effects of state political structure on state woman suffrage success, the following hypotheses may be derived:
1. The more one party controlled the state's legislative process, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

2. The more legislators per capita, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

3. The more professional the state legislature, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

4. The simpler the state's legislative procedures, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

5. The more restricted the state electorate, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

**Liquor and Allied Interests**

The possibility that a social movement might be constrained by political and economic vested interests is anticipated by the RM perspective. Consistent with this provision are widespread claims of liquor and allied interest opposition to woman suffrage in the movement's literature.

**Resource Mobilization and Vested Interests**

Tilly (50, p. 7) suggests that a government or political party may act as an external constraint upon a social movement by mobilizing voters in opposition to it. Similarly, Oberschall (34, p. 165) indicates that business, especially big business, groups may seek to influence government action toward a social movement through its lobbies, financial contributions, and other measures.
More specifically, Roy (40) provides evidence of a complex web of interlocking directorates among U.S. industries between 1890 and 1920. His findings support the claim of NAWSA leaders that there was a coalition of anti-woman suffrage interests which included the liquor, railroad, and meatpacking industries. Of the twelve industries Roy considered, the links between these three were found to be among the oldest, most persistent, and strongest.

**Woman Suffrage and the Unholy Alliance**

Each state had at least one association openly opposed to votes for woman and some proportion of its electorate which was predisposed or manipulated to vote against woman suffrage. Yet, Catt was convinced that the real threat was a coalition of vested interests primarily opposed to temperance. Because women were so active in the temperance movement, the liquor industry expected that women would vote for Prohibition. Thus, the liquor industry was regarded as the pivotal member of a coalition of interests which were linked either economically or politically in their opposition to Prohibition and woman suffrages (7, pp. 142, 152-53; 12, pp. 296-302).

The hotel, drug, and tobacco industries were linked to the liquor industry primarily by common economic interests. Hotel bars and restaurants reaped considerable profits from the sale of alcoholic beverages, drugstores sold alcohol-based patent medicines, and tobacco dealers frequently sold
liquor as well. So, any threat to the liquor industry was also a threat to the financial success of these enterprises. The relationship between these economically linked interests first came to light during the unsuccessful campaign for a California woman suffrage amendment in 1896. This amendment was defeated by the liquor dealers who sent a letter to saloonkeepers, hotel proprietors, and druggists throughout the state asking them to lobby against it (12, p. 224).

Railroad and meatpacking companies were linked to the liquor industry primarily by common political interests. Catt and Shuler (7, pp. 152-59) identify railroad, meatpacking, and liquor interests as the major cogs of the state political machines. Thus, the threat of woman suffrage to the liquor industry was not only a threat to the economic status quo but also the balance of political power in the states and ultimately the nation. As long as liquor and allied interests perceived the ramifications of woman suffrage to be this far-reaching, it is no wonder that they spared little effort in opposing it. Throughout the states, this opposition declined gradually after New York's Tammany Hall machine conceded the inevitability of woman suffrage in 1917 (7, p. 298; 12, pp. 298-299).

In addition to an association overtly opposed to woman suffrage, most state legislatures were besieged by covert lobbies which sought the defeat of prohibition as well as
woman suffrage. Whether overt or covert, however, the formally organized opposition to woman suffrage was supported by the anti-woman suffrage coalition. In 1914, the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee subpoenaed a liquor lobbyist's files and found this "confidential" letter:

In regard to the matter of woman suffrage, we are trying to keep from having any connection with it whatever. We are, however, in a position to establish channels of communication with the leaders of the anti-suffrage movement for our friends in any state where suffrage is an issue. I am under the impression that a new anti-suffrage association has been organized in Illinois and is a retail liquor dealers affair. I consider it most dangerous to have the retailers identified or active in any way in this fight as it will be used against us everywhere (12, p. 300).

Subsequent investigations of state legislative lobbies which opposed woman suffrage identified their questionable involvements with several vested interests. In 1915, the New Republic reported that a Texas Businessman's Association was funded by the U.S. Brewers Association, Swift and Co. meatpackers, and the Santa Fe Railroad. Then, 1918 Senate hearings exposed the support of a National Farmers Union by the brewers and several major railroads (Santa Fe, Union Pacific, Illinois Central, M-K-T, Southern Pacific) 12, p. 300).

The anti-woman suffrage coalition also sought to mobilize large blocks of voters to defeat liquor and allied interests. To this end, they organized apparently voluntary associations
with "public-spirited" aims which recruited Negro, immigrant, and illiterate voters as members.

... Every State with a prohibition or suffrage campaign had its inevitable accompaniment of Home Rule Societies, Personal Liberty Leagues, Traveling Men’s or Merchants’ Leagues, Men’s Anti-Suffrage Associations, ad infinitum. With object and sponsorship concealed, the seemingly spontaneous outburst of public protest exerted an influence, often widespread and effective (6, p. 147).

By late 1917, a shift of immigrant sympathies toward woman suffrage, coinciding with Tammany Hall’s capitulation, brought an end to the anti-woman suffrage coalition’s formidable combination of liquor interest money and immigrant votes.

**Liquor and Allied Interests Hypothesis**

The foregoing observations about the effect of liquor and allied interests on state woman suffrage success are precedents for the following hypothesis:

The less extensive the interests of liquor brewers, drug and tobacco manufacturers, hotels, railroads, and meat packers, the earlier and the higher the level of state woman suffrage success.

**Demographic Characteristics**

In addition to NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests, several demographic characteristics identified by the RM perspective are described in the woman suffrage literature as likely determinants of state success.
Resource Mobilization and Demographic Characteristics

The RM perspective acknowledges the possible influence of demographic characteristics on mobilization, its structural context, and thereby on social movement success. Tilly (50) claims that urbanization, with concomitant increases in literacy and education, extends political consciousness, multiplies political demands, and broadens political participation. He, like Oberschall (34), also describes increases in urban population, population density, and growth rate as correlates of mobilization. Oberschall adds that heterogeneity of regional, religious, and ethnic composition may also facilitate mobilization.

The Demography of Woman Suffrage

The woman suffrage literature identifies five sets of demographic characteristics as probable determinants of a state's chances of success: northeastern (versus southern) birth, Protestant religious affiliation, extent and duration of settlement, native and or white population, and educational attainment.

Northeastern (vs. Southern) Birth

In The Feminist Papers (39), sociologist Alice Rossi notes the northeastern origins of abolition, temperance, and religious revival as well as woman suffrage during the first half of the nineteenth century. She explains the political
climate of the region at that time as a consequence of the rapid development of business and industry after the Transportation Revolution. This development created a population which was unusually receptive to reform as a means of compensating for the status deprivation of the established middle class and the insecurity of the new middle class.

Despite its northeastern origin, the woman suffrage movement met with little success in that region due to insurmountable political and economic obstacles to reform. Instead, women first voted in the western states, which were largely settled by northeasterners and which presented fewer political and economic obstacles to reform. Perhaps the northeasterners who settled the West carried with them an advocacy of woman suffrage and other political reforms which made it easier to legislate woman suffrage.

Kraditor (22) sought to explain the rejection of woman suffrage by the South in terms of that region's inherent conservatism—particularly its racism. For present purposes, however, southern racism in itself is of less concern than the demographic situation which helped maintain it. One of the facts of political life which fed the first of racism was the fear that equal suffrage would dissolve the so-called "solid south." It seems reasonable to expect that southern whites who settled elsewhere remained skeptical of political reform, supportive of vested interests which endorsed the
status quo, and hostile toward the advocacy of woman suffrage.

Protestant Religious Affiliation

The religious revival which originated in the American West just before World War I has been identified as the most important factor in explaining early western suffrage victories (16). In this context, the enfranchisement of women was regarded as just one of many changes whose aims were to purify American politics.

Led by the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists, a number of Protestant churches not only endorsed but lent their active support to the Populist and Progressive movements (16). These movements were credited with creating political conditions (e.g., simpler legislative procedures, more restricted electorates) which made it easier to pass woman suffrage legislation. By supporting these movements, organized Protestants also played a significant role in curbing the influence of liquor and allied interests which supported state political machines (12).

The perceived influence of the Protestant denominations in reform circles was sufficient for one critic to charge them with seeking "Protestant political supremacy" (15, p. 113). NAWSA's Committee on Church Work did little to discourage this perception. In fact, it appealed to the clergy for support on precisely that rationale:
There are two reasons why clergymen should support the woman suffrage movement: First, because it is just and right, and in accordance with the golden rule, and, second, because it would augment the power of the churches to have an enfranchised womanhood to aid in carrying on the warfare against the liquor traffic . . . and many other existing evils that depend upon legislative enactment, that is now being waged with only one-third the power of the churches (18, pp. 59-60).

In addition, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's lobbying of church members is credited with mobilizing the church vote for suffrage as well as Prohibition (7, pp. 300-1). So, as Morgan (30, p. 113) acknowledges, Protestants were considered "a major source of strength for both prohibition and the woman suffrage movement."

Duration and Extent of Settlement

State woman suffrage success is also associated with the effect of duration and extent of settlement on state political structure, liquor and allied interests, and NAWSA mobilization. States that had been recently settled tended to have political structures favorable to woman suffrage. Grimes (18, p. 53) contrasts the reform-oriented legislatures of the "newly emerging societies" to the "old societies with established political systems." He gives special attention to the "technical advantages" of adopting woman suffrage in the territories rather than the states. Likewise, more recently settled states tended to have less extensive interests opposed to woman suffrage. Catt and Shuler (7, p. 74) lay
considerable blame for eastern defeats on the long entrenched liquor and allied interests in those more established states. Conversely, however, more recently settled states tended to have lower levels of NAWSA organization and activity. The older northeastern region was not only the birthplace of American feminism, but a stronghold of woman suffrage agitation.

From the woman suffrage literature, it also appears that more extensively and stably settled states had political structures unfavorable to state success. Catt and Shuler (7, p. 74) express the popular view that urbanization made possible the political machines which ruled the sprawling metropolises of the East and Midwest. The obverse view, that less extensively and stably settled states had political structures favorable to woman suffrage, is implied by Flexner (12, p. 28). She identifies the development of political structures in the West along Populist and Progressive lines as an inevitable consequence of the rapid development of a predominantly industrial society. Liquor and allied interests and NAWSA organization and activity, all long established in the East, began to take hold in the West as the latter region became increasingly similar to the former in terms of population density and stability.

Native Born and White Populations

Yet another explanation of state woman suffrage success credits the native born and whites with promoting Populist
and Progressive reforms of state political structure, minimizing the influence of vested interests, and supporting NAWSA. Kraditor (22, p. 168) attributes political structure reforms to the Populist and Progressive movements being "Lily-white," especially in the South. According to Catt and Shuler (7, p. 304), a native born majority anxious about the tide of immigration at the turn of the century was likely to have second thoughts about allowing the foreign born to vote on their "first papers." So, the more native a state's population, the less opportunity there was for "a mobilization of this alien vote by American-born political manipulators." Likewise, Morgan credits the early growth of NAWSA to "the equation of the Negro with the immigrant" and the exploitation of the resulting anxiety to draw native white women into NAWSA:

... As Suffrage recruited members more widely in the South so, with many of them, came notions of the necessity of using women to uphold white supremacy and Anglo-Saxon civilization. The latter fitted in handsomely with the growing nativism among many Northern and Western members. . . (30, p. 22).

Despite these converging fears of foreign born immigrants and southern blacks, the reasons behind these fears changed after the turn of the century, especially in the South. As potential voters, southern blacks proved a shortlived threat to white political supremacy.

Growing agrarian discontent in the late 1880's culminated in the Populist crusade of the early nineties. In this class war some
white Populists first sought to ally themselves with the Negro and alienate him from his white Bourbon patrons. Finding that he could not be recruited in sufficient numbers, there was a poor white reaction which greatly revived the older demand that he be incapable of being bought at all; in short that he be disfranchised (30, p. 73).

The Fifteenth Amendment, which had been passed in 1870, prevented states from denying voting rights on the basis of race. So, southern states resorted to literacy and tax payment qualifications to effectively bar blacks from the polls. Yet, by 1890, when NAWSA was organized, just three of the 12 southern states had one or both of these qualifications, and by the turn of the century, only three more states had joined this group. It was not until 1910 that the overwhelming majority of the southern states, 10 out of 12, reported having one or both of these qualifications for voting.

After going to such lengths to restrict southern state electorates, defensive whites feared that woman suffrage might pose a threat to the political status quo. Although long since dissolved, the historical links between abolition and woman suffrage were not so easily forgotten by southern politicians. Inevitably, the removal of sex as a qualification for voting would call into question the literacy and tax payment qualifications which prevented most blacks from voting. In tandem, these proposals constituted a radical challenge to the doctrines of states' rights and white supremacy. The politically expedient conservatism of
southern states regarding how and to whom the franchise should be extended proved to be an insurmountable barrier to the enfranchisement of women. Southern politicians considered woman suffrage by federal amendment a violation of states' rights and woman suffrage by state legislation a threat to white supremacy.

By contrast, the foreign born were not as easily disfranchised as blacks. In some states, even recent immigrants who had merely declared their intention to become citizens were allowed to vote. When NAWSA was organized in 1890, foreign born immigrants were being offered the right to vote before becoming citizens as an enticement to settle in 16 of the 24 midwestern and western states. These immigrant voters were criticized by NAWSA leaders as pawns of liquor and allied interests opposed to woman suffrage. In turn, the state political machines, which were beholden to these interests, were responsible for structural conditions which made it difficult to legislate woman suffrage. By the time blacks had been disfranchised by virtually all of the southern states, foreign born settlers were still permitted to vote without being citizens in seven midwestern and western states.

In short, while the black vote was an anticipated consequence of woman suffrage, the foreign born vote was a pre-existing deterrent to it. Because most foreign born men could vote, states with a large proportion of them were unlikely to
achieve woman suffrage. Conversely, woman suffrage was unlikely in states with a large proportion of blacks, because whites feared that enfranchising women would lead to enfranchising blacks. Thus, albeit for very different reasons, the presence of a large proportion of either blacks or foreign born immigrants in a state has been identified as a deterrent to suffrage success.

Education

Finally, another point of concensus in the woman suffrage literature is that the educated population (especially educated women) played a major role in the achievement of woman suffrage by supporting reforms of state political structure and NAWSA mobilization and opposing the influence of liquor and allied interests. Flexner (12, p. 204) observes that "The heightened tempo of . . . intellectual activity sent increasing numbers of girls to college" and eventually heightened the demand for political reform in general and the agitations for woman suffrage and temperance in particular. In Everyone Was Brave, historian William I. O'Neill (35, pp. 65-66) concurs that the woman suffrage movement, like other reform movements of the era, tended to appeal to the more educated segment of the population.
Selected Demographic Characteristics Hypotheses

The foregoing observations about the indirect effects of demographic characteristics on state woman suffrage success are precedents for several general hypotheses.

1. Structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage are expected in states with more northeastern and less southern born populations.

2. Structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage are expected in states with more persons of Protestant affiliation.

3. Structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage are expected in less settled states.

4. Structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage are expected in states with more white and more native born populations.

5. Structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage are expected in states with more educated populations.

The subject of the next chapter is the methodology used to construct and to test a model of state woman suffrage success based on these hypotheses. Chapters III and IV present the results of the multiple regression analyses of level and timing of success. In the latter chapter, these findings are compared with the corresponding hypotheses. In Chapter V, these findings are used to assess the resource mobilization perspective and the woman suffrage literature. That chapter concludes with discussions of this study's
limitations and its implications for the study of social movements.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


47. ____________, "Revival and Development of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, 42 (1958), 339-54.


CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The hypotheses stated in the previous chapter provide the basis for a model to predict state woman suffrage success. The model, presented in Figure 2, includes four sets of variables: NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, liquor and allied interests, and demographic characteristics. The methodology employed to construct and to test this model is the subject of this second chapter.

Constructing the Model

The model was constructed by operationalizing each of its components and by employing statistical techniques to reduce the amount of data for each component. Each set of variables was operationalized by identifying the variables, the measures of those variables, and the data used to construct each measure. The amount of data was reduced by employing two statistical techniques, analysis of correlation matrices and factor analysis.

Operationalization

The first step in constructing the model of state woman suffrage success was to operationalize each set of variables. This operationalization process is described and analyzed in this section.
Fig. 2--Original Model of State Woman Suffrage Success
Tables II through VI describe how each set of variables was operationalized. These tables identify the variables included in each set, the data used to measure each variable, and the data sources for each measure.

The various degrees of difficulty encountered in operationalizing NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, liquor and allied interests, and demographic characteristics are noteworthy.

The most readily operationalized sets of variables were demographic characteristics and liquor and allied interests. Straightforward statistics for each of these sets of variables were available chiefly from the U. S. Censuses of Population and Manufacturers, 1890-1920 (20, 19). Most of the data were taken directly from the census reports. It was manipulated only as necessary to aggregate data which was too elaborately broken down to be included in its raw form. For each state, the census indicates the number of persons born in each state. Northeastern and southern birth variables were computed by collapsing data for the states in each region. To compute the percent affiliated Protestant in a state population, it was necessary to subtract the numbers of Catholics and Jews from the number of members of all religious bodies. For the education variables, elaborate categories distinguishing different types of students and degrees were collapsed.
TABLE II
OPERATIONALIZATION OF NAWSA MOBILIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAWSA Organization</td>
<td>Sum of Number of State WSA's &amp; Presence (1) or Absence (0) of Men's League, College League, Woman's Party affiliate</td>
<td>History of Woman Suffrage (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sum of Timing Scores(^1) for 1st State WSA, 1st Continuing State WSA, Men's League, College League, Woman's Party affiliate</td>
<td>History of Woman Suffrage (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAWSA Activity</td>
<td>Number of State WSA Conventions(^2)</td>
<td>History of Woman Suffrage (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Woman Suffrage Bills Voted on by Legislature(^3)</td>
<td>History of Woman Suffrage (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sum of Linkage Scores for Notable State WSA Presidents(^4)</td>
<td>Woman of the Century (23), Woman's Who's Who (24), Notable American Women (13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Scores were assigned to years each organization was founded as follows: 1850-1889 (5), 1890-1899 (4), 1900-1909 (3), 1910-1914 (2), 1915-1919 (1), never organized (0).

\(^2\)Controlled for movement life (i.e., number of years from founding of first State WSA to achievement of full woman suffrage).

\(^3\)Controlled for movement life and frequency of legislative sessions.

\(^4\)Notable State WSA presidents are those listed in the three data sources. Their linkages with other social movements (i.e., positions they held in other movement organizations) were scored as follows: member or local officer (1), local president or founder, state officer, or editor of official organ (2), state president or founder, charter member, or national officer (3).
### TABLE III

**OPERATIONALIZATION OF STATE POLITICAL STRUCTURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Party Control</strong></td>
<td>Sum of scores corresponding to applicable pattern of majority control (X = one major party, O = other major party):</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Score</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gov.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legislator per Capita</strong></td>
<td>Sum of Numbers of State Legislators divided by State Population</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legislative Professionalism</strong></td>
<td>Sum of Average Professionalism Scores on 5 Legislature Organization Characteristics: Length of House &amp; Senate Terms(^2) Frequency of Sessions Limit on Session Days Salary (Per Diem)</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Procedural Simplicity --State Constitutional Amendment</strong></td>
<td>Sum of Simplicity Scores on 4 Procedures: Required Legislature Vote(^3) Approval of 2 Sessions Ratification by Electorate Limit on N of Amendments</td>
<td>State &amp; Local Government (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE III -- Continued

Electoral Restriction | Sum of Presence (1) or Absence (0) | State & Local Government (10) | American Yearbook (1) | World Almanac (25)
Scores for Literacy Test | Tax Payment Test | Citizenship Test

1 Numbers of Democratic, Republican, and third party members in each legislature, taken quadrennially between 1892 and 1920.

If a state's legislature & governor were of the same party, party control was greatest. If they differed, there was less control, since the governor could veto bills and call special sessions. Party control was even weaker, if different parties controlled the two houses, because passage of a bill required the approval of both. However, because of stricter party discipline, an opposition House eroded party control more than an opposition Senate.

The Speaker, in all but a handful of states, was the guardian of his party's policies. Elected by the majority party in the House, he was charged with many official duties related to party discipline: he appointed committee members and chairmen, chaired the rules committee, referred bills to committee, presided over sessions, decided points of order, recognized members, and put questions to a vote. Thus, it was within his power to sandbag any bill supported by the Governor and Senate. Such highly centralized disciplinary powers were usually absent in the upper house. Consequently, Senators in most states were freer to reject party discipline when they felt it conflicted with their district's interests.

(7, pp. 295-96).

2 Length of House and Senate terms was scored as follows: 1 year (1), 2-3 years (2), 4 years (3). Frequency of sessions was scored as follows: quadrennial (1), biennial (2), annual (3). Limit on session days was scored as follows: 40-50 (1), 60-75 (2), 90+ (3). Per diem salary was scored as follows: $10-55 (1), $60-80 (2), $100-250 (3).

3 Required legislature vote was scored as follows: 3/5 (1), 2/3 (2), simple majority (3). Approval of 2 sessions was scored as follows: yes (1), conditional (2), no (3). Ratification by electorate was scored as follows: majority at election (1), majority on amendment (2), not required (3). Limit on N of amendments was scored as follows: 2 (1), 3 (2), no limit (3).

4 Initiative applicability was scored as follows: no (1), some (2), any (3) legislation. Referendum applicability was scored as follows: any (1), some (2), no (3) legislation. Required majority to pass was scored as follows: elected or membership (1), present (2), present and voting (3). Anti-lobbying provisions in state constitution were scored as present (1) or absent (3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>Number of Establishments</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Manufactures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>1890-1920 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dollars of Production(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meatpackers</td>
<td>Number of Establishments</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Manufactures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>1890-1920 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dollars of Production(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Number of Establishments</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Manufactures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>1890-1920 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dollars of Production(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Number of Establishments</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Manufactures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>1890-1920 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dollars of Production(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroads</td>
<td>Number of Miles of Track</td>
<td>Statistical Abstracts of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. 1890-1920 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>Number of Hotels</td>
<td>Hotel Monthly (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) These measures were not adjusted for population size. That sort of control would have rendered them meaningless as measures of the financial stake of these interests in each state.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Population Born in New England States</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Population Born in Southern States</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized Protestants</td>
<td>Percent of Population Affiliated with Protestant Churches</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Religious Bodies. 1926 (including 1906 &amp; 1916) (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>Year Became Territory</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year First Settled</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year of Statehood</td>
<td>World Almanac (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population per Square Mile</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Population Urban</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native/White</td>
<td>Percent of Population White</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Population Native</td>
<td>U.S. Census of Population 1890-1920 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Percent of Population College and University Students</td>
<td>Education Reports 1890-1920 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Population Granted Bachelor's, Master's and Doctoral Degrees</td>
<td>Education Reports 1890-1920 (22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VI
OPERATIONALIZATION OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Data Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of Success</td>
<td>Sum of Level of Success Scores for:</td>
<td>Victory: How Women Won It (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When First Voted on Woman Suffrage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Last Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratification of Federal Amendment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 = no suffrage, no ratification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 = token suffrage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 = limited suffrage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 = full suffrage, ratification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing of Success</td>
<td>Sum of:</td>
<td>Victory: How Women Won It (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year First Voted on Woman Suffrage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year of First Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year of Last Success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year Ratified Federal Amendment (if did not ratify, 1921)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only two non-census data sources were used to operationalize demographic characteristics and liquor and allied interests. Among the demographic variables is an index of recentness of settlement which was created from data available in the *World Almanac* (25). For liquor and allied interests, a directory of hotels found at two intervals in *Hotel Monthly* (6), a trade journal for hoteliers, was used to calculate the number of hotels in each state.

Notably, the extent of liquor and allied interests serves as a proxy measure of their opposition to woman suffrage. It is assumed that where these interests were more extensive, they had a greater financial stake in opposing woman suffrage. This assumption, however, may prove to be unfounded.

The state political structure variables were intermediate in terms of the difficulty encountered when trying to operationalize it. While only three major sources were needed to operationalize the variables considerable recoding and computation was required to construct indices for each variable. The three sources included two annual publications, *World Almanac* (25) and *American Yearbook* (1), and a political science text, *State and Local Government* (10). The indices of party control, legislators per capita, and legislative professionalism were based on similar measures used to analyze recent state policy (see Chapter I). The procedural simplicity and electoral restriction indices were designed on the basis of face validity.
The most difficult set of variables to operationalize were those for NAWSA mobilization. Data for these variables were not readily available, the sources of data were almost innumerable, and the computations required were quite complex. Data for measures such as the number of State WSA conventions and the number of woman suffrage bills lobbied to a vote were available, but not already quantified. The chief source for these two examples was the History of Woman Suffrage (5). Numbers of conventions and bills were not regularly counted, but they were, at least, reported. Consequently, it was necessary to consult the chapters on the individual states in three volumes of that work (a very time-consuming task) to develop such data.

Notably, while the History of Woman Suffrage (5) is widely and justifiably criticized for inconsistency in the amount and type of detail included in its state reports, conventions and bills were two items which were reliably reported. This fact is readily confirmed by reference to the numerous books and articles available on the woman suffrage movement in particular states and regions. (For example, see 3, 4, 9, 14, 16, 18.)

Another noteworthy example of the difficulty encountered in operationalizing NAWSA mobilization is the inter-organizational linkage variable. The concept of linkage is sufficiently new, at least in its application to historical social movements, that there is no readily available data on it for
the woman suffrage movement. So, an effort was made to
determine the extent to which NAWSA leaders occupied positions
in other movement organizations which were sufficiently in-
fluential to assist the suffrage cause. Data on other
positions held by woman suffrage leaders was obtained by con-
sulting the three major biographical works on women of that
era, Woman of the Century (23), Woman's Who's Who (24), and
Notable American Women (13). Constructing this variable was
yet another very time-consuming task. It required compiling
lists of state WSA presidents, looking them up in the bio-
ographical works, citing their positions in other social move-
ment organizations, coding that data, and aggregating it for
each state. It was hoped that listings would be found for
all or most of the state presidents. In fact, however, only
about half were listed. Because those who were listed were
chosen for their extensive involvement in movements of the day,
it was decided to construct the linkage variable on the basis
of the available data on this elite group of leaders. The
potential value of such a measure was deemed sufficient to out-
weigh its acknowledged limitation by this selective coverage.

The difficulties encountered in operationalizing NAWSA
mobilization are especially noteworthy, because they help to
illuminate the gaps left by previous research on this move-
ment and, accordingly, indicate the value of the data set
developed in this research for further research on woman
suffrage and related movements of the Progressive Era.
Level and timing of state woman suffrage success were comparatively simple to operationalize. Data for each of these variables for each state were readily available in a NAWSA publication, *Victory: How Women Won It* (11).

**Data Reduction**

Once the variables were operationalized, the second step was to reduce the amount of data representing each set of variables. Before describing and analyzing this data reduction process, this section presents the reasons for and methods of data reduction.

Reasons for Data Reduction

Data reduction was necessary for three reasons. First, in some cases, alternative measures were constructed for a variable. Some of these redundancies had to be eliminated either by eliminating some measures from the model or by creating factors which combine them. Otherwise, a second problem, multicollinearity (an excessively high correlation between two or more variables), would have been inevitable. Multicollinearity was also a possibility with measures of different variables. In those circumstances, the same solutions were employed to eliminate the problem. Where correlation matrices indicated extremely high correlations between measures (.80+), one was eliminated from the model. When moderately high correlations were indicated, however, factor analysis was employed to combine related measures
into a single one. In addition to redundancy and multicollinearity, the large number of possible measures made it necessary to reduce the data to manageable proportions. Otherwise, the number of variables might have exceeded the number of units of analysis. This was especially necessary because of the complexity of the model, which includes indirect as well as direct effects of demographic characteristics on state success.

Methods of Data Reduction

Analysis of correlation matrices and factor analysis were the two statistical techniques used to achieve data reduction.

A correlation matrix was generated for each set of variables. Each matrix provided Pearson's r for each pair of measures in a set of variables. These correlation coefficients were analyzed to determine if any measures were so strongly associated as to be problematic. If r was under .60, multicollinearity was not deemed to exist and both measures were retained. If r was over .80 for any pair of measures, the one with the lower r's for the larger number of other measures was retained and the other, discarded. If r was between .60 and .80, however, both measures were included in a factor analysis to determine whether or not they might be combined into a single measure.

Factor analysis is a multivariate technique which may be used to confirm the expectation that related measures may be
combined to create single ones. As a data reduction technique, factor analysis has three uses. First, it is a more effective method of confirming (or discovering) relationships among measures than comparing a large number of simple, partial, and multiple correlations. For the complex model under study, the number of such correlations to be compared would have been prohibitive. Second, it is usually easy to interpret, since a researcher can readily identify the measures which load highly on a given factor. The factor analysis procedure generates factors (artificial dimensions that correlate highly with several measures and that are independent of each other) and provides factor loadings (correlations with these factors) for each measure. In this study, the relationships among measures suggested by these loadings led to the re-definition of several variables. Third, factor scores combine a set of related measures into a single one. Several sets of measures originally included in this study were replaced by factor scores.

Description of Data Reduction Process

Following is a description of how data reduction was achieved for each of the four sets of variables which may have affected state woman suffrage success.

NAWSA Mobilization

The two dimensions of NAWSA mobilization were organization and activity. Two indices were used to operationalize NAWSA organization, one for extent of organization (EXTSTWSA)
and another for timing of organization (TMGSTWSA). These indices were based on the number of state WSAs and when state WSAs were founded, respectively. NAWSA activity was operationalized in terms of the number of state WSA conventions (NSTCONVS), the number of woman suffrage bills (SUFBILLS), and score for leadership linkages between state WSAs and other social movement organizations (LINKAGES). The following correlation matrix was generated for these five measures.

**TABLE VII**

**CORRELATION MATRIX FOR NAWSA MOBILIZATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXTSTWSA</th>
<th>TMGSTWSA</th>
<th>NSTCONVS</th>
<th>LINKAGES</th>
<th>SUFBILLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXTSTWSA</td>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMGSTWSA</td>
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<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSTCONVS</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINKAGES</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.68</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUFBILLS</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>-.74</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correlation coefficients suggest that these five measures represent two dimensions of mobilization, organization and activity. Measures for each dimension are strongly associated with each other, but weakly associated with measures for the other dimension. The measures of NAWSA organization—the indices for extent and timing of state WSA organization—are highly correlated with each other. Their
coefficient is too low to justify excluding either index, but it is sufficiently high to warrant combining them, if possible, through factor analysis. The measures of NAWSA activity—number of state conventions, number of woman suffrage bills, and linkage score—are also highly correlated with each other. Likewise, their coefficients are too low to justify excluding any of the measures, but they are sufficiently high to warrant combining them, if possible, through factor analysis.

Notably, both the number of state conventions and the linkage score are inversely correlated with number of woman suffrage bills. The resource mobilization (RM) perspective's emphasis on the importance of budgeting resources for greatest effectiveness provides a basis for explaining this unexpected finding. Perhaps state WSAs made more efficient use of their resources when they chose to lobby for woman suffrage bills than when they chose to hold conventions or develop linkages with other movements. The former type of activity is directly addressed to the goal of the movement, while the two latter types amount to "preaching to the converted."

On the basis of these findings, both organization indices and all three activity measures were included in the factor analysis for NAWSA mobilization. Accordingly, the five mobilization measures loaded on two factors as indicated in Table VIII.
### TABLE VIII
FACTOR LOADINGS FOR NAWSA MOBILIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FACTOR I</th>
<th>FACTOR II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>-.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMGSTWSA</td>
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<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSTCONVS</td>
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<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINKAGES</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUFBILLS</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, the two organization indices loaded highly on one factor and the three activity measures, on another. There are, however, two notable surprises involving the direction in which measures loaded on the factors. First, whereas the correlation matrix indicated that number of state WSA conventions and linkage score were inversely related to number of woman suffrage bills, all three measures loaded positively on the same factor. Since a distinction between interaction with state government and interaction within the movement and between it and other movements is not manifested here, the factor is interpreted as a general activity factor.

Second, whereas the correlation matrix indicated that extent and timing of state WSA organization were positively correlated with each other, they are inversely related in the
factor loadings. That is, instead of scoring a state highly for organizing earlier and organizing more extensively, this factor scored a state highly for organizing earlier and—apparently—organizing less extensively. An interpretation of this finding is based on the RM perspective's concern that resources be budgeted to achieve the greatest effect at the least cost. With this concern in mind, this organization factor may be interpreted as scoring highly cases which were more efficiently organized. Proceeding from this interpretation, multiple statewide organizations (e.g., a State WSA, a Men's League, a College League, and a Woman's Party affiliate) appear redundant. Although such organizations shared the same goal, doubtless they competed for resources and wasted some of them by duplicating one another's efforts.

Having taken into account these two serendipitous findings, factor scores were generated for each state on these organization and activity factors. By substituting these factor scores for their constituent measures, the number of variables subsequently representing NAWSA mobilization in the analysis was reduced from five to two—a substantial data reduction. NAWSA Organization measures efficiency of organization, and NAWSA Activity measures general level of activity.

State Political Structure

The five aspects of state political structure were party control, legislators per capita, legislative professionalism,
procedural simplicity, and electoral restriction. A score indicating the extent to which one party controlled a state's House, Senate, and governorship was used to operationalize party control (PTYCNTRL). Legislators per capita (LEGISCAP) was operationalized by dividing the number of state legislators by the state's population. An index based on five characteristics of legislature organization was used to operationalize legislative professionalism. A composite index scoring the procedural requirements which had to be met to amend a state constitution or to pass statutory legislation was used to operationalize procedural simplicity (PROCSIMP). Electoral restriction was operationalized by simply counting the number of certain voter qualifications (citizenship, literacy, tax payment) required to participate in state elections (VOTEQUAL). The following correlation matrix was generated for these five measures.

TABLE IX
CORRELATION MATRIX FOR STATE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PTYCNTRL</th>
<th>LEGISCAP</th>
<th>LEGPROFL</th>
<th>PROCSIMP</th>
<th>VOTEQUAL</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROCSIMP</td>
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<td>.51</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>***</td>
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<td>.21</td>
<td>.06</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The correlation coefficients suggest that each of these five measures represents a distinct aspect of state political structure. Each aspect's measure is weakly associated with the others, so multicollinearity is no problem. In fact, none of the correlation coefficients is sufficiently high to warrant combining measures through factor analysis. These complex measures are theoretically as well as statistically distinct. So, to combine them solely in the interest of data reduction would confuse rather than clarify their predicted relationships to state woman suffrage success. This decision is consistent with previous studies of resource mobilization and woman suffrage which address these variables separately.

Liquor and Allied Interests

Liquor and allied interests opposed woman suffrage for two reasons. The liquor industry and its economic allies, the drug and tobacco industries, feared that temperance women would vote for Prohibition. The liquor industry and its political allies, the railroads and meatpackers, feared that women reformers would threaten their self-serving influence over state political machines. Presumably, where these interests were more extensive, they had a greater financial stake in opposing woman suffrage.
The liquor, meatpacking, drug and tobacco industries were each operationalized in terms of number of establishments (ESTA), number of employees (EMPL), and dollars of production (DLRS). The railroads were operationalized in terms of the number of miles of track in a state. Hotels were operationalized in terms of the number of hotels listed for a state in the directory of Hotel Monthly. The correlation matrix shown in Table X was generated for these fourteen measures.

These correlation coefficients indicate a number of problematically strong associations among various measures. Due to the antecedent effects of population size, each set of establishments, employment, and production measures was expected to be correlated just highly enough to warrant trying to combine them through factor analysis. According to these initial findings, however, each of these sets of measures includes at least one correlation which is sufficiently high to present a multicollinearity problem.

Because all three types of measures could not be used, numbers of establishments and employees were discarded in favor of dollars of production. This latter measure is regarded as the best indicator of the vested interests of these industries. The size of individual establishments may have varied considerably, and it seems unlikely that
<table>
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<th>MEATPACKEMPL</th>
<th>MEATPACKDLRS</th>
<th>LIQUOR ESTA</th>
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<th>LIQUORDLRS</th>
<th>TOBACCO ESTA</th>
<th>TOBACCOEMPL</th>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
keeping large payrolls would have been a greater concern to decision makers in these industries than maintaining high levels of production.

Another multicollinearity problem is presented by the hotel measure, which is too highly correlated with almost all other measures of liquor and allied interests to be retained. On the basis of this analysis, the following abbreviated correlation matrix was constructed.

TABLE XI
SECOND CORRELATION MATRIX FOR LIQUOR AND ALLIED INTERESTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RAILROAD</th>
<th>MEATPACK</th>
<th>LIQUOR</th>
<th>TOBACCO</th>
<th>DRUG</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>RAILROAD</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIQUOR</td>
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<td>.85</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these remaining correlations are within the criteria for conducting a factor analysis. Accordingly, a single factor, on which the five measures of liquor and allied interests load as follows, was created.
TABLE XII
FACTOR LOADINGS FOR LIQUOR AND ALLIED INTERESTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTOR I</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>RAILROAD</td>
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<td>MEATPACK</td>
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<td>LIQUOR</td>
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<td>TOBACCO</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRUG</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the woman suffrage literature, it is repeatedly alleged that the liquor, railroad, meatpacking, tobacco and drug industries presented a united opposition to woman suffrage. The generation of a single factor for liquor and allied interests is consistent with this charge. At least, it suggests that the development of these industries in the states was parallel probably due to the antecedent effect of population size on production levels. Since all five measures of liquor and allied interests load on this single factor, this factor analysis provides the most desirable solution to the data reduction problem. This solution was used to generate a factor score which represents the financial stake of liquor and allied interests in each state.
Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics selected for the model were northeastern (vs. southern) birth, Protestant affiliation, duration and extent of settlement, native-born and white populations, and education. The percent of a state's population born in three northeastern states (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio), the New England states, and the southern states, respectively, were used to operationalize three region of birth variables. Percent affiliated with Protestant churches was used to operationalize organized Protestants. Recentness of settlement was measured by an index based on the years a state was first settled (i.e., its first permanent settlement was established), became a territory, and became a state. Population per square mile and percent urban were used to operationalize density of settlement, and percent of population change between 1890 and 1920, to operationalize stability of settlement. The native-born and white populations were measured by percent white and percent native in each state. Education was measured by percent of population who were college and university students and who were granted bachelor's, master's or doctoral degrees. The correlation matrix shown in Table XIII was generated for these twelve measures.

These correlation coefficients raise some questions as to whether or not these demographic characteristics were accurately operationalized. The northeastern and southern
### TABLE XIII
CORRELATION MATRIX FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NYPO POP</th>
<th>N ENGL POP</th>
<th>SOUTH POP</th>
<th>POP PROT</th>
<th>YRS SETT</th>
<th>URBAN POP</th>
<th>POP SQ MI</th>
<th>POP CHG</th>
<th>WHITE POP</th>
<th>NATIVE POP</th>
<th>STUDENTS</th>
<th>DEGREES</th>
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<td>.41</td>
<td>.29</td>
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<td>.48</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVE POP</td>
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<td>.13</td>
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<td>-.02</td>
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<td>-.38</td>
<td>-.17</td>
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<td>.52</td>
<td>.25</td>
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<td>-.32</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.64</td>
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</table>

Note: *** indicates statistical significance at the .05 level.
birth measures are much more strongly associated with the other demographic characteristics than with each other. For instance, the New York-Pennsylvania-Ohio born measure is highly correlated with population change; the New England born measure with percent urban and population change; and the southern born measure, with percent Protestant. In addition to the southern born measure, percent Protestant also has a moderate inverse correlation with percent white. The measures for settlement are correlated highly enough to warrant combining them, if possible, through factor analysis. The same is true for the native and white measures. The two education measures—percent students and percent granted degrees—are too highly correlated to include both. So, to avoid multicollinearity, percent students is retained. Its correlations with seven out of the ten other measures are lower than those for percent granted degrees.

On the basis of these findings, all three region of birth measures, percent affiliated Protestant, all four settlement measures, the percent native-born and percent white measures, and percent students were included in the first factor analysis for demographic characteristics. The eleven measures loaded on four factors as shown in Table XIV.

Like the correlation coefficients, the factor loadings of the region of birth measures are problematic. Instead of clustering together in a single factor, they muddle otherwise distinct Protestant affiliation, settlement, and native and/or
white factors. So, in order to further refine these latter factors, the region of birth measures were discarded. It bears noting that this decision may be justified on substantive and theoretical as well as methodological grounds.

Not unlike these factor loadings, arguments in the woman suffrage literature for a region of birth explanation of state success tend to overlap with arguments which explain woman suffrage in terms of Protestant affiliation, settlement, and native-born and white populations. For instance,
solid southern opposition to woman suffrage is credited to the defensive native white majority's fear of enfranchising black women as well as men. Likewise, the other measures with which the region of birth measures load in this factor analysis are precisely those demographic characteristics which distinguish one region from another. These simpler demographic characteristics are therefore preferable, because they stand alone, apart from the region of birth measures and independent of each other. Protestant affiliation, settlement, native-born and white populations are also preferable in the context of the RM perspective, insofar as the region of birth argument implies a cultural rather than a social structural explanation of woman suffrage success.

Accordingly, the three region of birth measures were omitted from a second factor analysis. The eight remaining measures loaded on four factors as shown in Table XV.

In this revised factor analysis, the measures cluster as expected. The percent native-born and white measures load highly on the first factor; percent Protestant, on the second; and percent students, on the fourth. Only the recentness of settlement index, percent urban, and population per square mile load highly on the third factor. Since population change loads only lowly to moderately on this factor and is negligibly correlated with level and timing of state success
TABLE XV
SECOND FACTOR LOADINGS FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>FACTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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<td>YRS SETT</td>
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<tr>
<td>POP CHG</td>
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<td>NATIVE POP</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUDENTS</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(.07 and -.03, respectively), it was discarded and a third factor analysis was conducted to take into account this decision. The seven remaining measures load on two factors as shown in Table XVI.

In this solution, the loadings of two measures are problematic. Percent Protestant loads rather highly, but negatively, on the same factor with the positively loading percent native-born and percent white measures, while percent students loads quite lowly on both factors.

Since the education measure loads weakly on both factors and did not generate a third, it was discarded. Like population change, it is also negligibly correlated with level and
### TABLE XVI

**THIRD FACTOR LOADINGS FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FACTOR I</th>
<th>FACTOR II</th>
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</thead>
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<td>POP PROT</td>
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<tr>
<td>YRS SETT</td>
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<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN POP</td>
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<td>.37</td>
</tr>
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<td>.14</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVE POP</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUDENTS</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

timing of state success (.09 and -.02, respectively). The decision to discard this measure was made on substantive as well as statistical grounds. In the woman suffrage literature, the argument that a more educated population would advocate woman suffrage and that this advocacy would be successful is admittedly rather weak.

The problematic loading of percent Protestant on the second factor is difficult to resolve on substantive grounds. The implied inverse relationship between being Protestant and being white and native-born was unexpected but is probably due to the large populations of native-born Catholics and Jews in the Northeast. For two reasons, therefore, it was decided to exclude this religion measure from the factor analysis, but to retain it as a separate variable. First,
the effects of Protestants, the native-born, and whites are addressed separately in the literature. Second, as there is only this one religion measure, excluding it would not contribute substantially to data reduction.

To take these decisions into account, one last factor analysis was conducted to achieve a final solution. The three settlement measures loaded on one factor; percent native-born and percent white on another.

**TABLE XVII**

**FOURTH FACTOR LOADINGS FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>YRS SETT</td>
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<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN POP</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POP SQ MI</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE POP</td>
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<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVE POP</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, the measures of native-born population and white population loaded highly on one factor, and the three settlement measures, on another. Factor scores were generated for each state on this native and/or white factor and this settlement factor. By substituting these factor scores for their constituent measures, the number of variables representing
native and/or white population and duration and extent of settlement in this analysis was reduced from five to two—another substantial data reduction. Settlement is a factor score which combines two measures of extent of settlement and an index of duration of settlement. Percent native and/or white is a factor score which combines percent native-born and percent white.

The high correlation between these two variables necessitated their combination in a factor score, despite the varying nature and extent of their relevance in different regions. Two examples illustrate this type of variation. Percent native-born was a special concern in northeastern and midwestern states, because the largely native-born supporters of woman suffrage had to overcome the opposition of newly enfranchised immigrants. Percent white was a special concern in southern states, because of the fear that eliminating sex as a voter qualification might lead to the repeal of other voter qualifications which were used to disfranchise blacks. Thus, both the native born and whites were expected to favor woman suffrage, although the motivation for their support varied.

**State Woman Suffrage Success**

No attempt was made to combine the indices of level and timing of state woman suffrage success. The association between these two variables is clearly substantial and inverse.
The lesser types of woman suffrage were won in many states quite early in the movement's history. In most states, however, winning full woman suffrage required quite a long campaign. So, although no specific hypotheses along these lines were developed, it seems likely that the constellation of variables which influenced timing of success may have been quite different from that which influenced level of success.

**Summary of Data Reduction**

Substantial data reduction was achieved through this series of analyses of correlation matrices and factor analyses. The twenty-eight separate measures contained in the original model were clearly excessive. With only a few variables, path analysis can be a complex procedure. The results of a path analysis of so many variables would have been statistically meaningless for a population (notably, not a sample) of only forty-eight states. Fortunately, by eliminating redundant measures and combining related ones, it was possible to reduce the number (by more than half) to thirteen. This revised model of state woman suffrage success is presented in Figure 3.

**Testing the Model**

The model of state woman suffrage success was further refined and tested by employing multiple regression techniques to conduct a series of path analyses. The next two chapters will present the findings of those analyses. By way of introduction, however, this chapter will conclude with a discussion
STATE POLITICAL STRUCTURE
- Party Control
- Legislators per Capita
- Legislative Professionalism
- Procedural Simplicity
- Electoral Restriction

STATE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
- Percent Affiliated Protestant
- Percent Native/White Settlement

STATE NAWSA MOBILIZATION
- NAWSA Organization
- NAWSA Activity

STATE LIQUOR AND ALLIED INTERESTS

STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS
- Level of Success
- Timing of Success

Fig. 3 -- Revised Model of State Woman Suffrage Success
of the uses and underlying assumptions of multiple regression and path analysis and will outline the procedures used in the analyses.

**Multiple Regression**

Multiple regression is a general statistical technique through which one can analyze the relationships between a dependent variable and several independent variables. In the model under study, level and timing of state woman suffrage success are the dependent variables. The two dimensions of NAWSA mobilization, five aspects of state political structure, one measure of liquor and allied interests, and three demographic characteristics are the independent ones. Along with RM theory, multiple regression is used in this study as a descriptive tool. The emphasis in this application is on neither the overall dependence of any one variable on another nor the relationship between any pair of variables. Instead, multiple regression is used to describe a complex model of relationships between a dependent variable and several sets of independent variables and to assess the model's logical consequences. This application is a path analysis because the theoretical model suggests a certain causal order among the variables. The demographic characteristics precede NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and vested interests in the model. Multiple regression is used to assess the strength of each separate path. Path coefficients (standardized
regression coefficients) identify the magnitude of the direct or indirect effect that a variable has on another variable that follows it in the presumed causal order.

To be analyzed using multiple regression techniques, a data set must meet four assumptions: 1) a lack of multicollinearity, 2) interval level data, and 3) additive and 4) linear relationships among variables.

Multicollinearity exists whenever two or more variables are extremely highly correlated. It presents two problems for multiple regression analysis. First, it brings into question the reliability of statistical inferences. In other words, if multicollinearity exists in a data set, one cannot assume that the results for any given sample can be generalized to the population. Second, multicollinearity makes the relative size of path coefficients less valid (12, p. 340). At this study deals with all of the states rather than a sample of them, the first problem is non-applicable and may be ignored. The second problem, however, was resolved in the data reduction process. When multicollinearity was extreme (r = .80 or larger), only one of the highly correlated variables was necessary, so the others were discarded. Moderate multicollinearity problems (r = .60-.80) were eliminated by combining highly correlated variables in a single measure (21, p. 341). These two solutions were sufficient to eliminate multicollinearity problems in the model under study.
Multiple regression assumes interval level data is being used, but several strong arguments for treating ordinal data as interval have gained wide acceptance. O'Brien (15), reviewing and building upon the work of Labovitz (8) and other, concludes that ordinal data may be treated as interval if the number of categories is large and an ordinal measure is based on an interval one. Inspection of the data under study which are, strictly speaking, ordinal confirmed that these conditions were met (e.g., coding of legislative professionalism). An additional condition under which ordinal data may be treated as interval, which is suggested by Babbie (2), exists when the population rather than a sample is being studied. Since all of the states are included in this study, this condition was also met.

For purposes of statistical inference and significance testing multiple regression assumes additive and linear relationships among variables (12, pp. 322, 341; 2, p. 502). As with the first multicollinearity problem, therefore, these assumptions do not apply and need not be met by the data under study. Since data are included for all states rather than a sample, the reliability of the results of this analysis is not an issue.

Path Analysis

Path analysis is a method of analyzing the relationships among a set of variables by assuming that at least a weak causal order exists among them and that the relationships
among these variables is causally closed. Rather than demonstrating causality, path analysis works out the logical consequences of these two causal assumptions (12, p. 383).

The assumption of causal order cannot be tested statistically. Causal order is suggested by the theoretical perspective taken in a study. From the RM perspective, demographic characteristics are antecedent to NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests. So, the demographic variables have indirect effects on state woman suffrage success through the intervening structural variables. Mobilization, political structure, and liquor and allied interest variables have direct effects on success. Their positions in the model are based on the RM assumption that a movement's success depends as much on its exploiting its structural context (state political structure) and neutralizing societal constraints (liquor and allied interests) as its mobilizing societal support (NAWSA mobilization).

The assumption of causal closure supposes that no critical variables are omitted from the model. This assumption presents no serious problems for this study. All of the major variables implicated in the woman suffrage literature as likely predictors of state success were included in the original model. In addition, the model includes many variables identified in the RM literature as predictors of state policy innovations. As the number of original variables was unusually large, it is assumed that an
acceptable degree of causal closure was established. Nonetheless, multiple R is taken as a sufficient statistical indicator of the extent to which the model may not be causally closed. It should be remembered that the aim of this study is to assess the relative merits of the explanations of state woman suffrage success presented to date. Once this complex and long overdue task is achieved, additional explanations may have to be entertained.

To recapitulate, the assumptions of multiple regression and path analysis were dealt with as follows. Generally accepted data modification procedures were used to meet multiple regression's assumptions of a lack of multicollinearity and interval level data. The assumptions of additivity and linearity did not apply as the reliability of statistical inferences is not at issue in this study. The assumptions of path analysis that the model is causally ordered and closed were met on theoretical and substantive grounds, respectively.

The philosophy underlying these generally accepted practices is best expressed by Babbie (2), who argues that, although social science research may not completely satisfy its assumptions, the use of multiple regression and path analysis, even though they may not be statistically justified, should be encouraged in any situation in which their use is illuminating. He maintains that one is justified in bending the rules as long as we are aware of the implications of doing so. As the single major objection raised against such
rule-bending concerns its hazards for statistical inference, relaxing the assumptions relevant to that issue should raise no question about the validity of this study's results.

Procedures of Analysis

Separate analyses were conducted for level and timing of state woman suffrage success, but the procedures of analysis were the same for both success measures. In each case, multiple regression was used to generate initial path coefficients. First, NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests measures were entered into the regression; then, the measures of selected demographic characteristics. By regressing these measures on the success measures in two steps, the assumed causal order was imposed. For each success measure, the model was further refined by eliminating those measures whose initial path coefficients were less than .10 (a generally accepted standard). Then, to account for this refinement, a new set of path coefficients was generated for each success measure. Calculating indirect effects was made possible by performing separate regressions of the demographic measures on each of the mobilization, political structure, and vested interests measures. Of course, these path coefficients were the same for both success measures. The next two chapters are set aside to report the findings and discuss the conclusions of these analyses of the model of state woman suffrage success.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


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CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AS DETERMINANTS OF
NAWSA MOBILIZATION AND ITS STRUCTURAL
CONTEXT

In the model under study, the temporal ordering of the four sets of variables is based on two assumptions. First, NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests affected state woman suffrage success directly. Second, demographic characteristics affected state woman suffrage success only indirectly. These assumptions are based on the resource mobilization (RM) perspective's emphasis on structural explanations of social movement phenomena over demographic ones. As an explanation for level and timing of state success, the model based on these assumptions is analyzed in the next chapter. Consequently, this chapter analyzes the direct effects of demographic characteristics on each set of structural conditions. Knowledge of these effects is necessary to calculate the indirect effects of demographic characteristics on state woman suffrage success.

This chapter presents the results of the multiple regression analyses of NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests with demographic
characteristics. While these results include several 
statistics for the effect of each demographic characteristic 
on each structural condition, the findings of this study are 
derived from the path coefficients (betas). After the re-
sults for each set of structural conditions are reported, 
the findings for those variables are presented by demographic 
variable. First, however, the procedures and criteria of 
analysis are reviewed briefly. (The methodology employed 
in this and the next chapter was described in detail at the 
end of the last one.)

Procedures and Criteria of Analysis

A series of multiple regression analyses was necessary 
to calculate path coefficients for the direct effects of 
each demographic variable on each of the mobilization, 
political structure, and liquor and allied interest variables. 
Each of the structural variables was regressed on the three 
demographic variables. Because the model assumes that percent 
affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and 
settlement were contemporary variables, they were entered 
simultaneously in each of these regressions. In each 
regression analysis, variables with path coefficients of 
.10 or more were retained in the model. Variables with path 
coefficients less than .10 on the first run were omitted 
from the next one until all variables received path coeffi-
cients of .10 or more. A single run was sufficient in most 
cases.
State Political Structure

States with more affiliated Protestants, native born, and whites were expected to have more party control, more legislators per capita, more professional legislatures, simpler legislative procedures, and more restricted electorates. These hypotheses were based on the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature (detailed in Chapter I) that the major constituency of the Populist and Progressive parties, which advocated such political conditions, was native born, white, and Protestant.

Settlement was also expected to influence state political structure. In this case, less settled states were expected to have more legislators per capita, simpler legislative procedures, and more restricted electorates. The rationale for these hypotheses (also detailed in Chapter I) was that less settled states had not yet developed the sort of political machines which opposed such structural conditions in more settled states.

Tables XVIII to XXII present the results of the regressions of party control, legislators per capita, legislative professionalism, procedural simplicity, and electoral restriction with percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement. Figures 3 to 5 summarize these results by presenting the path coefficients for each
TABLE XVIII

REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR PARTY CONTROL

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<td>.02</td>
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Fig. 4—Effects of Percent Affiliated Protestant on State Political Structure
Fig. 5 -- Effects of Percent Native/White on State Political Structure
Fig. 6 -- Effects of Settlement on State Political Structure
demographic characteristic's effects on each aspect of state political structure.

The results of these analyses indicate the following relationships. First, states with fewer native born and whites were extremely likely to have more restricted electorates. In addition, they tended to have more professional legislatures and more party control. So, states with relatively few native born and whites had political conditions which are hypothesized to favor woman suffrage.

Second, states with fewer affiliated Protestants tended to have more legislators per capita, but less party control. Also, though to a lesser extent, they tended to have simpler legislative procedures, more restricted electorates, and more professional legislatures. Thus, states with a smaller percent affiliated Protestant had political conditions which are hypothesized to woman suffrage.

Third, less settled states tended to have simpler legislative procedures and more legislators per capita. Yet, they were likely to have less restricted electorates and, to a lesser extent, less party control. Nonetheless, less settled states had political conditions which are hypothesized to woman suffrage.

NAWSA Mobilization

States with more affiliated Protestants, native born, and whites were expected to have more efficiently organized
and more active NAWSA affiliates. These hypotheses were based on the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature (detailed in Chapter I) that NAWSA drew most of its support from the native born, whites, and Protestants.

Less settled states were hypothesized to have earlier and more extensively organized and more active NAWSA affiliates. This hypothesis assumed a positive correlation between extent and timing of organization, but an inverse correlation between these two variables was found. The organization factor scored states highly for organizing earlier and less extensively, so it was interpreted as a measure of organizational efficiency. Consequently, less settled states probably had more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates. Wasting fewer resources on organizing, these states freed a larger proportion of their resources to underwrite activity.

Tables XXIII to XXV present the results of the regressions of NAWSA organization and activity with percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement. Figure 6 summarizes these results by presenting path coefficients for the effects of demographic characteristics on each dimension of NAWSA mobilization.

The results of these analyses indicate the following relationships. First, less settled states were very likely
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### TABLE XXIV

**REVISED REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR NAWSA ORGANIZATION**

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<tr>
<td>Percent Native/White</td>
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Fig. 7—Effects of Demographic Characteristics on NAWSA Mobilization
to have more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates. Second, to a somewhat lesser extent, states with fewer native born and whites tended to have more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates. Third, states with fewer affiliated Protestants tended to have more active NAWSA affiliates.

Liquor and Allied Interests

States with more affiliated Protestants, native born, and whites were expected to have less extensive liquor and allied interests. These hypotheses were based on the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature (detailed in Chapter I) that the native born, whites, and Protestants were the primary constituencies of the Populist and Progressive parties, which threatened liquor and allied interests by advocating Prohibition as well as woman suffrage. More settled states were expected to have more extensive liquor and allied interests. This hypothesis seems a plausible assumption about economic development.

Table XXVI presents the results of the regression of liquor and allied interests with percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement. Figure 7 summarizes these results by presenting the path coefficient for each demographic characteristic's effect on liquor and allied interests.

The results of these analyses indicate the following relationships. Liquor and allied interests which were
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Percent Affiliated Protestant \( \cdot 10 \)

Percent Native/White \( \cdot 25 \) \( \rightarrow \) Liquor and Allied Interests

Settlement \( \cdot 41 \)

Fig. 8 -- Effects of Demographic Characteristics on Liquor and Allied Interests
alleged to oppose woman suffrage tended to be more extensive in states which were more settled and had more native and/or whites and more affiliated Protestants.

Conclusion

This chapter has reported the results of multiple regression analyses of state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, and liquor and allied interests with demographic characteristics. From these analyses, findings were derived about the effects of each demographic variable on each set of structural variables. The effects of settlement, percent affiliated Protestant, and percent native and/or white on the three sets of structural conditions may be summarized as follows.

As expected, less settled states usually had more legislators per capita and simpler legislative procedures. They also tended to have more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates and less extensive liquor and allied interests. Unexpectedly, however, these states had less party control and less restricted electorates.

Just as unexpectedly, states with fewer affiliated Protestants tended to have less party control. They also had more legislators per capita, more professional legislatures, simpler legislative procedures, and more restricted electorates. Equally surprisingly, these states usually had more active NAWSA affiliates and less extensive liquor and allied interests.
Also unexpectedly, states with fewer native born and whites tended to have more professional legislatures elected by more restricted electorates, more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates, and less extensive liquor and allied interests.

The surprising correlations of percent Protestant and percent native/white with political structure variables may be accounted for by a "defensive majority group" explanation. States with more native born, whites, and Protestants had been expected to have political structures which made it easier to legislate woman suffrage, more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates, and less extensive liquor and allied interests to oppose woman suffrage. Instead, these circumstances were found where there were relatively few native born, whites, and Protestants.

Where this was the case, the native born, whites, and Protestants may have perceived themselves as demographically threatened political constituencies. In states where they were more numerous, their consciousness-of-kind was probably minimal. Because of their large numbers, low voter turnout posed little threat to their political supremacy. In these circumstances, the native borns, whites, and Protestants had little to gain by mobilizing politically. Conversely, in states where they were less numerous, their consciousness-of-kind was probably high. Because of their small numbers,
high voter turnout might not guarantee their political supremacy. In these circumstances, defensive native born, whites, and Protestants may have mobilized politically to guarantee their continued supremacy.

The latter scenario is very clearly exemplified by most of the southern states. Whites held a sufficiently tenuous majority over blacks so that, by 1910, literacy or tax payment was required of voters in 10 of the 12 southern states. For all practical purposes, these two qualifications nullified the Fifteenth Amendment by finding pretexts other than race on which to disfranchise blacks.

Many midwestern and western states provide a complementary, though somewhat less dramatic, illustration of this "defensive majority group" explanation. Before the turn of the century, 16 of these 24 frontier states had offered votes before citizenship as an enticement to foreign born settlers. By 1910, however, native born citizens had become concerned enough about the tide of immigration that the non-citizen vote was abolished in 9 of the 16 states which had it in 1890.

A third example of the "defensive majority group" idea is provided by persons of Protestant affiliation in some of the northeastern and western states. They were in the minority vis-a-vis Catholics and non-affiliated persons in the West and held a narrow majority over Catholics and Jews in the Northeast. Despite this difference, however,
affiliated Protestants apparently became concerned enough about their political clout vis-a-vis these other groups that they supported NAWSA as well as its Populist and Progressive allies. These allies worked for political conditions which made it easier to legislate woman suffrage and more difficult for liquor and allied interests to oppose it.

The major serendipitous accomplishment of this chapter has been to describe and interpret the unexpected effects of percent native and/or white and percent affiliated Protestant on NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests. States with fewer rather than more native born and/or whites and affiliated Protestants tended to foster structural conditions believed to favor woman suffrage.
CHAPTER IV

DETERMINANTS OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS

This chapter examines the direct effects of NAWSA mobilization, state political structure, and liquor and allied interests as well as the direct and indirect effects of demographic characteristics on level and timing of state woman suffrage success. The indirect effects of demographic characteristics on state success are calculated from their direct effects on the three sets of structural conditions and the direct effects of those variables on each measure of success.

After the procedures and criteria of analysis are briefly reviewed, this chapter presents the results of the multiple regression analyses of level and timing of state success with all four sets of variables. The findings are based on the path coefficients (betas). After each finding is stated, it is compared with the corresponding hypothesis. Then, once the effects of each set of variables on each success measure are reviewed, the proportion of variation explained for that success measure is reported. Lastly, pairs of states are cited as extreme examples of the demonstrated relationships.
Procedures and Criteria of Analysis

The path analyses of level and timing of state woman suffrage success were based on two series of multiple regression analyses. In each of these regressions, variables were entered in two steps.

To reflect the causal order assumed in the model, the predictor variables were entered as follows: party control, legislators per capita, legislative professionalism, procedural simplicity, electoral restriction, NAWSA organization and activity, and liquor and allied interests on the first step; and percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement on the second step. This two-step regression procedure reflects the model's assumptions that state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, and liquor and allied interests affected state success directly and that the three demographic characteristics affected these structural conditions directly and thereby state success indirectly.

For level of success, three runs were required to achieve a satisfactory solution; for timing of success, five runs. The criterion for a successful run was that all path coefficients be .10 or higher. These two series of regression analyses provided path coefficients for the direct effects of all predictor variables on level and timing of success.
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<td>0.00</td>
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<td>0.04</td>
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**TABLE XXIX**

**FINAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF LEVEL OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS**

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<tr>
<td>Percent Native/White</td>
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<td>.05</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
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As the path coefficients for all remaining variables were over .10, this was the final run. Findings concerning the effects of each set of variables on level of success are derived from these analyses. The next part of this section identifies these findings and compares them with the corresponding hypotheses.

State Political Structure

Of the five aspects of state political structure, only electoral restriction, legislators per capita, and procedural simplicity were found to have noteworthy effects on the level of state woman suffrage success.

Electoral Restriction

The less restricted the state electorate, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of -.19, electoral restriction demonstrated the strongest effect of these three political structure variables on level of success. Nonetheless, the direction of this relationship is unexpected. It is inconsistent with the widely reported and generally accepted contention of NAWSA leaders that immigrant and minority votes were responsible for referendum defeats of woman suffrage amendments (1, pp. 161-64). Apparently, immigrant and minority voters, long used as scapegoats for such defeats, were not as easily manipulated as expected.
Legislators per Capita

The more legislators per capita, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. The path coefficient for legislators per capita was only .11, as it exerted a somewhat weaker effect than electoral restriction on level of success. Still, this finding supports the hypothesis that states with more legislators per capita tended to achieve higher levels of success.

Procedural Simplicity

The more complex the procedures for enacting statutory legislation and for amending the state constitution, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of -.11, procedural simplicity's effect on level of success was comparable to that of legislators per capita only in the opposite direction. The direction of the demonstrated relationship is unexpected. Most likely, this finding may be attributed to East-West differences in the maximum available level of success. The West is often noted in the woman suffrage literature as an example of the contribution of procedural simplicity to level of success (for example, 1, p. 169; 2, pp. 260-61; 3, p. 26). Indeed, legislative procedures were simpler in the Western territories than in the eastern states. Territorial suffrage, however, was a lower level of success than full state suffrage. While these two types of suffrage were comparable
within their jurisdictions, territorial suffrage did not have the impact on the campaign for a federal suffrage amendment that state suffrage did.

**NAWSA Mobilization**

Both dimensions of NAWSA mobilization, organization and activity, had noteworthy effects on level of state woman suffrage success.

**NAWSA Activity**

The more active a state's NAWSA organization, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of .17, NAWSA activity demonstrated a modest effect on level of success. This finding supports the hypothesis that states with more active NAWSA affiliates tended to achieve higher levels of success.

**NAWSA Organization**

The more efficiently organized a state's NAWSA affiliates, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. NAWSA organization's path coefficient was .16, so its effect on level of success was virtually as strong as that of NAWSA activity. This finding supports the hypothesis that states with more efficiently organized NAWSA affiliates tended to achieve higher levels of success.
Liquor and Allied Interests

The greater the interests of liquor and allied industries which opposed woman suffrage in a state, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. Their path coefficient was only .14, so they exerted a weak effect on level of success. The direction of this relationship is highly unexpected. Like the unexpected relationship between procedural simplicity and level of success, it may be explained in terms of East-West differences in maximum available level of success. As already established, territorial suffrage, long the maximum available level in the West, was inferior to full state suffrage. In addition, liquor and allied interests had a smaller financial stake in the territories of the western frontier than in the more developed eastern states. East-West differences in the financial state of liquor and allied interests may have been accentuated by their measurement in terms of simple dollars of production unstandardized for population size. Presumably, then, the unexpected association of extensive interests opposed to woman suffrage with high levels of success may be attributed to this combination of circumstances.

Demographic Characteristics

Of the three demographic characteristics, only percent affiliated Protestant and percent native and/or white were found to have direct effects on level of state woman suffrage.
success. All three demographic characteristics, however, had indirect effects on level of success.

Percent Affiliated Protestant

The smaller the percent of a state population affiliated with Protestant denominations, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of -.20, percent affiliated Protestant demonstrated a moderate direct effect on level of success. This finding challenged the assumption of the model under study that demographic characteristics affected state woman suffrage success only indirectly through intervening structural conditions. Nonetheless, the direction of this finding is consistent with the "defensive majority group" explanation. Support for woman suffrage may have been a tactic of a narrowing Protestant majority to defend themselves from the potential threat of large blocks of non-Protestant voters.

In addition to this direct effect, percent affiliated Protestant had an indirect effect on level of success through several of the intervening variables: procedural simplicity (path coefficient = .02), legislators per capita (.04), electoral restriction (.03), NAWSA activity (.05), and liquor and allied interests (.01). With a cumulative path coefficient of .15, the indirect effect of percent affiliated Protestant on level of success is almost as large as its direct effect.
Percent Native and/or White

The larger the percent native and/or white in a state population, the higher the level of state woman suffrage success. Percent native and/or white's path coefficient was .39, so it exerted a very strong direct effect on level of success. As with percent affiliated Protestant, this finding challenged the model's assumption that demographic characteristics had only indirect effects on suffrage success.

In addition to this direct effect, percent native and/or white had an indirect effect on level of success through several intervening variables: electoral restriction (path coefficient = .12), NAWSA organization (.05), NAWSA activity (.04), and liquor and allied interests (.04). The cumulative path coefficient for this effect was .25, a sizeable figure. The comparatively strong indirect effect of percent native and/or white on state success through electoral restriction is consistent with the argument that southern politicians perceived woman suffrage as a threat to the voter qualifications which barred blacks from the polls (5, pp. 163-218; 6, pp. 73-75).

Settlement

The hypothesis that less settled states tended to promote conditions favoring higher levels of success were supported in part by the results of this analysis. Settlement had a sizeable indirect effect through several
intervening variables: procedural simplicity (path coefficient = .02), legislators per capita (.02), electoral restriction (.05), NAWSA organization (.08), NAWSA activity (.09), and liquor and allied interests (.06). The cumulative path coefficient for settlement's indirect effect on level of success was .32. This finding is consistent with the model of state woman suffrage success, in which demographic characteristics occupy antecedent positions and aspects of state political structure, intervening ones.

**Explained Variation in Level of Success**

The proportion of variation in level of success accounted for by all of the variables in the model is indicated by R square. Legislators per capita, electoral restriction, NAWSA organization, liquor and allied interests, percent affiliated Protestant, and percent native and/or white accounted for a relatively large proportion (43 percent) of this variation. The proportion of variation in level of success accounted for by individual variables in the model is indicated by R square change. Electoral restriction was by far the strongest predictor (24 percent) of level of success. The proportions of this variation explained by percent affiliated Protestant and percent native and/or white (5 percent each), legislators per capita and liquor and allied interests (4 percent each) were negligible. None of the variation in level of success was explained by procedural simplicity or NAWSA activity.
Summary Analysis of Level of Success

The results of this analysis of level of state woman suffrage success are portrayed in Figure 8. The relationships indicated by these findings may be summarized as follows.

States with less restricted electorates tended to achieve higher levels of success. To a lesser extent, states with more complex legislative procedures and more legislators per capita were likely to achieve higher levels of success. Neither party control nor legislative professionalism affected level of success.

States with more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates were somewhat more likely to achieve higher levels of success.

States with more extensive liquor and allied interests were somewhat more likely to achieve higher levels of success.

Percent native and/or white had conflicting direct and indirect effects on level of success. States with fewer native whites were very likely to achieve lower levels of success. In addition, while these states often had efficiently organized and active NAWSA affiliates, they were even more likely to have very restricted electorates, to which woman suffrage was perceived as a threat, and insufficient liquor and allied interests to rouse a strong temperance vote for woman suffrage.
Percent affiliated Protestant also had conflicting direct and indirect effects on level of success. States with few affiliated Protestants tended to achieve high levels of success. Unlike states with few native-born and whites, those with few of Protestant affiliation were less likely to have restricted electorates than a high number of legislators per capita and active NAWSA affiliates, two conditions favoring high levels of woman suffrage.

Settlement had conflicting indirect effects on level of success. Less settled states were somewhat more likely to achieve higher levels of success. These states tended to have simple legislative procedures and limited liquor and allied interests, both of which were associated with low levels of success. Yet, they were also likely to have a high number of legislators per capita, unrestricted electorates, and more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates, all of which were associated with high levels of success.

Washington and Georgia

Washington and Georgia clearly exemplified these findings for level of state woman suffrage success. After a few false starts, Washington achieved a high level of success. Its legislature first voted on territorial suffrage in 1883. The bill passed and woman voted until
the Territorial Supreme Court overturned the law in 1887. Two subsequent revisions of the law met the same fate. The first lasting success was a measure extending school suffrage to women in 1890. Next, full state suffrage was granted in 1910 (4, Vol. VI, pp. 673-75). Then, after a decade with women in the mainstream of state politics, Washington ratified the federal woman suffrage amendment in March 1920 (4, Vol. VI, pp. 684-86).

By contrast, woman suffrage was almost completely unsuccessful in Georgia. No bill extending any type of woman suffrage was ever passed by the state legislature. In the long history of the woman suffrage movement in Georgia, only two woman suffrage bills were ever brought to a vote of the state legislature. Less than five years remained in the battle for the federal amendment when these votes were taken, and both were adverse. Consequently, it is no surprise that Georgia failed to ratify the federal amendment.

There were more legislators per capita in Washington than Georgia; however, legislative procedures were simpler and the electorate was more restricted in Georgia than Washington. Between 1890 and 1920, the average ratio of state legislators to population for Washington was
just over 1/6,000; for Georgia, about 1/11,000. Although the procedures for amending the constitutions of Washington and Georgia were the same, statutory legislative procedures in the two states differed in two ways. In Washington, only some legislation was subject to initiative and referendum. In Georgia, the absence of the initiative prohibited popular demand that the legislature address controversial issues; yet, referendum endorsement could be required of any legislation. This possibility served equally well as a threat to minimize a bill's chance of ever coming to a vote and as a means of quashing it, if it was passed by the legislature. Both states required citizenship and literacy qualifications of voters, but only Georgia required the payment of a tax by voters.

NAWSA was both better organized and more active in Washington than Georgia (4, Vol. VI, pp. 121-32, 673-76). Washington was organized earlier and had no competing state level WSA. Its first State WSA was organized in 1871 and, after a lapse in activity, re-organized in 1895. Its only other state level WSA was a College League which was organized in 1909. Though a separate entity, the College League acted in close cooperation with the State WSA. Georgia was organized later and had three competing state level WSA. Its first State WSA was not organized until 1890, and had to
compete with two other state level WSAs. A Men's League was organized in 1912, and a state Woman's Party branch, in 1917. While the Men's League often cooperated with the State WSA, the Woman's Party engaged in militant activities which were incompatible with the mainstream politicking of NAWSA's state affiliates.

Neither state's woman suffrage leaders had measurable linkages with other social movements. Likewise, the number of woman suffrage conventions held in each state (relative to the duration of the movement) was comparable. The only major difference in activity between Washington and Georgia was the number of woman suffrage bills brought to a vote (relative to the duration of the movement). Five bills were brought to a vote in Washington before full suffrage was won in 1910. Notably, three of these bills were passed by the legislature, but overturned by court decisions. In Georgia, which never extended any type of woman suffrage, only two unsuccessful "eleventh hour" votes were taken.

Liquor and allied interests which opposed woman suffrage were greater in Washington than Georgia. Between 1890 and 1920, the liquor industry, the pivotal member of the anti-woman suffrage coalition, produced over eleven million dollars worth of liquor in Washington, but only about four million dollars worth in Georgia.

Percent affiliated Protestant was greater for Georgia, while percent native/white was greater for Washington. In
Georgia, those of Protestant affiliation comprised 40.5 percent of the state population; in Washington only 11.5 percent. Conversely, Washington's population was 76 percent native-born and 96 percent white; Georgia's population, 65 percent native-born and 55 percent white.

Timing of State Woman Suffrage Success

States which had more party control, more legislators per capita, more professional legislatures, simpler legislative procedures, and more restricted electorates were expected to win earlier successes. These hypotheses were based on the findings of state policy analyses and the claims of the woman suffrage literature. Party control has been credited for the enactment of various types of state policy. Likewise, legislators per capita and legislative professionalism have been associated with recent improvements in the legal and political status of women. Students of the woman suffrage movement have explained early state successes in terms of procedural simplicity and electoral restriction. (See Chapter I.)

States which had more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates were expected to win earlier successes. These hypotheses are consistent with the findings of RM analyses of other movements and the claims of the woman suffrage literature. (See Chapter I.)
States which had less extensive liquor and allied interests were expected to achieve earlier successes. This hypothesis represents basic theoretical assumptions of the RM perspective as well as allegations presented in the woman suffrage literature. (See Chapter I.)

Because the woman suffrage literature identifies the native-born, whites, and Protestants as likely supporters of NAWSA as well as the Populist and Progressive parties (see Chapter I), it was assumed originally that woman suffrage was achieved earlier in states where they were more populous. Instead (as detailed in the last chapter), more favorable conditions were found in states which had fewer native-born and/or whites and fewer affiliated Protestants.

This section presents the results of the regression of timing of success with all of the predictor variables. On the first run, all political structure, mobilization, and liquor and allied interests measures were entered on the first step, and the three demographic characteristics, on the second step. Table XXX presents the results of this run.

Because the path coefficients for procedural simplicity, legislators per capita, NAWSA organization, and liquor and allied interests were less than .10, a second regression omitting those variables was run. Table XXXI presents the results of this second run.
TABLE XXX
FIRST REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF TIMING OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
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<th>RSQ Change</th>
<th>Simple R</th>
<th>Beta</th>
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TABLE XXXI
SECOND REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF TIMING OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS

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<td>.01</td>
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<td>-.10</td>
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</table>
In these tables and the related discussions, positive and negative signs have different meanings for level and timing of success. States which achieved high levels of woman suffrage received high scores on a level of success index. So, variables which favored a high level of success were positively related to that index. By contrast, states which achieved early successes received low scores on a timing of success index (a sum of years when certain successes were achieved). So, variables which favored early successes were negatively related to that index.

Because the path coefficient for percent affiliated Protestant was less than .10, a third regression omitting that variable was run. Table XXXII presents the results of this third run.

Because the path coefficient for settlement was less than .10, a fourth regression omitting that variable was run. Table XXXIII presents the results of this fourth run.

Because the path coefficient for NAWSA activity was less than .10, a fifth regression omitting that variable was run. Table XXXIV presents the results of this fifth run.

Because the path coefficients for all remaining variables were over .10, this was the final run. Findings concerning the effects of each set of variables on timing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>.34</td>
<td>.32</td>
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<td>-.72</td>
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of success are derived from these analyses. The remainder of this section identifies these findings and compares them with the corresponding hypotheses.

State Political Structure

Of the five aspects of state political structure, only party control, electoral restriction, and legislative professionalism were found to have noteworthy effects on timing of state woman suffrage success.

Electoral Restriction

The more restricted the state electorate, the earlier the timing of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of -.31, electoral restriction demonstrated the strongest effect of these three political structure variables on timing of success. This finding supports the hypothesis that states with more restricted electorates tended to achieve earlier successes.

Legislative Professionalism

The more professional the state legislature, the earlier the timing of state woman suffrage success. Legislative professionalism's path coefficient was -.28, so its effect on timing of success was comparable to that of electoral restriction. This finding supports the hypothesis that states with more professional legislatures tended to achieve earlier successes.
Party Control

The more party control in the state legislature, the earlier the timing of state woman suffrage success. Party control's path coefficient of .15 indicates the weakest effect exerted by the three political structure variables on timing of success. This finding supports the hypothesis that states whose legislatures had more one party control tended to achieve earlier successes.

Percent Native and/or White

The larger the percent native and/or white in a state population, the earlier the timing of state woman suffrage success. With a path coefficient of -.72, percent native and/or white demonstrated an extraordinarily strong direct effect on timing of success. This unexpected finding challenges the assumption of the model under study that demographic characteristics affected state woman suffrage success only indirectly through intervening structural conditions. It indicates that a state's native-born and white populations were not mere demographic categories, but rather political constituencies whose electoral fortunes were affected by passage of woman suffrage. In southern states, the failure of woman suffrage can be traced to the concern that eliminating sex as a voter qualification might lead to restoring the vote to blacks who were disfranchised by other voter qualifications. Conversely, in western states, where recent immigrant settlers were allowed to vote, the
native-born often succeeded in advocating woman suffrage as a means of balancing out the electorate in their own favor. In short, this finding indicates that the size of a state's native-born and white constituencies affected the chances of state success by determining how passage of woman suffrage would affect their own collective political interests.

In addition to this direct effect, percent native and/or white had an indirect effect on timing of success through three intervening aspects of state political structure: electoral restriction (path coefficient = .20), legislative professionalism (.08), and party control (.02). With a cumulative path coefficient for this effect of .30, the combined direct and indirect effects of percent native and/or white on timing of success were enormous. The strong indirect effect of percent native and/or white on state success through electoral restriction is consistent with the argument that woman suffrage was regarded as a guarantee of native supremacy in the West and a threat to white supremacy in the South.

Notably, these findings are consistent with the conventional wisdom concerning the timing of state woman suffrage success in the West and the South. The woman suffrage literature credits native white Populists for early successes in the West and blames white racists for
late and only minor successes in the South (1, pp. 174-78; 5, pp. 163-218; 3, pp. 95-96, 101-3, 105-6).

Percent Affiliated Protestant

Percent affiliated Protestant had an indirect effect on timing of success through three intervening aspects of state political structure: party control (.05), electoral restriction (.05), and legislative professionalism (.03). With a cumulative path coefficient of .13, the indirect effect of percent affiliated Protestant on timing of success was weak. This finding is consistent with the model of state woman suffrage success, in which demographic characteristics occupy antecedent positions and aspects of state political structure, intervening ones.

Settlement

Settlement had an indirect effect on timing of success through two intervening aspects of state political structure: party control (.02) and electoral restriction (.08). With a cumulative path coefficient of .10, settlement's indirect effect on timing of success was almost negligible. Like the preceding indirect finding, this finding is consistent with a model of state woman suffrage success in which demographic characteristics are antecedent to political structure variables.
Explained Variation in Timing of Success

The proportion of variation in timing of state woman suffrage success accounted for by all of the variables in the model is indicated by $R$ square. Legislative professionalism and percent native and/or white accounted for a sizeable proportion (34 percent) of the variation in timing of success. The proportion of variation in timing of success accounted for by individual variables in the model is indicated by $R$ square change. Percent native and/or white was by far the strongest predictor of timing of success, explaining 32 percent of the variance. The proportion of variation explained by legislative professionalism (2 percent) was negligible. None of the variation in timing of success was explained by party competition or electoral restriction.

Summary Analysis of Timing of Success

The results of this analysis of timing of state woman suffrage success are summarized in Figure 9. The findings may be summarized as follows:

States with more restricted electorates and more professional legislatures tended to achieve earlier successes. To a lesser extent, states with more party control were likely to achieve earlier successes. Legislators per capita and procedural simplicity had no effect on timing of success.

Neither NAWSA organization nor activity affected timing of success.
Fig. 10 -- Model of Timing of State Woman Suffrage Success
The extent of liquor and allied interests had no effect on timing of success.

Percent native and/or white had conflicting direct and indirect effects on timing of success. States with few native-born and whites were very likely to achieve success late, if at all. Yet, these states were only slightly less likely to have restricted electorates, which favored early success. This finding suggests that, while it may have been easier to legislate woman suffrage in states with restricted electorates, the prospect of enfranchised women was more likely to be perceived as a threat by a defensive majority.

Percent affiliated Protestant had conflicting indirect effects on timing of success. While states with few of Protestant affiliation tended to have less party control, which sometimes delayed success, the combination of restricted electorates and professional legislatures in these states was more likely to promote early successes.

Settlement had unexpected indirect effects on timing of success. More settled states tended to have more restricted electorates and more party control, both of which promoted earlier successes.

**Wyoming and Oklahoma**

Wyoming and Oklahoma clearly exemplified these findings for timing of state woman suffrage success.
The speed with which woman suffrage was enacted in Wyoming was unmatched by any other state. As a territory, it extended the franchise to women in 1869. In 1871, one lame attempt to repeal the law was made, but none thereafter. When Wyoming became a state in 1890, woman suffrage was an undisputed part of its constitution. During the Congressional debate over Wyoming's admission as a state, the only speeches against woman suffrage were made by Representatives from Tennessee and Alabama. Wyoming ratified the federal woman suffrage amendment in January 1920 (4, Vol. VI, pp. 994, 999-1010).

By contrast, Oklahoma's major woman suffrage victory was won relatively late. While school suffrage was won on the state's first woman suffrage vote in 1890, full suffrage was not secured until 1918. Oklahoma ratified the federal woman suffrage amendment just a month after Wyoming (4, Vol. VI, pp. 887-90).

Compared with Oklahoma, Wyoming had a more professional legislature, more party control, and a more restricted electorate.

On the whole, Wyoming had a more professional legislature than Oklahoma. Both state legislatures met biennially, and sessions could be longer in Oklahoma (sixty days) than Wyoming (forty days). Yet, Wyoming's legislators held office longer and were better paid than those of Oklahoma. In both states, by 1910, senators held office for four
years and representatives for two years. Earlier, however, Oklahoma's senators had held office for only two years. During the period under study, salaries for Wyoming legislators ranged from $50 to $80 per diem; for Oklahoma legislators, from $40 to $60 per diem.

There was far less party control in Oklahoma than Wyoming. Control of the Oklahoma Senate changed once, control of its House changed twice, and control of its Governorship changed three times. Notably, the House and Governorship were controlled by Republicans, Democrats, and third parties at various times. This lack of party control allowed legislators to make woman suffrage a political hot potato and prevented NAWSA from placing the blame for legislative inaction squarely on the shoulders of a party in power. By contrast, because of Wyoming's early success, the impact of party control on timing of success in that state was minimal.

Between 1890 and 1920, Wyoming had a slightly more restricted electorate than Oklahoma. Oklahoma only required that voters be citizens, but Wyoming required that they pass a literacy test as well as be citizens. This additional qualification disenfranchised many immigrant and minority voters, whom NAWSA leaders regarded as pawns of the anti-woman suffrage coalition.

Percent native and/or white was greater for Wyoming than Oklahoma. Wyoming's population was 79 percent
native-born and 96 percent white; Oklahoma's population, 82 percent native-born and 83 percent white.

Level and Timing of State Woman Suffrage Success

Having discussed the findings for level and timing of success separately, some discussion of the findings for variables which affected both level and timing of success is in order.

One of the state political structure variables, electoral restriction, and the three demographic characteristics (percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement) are notable for their effects on both level and timing of success.

Of all the structural context variables, only electoral restriction affected both level and timing of success. States with more restricted electorates achieved earlier successes, but these successes were achieved at relatively low levels. Taken alone the finding for timing of success supports the allegation of NAWSA leaders that woman suffrage was less successful in states where the opponents of woman suffrage could exploit the votes of immigrant and minority men (1, pp. 161-4, 304; 3, p. 107; 5, pp. 123-134). In light of the finding for level of success, however, another interpretation seems more plausible. Perhaps early successes were achieved in states with restricted electorates simply because woman suffrage posed less of a threat where
other means of restricting the electorate were available. This interpretation is consistent with the low levels of these early successes. Doubtless, the political cost of woman suffrage was least in states where women could be restricted from the electorate for reasons other than sex and where they were allowed to vote in only minor elections.

Of the three demographic characteristics, only percent native and/or white directly affected both level and timing of state woman suffrage success. States with more native-born and/or more whites tended to achieve higher levels of success much earlier. In addition, percent native and/or white also had moderate effects on level of success through electoral restriction, NAWSA organization and activity, and liquor and allied interests, and on timing of success through party control, electoral restriction, and legislative professionalism.

The only direct effect of percent affiliated Protestant was on level of success. In addition, however, it had weak indirect effects on level of success through procedural simplicity, legislators per capita, electoral restriction, NAWSA activity, and liquor and allied interests, and on timing of success through party control, electoral restriction, and legislative professionalism.

Notably, most of the demonstrated relationships of percent native and/or white and percent affiliated Protestant with structural context variables challenge the conventional
wisdom of the woman suffrage literature. Generally, structural conditions favorable to woman suffrage (e.g., state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, liquor and allied interests) coincided with smaller rather than larger native-born, white, and Protestant populations. The explanation given earlier for the inverse relationship between percent affiliated Protestant and level of success applies equally well here. When the majority status of the native-born, whites, and Protestants was secure, they were politically apathetic. Only when they perceived a potential demographic threat from the foreign born, non-whites (especially blacks), or non-Protestants (Catholics, Jews, and non-affiliated persons) did they mobilize politically.

Settlement had no direct effect on either level or timing of state woman suffrage success. Yet, it had a moderate indirect effect on level of success through procedural simplicity, legislators per capita, electoral restriction, NAWSA organization and activity, and liquor and allied interests. It also had a weak indirect effect on timing of success through party control and electoral restriction. These findings indicate that western successes and southern failures were more consequences of structural than cultural differences between the two regions.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This analysis fills a research gap by weighing four sets of explanations for state woman suffrage success: mobilization by woman suffrage organizations, state political structure, perceived opposing interests, and demographic characteristics. It utilized the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature, a framework suggested by the resource mobilization (RM) perspective, and path analyses based on multiple regression techniques. Four alternative sets of explanations for state success were drawn from the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature. These explanations were incorporated in a general model of state woman suffrage success, which was constructed within a framework suggested by the RM perspective. This model was path analyzed, for level and timing of success, to provide a more complete explanation of state woman suffrage success.

In this concluding chapter, the findings of these analyses are used to assess the framework outlined by the RM perspective and the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature. The findings are also illustrated with
two examples: Colorado, one of the first states to enact full woman suffrage, and West Virginia, one of the states which never enacted any type of woman suffrage. After a review of the conventional wisdom regarding each state, conditions explaining their respective success and failure are compared and analyzed from the RM perspective. The chapter concludes with discussions of the limitations of this analysis and its implications for the study of social movements.

The Resource Mobilization Framework

The general framework for the model of state woman suffrage success was outlined by the RM perspective, as developed by McCarthy and Zald (3), Tilly (6), and Oberschall (5). They agree that social movements consist of distinct social movement organizations (SMOs) which emerge out of society's central political process. They also identify the primary strategic task of SMOs as exploiting their political context by mobilizing the resources of supporters and neutralizing those of opponents. Accordingly, state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, and liquor interests, respectively, were considered as likely explanations of state woman suffrage success. In addition, Oberschall (5) and Tilly (6) suggest that several demographic characteristics, including religious and ethnic composition, urbanization, and population density have effects on mobilization and other
structural conditions. Accordingly, percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement, respectively, were considered as likely determinants of the three sets of structural conditions which influenced state success.

The results of this analysis provide some support for the consensus of opinion among RM theorists about the relative positions in the model of structural conditions (including mobilization) and demographic characteristics. All three sets of structural conditions affected either level or timing of success. In addition, two of the three demographic characteristics had direct as well as indirect effects on level and timing of success. The indirect effects of these variables provide some support for the assumption of their antecedent position.

These findings give some support to two tenets of the first version of resource mobilization (RM I). First, they support the notion that a movement's success depends on how successful its SMOs are at increasing the availability of resources. State WSAs not only expended resources, but cultivated new sources of them, when they held conventions and forged linkages with other SMOs (two variables in the NAWSA activity factor). Second, the comparison of SMOs to interest groups provided a basis for interpreting the strong and unexpected direct effects of percent native and/or white
and percent affiliated Protestant. In the hypotheses, these groups were conceived merely as demographic categories. They were expected to affect NAWSA mobilization and its political and economic context directly, but state woman suffrage success only indirectly. Instead, RM I advocates might suggest, it would be more accurate to regard these demographic groups as political constituencies whose size directly affected state success. Apparently, the fate of woman suffrage in many states depended more on its anticipated political consequences for native born, white, and Protestant affiliated populations than on the extent of NAWSA mobilization and the nature of its political and economic context.

While giving some support to the RM perspective in general and RM I in particular, the results of this analysis confirm previous findings of a positive correlation between level of resource mobilization and level of movement success. Notably, however, they also emphasize the importance of the political and demographic context of resource mobilization.

The Conventional Wisdom of the Woman Suffrage Literature

The RM perspective was useful in constructing the general framework of the model, and the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature provided precedents for predicting the direction of the relationships among the
four sets of variables and state success. In the woman suffrage literature, states which had older, more extensive, and more active NAWSA affiliates were usually portrayed as more successful. Some state successes were credited to political conditions favorable to woman suffrage. Other successes were credited to a lack of extensive liquor and allied interests which opposed woman suffrage. States which had more native born, whites, and Protestants also tended to be portrayed as more successful. (See Chapter I.)

The results of this analysis provide divergent explanations of level and timing of success. Level of success is best explained in terms of three aspects of state political structure, both dimensions of NAWSA mobilization, the extent of liquor and allied interests, and all three demographic characteristics. Timing of success, however, is best explained in terms of three aspects of state political structure and the three demographic characteristics only. For both level and timing of success, the indirect effects of demographic characteristics are notable for their strength, complexity, and explanatory value. (See Table XXXV.)

**State Political Structure**

All five aspects of state political structure had some effect on either level or timing of success, but not always as expected. Earlier and higher level successes were expected in states which had more party control, more legislators
TABLE XXXV
RESULTS OF THE ANALYSES OF LEVEL AND TIMING OF STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE SUCCESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Success</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Timing of Success</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Political Structure</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Party Competition</td>
<td>.15</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Legislators per Capita</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legislative Professionalism</td>
<td>-.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Procedural Simplicity</td>
<td>-.19</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Electoral Restriction</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NAWSA Mobilization</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NAWSA Organization</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NAWSA Activity</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liquor and Allied Interests</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Demographic Characteristics (Direct)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent Affiliated Protestant</td>
<td>-.20</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Percent Native White</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demographic Characteristics (Indirect)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent Protestant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Percent Native White</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Percent affiliated Protestant's indirect effects on level of success were through procedural simplicity (.02), legislators per capita (.04), electoral restriction (.03), NAWSA activity (.05), and liquor and allied interests (.01). Its indirect effects on timing of success were through party competition (.05), electoral restriction (.05), and legislative professionalism (.03).

Percent Native white's indirect effects on level of success were through electoral restriction (.12), NAWSA organization (.05), and activity (.04), and liquor and allied interests (.04). Its indirect effects on timing of success were through party competition (.02), electoral restriction (.20), and legislative professionalism (.08).

Settlement's indirect effects on level of success were through procedural simplicity (.02), legislations per capita (.02), electoral restriction (.05), NAWSA organization (.08) and activity (.09), and liquor and allied interests (.06). Its indirect effects on timing of success were through party competition (.02) and electoral restriction (.08).
per capita, more professional legislatures, simpler legislative procedures, and more restricted electorates.

Woman suffrage was won earlier in states which had more party control, more professional legislatures and more restricted electorates.

Higher levels of success were won in states which had more legislators per capita, but more complex legislative procedures and less restricted electorates. The unexpected association of more complex legislative procedures with higher levels of success may be attributed to differences between states and territories. States tended to have more complex legislative procedures and had access to a higher maximum level of success (i.e., state suffrage). Territories tended to have simpler legislative procedures and had access to a lower maximum level of success (i.e., territorial suffrage). So, maximum level of success and procedural simplicity were both consequences of the antecedent effect of state/territory status.

The unexpected association of less restricted electorates with higher levels of success indicates a choice between alternative means of defending the political status quo. Electoral restriction maintained the political supremacy of the native born, whites, and Protestants by excluding other groups from the polls. Woman suffrage could sometimes serve the same end by adding the votes of native born, white, and Protestant
women to men. If woman suffrage was regarded merely as an alternative means of guaranteeing the political supremacy of these three groups, states which had already restricted their electorates (e.g., the Southern ones) found woman suffrage unnecessary.

**NAWSA Mobilization**

Both dimensions of NAWSA mobilization, organization and activity, had predicted though modest effects on level of success. States which appeared more efficiently organized and had more active NAWSA affiliates tended to win higher levels of success.

Describing NAWSA organization in terms of efficiency was suggested by the factor loadings of variables measuring timing and extent of organization. Higher scores on the organization factor were expected for states which organized earlier and more extensively. Instead, higher scores were received by states which organized earlier and less extensively. This relationship between timing and extent of organization suggests the concept of organizational efficiency. More efficiently organized states were those which did not have to waste resources organizing when it was time to act. Likewise, they did not waste resources by creating an excessive number of organizations to compete for the same finite resources and duplicating each other's expenditures of those resources.
The measurement of NAWSA activity in terms of the number of conventions held by state WSAs, woman suffrage bills lobbied to a vote, and linkages built with other social movement organizations (SMOs) reflects the limitations of the available data on this variable. These are the only three types of activity on which relatively complete and reliable data is available on a state-by-state basis. Parades and demonstrations, endorsements won from newspapers and public figures, and the distribution of suffrage propaganda (books, leaflets, memorabilia) are just a few examples of activities for which adequate data is unavailable.

The fact that neither dimension of mobilization affected timing of success indicates that the measure of activity may have been too limited. If data on other types of activity could have been included in the measure, an effect on timing of success may have been revealed. Nonetheless, the measures of organization and activity developed for this study demonstrate the value of approaching the study of social movements from the RM perspective. This approach not only inspired the quantitative analysis of long available, but previously unanalyzed data, but provided a theoretical framework within which to analyze that data.

Liquor and Allied Interests

The extent of liquor and allied interests served only as a proxy measure of their opposition to woman suffrage.
Liquor and allied interests affected level of success only. Yet, unexpectedly, states in which these interests were more extensive tended to achieve higher levels of success. It was assumed that, where these interests were most extensive, opposition to woman suffrage would be greatest and, therefore, level of success would be lowest.

This finding indicates that achieving a high level of success may have depended on the use of extensive liquor and allied interests as a "straw man." For instance, where the liquor industry had extensive interests, the state WSAs could appeal for woman suffrage as a means of advancing Prohibition as well as curbing the liquor lobby's corrupting political influence. In the absence of such opposing interests, the best argument for woman suffrage would be that it might discourage their development, hardly as compelling an argument. Ironically, therefore, a high level of success may have depended on the presence of this "enemy" to justify its enactment.

In addition, this unexpected finding could be interpreted as a statistical artifact. The measure was not standardized by population because it was designed to represent the financial stake of liquor and allied interests in each state, not the ratio of product value to population. To the extent that this interpretation may be accurate, the decision not to standardize this measure by population may have been ill advised.
Demographic Characteristics

The findings suggest that the effects of the three demographic characteristics were far more complex than portrayed in the woman suffrage literature. Yet, balancing their associated structural assets and liabilities, the following generalizations may be made about the effects of percent affiliated Protestant, percent native and/or white, and settlement on state success.

Generally, states with fewer persons of Protestant affiliation achieved earlier successes at higher levels. These findings challenge the hypothesized relationships between percent affiliated Protestant and level and timing of success. Instead, they support the "defensive majority group" explanation of state woman suffrage successes. Persons affiliated with Protestant denominations may have supported woman suffrage in the hope that adding the votes of majority women to majority men would assure them a comfortable margin of votes over growing minority groups.

Conversely, states with fewer native born and whites tended to achieve later successes at lower levels. These findings support the hypothesized relationships between percent native/white and level and timing of success. Notably, however, they challenge the "defensive majority group" explanation for woman suffrage. The fact that these states were extremely likely to have more restricted electorates suggests that the native born and whites often dismissed
woman suffrage as a less dependable alternative means of maintaining native white supremacy.

Less settled states tended to have less restricted electorates as well as more efficiently organized and more active NAWSA affiliates, all of which favored higher levels of success. Yet, their less restricted electorates combined with less party control to favor later successes.

Colorado and West Virginia

Because Colorado was one of the first states to enact full woman suffrage and West Virginia, one of the ones which never enacted any type of woman suffrage, they are excellent examples of the extremes of state woman suffrage success. After the conventional wisdom of the woman suffrage literature regarding each state is reviewed, the conditions explaining their respective success and failure are compared and analyzed from the RM perspective.

Colorado: The Conventional Wisdom

Woman suffrage was first considered in Colorado by the 1876 constitutional convention which prepared the way for statehood. The hurriedly organized Colorado Woman Suffrage Association conducted a respectable campaign, but failed to win woman suffrage as part of the new state's constitution. This organization had an undistinguished existence until the arrival of Carrie Chapman Catt 17 years later. She developed
a more extensive and more efficient organization, which led
the successful full suffrage campaign of 1893. Besides con-
tributing to this victory, the revitalization of the Colorado
WSA, on which Catt reported to the 1895 NAWSA convention, led
to her appointment as chairwoman of NAWSA's new Organization
Committee. Notably, it was from this office that she rose
to the NAWSA presidency (1, p. 117; 2, p. 222; 4, Vol. IV,

In addition to this revitalized organization, NAWSA
leaders also credited Colorado's early full suffrage victory
to the competition incited by a third political party, the
inaction of vested interests, and the support of other social
movement organizations. Legislative endorsement of woman
suffrage was credited to the ascendancy of the Populist
party and the accompanying break in party control among
Republicans and Democrats. Referendum endorsement of
woman suffrage was credited to the inaction of the liquor
industry and related vested interests and the favorable in-
fluence of Populist, labor, and temperance organizations
(1, p. 117).

West Virginia: The Conventional Wisdom

In West Virginia, the subject of woman suffrage was
unknown prior to 1895, when the West Virginia WSA was organized,
NAWSA leaders provide several explanations for this state's
failure to enact any type of woman suffrage. There was little organization in the state. NAWSA assistance was necessary to establish a state WSA and local organization was virtually non-existent. The opponents of woman suffrage were more aggressive. They convinced "wets" that woman suffrage meant Prohibition and whites that enfranchising black women would tip the balance of political power. Catt attributed the effectiveness of the former argument to the endorsement and active support of woman suffrage by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The West Virginia WSA's questionable links with that organization and its own conventions were both activities which aimed primarily to build up the state WSA. From various reports (2, p. 222; 4, Vol. IV, p. 980), it seems that the West Virginia WSA may have exhausted its meager resources in these types of activity rather than lobbying more energetically for woman suffrage bills.

**NAWSA Mobilization**

The Colorado WSA was more efficiently organized than its West Virginia counterpart. The Colorado WSA was first organized during an unsuccessful 1876 campaign to get woman suffrage in the new state's constitution. Because this organization still existed at the time of the 1893 campaign, Colorado suffragists did not have to waste resources organizing the state from scratch. Carrie Chapman Catt, who later chaired NAWSA's Organization Committee, was credited with laying a sound organizational basis for Colorado's successful
agitation. In addition to encouraging the development of local branches, she established a central committee to coordinate their activity from the state headquarters (2, p. 222). This committee may be credited with minimizing competition for resources within the movement as well as the waste of those resources in duplicated efforts. The West Virginia WSA, by contrast, was scarcely more than a nominal state organization (4, Vol. VI, p. 980).

The Colorado WSA was also more active than its West Virginia counterpart. The two states were about equally matched in terms of linkages with other SMOs. Some of each state's leaders joined the ranks of the women's clubs. Otherwise, however, Colorado suffragists usually relied on the support of Progressives. The archetypal example of this tendency was Eliza Franklin Routt, the state's First Lady and president of the Colorado WSA from 1890 to 1896 (7, p. 624). By contrast, West Virginia suffragists relied heavily on the support of temperance advocates. Two of their four state presidents, Lenna Lowe Yost (8, p. 911) and Harriet B. Jones, (7, p. 424) were also presidents of the state WCTU.

In terms of WSA conventions and bills lobbied to a vote, Colorado outdistanced West Virginia considerably. In 26 years, the West Virginia WSA held only 16 annual conventions. In 17 years, the Colorado WSA held just three annual conventions because it opted to hold monthly meetings instead! Over a
quarter century, the West Virginia legislature voted on six
woman suffrage bills. Two presidential suffrage bills were
considered at the turn of the century, and four full suffrage
Colorado, by contrast, lobbied as many bills to a vote in
just over half that time. Three partial suffrage bills were
considered during the Colorado WSA's first decade (the 1870's),
and a full suffrage bill during each of the three years pre-
ceding Colorado's 1893 victory (4, Vol. IV, p. 509; 4, Vol. VI,
p. 59).

**State Political Structure**

Compared with West Virginia, Colorado had more party
control, more legislators per capita, a more professional
legislature, more complex legislative procedures, and a
less restricted electorate.

When Colorado enacted woman suffrage in 1893, its
Senate was controlled by the Populist party and its Governor
was a Populist. This party's leaders believed women's votes
would avert any serious threat to Populist fortunes from
either the Republican or Democratic party. Between 1895
and 1920, the Republican and Democratic parties fought con-
tinuously for control of the West Virginia legislature.
Each year, control of the legislature either shifted to the
other party or was split between the two houses.
Colorado was a more sparsely populated state than West Virginia. At the turn of the century, Colorado had a population of only 539,700 to West Virginia's 958,800. Because Colorado was so sparsely populated, the level of its woman suffrage victory was regarded as having little significance for winning the rest of the country. Yet, one clear, but unacknowledged, aspect of Colorado's population distribution was that there were more legislators per capita in that state than in West Virginia. Between 1890 and 1920, the average ratio of state legislators to population for Colorado was just over $\frac{1}{7,000}$; for West Virginia, more than $\frac{1}{10,000}$.

The Colorado legislature was more professional than its West Virginia counterpart in two ways. Colorado legislators met longer and were paid better than West Virginia legislators. The maximum length of a legislative session was twice as long for Colorado as for West Virginia (90 and 45 days, respectively). Colorado legislators were consistently paid about twice as well as those in West Virginia ($90$ and $40$ per diem, respectively, in 1890; $100$ and $50$, in 1920). Longer sessions provided greater opportunity to enact woman suffrage and better pay for legislators made them less subject to corruption by vested interests opposed to woman suffrage. In addition, Colorado's provision for special sessions of its legislature enabled that state to ratify the federal amendment relatively quickly.
Compared with West Virginia, Colorado's legislative procedures were more complex in two ways. In Colorado, only two constitutional amendments could be considered at one election, and passage of statutory legislation required a majority of the elected legislators. In West Virginia, however, any number of constitutional amendments could be considered at one election, and passage of statutory legislation required only a majority of the legislators present and voting.

Although procedural obstacles were credited with deterring high levels of success in many other states, the fact that a high level of success was won in Colorado despite such obstacles was never questioned. This unexpected relationship may be explained by its being a state rather than a territory. Colorado, unlike its neighboring territories in the West, was a state. States tended to have more complex legislative procedures and had access to a higher level of success than territories.

Electoral restriction was long advocated by NAWSA leaders. In Colorado and West Virginia, foreign-born voters were a key issue. Immigrants were enticed to settle in many Western states with offers of votes before becoming citizens. Suffragists feared that recent immigrants from traditionally patriarchal Europe would be easily swayed to vote against woman suffrage. In West Virginia, citizenship was a qualification for voting between 1890 and 1920. Colorado, however,
did not enact this restriction until 1901, eight years after its passage of woman suffrage. While NAWSA leaders reported these facts, they failed to acknowledge the implicit challenge to their policy of advocating electoral restriction.

Liquor and Allied Interests

The liquor and allied interests opposed to woman suffrage were more extensive in Colorado than West Virginia. The findings of this study explained the extensiveness of these interests in states which achieved high levels of success in terms of settlement. More settled states not only had more extensive liquor and allied interests, but could legislate higher levels of success. Another explanation, one suggested by NAWSA president Catt, points out the limits of the data on liquor and allied interests. She claimed that Colorado's liquor industry and political machine were simply "caught napping." The successful vote on state suffrage was taken in a non-election year, and the liquor industry underestimated the influence of the revitalized Colorado WSA. These two explanations indicate that a state may have had extensive liquor and allied interests which, through neglect or incompetence, simply failed to oppose woman suffrage effectively. The data gathered for this study only measure the extent of liquor and allied interests, not the effectiveness of their opposition to woman suffrage. Unfortunately, the clandestine
nature of this opposition makes the chances of documenting it very remote.

**Demographic Characteristics**

Of the three demographic characteristics, only percent native and/or white and percent affiliated Protestant directly affected state woman suffrage success. Percent native and/or white was higher for Colorado than West Virginia. Colorado's population was 82% native born and 98% white; West Virginia's population, 93% native born and 95% white. Colorado received a slightly higher score on the percent native and/or white factor, since that factor gave greater weight to percent white than percent native born. Conversely, percent affiliated Protestant was higher for West Virginia than Colorado. West Virginia's population was 26% Protestant; Colorado's population, 17% Protestant. These differences illustrate that states with more native born and whites and fewer persons of Protestant affiliation were more successful.

**Limitations of This Analysis**

Three major limitations of this analysis should be acknowledged. First, the effects of percent affiliated Protestant and percent native and/or white on state woman suffrage success are not explained entirely by their effects on intervening structural conditions. These findings are inconsistent with the resource mobilization perspective which emphasizes the influence of such demographic characteristics
on structural conditions and, in turn, the influence of those conditions on social movement success. This inconsistency is minimized by viewing the native born, whites, and persons of Protestant affiliation as more than just demographic characteristics. They comprised distinct political constituencies—i.e., parts of each state's political structure—whose size was a major determinant of state woman suffrage success.

Another possible explanation of some of the unexpected findings is the inadequacy of the data available for some variables in the model. This second limitation is most clearly exemplified by the measures for NAWSA activity and liquor and allied interests. The factor score used to measure NAWSA activity was based on the only three types of activity for which data is readily available: the number of conventions held by state WSAs, the number of bills lobbied to a vote, and the number of leadership linkages developed with other social movements. If data on other types of activity had been available, this variable might have had greater explanatory value as an intervening variable between demographic characteristics and state success.

The factor score used to measure the extent of liquor and most allied interests was based on dollars of production. The financial stake of these interests in each state was presumed to be a good proxy for the extent of their opposition
to woman suffrage. In hindsight, however, there does not appear to have been a high correlation between the extent of the interests opposed to woman suffrage and the actual opposition they presented to it. Apparently, in many states, liquor and allied interests were simply caught off guard by efficiently organized and active NAWSA affiliates. Another explanation of the findings concerning liquor and allied interests is that these interests opposed to—or, more to the point, opposed by—woman suffrage provided suffragists with a dragon to slay. As with NAWSA activity, a more direct measure of the opposition to woman suffrage of liquor and allied interests might have had greater explanatory value as an intervening variable between demographic characteristics and state success.

Notably, this variable was not standardized by population, because of two facts about liquor and allied interests: (1) they were more developed—and consequently had more to lose—in some states than others, and (2) their products were not necessarily produced and sold in the same state. In addition, NAWSA leaders contended that the woman suffrage opposition of these interests was organized from the national rather than the state level. Taking these points into account, the ratio of dollars of liquor and allied interest production to state population becomes meaningless.
The sizeable effect of electoral restriction as well as percent native and/or white suggests a third limitation of this analysis. An analysis of regional differences on these (and other) variables would be in order. Perhaps, the size of these two effects may be attributed to the southern states, which had small white majorities as well as very restricted electorates. As there are only about a dozen states in each region, a regional analysis could not be conducted within the limits of this study's methodology. All 48 states were necessary to provide sufficient variation for a meaningful path analysis.

It should also be acknowledged that, despite these limitations, the predictive power of the model of state woman suffrage success was substantial, if not perfect. The model explains close to half of the variation in level of success \((R^2 = .43)\) and a third of the variation in timing of success \((R^2 = .34)\).

**Implications for Social Movement Studies**

From the perspective of social movement studies, this dissertation demonstrates the value of the resource mobilization approach as a theoretical framework within which to analyze the state successes of the woman suffrage movement. In addition, it demonstrates three methodological lessons learned from previous RM studies. First, political units--
in this case, states—are employed as units of analysis. Political units prove to be better units of analysis than organizations or events for a study of long term movement success to which the context of resource mobilization may have contributed as much as resource mobilization itself. Second, movement publications, such as History of Woman Suffrage and Victory, and the U.S. Census are demonstrated to be valuable primary sources of comparable periodic data. Notably, however, movement publications provided data on only a limited range of NAWSA activity, and the census provided only a proxy measure of liquor and allied interest opposition to woman suffrage. Third and finally, widely accepted indicators of organization and activity are relied upon as the best available proxy measures of resource mobilization. SMOs mobilize resources in the processes of organizing and acting. Since data on these processes are rarely available, researchers must rely on evidence that these processes have occurred. In this study, the number and timing of state WSAs and the number of certain state WSA activities were taken as evidence that NAWSA had mobilized resources at the state level. These lessons from previous RM studies were combined with path analysis to achieve a quantitative assessment of the extent peicemeal explanations of state woman suffrage success.

This strategy also served to relate, to validate and, in some cases, to challenge the explanations—often based
on mere conjecture—which have long comprised the conventional wisdom about woman suffrage and the states.

This application of this research strategy promises that the same strategy might also be fruitfully applied to analyze available data pertaining to other social movements. Much of the historical data set constructed for this study may also be used in analyses of the early agitation for married women’s property rights and the temperance crusade, two movements contemporary and closely related to the woman suffrage movement. Furthermore, to the extent that data is available, this strategy might also be applied to such recent social movement phenomena as the rise of New Right political action committees and the Equal Rights Amendment ratification campaign.

Summary

The findings of this study have implications for both the framework implied by the RM perspective and the conventional wisdom embodied in the woman suffrage literature. While level of success is explained by state political structure, NAWSA mobilization, liquor and allied interests, and demographic characteristics, timing of success is explained by state political structure and demographic characteristics only. In addition, for both level and timing of success, many of the indirect effects of demographic characteristics operate through state political structure.
These findings achieve three ends. First, they confirm the RM assumptions that social movements are part of a society's central political process and that the structural context of resource mobilization is at least as important as, if not more important than, mobilization itself. This conclusion was clearly demonstrated by the fact that state political structure and demographic characteristics were the only sets of variables which affected both level and timing of success.

Second, the findings demonstrate the value of path analysis as well as the methodological lessons of previous RM research. The use of multiple regression techniques permitted a quantitative assessment of the extant piecemeal explanations of state woman suffrage success.

Third, while providing some support for the explanations of state success presented in the woman suffrage literature, these findings clarify the relationships among and the relative importance of those explanations. Most notably, the unexpectedly strong direct effect of percent native and/or white on both level and timing of success indicates that the size of these constituencies affected the chances of state success by determining how passage of woman suffrage would affect their collective political interests.

Other than the structural and demographic explanations examined in this study, there are situational ones which are unique to each state. Adding these situational variables
to the structural and demographic ones, it is evident that the fate of woman suffrage in each state was determined by a volatile complex of variables, the dynamics of which are not converted easily into statistics. This study has had to rely on limited measures of resource mobilization and its structural and demographic context and has made no effort to account for unique situational variables. Yet, despite these limitations, the proportion of explained variation in level and timing of state woman suffrage success is rather remarkable. While this study's conclusions about woman suffrage and the states may be regarded as tenuous, it clearly demonstrates the potential value of the RM perspective as a theoretical and methodological springboard for social movement research.
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