

**MARKETING IDEOLOGY:
The Role of Framing and Opportunity in the American
Woman Suffrage Movement, 1850-1919**

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ABSTRACT:

Social movements reflect the attempt of a challenging group within society to affect change and achieve goals in a variety of ways, some of which include protest, petition, violence, and pressure techniques outside traditional political channels. The social movement must not only motivate and mobilize a significant segment of society under a common cause or identity but also force or convince those in power to remedy the problem that drives the challenging group. This requires a strong understanding of political opportunity.

In this paper, I explore the importance of opportunity and its relationship to common views of strategies used by social movements as discussed in the literature. Strategy reflects the attempts by a movement to circumvent established barriers in political institutions or in the social norms of the political community at large to achieve its objectives. In this context, opportunity creation is defined as strategic action taken by a social movement to reshape those norms and established power alignments by modifying institutional constraints to its own advantage. These constraints are not fixed; they are instead created and subject to constant change. I propose that social movements can effectively build opportunities for themselves by forming alliances within the existing power structure and attempting to function *within* the institutional constraints instead of challenging them as political outsiders. In this way, they are not dependent on the government, external alliance shifts, or a changing political climate to gain the opportunity needed to press their claims.

To illustrate this general claim regarding social movements, I will employ content-analysis of cartoons, leaflets, and broadsides to examine the choices of the woman suffrage movement in America from 1850 to 1919 as it evolved from an ideologically based appeal for woman's political participation in earlier years to a pragmatic and expediency-driven strategy to gain voting rights during the later years of the movement. The course of this social movement clearly reflects the successes and advantages that stem from a strategy of opportunity creation, including increased leverage over those in positions of social and political influence and a broader base of popular support.

Finally, I draw some broader conclusions regarding the impact of opportunity creation on social movements in general and suggest that a movement need not present a challenging framework to achieve results; a policy of frame expansion can be equally if not more effective when combined with opportunity. I also note that successful opportunity structures point to the eventual death of a movement, highlighting the temporal nature of the social movement as a form of political action.

INTRODUCTION

Social movements reflect the attempt of a challenging group within society to affect change and achieve goals in a variety of ways, some of which include protest, petition, violence, and pressure techniques. The social movement must motivate and mobilize a significant segment of society under a common cause or identity, often outside traditional electoral channels. In addition, a movement must force or convince those in power to remedy the problem that drives the challenging group. This requires a strong understanding of political opportunity.

In this paper, I explore the importance of opportunity and its relationship to common views of strategies used by social movements as discussed in the literature. Strategy reflects the attempts by a movement to circumvent established barriers in political institutions or in the social norms of the political community at large to achieve its objectives. In this context, opportunity creation is defined as strategic action taken by a social movement to reshape those norms and established power alignments by modifying institutional constraints to its own advantage. These constraints are not fixed; they are instead created and subject to constant change. I propose that social movements can effectively build opportunities for themselves by building alliances within the existing power structure and attempting to function within the institutional constraints instead of challenging them as political outsiders. A group must find ways to connect with those in positions of influence and attract the attention of mainstream society by linking the movement's goals to larger political issues. To illustrate this general claim regarding social movements, I will examine the choices of the woman suffrage movement in America from 1850 to 1919. The course of this social movement clearly

reflects the successes and advantages that stem from an emphasis on opportunity creation.

I start with the historical background of the woman suffrage movement in America and place its demands in the context of contemporary society. Beginning with various perspectives of strategy expressed in the existing social movement literature, I then identify and review the methods and motivations displayed by the two contrasting approaches of the suffrage movement. This movement progressed from a moralistic, ideologically based appeal for woman's political participation in earlier years to a pragmatic and expediency-driven strategy to gain voting rights during the later years of the movement. The relative success of these two primary strategies in achieving movement goals will be compared and supported through content analysis of images from leaflets, cartoons, and advertisements published by the suffrage movement itself, as explained in my methodology and analysis of these primary documents. Finally, I draw some broader conclusions regarding the impact of opportunity creation on social movements in general and suggest that a movement need not present a challenging framework to achieve results; a policy of frame expansion can be equally if not more effective when combined with opportunity. I also note that successful opportunity structures point to the eventual death of a movement, highlighting the temporal nature of the social movement as a form of political action.

Historical Background:

Although woman suffrage was not achieved in America until 1920, the movement in support of that goal has roots reaching back to the 1830s and the early abolition movement. It was not until the 1850s, however, that the woman's movement came into

its own as an independent social movement. It continued to be a force in American politics through the final ratification of the 19th amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1920 on the national, state, and local levels. Over many years, the woman suffrage movement in America underwent a significant change in the presentation of its argument and the means by which it sought to achieve its goals. The rhetoric of the 1850s displayed a strong ideological foundation taken from the American tradition of equality and justice for all, representation and participation in government, and the inalienability of these rights. I refer to this ideology as the “natural rights tradition”. This ideology was then used to identify a grievance or complaint against the existing political and institutional structure. Based on the contradiction leaders saw between the establishment’s professed philosophy and the actual treatment of women in society, they began to advocate expanded rights for women in all areas of their lives. Their ideology was their driving force, and their shared grievance created a strong group identity and a clear enemy within political institutions. This approach is consistent with theories of social movement development as suggested in multiple works by Sidney Tarrow and those of Charles Tilly, among others.

However, by the mid-1870s, the woman suffrage movement drastically changed its approach, using tactics that go beyond traditional views of ideology, strategy, and opportunity creation. After this point, the woman’s movement became increasingly active in electoral and social politics, allying itself with other groups and promoting shared goals as a way to gain influence in traditional political channels. It was no longer a closed group of outsiders; leaders now sought to be insiders and integrate with the status quo. The rhetoric of the movement now portrayed women as potential partners or

helpers in traditional electoral politics. This activity signaled the end of a clearly defined opponent or antagonist within the political institutions of America or American society.

The arguments and goals of the movement also reflected a changing approach. Demands were not presented as only rights or entitlements; instead, more posters and leaflets appeared citing the benefits to the status quo and the nation as a whole if women could vote. The movement accepted the position of woman as republican mother and used it to further its own ends, thereby expanding its coalition of supporters. It also narrowed its focus to a single goal—the vote—thereby weakening earlier charges of radicalism and allowing potential allies to accept the effects of women’s votes without a complete overhaul of the role of women in society. I believe that this change was the result of the limited impact of the earlier “natural rights” and ideological strategy on the political elite as well the movement’s lack of influence among those who could affect lasting change. In this paper, this type of argument will be referred to as “expediency based” or “pragmatic” appeals. This approach reflects a strategic choice in favor of active opportunity creation.

Effects and Importance of Flexible Opportunity Structures:

Scholars of the woman suffrage movement such as Aileen Kraditor (Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1965) and Steven Buechler (Women’s Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond, 1990) recognize the shift in tactics and presentation of arguments used by the group over time. However, these authors do not examine the political motivations of the change, nor do they devote attention to the strategic value of the different approaches. The evolution of the woman suffrage movement implies that a social movement needs to do more than build group

identity, identify a grievance against the established power, and gain momentum to force lasting change. It must also incorporate opportunity creation, influence over institutional structures, and alliances with those in electoral power. A group must find ways to connect with those in positions of influence and attract the attention of mainstream society by linking the movement's goals to larger political issues. By integrating its goal with the concerns of other interest groups, the woman's suffrage movement successfully mainstreamed its goals and made itself a part of the general political debate. The group could now strategically work within the political structure and address a broad range of issues instead of simply "banging on the door" demanding attention.

Several authors recognize the importance of opportunity structures but view them either as fixed or see the social movement as effectively powerless to change them. I propose that these structures are *not* fixed but instead *created* and constantly open to change or adaptation. The case of the woman suffrage movement illustrates that social movement groups can consciously create and improve the climate needed to promote their own goals. They are not dependent on the government, external alliance shifts, or a changing political climate to gain the opportunity needed to press their claims. The change in the presentation of the argument in favor of woman suffrage allowed the movement to gain leverage over the establishment—those in positions of policy-making and social influence—as well as the moderate citizens who otherwise might not support suffrage. By circumventing the existing opportunity structure and redefining the context of their arguments, the woman suffrage movement was no longer at the mercy of political elites to recognize their demands. Instead, it actively furthered its goals by emphasizing that the best interests of the society would be met by providing support.

LITERATURE AND THEORY

Opportunity Creation and Power:

Tilly analyzes social movements using what he calls “political opportunity” in several works, including From Mobilization to Revolution. He proposes that opportunity depends on several factors, the first of which is whether the opposing force to a social movement uses repression or facilitation. In his formulation, “repression is any action by another group which raises the contender’s cost of collective action” while facilitation lowers that cost.¹ This choice either creates a window of opportunity or limits the options of the movement group. A third option is tolerance; the ruling elite neither impedes nor aids the movement group but merely ignores their presence. In many ways, the choice to ignore may be even more detrimental to the claimants than repression, as it denies the leverage and impact of the social movement.

However, Tilly recognizes that social movements are not passive actors that only respond to the changing political climate. To develop opportunity, a social movement should also actively incorporate at least two other aspects of power into its agenda. First, it must understand the nature of power, defined as “the extent to which [one group’s] interests prevail over the others with which it is in conflict.”² Political power is then the degree of a group’s influence over government and governmental agendas. Tilly notes that the contention for power can be strengthened through the formulation of coalitions—the second aspect of political influence. If a movement group can initiate a coalition with a segment of the general population or with another (insider) member of the policy-making elite, the risk of violence and hostility to the movement goes down, lessening the

¹ Tilly, Charles. 1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Page 100

² Ibid, 115

cost of action. Furthermore, the movement gains power and leverage inside the government that it can use to force the outcome of its interests. This type of political power, combined with opportunity, can make for a successful social movement.

Tilly's theory of collective action emphasizes the importance of strategy within the social movement while also addressing the role of power and influence among policy-makers. In order to build coalitions or political opportunity, a movement group must present its argument in a way that is palatable to the target audience within the political arena, not just potential movement actors. It must modify its rhetoric and ideas so that the movement goals seem relevant to the society at large instead of a specific interest group with its own identity. David Snow (1986) refers to a similar phenomenon in his discussion of frame expansion, in which a movement "extend[s] the boundaries of [its] primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents...[suggesting that its own values are] congruent with the values or interests of [those] adherents."³ Instead of seeing itself as a challenging group in an "us versus them" game, the movement begins to become a part of the political process: negotiating, moderating, and fine-tuning its policies to work as an insider.

External Events and Expanding Political Opportunity:

In his book Power in Movement, Tarrow interprets political opportunity to mean the "consistent dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics."⁴ In this sense, political opportunity reflects the conditions external to the social movement that allow grievances, identity, and mobilization to develop. He

³ David Snow et al. August 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes: Micromobilization and Movement Participation". American Sociological Review. 51:4 p. 464-481

⁴ Sidney Tarrow, 1998. Power In Movement p 19-20 See also 24-25

emphasizes that these conditions do not belong to the group, although it may take advantage of their existence. They result from changes in political leadership, vulnerabilities of those in power, or the effects of social/economic events on the ability of the challenging group to assert its claims. Changes in political opportunity thus create windows that a social movement can exploit, but they cannot be directly activated by the group. This position is also adopted by William Gamson (1995) who recognizes the importance of opportunity structures but states that “changes in the broader political structure and climate may open and close the chance for collective action to have an impact.”⁵ In this formulation, there is little room for a social movement to create its own opportunity or modify its strategy to place itself in a better position to overcome institutional obstacles.

Uses of Rhetoric—Grievance, Ideology, and the “Other”:

Because of the limitations he places on active opportunity creation, Tarrow presents a different view of strategic action by a social movement, choosing to focus on the use of the frame as method of gaining support and influence in contentious politics. The frame is traditionally defined as a means of delivering arguments and winning supporters by selecting a specific outlook or vantage point and using that “agenda” to shape movement rhetoric. Social movements can thus give meaning and context to their grievances, goals, and symbols through the use of a frame. Framing can be directed at an external audience to outline the scope of the group’s arguments or at potential movement supporters by emphasizing shared characteristics or goals.

⁵ William Gamson, “Constructing Social Protest” in Johnston, Hank and Bert Klandermans, ed. 1995. Social Movements and Culture. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. Page 89

In his work, Tarrow proposes yet another use for the frame: it can serve to “identify[y] grievances and translate them into broader claims against significant others” while also “tapping or creating emotional energy” based on a claim of injustice.⁶ The injustice must be well defined, for that, he says, is needed before people will risk collective action. Injustice frames both diagnose a problem and imply that a solution is possible, thereby motivating people to collective action to improve their lives and force change. They are often ideologically based, using rhetoric that draws on commonly understood ideas of morality or fairness that have been violated. The emotional energy behind this injustice, Tarrow claims, provides the loyalty or anger needed to sustain extended conflict with a stronger adversary and can strengthen the movement at its low points. He identifies national identity or ideology and religion as two sources of the kind of strong emotion that works with an injustice claim to spur action and justify drastic action.

He further expects that a group will form a unified identity based on the common ideology or grievance and launch an adversarial campaign against the “other” that caused it by upholding the status quo. Although some identities are formed from birth (such as ethnic membership, gender, etc), Tarrow recognizes that the meaning of these identities can be changed or molded to suit the goals of a particular social movement. For example, a group once defined as naïve or weak may be re-identified as honest and uncorrupted. Other identities are almost entirely created through media messages or rhetoric that groups certain people together and brands them with common interests or characteristics. Movement actors who develop a sense of identification with each other may do so on the basis of either of these methods, but Tarrow believes that a strong collective identity

⁶ Sidney Tarrow. 1998. Power in Movement p. 111

based on the framing of a grievance gives a movement advantages in “solidarity...and consistency”⁷ that lead to more effective mobilization in challenge institutional obstacles. A defined group identity also highlights the differences between the movement and its opponents, making it easier to engage in adversarial politics.

Finally, Tarrow believes the frame will expand beyond the specific issue to create a defined goal with broader meaning for the social movement. A single issue that prompts protest is unlikely to attract a large following unless it can be presented as part of a theme or a consistent mindset that identifies a deeper problem. Rhetoric and frame presentation, Tarrow states, can achieve this goal and draw more supporters by appealing to anyone who has experienced other, related symptoms of the underlying problem.

Implication of Theories for Strategic Opportunity Creation:

An examination of the timeline and changing strategy of the woman suffrage movement illustrates the importance of Tilly and Snow’s comments regarding the rhetoric used to present movement goals while suggesting that Tarrow’s theories of grievance, internal organization or networks, and identity building are not always effective in overcoming institutional or social obstacles. It also lends support to my claim that social movements can *actively create* opportunity for themselves and navigate existing institutional structures to overcome obstacles.

As the women’s movement attempted to define its ultimate goal (suffrage) in the context of larger societal values and aims, it changed its image from that of a narrow interest group with its own grievance and exclusive agenda to that of an active participant in the existing political debate. A new rhetoric of expediency may clearly be seen in the changing images and leaflets distributed by the movement and analyzed in this paper.

⁷ Sidney Tarrow, 1998 p. 118 See also 118-120

The movement also became a part of traditional electoral networks and profited from the coalition building or platform creating activities of other, more influential groups. This change in strategy effectively allowed the woman's movement to overcome institutional obstacles, not by tearing down or opposing the institution itself but by becoming an educated insider and navigating the maze of political institutions to use them to the movement's own advantage.

Rhetoric and Tactics in the Early Woman's Movement:

The early stages of the woman suffrage movement reflect a basis in ideologies of grievance, injustice, and identity. Beginning in the 1830s, elite women began to become more aware of the existing American political ideology of natural rights and equality. Some of these leaders were active in the abolition movement, an arena that used such rhetoric to argue for the equality and rights for slaves on the simple basis of their humanity. Living and working in this environment, women recognized a similarity between the rights they advocated for slaves and the opportunities they themselves were deprived of. In this sense, the movement used the ideology of the establishment to identify their grievance as women and turned it into rhetoric that called for a fairly radical change in the role of women in society.

The creation of the grievance also signaled the beginning of the enemy; early leaders identified both political leaders and general society as the 'other' who not only supported and perpetuated the injustice but also contradicted their own professed political philosophy of equal rights by denying those rights to a certain group. This contradiction heightened the sense of injustice among the women and gave them a target for their anger.

A mix of grievance and ideology also served to create a group identity for the early suffrage movement. Until about 1860, upper-middle class and elite women gathered together in conventions and conferences to discuss the attitudes of society towards their entire gender. Supporters of the movement were bound together by virtue of their womanhood: the injustice that they identified applied to *all* women, regardless of class, region, or education.

Problems with Early Strategies:

The extensive use of grievances and framing presented several problems for the early suffrage movement and created limited opportunities to enter the political structure. First, the movement maintained a strong elite mentality. As evidenced in transcripts of conventions, agendas, and plans of action, there was little attempt to bring working-class women into the movement, nor did leaders go very far in linking their ideology to the practical concerns of the average woman. Educated women sought drastic change, implemented and initiated by them, to free all women. Their agenda was to reshape the role of women in all areas; they advocated reforms in all areas, including property rights, dress reform, marital law, education for women, and female suffrage. Second, these women presented themselves as outside the political arena and worked as adversarial agitators. As a result, many were seen as radical extremists by the political establishment, both for the drastic changes they proposed and their methods of attracting attention to their cause. Some lawmakers saw them as just another special interest group advocating their personal goals without including a broader national agenda.

The early woman's suffrage movement ultimately met with little political success using tactics of grievance and rhetoric of natural rights alone. Leaders were able to raise

awareness and lay groundwork that supported strong internal organization within the group, but this was not enough to impact the political elite. They remained outsiders, without the leverage needed to force change or a mainstream cause that could be promoted by inside political actors. Instead of engaging and negotiating with ‘the enemy’, all the movement could do was set up an adversarial relationship with those in power.

A Deliberate Change in the Suffrage Frame—Forcing Opportunity:

By the late 1870s, the movement began to undergo a marked shift from an emphasis on strategic framing to rhetoric aimed at creating opportunity structures. Leaders attempted to present their issues in a way that would attract political allies and convince the masses that women’s votes were actually in the best interest of society. At the same time, the movement moved away from its elite membership leanings and sought to incorporate the interests of all women (and men) into their platform. Rhetoric was no longer used as a grievance-identification tool, nor did it seek to highlight a shared identity to form group solidarity. Instead, the success of the movement depended on the creation of opportunity and political leverage over those with electoral power. This shift can be seen through the examination of print materials published by the suffrage movement and analyzed in this paper. New alliances represent more than a simple change in rhetoric; they are instead a sign of a more fundamental shift in the movement’s attempts to create political opportunity and overcome institutional obstacles.

Many authors have identified this change in tactics between the early stage of the suffrage movement and the later one. For example, Buechler (1986) notes that early movement openly challenged women’s traditional role in society and challenged marital

law, divorce, the opportunity to work, and education in addition to suffrage. But with time, the goal centered on the vote and the substantive challenge to woman's role disappeared. Instead, the later ideology legitimated the dominant view of women as domestic creatures and tried to expand that role to include "civic motherhood". Likewise, Kraditor (1965) divides the woman's movement into stages and links the post-1890 years with an expediency argument designed to convince citizens that women could best serve society as voters.

This clearly captures the outward changes; however, Buechler does not adequately address the political forces driving this shift. He suggests that societal changes in the role of women and the increase of middle class women within the movement (as opposed to early elites) were the causes for the change in the direction of movement goals. These middle class women brought a new ideology stressing "ameliorationist reform...a harmonious social order, and denied the role of class conflict."⁸ Buechler also claims that the entrance of women into working society made anti-establishment rhetoric less attractive to potential female supporters; it was therefore dropped. In sum, this version attributes the shift in framing to a simple need to attract more citizen supporters. Kraditor, too, appears to neglect the political aspects of the shift, linking it instead to a declining faith in democracy (and therefore in justice-driven arguments) and the entrance of social reformers into the woman's movement.

While these factors may have played a role, I find a more convincing explanation in the clear connections formed between the woman suffrage movement and other political actors such as temperance organizations, political parties, and unions. Alliances

⁸ Buechler, Steven. 1986. The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. Page 102

with these external groups placed the suffrage movement in a better position to create opportunity and build political credibility—thereby gaining leverage and power. As these other political actors incorporated different aspects and justifications for women’s political participation into their platforms, the suffrage movement began to attract supporters from a broader political spectrum. By using what I term “expediency argument” and presenting woman suffrage as a societal good, the movement was able to insert itself in the existing political debate and demonstrate its willingness to work within the existing social order.

Matching the Theories to the Timeline:

The early woman’s movement adopted a strategy of ideologically based natural rights arguments that provided a grievance, an enemy, and a group identity for its members. However, the difficulties that the movement experienced in overcoming political and institutional obstacles seems to confound Tarrow’s theory of strategic framing. Using this as their dominant mode of rhetoric, the suffrage movement only alienated itself from those in power and closed the doors to widespread political support. Leaders chose to make their claims from a moralistic viewpoint instead of demonstrating how their goal of suffrage could aid existing political actors achieve other aims. Furthermore, the identity created within the group may have been too exclusive; the women saw themselves mostly as women, without ties to other identities that could lend support to their cause. For these reasons, they remained outsiders and could not develop the political capital or influence needed to achieve change.

The change in strategy from roughly 1870 onward proved significantly more successful for the woman’s movement. A policy of expediency and coalition-building

resembling Tilly's description of political power and Snow's frame-expansion allowed the movement to gain allies within the institutional structure to more effectively overcome obstacles to entrance in electoral politics. As Tilly indicates, the group shifted its rhetoric to coincide with the concerns of society in general and implied that its own goals were not only compatible with those of other political actors, but would also make it easier to achieve those goals.

The new strategy also supports my proposal of active opportunity creation. The woman's movement did not approach institutional obstacles as fixed or insurmountable. Nor, as Tarrow suggests, was success dependent on external political shifts or weaknesses of those in power. Movement leaders instead took steps to alter the presentation of their goals to improve their political position and reshape the norms by which they were judged. Successful alliance creation and expediency-based rhetoric implies that it is not necessary to approach obstacles from an adversarial standpoint; it may be more effective to work within those constraints and gain leverage over those in power.

METHODOLOGY

To determine the extent and effects of the changing use of strategy and alliance creation within existing electoral opportunity structures in the woman suffrage movement, I examine the broadsides, pamphlets, and illustrations published by suffrage organizations (such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association and state associations) as well as contributions by suffrage artists (such as Nina Allender and Lou Rogers) to popular magazines of the time. These samples may present images illustrating

the benefits of women's votes, use patriotic symbols to reference American history and justify the right of woman to vote, or directly appeal to a specific group of women to support suffrage. To a lesser extent, speeches and convention resolutions will also be used as data sources. Such material can be used to analyze the strategies of the social movement because it reflects the way the movement wishes itself to be seen by the masses and the rhetoric used to gain support for its cause among voters. Fliers and other images are also a means for the movement to reach large numbers of people easily, including people from different interest groups or political associations. Because the data are coming from within the movement itself, as opposed to publications by onlookers, the problem of secondary bias is significantly lessened. Through these data, I hope to reveal a change in presentation from an emphasis on natural rights to one of expediency and social good. An analysis of the specific types of expediency appeals may correspond to and support a theory of opportunity creation and alliance with other political actors.

Samples for this analysis range from the 1850s to the final ratification campaign of the suffrage bill in 1919. Documents were collected from a variety of sources, including collections of suffrage cartoons by movement artists, archives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, personal papers of suffrage leaders such as Carrie Chapman Catt, and university archives of woman's history. Online databases were also used, such as the American Memory collection from the Library of Congress, the Maine Memory Network, and the Center for Historical Study of Women and Gender at the State University of New York. Additional documents come from the collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

Data Coding and Classification:

The images are evaluated using a coding system of content analysis based on the dates of publication and the words or images used in the documents. Samples are first sorted into two groups based on the years they were published or, in the case of some broadsides, in widespread circulation. This division reflects the hypothesis that the change in mode of appeal by the suffrage movement was evolutionary; that is, it shifted from a focus on ideology and grievance in the earlier years to an alliance seeking, opportunity creating rhetoric system post 1880.

The images were classified into broad categories of “natural rights/grievance” and “expediency”. Within these general categories, documents are sorted using key phrases, words, or images and placed in more specific groups based on the form of the appeal. Expediency subcategories include specific interest group targets, World War I, cleaning up politics, and the republican mother. (See Appendix 2 for a fuller definition of these subcategories) Subcategories in the natural rights/ grievance group include references to American tradition and political philosophy, claims of equal work preformed, and equal rights by virtue of common humanity. (See Appendix 3 for a fuller definition of these subcategories)

Content is coded only for concepts related to the vote, not all words or images that appear in the sample. The analysis will begin with a defined set of concepts; however, as the study progresses, new phrases or words may be included as they repeatedly appear. Data will be coded for frequency of subcategory occurrence over time, with a broad range of generalization. Thus, a sample may be placed in a given category not only if it explicitly matches the trigger words for that group, but also if it includes variants of key words or strongly implies a clear message that links to the definition of that subcategory.

Images are handled in much the same way as words in this analysis. A document containing an image of, for example, money, is placed in the same subcategory as a document that uses the printed word “money”.

Analysis Methods and Expectations:

Once separated into categories and subcategories, this study examines the frequency of occurrence for each group. Based on this frequency, conclusions will be drawn with respect to the dominant modes of presentation and framing used by the woman suffrage movement at different points in its history. Conclusions will be further linked to the relative success of the movement in broadening its support base, attracting the attention and alliance of the political elite or interest groups, and participation in general political debate.

Based on the need to build an opportunity structure and create alliances within the political arena, I predict that the movement’s increasing success in the later decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries corresponds to an increase in the use of “expediency” arguments. These arguments would allow the movement to reach out to other interest groups and link the suffrage argument to other social and political issues such as temperance and labor laws. Likewise, they provide the moderate stance necessary to prevent alienation from the average citizen and demonstrate the pervasive effect of women’s votes in society at large.

An expected shift away from grievance and rights arguments would also indicate that a social movement frame needs to do more than create a group identity, prompt mobilization of supporters or identify an enemy. It must also help the group connect to and attract individuals outside the movement and create a context in which the movement

can present itself as a viable force within traditional electoral politics. In other words, the frame should allow the movement to actively build and reshape opportunity.

ANALYSIS

Early Appeals:

Speeches and fliers from the early suffrage movement reflect a strong ideological, rights-driven foundation and rely on symbols of the American democratic tradition to argue for women's votes. Many of the arguments made during the time of the American Revolution reappear in broadsides advertising suffrage events and are referred to in the frequent "testimonial" flier from prominent local citizens. For example, an 1858 pamphlet called "Consistent Democracy" identifies the "consent of the governed" as a fundamental principle of American democracy and argues that since women are governed by the law, they should have a vote in its formulation. The same document indicates that women pay taxes yet remain without representation in government. This is a clear echo of the Revolutionary argument that virtual representation in the British was not enough for the American colonists. Therefore, the suffrage movement asks, why should it be acceptable for women?

The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) followed a similar theme in its 1876 "Declaration and Protest of the Women of the United States". In this document, the movement emphasizes the "natural rights" to self-government for all individuals and states that these rights cannot be alienated. The "non-use of these rights does not destroy them". The NWSA then identifies 10 areas in which the natural and "self-evident" rights of women have been violated, including taxation without representation, lack of suffrage,

unequal marital and property laws, and the bar against women in the workforce. This document is an example of typical appeals of the period, using natural rights and American democratic ideology to argue for a broad range of reforms for women. These appeals claim that women are entitled to the vote on the simple basis of their humanity.

Proliferation of Broadsides:

One of the most visible signs of a changed approach to framing in the suffrage movement was the proliferation of broadsides and cartoons in the group's second stage. As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2 below, data samples of cartoons and pamphlets from earlier years of the movement were significantly fewer than those in the later group. Instead, the period between 1850 and 1875 revealed mostly calls to conventions, printed resolutions that were distributed among movement supporters, and well publicized speeches. Even these documents were limited to and often directly related to an upcoming convention or meeting; there are few examples of print appeals to garner support between events. In addition, the texts and messages of these speeches were often published in the suffrage press or newspapers and delivered to committed subscribers instead of displayed for the general public.

TABLE 1

Type Of Document	Number of Samples	Percent of Total
Early Expediency Documents	10	23.256%
Early Justice Documents	33	76.744%
Total Early Documents	43	100%

TABLE 2

Type of Document	Number of Samples	Percent of Total
Late Expediency Documents	102	73.913%
Late Justice Documents	36	26.087%
Total Late Documents	138	100%

The very nature of a convention of supporters and a resolution as a means of expounding on an ideology suggests that the early suffrage movement sought to strengthen the ties of the group as an independent unit and build on the loyalty of its members. Resolutions passed by a convention of women do not link the group to congressional or electoral politics; instead, this phenomenon may be interpreted as the sign of outsiders trying to affect change or sway opinion on their own. Furthermore, speeches and resolutions given at annual conventions throughout the 1850s and 1860s attempted to convince largely elite, female audiences of why they needed the vote *as women* and sought to explain the deprivation of rights that women were subject to without the vote. Very little, if any mention was made of the effect that women's votes would have on society as a whole.

In contrast, samples from the later suffrage movement reflect the popularization of the group's arguments. The discourse and rhetoric of suffrage was no longer an elite undertaking. A wide variety of posters and leaflets addressed to the working woman or domestic mother describing the importance of the vote to her personal goals point to an attempt to incorporate all walks of life into the movement. Instead of describing why women themselves needed the vote, leaders tried to explain why potential allies needed women's votes to succeed. Propaganda devices show the suffrage movement acting as a mainstream political force, drawing supporters much as any political party would. The group was trying to sell itself on a practical basis and attract the attention of the common citizen.

Recognizing Multiple Identities:

This approach also marked a change in the original concept of group identity. Instead of creating a closed identity and encouraging members to see themselves mainly as part of a community of aggrieved women, the expanding framework of opportunity told women that they were a part of *many different* groups. They must think of their goals and the best interest of whatever group they identified with and use the vote to support those projects. For example, rural women are targeted not only as women, but as part of the farming community. In this context, their vote can be one more voice in favor of subsidies that would support their families or help in crop development. Likewise, a NAWSA broadside from 1910 entitled "Women are Citizens and Wish to do their Civic Duty" portrays female factory workers as part of the larger labor force that should vote to improve the health and safety of all workers. Even mothers were not just part of a group of women—the suffrage movement painted them as linked to the identity and well being

of the family and supported their identification with this group. This approach broadened potential support networks for the movement at large, but also encouraged more women to promote the vote since they did not feel as if they had to leave their existing loyalties to other communities.

Political Reform and Corruption:

The woman suffrage movement made considerable use of the corruption often perceived in politics at the turn of the 20th century. Broadsides referred to the “dirty pool of politics” and emphasized that machine politics (run by men) were prone to bribery by special interest groups. Use of this argument persisted through the 1910s and into the ratification struggle. The Woman Voter, a suffrage publication, illustrates the power of this appeal in its November, 1911 issue through a cartoon by Jack Sears entitled “The Corn or the Cob—Which?” Sears depicts two plates, the first with an ear of corn gnawed to the core by a “boss politician” to reveal “graft, corruption, boodle, vice, and promises unfulfilled”. The second, held by the strong hand of “woman’s vote”, is a full ear of corn covered with “honest men, no boss rule, principles, a square deal, clean government, and government for the common interest”.

Women, the broadsides claimed, were especially suited to clean up politics because of their isolation from the greed and corruption of the business world. It was this very isolation that gave them a stronger and purer moral sense as well as heightened their concern for the genuine well-being of society at large. With this statement, the suffrage movement accepted the social expectation that women would be responsible for the home and family while men should concern themselves with the world of business. This

indicates a sharp departure from its earlier stance, namely that women had no special moral sense and should not conform to traditional notions of separate spheres.

Appeals based on the corruption of a political system run only by men capitalized on popular fears on this subject. Machine politics were often by seen by the people as an unconquerable evil that put government even further away from the average voter. By linking women to the “cleaning up of politics”, the woman’s movement presented the vote as a tool to better serve the city and the nation as a whole. This method attempted to demonstrate why it was in the personal best interest of existing political groups and individuals to support woman suffrage. It also used links with similar themes in the Populist and Progressive movements to strengthen the ties between the groups.

Woman in the Home and Mothers of Society:

Another form of acceptance of woman’s traditional role as homemaker and mother is seen in the increasing documents appealing to women on the simple basis of that role. These documents are more prevalent in the later stages of the movement, suggesting that the movement recognized that they needed to reach *all* women, not just women in the workplace or those who sought a change in the status of women’s roles. Data in this category seek to convince women (and observing men) that they cannot accomplish their duties as a mother and wife without the vote. Moreover, publications suggest that women can help to alleviate suffering and poverty for all families by voting in the interest of the home. The July 27, 1912 issue of Woman’s Journal calls on “the woman at home” to take notice of the terrible working conditions that so many children face and reminds her that “mothers are responsible for the welfare of all children”. By demanding votes for women, she is actually fulfilling her role as mother.

Images from this subcategory center on women and children. The woman may be shown defending the children in a very physical way, such as in an image from the September 3, 1881 issue of Harper's Weekly in which a powerful woman brandishes a sword to protect children from demons when the state cannot do so. At times the child is shown in a state of poverty and suffering without the vote of her mother to remedy the evils of the world (May 15, 1915 "Suffrage News"). Other images ask the woman to "Double the Power of the Home" (October 23, 1915 "Woman's Journal") and help her husband by preserving the idyllic serenity of the home with her vote.

A variation of this theme is the appeal to republican motherhood. In this formulation, images and fliers urge Americans to support woman suffrage because a woman's vote will allow her to transfer her skills in caring for the home to care for and reform society at large. The suffrage movement began to use this type of reasoning in the 1890s and into the 20th century, paralleling the increasing national concern for food safety, child labor, and sanitation. Woman suffrage would, the broadsides claim, improve all of these problems because women were used to dealing with these problems in the home, personally invested in the issues, and could efficiently create solutions.

Images of the republican mother include a family with a clean home but children who walk in streets covered in garbage and children asking for woman suffrage to ensure that they have pure food. By using these types of appeals, suffrage movement reflected to the concerns of middle-class Americans and attempted to incorporate them into the fight for suffrage. A broadside addressed to "Women in the Home" (NAWSA) reminds women that she although she must "care for the health and welfare" of her family, this requires that she act to improve her community by eliminating "defective sewage,

unwholesome food, danger of infection” and other social evils. By “helping in the city housekeeping”, the flier argues, she will bring her country up to the same high standards she holds for her own home. Likewise, a poster entitled “The Suffrage Family—What Bobby Says” (c. 1913) proposed that mothers will be better able to control food purity than fathers and that children should “hope she’ll get the vote ‘cause then we’re sure to have clean meat”.

War and Women:

World War I created another source of expediency appeals for woman suffrage. By emphasizing the peaceful and compromising nature of women, the movement suggested that women’s votes would bring a swifter end to the war. Broadsides often contrasted men in continual battle with women negotiating and working together for peace (“The Real Battlefield” August 7, 1915). Other appeals emphasized that women contributed to the war effort just as men did and should receive recognition for their work. The Equal Suffrage League of Virginia published a flyer entitled “Who Shares the Cost of War” to illustrate that the war *was* the concern of women, for they maintained the shops, schools, and farms while caring for their children and defending their homes against the ravages of war. Because of their efforts, the League claims, women deserve a voice in their government.

This form of appeal uses a combination of references to women’s ‘nature’ (calm, peacemaking) and their willing contributions to the war effort to convince an audience that the United States will come out of the war better if women are allowed to participate in government. It also plays on the growing fears in the nation of the horrors of a war with many fatalities and the loss of an entire generation of citizens on the battlefield. The

suffrage movement demonstrates a willingness to use a traditionally male activity and transform it into the concern of all people, especially the women who want the vote to help the nation, not only to satisfy their own whims.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the political elite employed a general policy of tolerance towards the movement (neither repression nor facilitation), the suffragists had to create its own opportunity. This opportunity could not develop as long as the group was perceived as an outside agitator or as a radical group that wanted to change the entire social order. Once the woman suffrage movement changed its presentation and use of its framework, it gained leverage with the mainstream middle class, allied with political actions in positions of relative power, and broadened its coalition base. The group also lowered the chance of repression by the establishment because it was not longer a challenging movement promoting a counter-ideology to the social status quo. The policy shifts implemented by the suffrage movement are summarized in Table 3 below:

TABLE 3

Time:	Pre-1870	Post-1870
Target:	Elite focus/Educated	Mass audience
Issue:	Multi-issue	Suffrage centered
Presentation:	Natural Rights/Ideology	Expediency/Audience needs
Image:	Special interest	Mainstream
Approach:	Challenge role of women	Acceptance of status quo image
Strategy:	Attack establishment as outsider	Work as insiders in political networks

This is not to say that the original ideas of natural rights vanished. This part of the movement reappeared in Congressional petitions and testimonies before committees, however, it was not the face presented to the masses of America or to political allies.

Methods of Opportunity Creation—Gaining Allies:

One method of creating opportunity was to reach out or appeal to existing political and activist groups. These included the growing temperance movement, the Populists, and the Progressive parties. Groups such as these often promoted social welfare reforms such as pure food and water, regulation of labor conditions, and the ‘cleaning-up’ of the political system. The suffrage movement found that it could effectively use the status-quo image of woman as a republican mother and homemaker to support women’s involvement in these types of reform and associated itself with these influential political groups. Soon, the argument evolved into one of the power of the vote: women could more effectively do their civic duties as women and support reform if they had the vote to back their opinions and actions. The strategic importance of this view is recognized by Anna Harvey in her discussion of disenfranchised actors (1998). As such, movement supporters could not be mobilized by party leaders in traditional ways, nor could they directly influence policy decisions. Harvey notes, however, that a disenfranchised group can “use their interactions with [voting groups] as a way to provide solidary benefits if they vote for policy benefits for the disfranchised.”⁹ Using this approach, leaders of the suffrage movement found they could piggy-back off the strength of their allies and integrate their demand into the mainstream political debate.

But the second stage of the woman’s movement did not limit itself to these natural supporters. The many appeals to southern Democrats and nativists on the basis of a white

⁹ Harvey, Anna. 1998 Votes Without Leverage. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. page 62

supremacy doctrine (see Data Table 3) strengthened by the increased numbers of voting white women illustrate the movement's awareness of the power of coalition building as a means to achieving its goal. Suddenly, the suffrage movement had the change of support from groups that otherwise would strongly oppose the entrance of women into the male political arena. The purpose of the framework had changed; it was now a presentation to potential allies, not just a way to create unity among movement actors or build a grievance. As a political tool, the framework did more for the movement than it could have as merely a means of highlighting injustice. It created much-needed opportunity.

Effects of Alliances:

New alliances with groups such as the temperance movement and the Progressives had a marked effect on the success of the woman suffrage movement. Francis Willard, one of the leaders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), promoted woman suffrage as a means to empower women to protect the home from the evils of liquor and squalor. In cartoons from the 1880s, the suffrage movement often contrasted a voting, drunken man with a disenfranchised, noble woman attempting to protect her child. The appeal to the temperance struggle was successful; soon Willard began to advocate for a more active political role for women in all areas and fought to put woman suffrage on Colorado's political agenda in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The WCTU became a fully political organization and helped overcome the psychological resistance women may have had to electoral politics. Under the umbrella of temperance, hundreds of Colorado women joined the movement for voting rights. Membership in the WCTU and its suffrage-seeking platform increased from 7 members in 1881 to well over

1,000 dues-paying members in 1889, with many more partial memberships.¹⁰ Funding was also received from the WCTU donors, providing the suffrage movement with the means to begin and promote new magazines and journals to spread their ideas and lobby elected officials.

The suffrage movement used its link to temperance and the WCTU to appeal to other groups such as the Knights of Labor, the Grange, and the Populists. This is especially evident in the state of Colorado, where Populists adopted the idea of protecting the home and children through the empowerment of women. Women were sent to state conventions and acted as voting delegates within the party. Reaching out to these groups allowed the suffrage movement to appeal to each political party and class and incorporate any existing links between the other reform movements. The Populists, in particular, helped create an analogy between the horrific labor conditions of workers and the even greater injustice suffered by women as *disenfranchised* workers. The question of free silver and the national depression in the early 1890s was frequently used by all groups via the claim that hard economic times caused by Republican politics impacted the woman in the home. Without the vote, she had no way to help her family fight for change.

The alliance with the Populists proved successful and valuable in the referendum of 1893 in Colorado. There, “thirty Populist counties gave majorities for equal suffrage with only one opposed” while “ten Republican counties provided majorities and eleven...voted against it.”¹¹ Democrats were likewise split, with two counties in favor of woman suffrage and two opposed. This example illustrates the concrete effects of

¹⁰ “Minutes of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1881-1885 and 1887-1894” in Appendices of Annual Reports, Archives, National Women’s Christian Temperance Union, FWML.

¹¹ “To the Women of Colorado: The Record of the Parties on the Equal Suffrage Amendment; To What Party are the Women Indebted for the Privilege of the Ballot?” (The Colorado Populist Party, November 1893) pg. 2-3

forging alliances with those in electoral power and the possibility of creating political opportunity by revising the frame of a social movement.

Incorporation of the Status Quo and De-Radicalization:

The change in presentation also allowed the suffrage movement to de-radicalize itself in order to become a viable political force. Instead of depending largely on a natural rights ideology that led to a drastic reworking of the role of women in society, the movement began to accept the status quo image of woman and used it to their best advantage. Demands for the reform of property rights and marriage laws faded into the background as the social movement centered its attention on the vote. In this way, the group's argument in favor of voting rights became a means to achieve the traditional goals of womanhood as it was seen by the majority of contemporary society. Voting male citizens and political groups that might not support an overhaul of the image of women could bring themselves to adopt a refined version of the movement's argument, especially as it was presented as a minimal threat to the traditional way of life. Moderation allowed an entrance into mainstream political life and provided a power to set the agenda that radicalism or an adversarial mindset could not.

Until this change in presentation, the woman's suffrage movement was, as Suzanne Marilley puts it, a "prolonged exercise in agenda-setting by a politically powerless group."¹² The shift to a more expediency-based, alliance seeking mode of operation allowed the suffrage movement to play off existing values and conceptions of the role of woman in society. It also opened up the possibility of expressing new and somewhat mysterious goals in a way that seemed in keeping with the general direction

¹² Suzanne Marilley, 1996. Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States: 1820-1920. Harvard University Press. p. 9

the national agenda was already taking. Instead of opposing the tide and popular sentiment, the woman's movement was now yet another expression of it.

Beyond the Suffrage Movement:

The use of framing in the second stage of the woman suffrage movement and the reasons for the changes implemented over the movement's life span point to several key features of social movements in general. First, the suffrage movement was forced to narrow its demands and alter the presentation of its argument in order to enter traditional politics and create allies within the establishment. However, this eventually led to the disintegration of a strong woman's political force after the right to vote was won. The movement's most successful arguments were those of expediency and the nation's gain once women began to vote. By the second stage, the vote was not framed as a sign of the changing nature of womanhood or a manifestation of a larger scheme of natural rights, just as an elaboration of a generally accepted role. As such, movement actors had little to work for or agree on after they achieved their goal. Furthermore, because female supporters worked within broader spheres of identification (such as factory workers or mothers), they did not necessarily connect with women *as* women. Instead, they linked with the suffrage movement because they were convinced it shared the goals of their existing group identifications. The very changes that focused their attention on a single goal, created political power, and exponentially increased their chance of success prevented a sustainable political force.

This reminds us that a social movement, by its very nature, is a transitory force. Such a group is often based on the promotion of a single idea or framework, not a sweeping ideology that can evolve to address new concerns. It is not a sustainable

institution or a part of the establishment, although it may work within these limits on its path to success. If a social movement is to succeed, it must accept and adopt policies that will eventually spell its own death.

Second, the experiences and evolution of the suffrage movement signal an expanded role for framing in any social movement. Group identity and a strong sense of grievance alone are not enough to ensure success; framing is as much about the establishment and mainstream spectators as it is about the potential movement actors. To succeed in gaining the leverage needed to achieve its goals, the frame of a social movement not only tries to sell its proposal and justify its demands but also attempts to incorporate those goals with the existing agendas of other political groups. This is especially in cases of disenfranchised actors such as women in turn-of-the-century America. It does not matter how much members support a movement if the group as a whole has no political influence or power over the elite decision-makers. If the social movement cannot convince those in power that it is in their own best interest to listen to the demands of movement actors, there is little change of real reform. The movement will simply be repressed or tolerated, both of which limit the political opportunity of the group.

Finally, the case of the woman's suffrage movement in America suggests that appeals to natural rights or societal notions of justice are not uniformly effective for movement attempting to gain access to electoral institutions and to build alliances. Although appeals to justice remain generally constant over time and are well understood within the American political tradition, they do not do enough to allow a social movement to reshape existing institutional structures to create opportunity. Justice

arguments often require the challenging group to claim that the existing structure should be fundamentally changed because it is violating certain rights. This is limiting for a group, such as the woman's suffrage movement, that is trying to take a place within that structure and build alliances with those in political power. The intent of the movement was not to revolutionize American politics, but rather to participate in what already existed. In this way, a more pragmatic appeal proved to be more effective, for it accepted the status quo of national politics and sought to "help" those trends along through the advocacy of women's votes.

APPENDIX A:

Content Analysis:

Subset Descriptions: Expediency and Opportunity

Subset 1: Cleaning Up Politics

Presents women as a source of honesty in politics. They can bring change to the political system because of their traditional isolation from machine politics and the purity of their moral natures.

Subset 2: White Supremacy/ Progress of the “Other”

Capitalizes on the national conflict surrounding Reconstruction and the rights of former slaves. Appeals of this form note the additional vote of white women can protect society from the influence of the former slaves and maintain white supremacy over them. In the same category are statements regarding the “backward” nations or classes and the advantages or voting rights given to women in those lesser societies.

Subset 3: Appeals to Specific Interest Groups:

Attempts to attract existing political groups or actors such as the Republican or Democratic Party, the Populists, Progressives, temperance organizations etc. This subset also includes appeals to class or occupation based interest groups such as unions, farmers, factory workers, etc.

Subset 4: World War I / Peace

Introduces women as contributors to the war effort and highlights the nature of woman as an effective tool to bring a lasting peace. Women, in this formulation, can be as patriotic as men; more so, they can overcome weapons, violence, and hostility to create a better world for their families.

Subset 5: Republican Mother / Civic Responsibility

Promotes women’s votes as a means to improving society by extending the duties of woman in the home to the larger community. Woman can improve working conditions, sanitation, food safety, and the morality and efficiency of her community with her vote.

Subset 6: Woman’s Sphere / Role

Uses the traditional role of woman as mother and homemaker to promote the woman’s vote as a vote to protect and defend the home and family. As a mother, the woman is the only one to maintain quality of life for her children and give them the nurturing they need.

APPENDIX B:

Content Analysis:

Subset Descriptions: Justice and Natural Rights

Subset 1: Equal Work Performed

Presents women as equal contributors to the nation, home or the workforce. Arguments in this subset argue that since women serve the government and their communities in essential ways, they have the right to vote on matters that affect their lives.

Subset 2: Equal Rights by Nature or Humanity

Women are entitled to certain rights because of their basic humanity. This form of argument relies on the idea of natural or inalienable rights and insists that these rights remain valid even if they are not acknowledged by those in power.

Subset 3: American Democratic Tradition

Appeals to the history of the United States and the ideas of the nation's founding. This group may also include references to national leaders and symbols that evoke patriotic feeling, reminding the audience of the disparity between America's professed philosophy and the practice of denying women the vote.

Subset 4: Oppression of Women Without the Vote

Argues that women are denied the tools to care for themselves or maintain a good life without the vote. Presents women as defenseless and vulnerable to the decisions of the government and urges the audience to support votes for women as a means of empowering women to make decisions on matters that concern them. Other forms of this argument present women as bound to the decisions of men who are less knowledgeable than they on a given matter.

Subset 5: Elevation of Women

Claims that women will better continue their path of progress with the vote. These presentations suggest that the vote will bring woman into a higher sphere of moral and social being.

APPENDIX C:

Content Analysis: Coding Words/Phrases Expediency & Opportunity

Subset 1: Cleaning Up Politics

1. “home”/”boss”
2. “special interests”
3. “bribe”
4. “cheat”
5. “moral”
6. “money”/ images of money
7. “greed”
8. “dirt”/ images of sweeping and cleaning
9. “save”/ “rescue”
10. images of mud, trampling, sinking, rising

Subset 2: White Supremacy, Progress of the “Outsider”

1. “negro”/ “black”
2. “Jim Crow”
3. “white supremacy”
4. “restrict”
5. “outvote”
6. “domination”
7. “endanger”/ “threaten way of life”
8. “insane” / “criminals”
9. “immigrants”
10. “white women”
11. “foreigners”
12. “backward nations” / “dark nations”
13. “our mothers, daughters...”

Subset 3: Appeal to Special Interest Groups

1. “Democrats” / “Republicans”
2. symbols of Democratic / Republican Party (donkey, elephant)
3. “unions”
4. “farmers”
5. “workers”
6. “Populists”

Subset 4: World War I, Peace

1. “war”
2. “war effort”
3. “peace” / “tranquility”

4. “destruction”
5. “truce” / “handshake”
6. “citizen”
7. “sacrifice”
8. “wounded”
9. “defense” / “preparedness”
10. “assist”
11. images of weapons
12. images of soldiers
13. images of nursing

Subset 5: Republican Mother, Civic Responsibility

1. “purity”
2. “food” / “eat”
3. “safety”
4. “welfare”
5. “clean”
6. “poverty”
7. “inspections”
8. “efficiency”
9. “duty” / “responsibility”
10. “sanitation”
11. “health”
12. “care” / “protect”
13. “labor laws” / “hours” / “working conditions”
14. “education”
15. images of overwork, poverty

Subset 6: Woman’s Sphere / Role

1. “children” / “baby”
2. “home”
3. “mother’s vote” / “motherhood”
4. “protect”
5. “nurture”
6. “woman’s nature”
7. images of poverty in the home
8. images of voting for the home
9. images of women and children
10. images of suffering of family

APPENDIX D:

Content Analysis: Coding Words/Phrases

Justice/Natural Rights

Subset 1: Equal Work Performed

1. “partner”
2. “work”
3. images of women’s occupations outside the home
4. “working women”
5. “contribute”
6. images busy women, constant work
7. comparisons between work done by men and women
8. “changing/expanding role of women” in society

Subset 2: Equal Rights by Nature/ Humanity

1. “equal rights” without qualifier
2. end of privilege
3. “rights of humanity”
4. “universal”
5. “all people”
6. “by nature”/ “by natural law”/ “by birthright”
7. inherent equality
8. “entitled”

Subset 3: Call on American Tradition

1. images of leaders/presidents
2. “Declaration of Independence”/ “Constitution”
3. “forefathers”
4. national symbols/ landmarks
5. “taxation without representation”
6. “representative government”
7. “hypocrisy”
8. “consistency of principles”
9. “founding”
10. “America”
11. “citizenship”
12. “democracy”
13. “one man, one vote”
14. “for the people”

Subset 4: Oppression of Woman Without the Vote

1. "denied"
2. "oppressed"
3. "prevented"
4. images of chains, binding
5. "prevented"
6. images of women being crushed, smothered
7. images of women being restrained
8. images of struggle

Subset 5: Elevation of Women to Higher Level

1. rising
2. lifting up
3. light
4. climbing
5. growing

**APPENDIX E:
Data Table: Expediency Pre-1875**

<u>Cleaning Up Politics</u>	<u>White Supremacy/"The Other"</u>	<u>Appeal To Specific Interest Group</u>	<u>Civil War / Peace</u>	<u>Republican Mother/Civic Responsibility</u>	<u>Woman's Sphere/ Role</u>
1875: Eliza Turner: "4 Quite New Reasons Why You Should Wish Your Wife to Vote"		6/1/53: Elizabeth Stanton: "Address, 1 st Annual Meeting of Woman's State Temperance Society"	5/7/63: Elizabeth Stanton & Susan Anthony: "Call to the Woman's National Loyal League Meeting"	10/15/51: Second National Convention: "Resolutions"	9/8/52: Syracuse National Convention: "Remarks of Clarina Nichols"
		1867: Friends of Temperance: "Address to Voters of Kansas"	5/14/63: National Loyal League Meeting: "Remarks by Susan Anthony"	10/5/53: National Women's Rights Convention: "Letter from Rebecca Sanford to Friends of Reform"	10/24/50: Woman's Rights Convention: "Opening Remarks by Paulina Davis"
					5/27/59: Woman's Rights Meeting: "Speech by the President"

APPENDIX F:

Data Table: Justice/Natural Rights Tradition Pre-1875

<u>Equal Work Performed</u>	<u>Equal Rights by Nature/Humanity</u>	<u>American Democratic Tradition</u>	<u>Oppression of Women Without the Vote</u>	<u>Elevation of Woman to a Higher Level</u>
11/28/64: Harper's Bazaar: "Why Should We Not Vote?"	1/2/71: printed speech by Victoria Woodhull: "To the Judiciary Committee"	1858: "Consistent Democracy"	1851: Woman's Rights Convention: "Reports"	
1851: Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"	1883: Annual Convention of the NWSA: "Proceedings"	c. 1868: "To the Voters of the United States of America"	1853: Woman's Rights Convention: Speech by E. Rose	
1851: Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"	7/4/76: NWSA: "Declaration and Protest of Women of the United States"	1859: Woman's Rights Convention: "Speech by Wendell Phillips"		
	6/1852: "Call to the Woman's Rights Convention"	5/1867: American Equal Rights Association: "Call to 1 st Anniversary Convention"		
	5/1851: Woman's Rights Convention: "Letters"	1860: Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"		
	1853: Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"	1869: National Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"		
	1850: 1 st Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"	1873: NWSA: "Resolutions"		
	1852: Woman's Rights Convention: "Resolutions"	1869: Woman Suffrage Convention: "Resolutions"		
	5/10/66: Elizabeth Stanton: Woman's Rights Convention "Call to Order"	9/8/52: Syracuse National Convention: "Remarks of Lucy Stone"		
	10/19/51: Ernestine Rose: "Address on Women's Rights"	3/6/63: Lucy Stone: "Woman Suffrage in New Jersey"		
	1854: Susan B. Anthony: "Speech on Woman's Rights"	1867: Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "In Favor of Universal Suffrage"		

<u>Equal Work Performed</u>	<u>Equal Rights by Nature/Humanity</u>	<u>American Democratic Tradition</u>	<u>Oppression of Women Without the Vote</u>	<u>Elevation of Woman to a Higher Level</u>
	1857: Susan B. Anthony: "Speech on the True Woman"	1871: Victoria Woodhull: "A Lecture on Constitutional Equality"		
	1867: Kansas Judiciary and Franchise Committee: "Report on a Petition"	1871: Theodore Tilton: "The Constitution, A Title Deed to Woman's Franchise"		
	9/7/53: Woman's Rights Convention: "Discussion"	1871: A.G. Riddle: "The Right of Woman to Elective Franchise"		
		1876: National Woman Suffrage Convention: "Press Release"		

APPENDIX G:
Data Table: Expediency Post 1875

<u>Cleaning Up Politics</u>	<u>White Supremacy/"The Other"</u>	<u>Appeal To Specific Interest Group</u>	<u>World War I / Peace</u>	<u>Republican Mother/Civic Responsibility</u>	<u>Woman's Sphere/ Role</u>
9/18/15: Woman's Journal: "Our Answer to Mr. Taft"	3/30/17: Columbus Monitor: "Fashion Hints from Darkest Russia"	c. 1916 Equal Suffrage League: "President Wilson is With Us"	8/7/15: "The Real Battlefield"	6/13/14: Suffragist: "The Inspiration of Suffrage Workers"	7/27/1912: NAWSA/Woman's Journal: "To The Woman in the Home"
4/4/11: Woman's Journal: "The Real Triangle"	c. 1893: Postcard: "Woman and Her Political Peers"	1910: NAWSA: "Woman Suffrage Co-Equal with Man Suffrage"	c. 1916 Equal Suffrage League of Virginia: "Who Shares the Cost of War?"	7/20/12: Woman's Journal: "Branding His Mark on the Future Worker in the Name of Legitimacy"	9/3/81: Harper's Weekly: "Can Not New York Protect Her Little Ones?"
2/18/13: Judge: "From Force of Habit She Will Clean This Up"	c. 1905: Equal Suffrage League of Virginia: "Equal Suffrage and the Negro Vote"	11/28/14: "Woman's Journal: "Why Can't She Vote Too?"	c. 1916 National Women's Suffrage Publishing: "Stand by the Country"	5/22/15: Maryland Suffrage News: "No Vote Means No Remedy for Long Hours and Short Pay"	5/15/15: Suffrage News: "Where the Mother's Vote is Needed"
2/1918: Birth Control Review: "The New Voter at Work"	c. 1900: Equal Suffrage League of North Carolina: "Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy in the South"	9/9/16: Woman's Journal: "If the Anti-Suffrage Cause Ever Looks at Itself"	1914: NAWSA: "Suffrage as a War Measure"	1/22/16: Woman's Journal: "Child Labor"	10/23/15: Woman's Journal: "Double the Power of the Home—Two Votes are Better Than One"
1/1912: Woman Voter	c.1918: Texas Democrat: "Why Keep Me With Mexico, Bulgaria, and Turkey?"	6/22/12: Maryland Suffrage News: "Parting of the Ways"	1/5/18 Suffragist: "Will You Make 1918 Safe for Democracy?"	9/15/13: Woman's Journal: "Getting Her Pigs to Market"	Postcard: "Give Mother the Vote"
1/23/15: Woman's Journal: "Justice Handicapped"	c.1910: Woman's Journal and Suffrage News: "Why Women Should Vote"	6/14/16: Woman's Journal: "St. Louis"	5/8/15: Woman's Journal: "War and the Mother"	8/24/12: Judge: "Welding in the Missing Link"	12/11/15: Woman Journal: "Will Congress Heed?"
	NAWSA: "Universal Suffrage—Limited"		1914: NAWSA: "First Aid to Patriotism"	1/1915: Woman Voter: "Let Me Help"	5/1916: Woman Voter: "I Wish My Mother Had A Vote"

<u>Cleaning Up Politics</u>	<u>White Supremacy/"The Other"</u>	<u>Appeal To Specific Interest Group</u>	<u>World War I/ Peace</u>	<u>Republican Mother/Civic Responsibility</u>	<u>Woman's Sphere/ Role</u>
1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "Woman Suffrage Means Economy in Elections"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "Facing Facts: Woman Suffrage Will Improve the Electorate"	1911: CA Equal Suffrage Association: "Why Wage Earning Women Should Vote"	1914: Ryte-Me Postcard Calendar: "Voting and Fighting"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "It's Your Responsibility"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "How Much Do You Love Your Children?"
	12/1911: Woman Voter: "Linked Together by Law"	1912: MA Woman Suffrage Association: "Suffrage and Temperance"	1917: National Woman Suffrage Publishing: "Women and War"	c. 1913: PA Woman Suffrage Organization: "Why Women Want to Vote"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "Without the Vote/With the Vote"
	1909: Political Equality Series, Alice Stone Blackwell: "Progress of Equal Suffrage"	c.1913: Mrs. William Birdsall: "Woman Suffrage and the Working Woman"	c. 1916: Texas Equal Suffrage Association: "Call to the 5 th Convention"	c. 1915 "Help the Children—Vote For Woman Suffrage"	c.1914: "We Trust Them With Our Children..."
		1915: NY State Woman Suffrage Association: "Women are Interested & So Are Men"	6/1917: Woman Citizen: "Changing the Signs"	1914: National Woman Suffrage Publishing: "Votes in the Tenements"	1912: NAWSA: "Why Women Want to Vote"
		1915: NY State Woman Suffrage Association: "A Working Woman's Plea"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "In Return...?"	1915: National Woman Suffrage Publishing: "Chivalry versus Justice"	1917: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "What Woman Suffrage Stands For"
		1915: National Woman Suffrage Publishing: "The National Grange in Favor"	1917: Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association: "Democracy at Home"	1916: NY State Woman Suffrage Party: "Correspondence Course in Suffrage"	1910: NAWSA: "Woman's Place"
			6/20/17: Judge: "Hand in Hand"	c. 1900: Margaret Weston: "A Plea for Equal Suffrage"	

<u>Cleaning Up Politics</u>	<u>Appeal to Specific Interest Group</u>	<u>World War I/ Peace</u>	<u>Republican Mother/Civic Responsibility</u>	<u>Woman's Sphere/ Role</u>
11/1911: Woman Voter: "The Corn or the Cob-- Which?"	Texas Equal Suffrage League: "6 Reasons Why the Farmer's Wife Should Vote"	7/20/12: Judge: "If She Had Her Way"	12/18/15: Suffragist: "The Wise Women of the West Come Bearing Gifts"	11/23/12: Woman's Journal: "Ready to Serve"
4/17/15: Woman's Journal: "Until Women Vote"	1916: NAWSA: "To the Democratic Convention in Session at St. Louis"	9/14/12: Judge: "She Will Spike War's Gun"	12/7/16: Columbus Monitor: "Ring Around a Rosy"	1910: NAWSA: "A Fair Exchange"
7/26/13: Judge: "Riding a State of Moral Nuisance"	1909: Equal Franchise Society: "How the Ballot Would Help the Working Woman"	5/16/17: Columbus Monitor: "A Lost Argument"	c. 1911: NAWSA: "Prices are Soaring"	NAWSA: "Votes for Mothers"
1/31/14: Judge: "Transferring the Mother Habit"	1910: NAWSA: "Why the Working Woman Needs to Vote"	4/27/18: Suffragist: "American Woman, Is It Not Enough?"	3/5/04: Woman's Journal: "Wage Earner and The Ballot"	6/20/14: NAWSA: "Better Days Coming"
"Which Shall It Be?"		5/25/18: Suffragist: "They Shall Not Pass"	c. 1917: Woman Citizen: "They Shall Not Pass"	7/4/09: San Francisco Call: "I Can Handle Both"
8/1920 "And They Got Away With It For Centuries"		3/20/15: Woman's Journal: "Arms vs. the Army"	1910: Equal Suffrage Association of North Carolina: "Women are Citizens and Wish to Do Their Civic Duty"	10/15: National Women's Party: "Why is it a National Question?"
1911: Votes for Women: "The Dirty Pool"		c. 1917: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. "Stand by the Country"	The Vote: "The Appeal of Womanhood"	7/1915: The Suffragist: "Child Saving is Woman's Work"
5/1916: The Crisis: "Woman to the Rescue"			1912: NAWSA: "The Woman's Reason— Because"	
			NAWSA: "The Suffrage Family—What Bobby Says"	

<u>Cleaning Up Politics</u>	<u>Appeal to Specific Interest Group</u>	<u>World War I/ Peace</u>	<u>Republican Mother/ Civic Responsibility</u>	<u>Woman's Sphere/ Role</u>
			NAWSA: "Women in the Home"	
			1911: Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Organization: "Women of Massachusetts"	
			1915: NAWSA: "The Abolition of Child Labor"	
			1910: NAWSA: "Women and Public Housekeeping"	
			c.1900 : NAWSA: "The Only Way"	

APPENDIX H:

Data Table: Justice and Natural Rights Tradition Post-1875

<u>Equal Work Performed</u>	<u>Equal Rights by Nature/ Humanity</u>	<u>Call on American Tradition</u>	<u>Oppression of Women Without Vote</u>	<u>Elevation of Women to a Higher Level</u>
11/17/14: Judge: "Man Works from Sun to Sun, but Woman's Work is Never Done"	5/31/13: Judge: "Winning Out on the Long Endurance Test"	3/25/16: Woman's Journal: "Tongues in Lampposts"	5/1/12: New York Call: "Woman's Place is at Home But..."	11/20/15: Woman's Journal: "The Next Rung"
1915 postcard: "Votes for Women"	7/3/15: Maryland Suffrage News: "Equal Rights"	Colorado Suffrage Organization: "Abraham Lincoln"	7/1912: Woman Voter: "No, She Does Not Need My Sword"	3/25/16: Suffragist: "A New Light on the Situation"
10/1915: Woman Voter: "Woman's Place is in the Home—We're Going Home"	1915: "The Woman's Liberty Bell"	4/1914: Woman Voter: "One Man—One Vote"	10/19/12: Judge: "Tearing Off the Bonds"	
1915: New York Suffrage: "Vote"	1913: NAWSA: "The Enfranchised Woman"	4/20/12: Woman's Journal: "On the Road to Victory"	8/22/14: Judge: "A Simple Case of Common Sense"	
c. 1914: Equal Suffrage League of Virginia: "The Change in the Status of Women..."	1910: NAWSA: "The Question of Fitness"	6/28/13: Judge: "The Liberty Belle"	8/28/14: Suffragist: "Woman's Place is the Home"	
		6/20/14: Judge: "If Lincoln Were Alive"	7/1912: Woman Voter: "Modern Chivalry"	
		1/23/15: Suffragist: "Great Statues of History"	Texas Equal Suffrage Organization: "Handicapped"	
		1915: Women Suffrage Party: "Modern Representative Government"		
		8/10/18: Suffragist: "The Suffrage Protest in Lafayette Park"		
		1/2/12: Judge: "Are You Helping This Farce Along?"		
		8/7/15: Maryland Suffrage News: "Are Not the Women Half the Nation?"		
		1912: "Give the Women of Arizona a		

		Square Deal”		
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<u>Equal Work Performed</u>	<u>Equal Rights by Nature/ Humanity</u>	<u>Call on American Tradition</u>	<u>Oppression of Women Without Vote</u>	<u>Elevation of Women to a Higher Level</u>
		1913: NAWSA: “Have We a Democracy?”		
		1915: Empire State Campaign Committee: “Idiotic”		
		1915: “Temple of the True Republic”		
		c. 1918: “Spirit of 1776, No Vote No Tax”		
		1909: Ohio/NAWSA: “Democracy Demands Equal Suffrage”		
		1914: Anna Howard Shaw: “Votes for Women Ryte-Me Postcard Calendar, January”		
		2/22/13: Woman’s Journal: “It Makes a Difference Who Says It”		

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