

**FROM SUFFRAGE TO REPRESENTATION:
WOMEN, SUFFRAGISTS AND POLITICIANS AFTER ENFRANCHISEMENT IN
NORWAY, UNITED STATES, AND CHILE.**

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Book Outline

How did women achieve representation of collective interests upon their entry to the electorate? Extant research highlights the importance of suffragists in securing the vote, but overwhelmingly neglects the continued legacy of suffragists for the quality of women's substantive representation after the vote. Uncovering the complexities in the realization of women's substantive representation after suffrage, I document how suffragists facilitated women's mobilization and responsiveness to women's group interests in Norway, United States and Chile. Newly enfranchised women faced a plethora of logistic, social and political barriers to voting, and the socio-economic heterogeneities within the group further impeded the development of women as a distinct political group. Yet a disengaged electorate with latently distinct preferences would hardly stand a chance of being represented by politicians. Through the analysis of original micro-level data on suffragists' arguments, activities, women's turnout, newspaper ads and politicians' legislative votes, I document how suffragists, operating within favorable electoral contexts, facilitated the politicization of newly enfranchised women as political individuals and a distinct political group that politicians could no longer ignore in elections and the legislature. The book challenges dominant accounts in political science that assume a near 'automatic' link between suffrage and substantive representation and offers an explanation for why politicians sometimes do not mobilize women voters, and subsequently do not represent their interests in legislatures.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1. Does Women's Suffrage Secure Representation of Women's Collective Interests?

In the introduction, I present the key puzzle of the book: how did newly enfranchised women secure substantive representation of collective interests after their enfranchisement? Highlighting how socio-economic and political heterogeneity of newly enfranchised women, together with economic, social and the history of political marginalization of women provided *de facto* barriers to women's representation after suffrage, I shed light on the difficulties in linking women's formal inclusion in politics with an 'automatic' improvement in the representation of women's interests. While scholars often emphasize the importance of voting rights for representation, and suffragists and today's practitioners alike often call for the removal of voting barriers as a means to group empowerment, politicians often fail to represent women's interests despite women's equal access to the polls. Carefully unpacking the conditions that underpin the realization of women's substantive representation after suffrage, the chapter demonstrates that suffrage does not always improve representation. The chapter then sets the agenda of the book as an enquiry into the electoral conditions under which suffrage secures substantive representation of women.

Chapter 2. Theorizing How the Suffragists Facilitated Realization of Women's Representation After Suffrage.

This chapter develops a theory for the role of organized interests in securing the representation of newly enfranchised groups.

Whilst the adoption of suffrage secured *de jure* politicization of women in formal politics, it did not immediately and unconditionally spur women's politicization *de facto*. Historical exclusion of women from formal politics reflected women's status as that of non-political beings whose preferences were either represented by husbands, or irrelevant to politics. The first women voters were socialized growing up as non-political beings whose primary responsibilities were at home and whose interests were tied to their households.

If women are not yet politicized *de facto* as individuals, their propensity to vote is likely to trail significantly behind that of men. Not being *de facto* politicized as a members of a distinct political group, even women who do vote are likely to 'double' the votes of their husbands. The low voting propensity among women discourages women's electoral mobilization by politicians, who gain greater returns by mobilizing men. The low propensity of women to demand representation of shared interests among the few women who are likely to participate in the election discourages politicians from mobilizing women on their group interests. To the extent that politicians have weaker incentives to mobilize women, they will therefore also have weaker incentives to represent their interests.

Through the fight for suffrage, the suffragists facilitated the politicization of women as political individuals and as a political group. While the suffragists casted themselves as spokespersons for all

women, they could never encompass preferences of all women. If their fight for suffrage was to be successful, they had to demonstrate that women’s votes were obtainable for politicians after women’s suffrage - that women were capable and interested in the vote with clearly defined interests. The fight for suffrage thus facilitated the development of women as active, informed electorate with articulated collective interests - ‘creating’ the very group that they claimed to represent. This strengthened politicians incentives to mobilize women, and to represent their group interests in legislatures *after* suffrage. The suffragists increased the obtainability of women’s votes for politicians, which increased their incentives to mobilize and represent women.

Chapter 3. Getting to Know the Cases.

Before proceeding to the empirical chapters, this chapter builds the case for the comparative study of three very distinct countries - Norway, U.S. and Chile and contextualizes each case with respect to the character of the suffrage movement - its strategies in getting the vote and how these shaped the way towards representation once the vote was won (see Table 1). The character of the suffrage movement varied with respect to its (i)relationship with parties and (ii) fragmentation along other dimensions such as class, race or religion. The three countries also employed distinct electoral systems (majority runoff in Norway until 1921 and PR after 1921; plurality SMDs in U.S.; and PR in Chile). This allows for (i) a comparison across cases and (ii) a comparison within each case. The diversity of selected cases allows for a conservative test of my argument that provides the strongest basis for generalization (Seawright and Gerring 2008), while being able to implement strong within-country designs that provide good basis for internally valid inferences.

Table 1: Case Selection

Case	Suffrage	El. System - Legislature	Suffrage Movement
U.S.	1920 (federal)	SMD, plurality	split by race, non-partisan
Norway Norway	1907 (wealthy), 1913 (all)	SMD, majority (-1920) PR (1921-)	split by class, non-partisan
Chile	1934 (failed), 1949	PR	split by religion, partly partisan

Chapter 4. How Suffragists Facilitated The Politicization of Women as Political Beings and a Political Group before Women’s Suffrage in Norway.

The adoption of women’s suffrage brought an end to women’s political marginalization de jure, and opened doors to women’s political emancipation de facto. Suffrage transformed women from non-political beings who were unsuited by nature to politics to equal worthy citizens with political demands of their own. In this chapter, I argue that the suffragists were key facilitators of this transition that did not happen overnight. Through decades long work for suffrage, the suffragists helped to create women as political beings and a political group. Leading the debate on women’s suffrage among organized women’s groups and mobilizing voters and politicians for suffrage, the suffragists were pivotal in the breakdown of old and the birth of new narratives about women in

politics. In the first part of this chapter, I analyze suffragists' arguments for and against suffrage. Using a unique qualitative data set on suffragists and supplementing these with a unique collection of arguments for and against suffrage made by politicians during parliamentary debates, I demonstrate the pivotal role of suffragists in the creation of new narratives about women as political. In the second part of this chapter, I analyze activities of the suffragists. Using a unique qualitative data set on suffragists and supplementing those with a unique collection of activities of the largest women's organization that was not focused on suffrage, I demonstrate that suffragists worked tirelessly to disseminate narratives of women as political to both voters and politicians.

Chapter 5. How Suffragists Facilitated Mobilization of Women into Politics after Suffrage in Norway.

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how the suffragists were pivotal in the politicization of women. Whilst politicization of women was a means to winning the vote, I argue that doing so also facilitated mobilization of women by politicians after suffrage. Working towards suffrage, the suffragists thus facilitated the creation of the political women they claimed to represent - women who were interested in the vote and capable to vote and shared common interests. Only when women were sufficiently political beings with clearly defined interests, politicians had a strategic electoral incentive to mobilize women in elections. In this chapter, I analyze women's and men's turnout after suffrage. Using a sex-separated turnout data, geographical presence of suffragists and supplementing these with a unique collection of electoral ads published in local newspapers, I demonstrate the pivotal role of suffragists in the mobilization of women after suffrage.

Chapter 6. How Suffragists Facilitated Representation of Women in Legislatures after Suffrage in Norway.

The previous chapters demonstrated how the suffragists facilitated politicization and subsequent mobilization of women. In this chapter, I argue that doing so inevitably also facilitated realization of women's group representation after suffrage. Debating the issues surrounding women's suffrage within the movement, the suffragists helped to define the interests of the new political group of women. Communicating those ideas to politicians, the suffragists established themselves as speakers for the very group of women they helped to create. Only when women were sufficiently 'mobilizable' with clearly defined interests, politicians had a strategic electoral incentive represent women's interests in legislatures. In this chapter, I analyze politicians' support of women's legislation after suffrage. Using parliamentary roll call votes, geographical presences of suffragists and supplementing these with a unique collection of bills directly supported by the suffragists, I demonstrate the crucial role of suffragists in politicians representation of women's group interests after suffrage.

Chapter 7. Women, Suffragists and Politicians in the United States.

In the fourth empirical chapter, I explore the generalizability of my findings from Norway to United States. Through a careful analysis of suffragists arguments, activities, newspaper ads and roll calls,

I demonstrate the crucial role of the suffragists in the politicization of women in another case with single member districts. As opposed to the Norwegian suffragists, however, the fragmentation of the movement by race that effectively excluded black women shaped and restricted the extent of politicians' mobilization and subsequent representation of women's interests.

Chapter 8. Women, Suffragists and Politicians in Chile.

In the fifth empirical chapter, I explore the generalizability of my findings from Norway to Chile. Through a careful analysis of suffragists arguments, activities, turnout and vote choice and legislation adopted after suffrage, I again demonstrate the crucial role of the suffragists in the politicization of women in a case with proportional representation. As opposed to the suffragists who operated in single member districts, however, the suffragists faced an incentive to align with political parties. Importantly, the fragmentation of the movement by religion further shaped and restricted the extent of politicians' mobilization and subsequent representation of women's interests.

Chapter 9. Discussion: From Past to Present.

The final chapter presents the key contributions of the book in our understanding of how women achieved representation of group interests upon enfranchisement. Bringing together women's voting behavior, activities and character of suffragists, and politicians' strategic incentives, all operating in different electoral systems, I argue for a more refined understanding of the pathways towards representation. While enfranchisement is a necessary precursor to women's representation, democratization through suffrage enlargements alone may not be sufficient to secure political responsiveness to women's interests. In the second part of this chapter, I discuss how this book sheds light on broader questions of women's representation today. In doing so, I propose that, despite the obvious differences in contexts, the electoral incentives of politicians and organized interests should be shaped by similar factors, such as politicians' and organized interests' electoral incentives within given institutional frameworks. Consequently, the pathways towards women's representation upon enfranchisement illuminate the mechanisms under which politicians address women's issues today, and under which efforts to remove barriers to women's electoral participation are likely to foster women's agenda.