

Belmont University

## Belmont Digital Repository

---

Honors Theses

Belmont Honors Program

---

4-26-2022

# Pursuit of the Vote: Factors Utilized in Resisting Discrimination in Democratic Elections

Matthew Nicholson

matthew.nicholson@pop.belmont.edu

Follow this and additional works at: [https://repository.belmont.edu/honors\\_theses](https://repository.belmont.edu/honors_theses)



Part of the [Comparative Politics Commons](#), [Election Law Commons](#), [Models and Methods Commons](#), and the [Political Theory Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Nicholson, Matthew, "Pursuit of the Vote: Factors Utilized in Resisting Discrimination in Democratic Elections" (2022). *Honors Theses*. 81.

[https://repository.belmont.edu/honors\\_theses/81](https://repository.belmont.edu/honors_theses/81)

This Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Belmont Honors Program at Belmont Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Belmont Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [repository@belmont.edu](mailto:repository@belmont.edu).

Pursuit of the Vote: Factors Utilized in Resisting Discrimination in Democratic Elections

Matthew Nicholson


A Senior Honors Thesis project submitted to the Honors Program

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

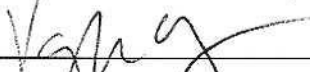
Bachelor of Arts in Politics and Public Law

Belmont University Honors Program

25<sup>th</sup> April, 2022

 Date 4/26/22

Dr. Nathan Griffith, Thesis Director

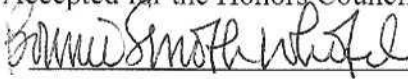
 Date 4-19-22

Dr. Vaughn May, Committee Member

 Date 4-21-22

Dr. Brad Schleben, Committee Member

Accepted for the Honors Council and Honors Program:

 Date 4/20/22

Dr. Bonnie Smith Whitehouse, Director

The Honors Program

## Abstract

Suffrage movements make use of various social and political factors to pressure their governments to expand the scope of voting rights. Using McAdam's political process model, I will analyze how disenfranchised groups' use of nonviolent demonstration, appeals to international pressure, and appeals to religion, affects their success. This will also highlight patterns that emerge when groups are willing to instigate violence in pursuit of their goals. Most studies examine these variables in the context of the pursuit of independence or revolution, whereas this study focuses on groups wishing to remain within a system given their desired reforms. I will analyze the data derived based on a diverse set of cases of movements from distinct cultural backgrounds and time periods, such as women's suffrage movements, Civil Rights Movements, and discrimination against the economically disadvantaged to determine what aspects of these movements are statistically significant.

## Introduction

Rule by the people is the primary intent of a democratic system; if all of mankind is equal, then should all not have the same voice in government? However, most systems do not start out this way. Even nations who espouse democratic and egalitarian ideals often take decades or centuries to evolve their system to include legal protections for all different peoples who call their nation home, these divisions forming across racial, religious, economic, and social divides within the population. Considering these factors when looking at successful voter rights movements in democratic nations will help build a case regarding what factors are truly important. If we wish to see whether a pattern emerges in the actions and rhetoric of groups who pursue political enfranchisement, many different movements must be considered, analyzing their similarities and differences to understand why and how these groups rise out of oppression.

## Question: How do disenfranchised groups become enfranchised?

## Literature Review

Though the pursuit of enfranchisement is commonly studied in a historical setting, there is little data immediately present to express the quantified variables that lead to the success or failure of these movements. McAdam does however analyze multiple hypothetical factors with regards to the American Civil Rights movement. The key takeaway from McAdam I will be utilizing, however, is when he calls into question the true utility of a common model in the study of social movements, the resource mobilization model, which analyzes a movement's procurement and use of monetary assets; McAdam questions the true utility of this model, claiming "[it] has received very little empirical attention or, for that matter, critical comment, in general."<sup>1</sup> This paper takes inspiration from McAdam's proposed "Political Process Model of Social Movements," examining factors within the movement itself, within the country the movement is occurring in, and amongst foreign nations that affect the movement whether directly or indirectly. While McAdam applies this model to the Civil Rights movement in terms of political power and direct participation in institutions, it can also serve to analyze movements within a society who are politically removed due to discriminatory legal practices.

---

<sup>1</sup>Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930-1970* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 2.

## Violence vs Non-Violence

Nonviolent activism is the most well-known and well-studied strategy for the pursuit of civil rights by minority groups. This school of thought taking from the teachings and strategies of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. express the necessity of keeping peace with the guilty political system and striving to change it for the better rather than proverbially or literally burning it down and starting from scratch. In fact, in an article written five years after *Political Process*, McAdam and fellow researchers, in an analysis of types of civil action, draw a distinction between protest and civil action, identifying the prior as at risk of violence, though this is not a universal aspect, and the latter as events of a nonconfrontational nature that serve to build community and share messages through purely peaceful means.<sup>2</sup> Other experts on the subject have also investigated the role of violence as compared to peaceful action. According to Wasow, the times the Civil Rights movement drifted into threats of riots were associated with greater support for laws that limited gatherings and maintained order, while periods with widespread media coverage of peaceful gatherings were associated with wider support for the reforms they proposed. Wasow's study includes a hypothetical "counterfactual" electoral comparison of the 1968 presidential election, which was directly preceded by the assassinations of prominent civil rights advocates like Malcolm X, Bobby Kennedy, and, most prevalent, Dr Martin Luther King Jr, which was followed by nationwide racial unrest and rioting. His findings indicate that the immediate presence of violent riots in the public conscience greatly harmed politicians supporting the civil rights movement, to the point that Wasow claims that, without the riots, the 1968 election would have been won by Humphrey rather than Nixon.<sup>3</sup> While such a drastic change in the election can be hard to justify following the impact of a single event, Dr King's role not only as the face of the Civil Rights movement but as a voice of peace in a time of turbulence cannot be overstated. It stands to reason that the assassination of the movement's foremost peaceful influence would spark violent outcries, regardless of the ideology of the man being mourned, as well as it makes sense how such actions may increase tensions along racial lines to the point of the issue being reframed to avoid further controversy.

Moving away from the movement's end, it is important to consider the methods of nonviolence used, commonly defined by the umbrella term "civil disobedience." Rather than vandalizing government property or instigating conflicts, those under King's influence acted peacefully, demonstrating through sit-ins at segregated restaurants and marches demanding equal treatment by the government. Laidler shows how these movements were widespread; these groups not only mobilized disenfranchised citizens to participate in civil disobedience, but also gathered in groups of their own, as shown in the following: "Such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), the Congress of Racial Equality, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and Black Muslims, as well as individuals connected with the A.C.L.U. or the N.A.A.C.P., initiated short- or long-term processes which led to changes in law, political actions and social attitude towards the problem of equality."<sup>4</sup> The communities in which they

---

<sup>2</sup> Robert J. Sampson, Doug McAdam, Heather MacIndoe, and Simón Weffer-Elizondo, "Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 3 (2005): 684-685.

<sup>3</sup> Omar Wasow, "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting," *The American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (08, 2020): 650.

<sup>4</sup> Pawel Laidler: "'Good Law' Versus 'Bad Law': Civil Disobedience During the Desegregation Process in the United States of America," *Politeja* 13, no. 45 (2016): 34.

demonstrated often met these groups' actions with disdain, but little by little, the nation's attention was drawn to not just the southern states enforcing discriminatory laws, but the federal laws backing them. The need for civil disobedience was not just to disrupt the system itself, but to draw this attention, as it is impossible to distort in any media the cruelty of peaceful, marching demonstrators being set-upon with dogs and fire hoses. Laidler puts these actions in the scope of a reaction-to-a-reaction, as the treatment of African Americans in the south steadily worsened following the Supreme Court's reversal of *Plessy v Ferguson* in the case *Brown v Board of Education*; based on this observation, it is possible to describe the events of the Civil Rights Movements as a cycle of gains for racial progressives and increased resistance by those in control, culminating in the aforementioned assassinations breaking the emotional pattern that had been helping the movements make gains for the better part of a decade.

Another well-studied mold of voters' rights movement is that of the women's suffrage movement. Most democracies began as exclusively male ventures, with various societies granting women limited or universal voting rights as they neared modern day. Though these movements were largely non-violent, the study of them raises up another branch of the tree of factors that is the pursuit of the vote, asked in the following by Moehling and Thomasson: "Theories of suffrage extension seek to explain why groups in power would choose to share this power with the disenfranchised. All of these theories predict that men extend the franchise to women when the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs, but they differ in the benefits and costs they consider."<sup>5</sup> The actions and behavior of a group alone are not enough to make a determination or predictive analysis of that group's success; the nature of the system they exist in and those who control it must also be considered. As the authors mention, no two societies being alike, the men in charge of each democracy had to make considerations on the potential threats to their own power the enfranchisement of women could spark in relation to the political gain they may be able to foster. Those who saw more potential gain favored suffrage; those who saw more potential threat opposed it. This principle need not apply solely to women's movements, as the same could be argued about the other movements that this paper aims to analyze as well.

**Hypothesis 1 (H1): Movements which resort to violence delay their pursuits' political success.**

### **Foreign Pressure**

Outside of the actions of enfranchisement-pursuant groups themselves, a major factor that often emerges in major social movements is mounting pressure from foreign parties for the government in question to relent to the protestors and grant the group the rights they strive for on the basis of the international community's support for universal human rights. The most well-known example of such pressure helping a movement achieve fruition is that of the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, which saw nations and organizations from across the globe who sympathized with the demonstrators threaten the South African government with sanctions and other political threats. Often, even if national governments sympathize with the plea of a repressed group in another nation, their own citizens or the international community at large must pressure them into action. Brown and Yaffe provide an example in the extended picket campaign around the South African Embassy in London. The authors describe the event in detail,

---

<sup>5</sup>Carolyn M Moehling and Melissa A Thomasson, "Votes for Women," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 34, no. 2 (2020): 3-23.

stating, “For nearly four years, from April 1986 until just after Nelson Mandela's release from jail in February 1990, City Group and its supporters maintained a continual presence every day and night in front of South Africa House. At its peak, City Group had a membership of over 1000, but the Picket was generally kept going by a core group of fewer than 100 people, many of them school and university students,” showing people’s dedication to the fight against oppression and their willingness to move ahead and make amends when progress is made.<sup>6</sup> This consistent pressure, while not solely responsible for pushing the British government to act, is just one example of many of how civilians can influence political actions by more than simply voting. A distinctly modern counterpart to international pressure from nations exists in the capacity of Nongovernmental Organizations to form and exert influence over nations as well. One such group, as shown by Wood et al., was the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).<sup>7</sup> This international federation of trade unions, being drawn to help those oppressed by the Apartheid system, aided the African National Congress, the lead anti-Apartheid group in the country, organizing strikes and supporting workers’ rights and egalitarian ideals.

Klotz discusses other examples of the influence of NGOs in the battle against apartheid, showing that without their influence, western nations and the UN may not have stepped in to resolve the conflict. Though the country’s racially stratified political and economic divisions were known to the international community, it took the efforts of labor unions like COSATU, as well as input from various international Church and academic groups to encourage foreign pressures like boycotts or sanctions.<sup>8</sup> A criticism often weighed against foreign influences being active in times of political turmoil is the fear that these powers will seek to influence the politics of the nation for personal gain, but as can be seen in the cases of South Africa and its neighbors as presented by Wood, organizations can have a positive impact on a movement without fully succeeding in becoming influential. The most significant external pressures on South Africa, of course, came from other Western democracies. While never resorting to outright threats of violence, many of these nations’ status as nuclear powers should also be considered. Western pressure for nations to join the Non-Proliferation treaty around the time the anti-Apartheid movement was coming to fruition helped to compound the other forces in liberalizing the nation. Anderson et al. describe the nuclearization of South Africa as failing to achieve the political goals the regime had desired, stating, “Despite South Africa’s entreaties, Washington kept its distance, imposing economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. At the same time, South Africa was able to achieve only modest improvements in relations with its neighbors,” showing that failure to bow to international pressure can result in stagnation of a regime’s goals.<sup>9</sup> One result of this was South Africa becoming the only nation to fully disarm its nuclear arsenal, then acting as a world leader against the proliferation of WMDs under the leadership of the ANC.

---

<sup>6</sup> Gavin Brown and Helen Yaffe, “Practices of Solidarity: Opposing Apartheid in the Centre of London,” *Antipode* 46, no. 1 (2014): 35.

<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey Wood, Pauline Dibben, and Gilton Klerck, “The Limits of Transnational Solidarity: The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Swaziland and Zimbabwean Crises,” *Labor History* 54, no. 5 (2013): 527-528.

<sup>8</sup> Audie Klotz, “Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences,” *European Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 1 (March 2002): 60-61.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas D. Anderson, Alexandre Debs, and Nuno P. Monteiro. “General Nuclear Compellence: The State, Allies, and Adversaries,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2019): 111.

**Hypothesis 2 (H2): Political pressure from powerful foreign nations increases the rate of success for rights-seeking movements.**

**Appeal to a Common Religious Identity**

A commonality in the movements thus far discussed has been a call to religious sympathy, or an attempt to convince those in power to see them along the lines not of their ethno-racial identities but by an identity that unites them as members of the same faith. It is likely that, while not as fundamental a force as direct activism and international pressure, rhetorical appeals to religion may assist movements by appealing to the enfranchised population to change certain perceptions they may have of them. McAdam is not the only one to identify the relationship between religion and social progress, though Snow et al. do seem to indicate him as a preeminent mind in the exploration of this relationship. The authors give McAdam partial credit for the following discussion from their work: “Clearly, there is evidence that everyday social circles and local, non-movement communal organizations can function as important micromobilization agencies. The organizing role of the Black churches in the early stages of the civil rights movement has been well documented.”<sup>10</sup> Such a relationship may build unity within movements and breed support from the religious amongst those with political enfranchisement, the ones with the eventual power to expand the vote.

**Hypothesis 3 (H3): Appeal to common religious practice leads to quicker success for disenfranchised groups.**

Though it is an unfortunate truth, not all regimes that maintain a structure of inequality are willing to simply abandon it when those it oppresses rise in opposition, peaceful or otherwise. As a result, some disenfranchised groups have been forced into violent action in pursuit of the equality they desire, though such action typically only serves to delegitimize these movements. As mentioned priorly in the article from Wasow, even the American Civil Rights movement entered a period of stagnation when several key assassinations caused the movement to delve into reactionary action. Such activity causing strained relations is not a uniquely American event, however, as Spierings shows a similar reaction to violence in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) following the series of political uprisings referred to as the Arab Spring. As Spierings describes, “The developments following the uprisings are strikingly uniform: in all nine countries we see a decline between 2010–2011 and 2012–2013. Across the MENA, tolerance towards people of other ethno-religious background seems to have decayed in the first years after the uprisings,” followed by a steady regrowth in trust and interethnic relations, another pattern that resembles the American context following the end of the main period of the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>11</sup> Even if violence does not fully end a political movement, it often does more harm than good, as those in power will almost always meet violence in kind.

Another interesting observation Spierings presents is the patterns of these groups trust in their political institutions as a whole. In countries like Egypt, institutional trust often had been regularly increasing, culminating in drastic, sudden, downward trends following 2011, a

---

<sup>10</sup> David A. Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation.” *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1986): 478.

<sup>11</sup> Niels Spierings, “Trust and Tolerance Across the Middle East and North Africa: A Comparative Perspective on the Impact of the Arab Uprisings,” *Politics and Governance* 5, no. 2 (2017): 12.

culmination of the growing efforts of liberal youth in the region. Violent action harming the image of a political cause is not a solely modern development. As Aidt and Franck discuss, in the event of a violent threat from a disadvantaged group, they say “the autocratic elites can credibly commit to democratic reform while they are expected to renege on policy concessions once the threat has passed... those who seek to overthrow the status quo face many hurdles in mobilizing and coordinating popular support and they do not pose a permanent threat to the autocratic elites,” showing how concessions made to prevent acts of violence can truly be a false promise.<sup>12</sup> Historical precedent shows that groups that resort to violence are met with three fates. First, the government above them acknowledges and fulfils the demands associated with the group’s stated goals; such an example can be seen in Aidt and Franck’s description of the constant threat of a public uprising forcing the British government to keep to its word regarding the Great Reform Act of 1832. A second hypothetical scenario would be that presented above, when reforms are put in place, followed by their revocation; it could be argued that this example exists in many of the nations of the Arab Spring, where democratic reforms were later put under threat or reversed outright by Islamist governments or counterrevolutions. The final scenario would be the darkest: a political uprising resorting to violence, the regime military then meeting them in-turn. Such a scenario, while more about independence outright than political equality, can be seen in the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny in India, where Indian nationals rose against the British East India Company, only for the Crown to install and even stricter government, bringing the subcontinent under direct rule as the British Raj. Even in the first of these scenarios, the only one that can be argues as a “good” ending for those rising against oppression, they are left in a scenario where they must remain ready to engage with their rulers constantly, lest they falter and become as the second scenario. All being the same, and to steal an old adage, violence begets violence, whereas real change comes not from the slash of a sword but the shaking of a hand and the marks of a pen.

### **Topics Not Addressed and Future Considerations**

Though some groups face explicit legal disenfranchisement, other cases exist of a group legally having the right to vote, but their political voice may be systemically or functionally repressed. This system was prevalent in the American South following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. Another example of this is currently being debated vigorously in modern American politics: those whose vote is suppressed due to political mechanics such as gerrymandering and reduced opportunities to vote, such as limited polling places or shorter time periods in which to vote. This is seemingly a natural result of a system moving from away from outright oppression; even if a group is granted legal equality, this does not mean those in power will not try to keep them down functionally. Godek shows that the politics of socially progressive nations like the United States center around the principal that states will prefer the electoral system that gives the largest number of people the greatest political voice.<sup>13</sup> Regarding America, he clearly shows that states with smaller populations will, by their very nature, prefer the electoral college, giving their voices greater weight against highly populated states. If parties prefer whatever system gives them the most power over what is most representative, and large, successful parties are the only ones with the ability to enact change, we can say partisan identity is not a factor in determining a proposed reform’s success or defeat, as the major parties, already

---

<sup>12</sup> Toke S Aidt and Raphaël Franck, “Democratization Under the Threat of Revolution: Evidence from the Great Reform Act of 1832,” *Econometrica* 83, no. 2 (2015): 505-506.

<sup>13</sup> Paul E. Godek, “Determining State Preferences for the Electoral College: 1788-2016,” *The Cato Journal* 38, no. 3 (2018): 648-51.



powerful, will not want to risk their positions by changing the system. Such a fear is not unfounded, as Lott and Kenny show through their analysis of the effects of women's suffrage on the range of actions the American government participates in. According to the authors' study, increased female participation in the vote was directly associated with increased state spending and higher support for more liberal politicians, a split between the genders that, while varying based on the nation's political climate, remains prevalent at the time of the authors writing.<sup>14</sup> While the exact effects any particular group has on a nation's politics are impossible to predict with perfect accuracy, one thing that is true of all politics is that those in power want to stay there, and they will try their hardest to stop those who would shake the boat, even if those people are simply asking the laws of the country to be applied equally and fairly.

### **Plan to Test**

In exploring the question of how disenfranchised groups become enfranchised, multiple actions and aspects of the movements themselves must be considered. I believe historical data will show that while nonviolent activism, international appeals, and religious appeals often result in successful gains for disenfranchised groups, those that resort to violence often lose international and domestic support and delay their pursuits' political gains. This claim is based on the international community's struggle to differentiate between terrorist and freedom fighter, as governments often see the terms as subjective. It goes without saying that countries will denounce any groups within their borders that seek to undermine their governmental authority and will label such groups as seditious or terrorists. None in the international community will wish to be accused of supporting violence within another nation's borders, so their support for groups using such force, even if it is for a noble cause or against a dictatorial government, will be negligible. For the purposes of this study, the list of movements will consist of those arising in the following list of countries, chosen for both their historical diversity and established natures as democratic systems: Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These states all fall within Lijphart's description of democratic societies, some like Mexico and South Africa now being considered fully democratic given their systems' survival past Lijphart's twenty-year stability cutoff.<sup>15</sup> These countries were selected for their mixed linguistic and cultural contexts, histories of women's and racial activism, and well-documented reforms.

A number of cases will be examined and will be designated based on a set of subcategories based on the nature of the group's status as a discriminated group. The first set, designated Set I, is racially disenfranchised groups, groups who were denied the right to vote due to being of a different racial group than the present government of their country. Such movements include but are not limited to the African-American Civil Rights Movement, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and pursuits of enfranchisement from Native American Tribes, the Canadian First Nations, and Australian Aboriginals. The next group of cases, designated Set II, encompasses gender-disenfranchised Groups, movements from women who, historically, have been denied to right the vote in many otherwise democratic nations. Such suffrage movements include the American, British, Australian, and Swiss Women's suffrage movements, among

---

<sup>14</sup> John R Lott Jr, and Lawrence W Kenny, "Did Women's Suffrage Change the Size and Scope of Government?" *The Journal of Political Economy* 107, no. 6 (1999): 1185-1188.

<sup>15</sup> Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012), 50-51.

others. The final group of cases, labelled Set III, covers economically or socially disenfranchised groups. These include efforts to achieve the right to vote from the unlanded or propertyless (in America, Britain, etc.) and those under pre-determined wealth requirements (in America, Britain, etc.), as well as those who have lost the right to vote due to incarceration. It will be a common case that a country has multiple distinct expansions of voter rights throughout its history; in these cases, only the most recent of each will be considered for this study, such as the African-American Civil Rights movement and the 1965 Voting Rights being included while the pre-Civil War Abolitionist movement and the adoption of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment are not. This exclusion serves a twofold purpose. Firstly, it prevents the improper weighing of the data by counting movements multiple times over. Additionally, the fact movements address a specific social group more than once suggests the original may not have been as successful as first thought; including the latter without relabeling the earlier instances as failures further helps to ensure the data's soundness. Variables of these sets will also be included with the analysis of the action variables to determine if the nature of a group's makeup has influence over their rate of success.

To explore these variables, I will analyze the variables using numerical descriptions of the degree the action in question is occurring. Both aspects will be analyzed for the numerous cases mentioned prior, as well as others to be outlined in totality. If a movement is labelled as "none" for a variable, this indicates it a non-significant factor in the movement's pursuit of enfranchisement. Contrarily, a designation as "some" indicates the movement utilized any significant amount of use of this tool, whether in partiality or as a central tenant of the movement's efforts. While examining the degree of the variables may be explored in a future paper, the current goal of the author is to prove if such factors have an effect on the success rate of movements just through their presence. The three variables to be examined will be a movement's use of violence, namely violence of a nature that cannot be considered defensive, the movement's willingness to appeal to foreign governments and organizations for aid or to pressure their native governments to acquiesce to their demands, and appeal to a common religious background with the politically controlling social group. Cases deemed to represent "none" in one of the categories will be assigned a value of 0. Most women's suffrage movements classify as a 0 in violence; while members of these groups certainly engaged in violent behavior, only rarely was there widespread agreement amongst feminist leaders in a region that violent action should be threatened. Other positions will be assigned a value of either 0.5 or 1. Cases as 0.5 indicate that the movement had a fractionalized structure leading to certain factions embracing either nonviolence or direct action, or that the major ideology of the movement shifted at some point during its efforts. A notable example of divided leadership regarding violence would be the American Civil Rights Movement, while the shift in values regarding violence is best typified by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The assignment of a 1 indicates focus or unity within a group regarding their position on a strategic value. Most women's suffrage movements are assigned a 1 in their appeal to a common religious heritage, such religious appeals often being necessary to overcoming deeply engrained social norms regarding gender.

These values will be collected and examined for patterns of relationship with the rate at which success is achieved, this being the time passed between the approximate start of the movement in question and the date on which enfranchising reforms were passed. The year of the movement's origin will also be considered amongst the variables as a stand-in consideration of the movement's historical context. While the near-dichotomous nature of this study serves to investigate the effect of these variables through their mere presence or absence, future studies

could find continuous variables to function as stand-ins for their effects on a movement that may better indicate their true influence. Such limited range reduces complex ideas like the use of violence as an ideological motivator to a simple yes-or-no, a metric that is far too simple for more complex analyses and predictions but will serve its purpose for my study as an investigation into the influence of an idea's presence.

In addition to the variables being directly explored, there are multiple things that will need to be explored or addressed as possible confounding factors in this study. With regards to violence, there is a difference between groups seeking additional rights within a system as compared to those trying to break away and form a new government, or even trying to overturn the existing order in a not purely democratic manner. Certain groups may begin as an effort to gain rights in a system before deciding to break away is preferable, or contrarily, a rebel group seeking independence may settle for rights and representation to ensure peace. Groups that use violence that leads to the outbreak of civil conflict will not be considered, as such groups are beyond the scope of consideration for this study. The final and most pressing potential confounding variable regards functional disenfranchisement, the incidence of a legally recognized enfranchised group is not provided proper opportunities or facilities to exercise this right. As such claims are an ongoing legal question and the effect is more to limit a group's voice than to fully quash its political input, including such claims disenfranchisement in this study may serve to bias the data, as questions of democratic practices, political motives, and the right of protest leave the area as a notable moral gray.

## **Model**

The variables will be examined jointly for significance in regards to the movement's success. If the hypotheses are correct, movements with will be associated with lower degrees of instigating violence, greater appeals to and use of international pressure, and more use of appeals to common religious practice will achieve success at a faster rate. The lack of the presence of violence may even be considerable as a prerequisite for international support of a movement in pursuit of democratic rights, as the aforementioned legal gray area between freedom fighter and terrorist becomes less worrisome when the group in question does not resort to violence. Each case will be examined for each of these factors and compared to each of the other cases with regards the success of the movement. A multiple regression analysis will examine the variables in relation to the time passed to investigate significance of violence, international pressure, and an appeal to common religious heritage on the rate of success of each reform movement. The data gathered from this test will show which of our variables re significantly associated with the eventual success or failure of their movements. Comparing each to the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between our variables and the outcome, we will be able to analyze which occur in such a pattern that their presence or absence becomes associated with our movements rate of success. In addition to our three operative variables, our test will consider the nature of the groups themselves, based on the three established sets, those being racial, gendered, or economic discrimination. The final variable considered will be the movement's approximate year of formation, which will serve to compare the rate of these movements success to their historical contexts.

## Results and Analysis

**Table 1<sup>16</sup>**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Coefficients		
(Constant)	420.058	190.433		2.206	.041
Violence	-12.176	14.865	-.206	-.819	.423
Foreign Pressure	1.756	12.191	.034	.144	.887
Common Religious Practice	-8.348	10.695	-.194	-.781	.445
Race	21.591	12.683	.419	1.702	.106
Economic	8.154	11.245	.169	.725	.478
Start of Movement	-.198	.101	-.422	-1.962	.065*

\* = Statistically Significant at the 0.1 Level

### Excluded Variables

Model	Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
					Tolerance
Gender	.	.	.	.	.000

The data shown in Table 1 shows no statistically significant relationship between the success rate of electoral reform movements and violence, foreign pressure, or the appeal to a common religious practice, indicating no consistent relationship exists between these factors and the ability of suffrage movements to reach success more quickly. Of the additional variables, the year of the movement's origin is statistically significant at the 10% level; the presence of a negative beta indicates that the closer a movement is to the modern day, the less time it will take for it to find success, though the proximity to zero of this value indicates this effect is fairly limited in scope. This would seem to suggest that rather than behaviors of a group or even the group's social makeup influencing their rate of success in pressuring governments for electoral rights, the simple fact a group begins closer to the modern day is correlated with less time being required to achieve their desired result. Perhaps an event or even the general shift of world

<sup>16</sup> Case list and variable values available in Appendix A. Case success rates (time elapsed between the start and success of the movement) is recorded and explained in Appendix B.

affairs during the 20<sup>th</sup> century is responsible for a wave of democratization, and perhaps with more data, a more clear pattern may emerge.

It is also important to note in the calculation of these results, the regression software automatically removed the gender variable from calculation, indicating that its presence or absence did not affect the results of the calculation in a considerable manner. Apart from explicitly women's suffrage movements, few political movements are solely made of members of a single gender, and even in women's movements case, male allies usually participate. The exact reason gender has no effect could be debated, but it is likely that other factors such as the strategies they use or other factors not considered have more to do with the rate of success than the simple fact that the movement is dedicated to the cause of women's rights.

Movements representing the rights of racially-disenfranchised groups are just outside of statistical significance. The interaction between race and politics has been studied in depth for decades, especially in the context of the Americas. The American Civil Rights Movement was identified as originating in 1910 with the NAACP for the purposes of this study, but abolitionist and racially progressive sentiments were present in American politics since the framing of the constitution. While the lack of statistical significance means no concrete analyses can be made, it is still interesting to note that the beta coefficient of the race variable was approximately 21.6, indicating a relatively high increase in the time required for such movements to reach their desired goals. In simpler terms, racially disenfranchised movements require more time than other groups to have their desired reforms passed.

It should also, perhaps, be no surprise that the effects of both violence and foreign pressure are inconsistent at best, random at worst. The nature of violence, nonviolence, and the reaction of the regime is subjective to a degree that may not have any consistency between regimes. The effect of foreign pressure, conversely, can usually only occur in one direction, with stronger democracies encourage or outright threaten smaller democracies to expand their range of rights further. The relationship between these countries may have further influence over how effective this process may be. Exploring whether influence is more or less effective between friendly or unfriendly countries could reveal more insights into this process. Conversely, the sheer number of factors at play in determining the influence one nation has over another may obfuscate any potential findings.

Given the limited scope of the case list, this study serves to open the door to future research on what factors are most influential over the success of suffrage movements. Further variables herein unconsidered may impact the results shown, and an expanded case list may result in different findings. While the choices used for the data herein are explained in Appendix B, certain movements times or variable assignments could be argued to be different. In addition the proportion of the population they represent could also be considered. Although women will consistently make up approximately 50% of a nation's population, other categories of people who are barred from voting rights may find quicker or delayed success due to the sheer size of the minority they represent. A preview of this effect may be hidden in the results already present,

gendered movements having the fastest mean rate of success of the examined categories.<sup>17</sup> The ability of a reform movement to find success may also rely on the resources available to it. Partisan groups within or in opposition to the political system of a country often find aid in the form of donations from those they represent. It stands to reason that just as in political campaigns, groups with more easily mobilized funding will be able to pursue their desired reforms more directly and effectively. Graph 3 also reveals an interesting trend regarding the overall success rate of these movements. A clear peak emerges when all groups' rates are considered together, a mean rate of about 37 years coming out of all movements.<sup>18</sup> This may indicate a pattern in these movements, the mean falling just within two-generations of activity. While such an investigation is outside of the purview of this paper, a future investigation regarding what aspects of culture change across this time frame may be able to provide insight into this peak, as well as aiding in future investigations of the strategies used by these movements and how they change over time.

Another area of important study for the future is religious discrimination. My study examined the use of an appeal to a common religious heritage in gaining a group equal political rights. An area this leaves neglected, however, is those of differing religions, as most of the countries examined have strong Christian-majority population, Israel and Korea being the exceptions. What is the full effect of strong identification with a religion that is different than those with political control? Given the lack of significant effect amongst that variable here, no strong prediction can be made, but I would still predict that such a difference would lead to two simultaneous outcomes. Firstly, I believe such a difference would have a negative effect on the rate of success amongst suffrage movements, the difference in religious heritage creating a difficult-to-bridge culture gap. Secondly, and far more hypothetically, I believe those experiencing discrimination due to their religious heritage would be more likely to take up arms in pursuit of their rights. In my collection of cases for this paper, I initially intended to include religious discrimination as a set alongside race, gender, and economic status, but throughout my research, none of the Lijphart-defined democracies restricted the right to vote along religious lines. My hypothesis regarding this would be that the early development of religious toleration laws in Europe following the Thirty-Years War combined with the influence of the American Constitution's guarantees of religious freedom have discouraged modern democracies from implementing such policies in the first place. The predominantly Christian nations of the west have a long history of coexistence amongst denominations following the aforementioned Thirty-Years war, which occurred long before the rise of democracy, and this heritage of tolerance may have discouraged such discriminations from being legally codified, even in states where the people themselves harbored a degree of antipathy towards members of the population following different faiths.

The present results give nothing conclusive, but further study may show a simple link between the success of suffrage movements and the historical content around which they either emerge or succeed in passing their desired legislation. One would assume that the more recent a

---

<sup>17</sup> Appendix C, Graph 3

<sup>18</sup> Appendix C, Graphs 2 and 3

movement, the more quickly they find success, especially given the ever rising tide of democracy on the world stage. Just based on some of the cases herein, however, that position is not without controversy; while the New Zealand Women's suffrage movement influenced reform in only two years in the 1890s, their American counterparts had been organizing since at least 1848 and did not find success until 1920. For another example, consider the decades of resistance necessary to undo South Africa's Apartheid system, despite the world post-World War II engaging in strong decolonial and anti-racism campaigns.

## **Conclusion**

The right to vote is sacred to democracy. Having this right be a universal aspect of all in the system ensures the government truly represent those who it claims to protect and represent. As democratic systems progress to ensure this fact is true, various factors are destined to influence that process. Based on my findings, these movements' specific tools do not seem to have a distinct effect on their rates of success. The social makeup of the group is also not associated with such change, though movements combatting racial discrimination are close to such an association. The time in which a movement originates is the only factor that exhibits statistical significance over a movement's rate of success, those originating closer to the modern day being associated with a faster rate of success. The study of democratic reform movements' strategies and presentation is critical area of study as the world continues its path towards democracy and human rights. In the face of this movement, several notable counter-examples do exist, however. By understanding the factors that lead to success for those resisting discrimination, it may be easier in the future for proponents of democracy to foster western ideals and aid existing groups through both material and strategic aid. The end goal of democratic societies should be the maintenance of human rights and economic prosperity, and any insight that may aid in that process should be pursued with full intent.

## Appendix A- Case List and Variable Values

**Table 2**

Movement in Question	Use of Violence	Appeal to Foreign Pressure	Appeal to Common Religious Practice
AUL Aboriginals	0	0	0
AUL Women	0	0	1
CAN Felons	0.5	0	1
CAN First Nations	0	1	0
CAN Women	0	0	0
FRA Unlanded	1	0	1
FRA Women	0.5	0	1
GER Women	1	0	1
GRE Women	0	0	0
ISR Women	0	1	1
KOR Women	0	0	0
MEX Women	0	0	1
NET Male Universal	0	0	0
NET Women	0	0	1
NZ Women	0	0	1
SA Anti-Apartheid Movement	0.5	1	1
SA Women	0	0	1
SWI Women	0	0	1
UK Felons	0	1	0
UK Unlanded	0	0	0
UK Women	0.5	0	1
US African American Civil Rights Movement	0.5	1	1
US Native American Rights	0	0	0
US Unlanded	1	0	1
US Women's Suffrage	0	0	1

## Abbreviations Used:

AUL: Australia      CAN: Canada      FRA: France      GER: Germany  
 GRE: Greece      ISR: Israel      KOR: Korea      MEX: Mexico  
 NET: Netherlands      NZ: New Zealand      SA: South Africa      SWI: Switzerland  
 UK: United Kingdom      US: United States



## Appendix B- Movement Dates and Sets

**Table 3**

Movement in Question	Approximate Start of Movement	Year Desired Reforms Achieved	Years Passed	Movement Set (I, II, III)
AUL Aboriginals	1902	1984	82	I
AUL Women	1889	1902	13	II
CAN Felons	1961	2002	41	III
CAN First Nations	1878	1960	82	I
CAN Women	1867	1918	51	II
FRA Unlanded	1789	1848	59	III
FRA Women	1908	1944	36	II
GER Women	1907	1919	12	II
GRE Women	1887	1952	52	II
ISR Women	1917	1948	31	II
KOR Women	1910	1948	38	II
MEX Women	1917	1953	36	II
NET Male Universal	1879	1917	38	III
NET Women	1887	1917	30	II
NZ Women	1891	1893	2	II
SA Anti-Apartheid Movement	1960	1993	33	I
SA Women	1899	1930	31	II
SWI Women	1909	1971	62	II
UK Felons	1983	2018	35	III
UK Unlanded	1838	1918	80	III
UK Women	1872	1928	56	II
US African American Civil Rights Movement	1910	1965	55	I
US Native American Rights	1876	1924	48	I
US Unlanded	1789	1828	39	III
US Women's Suffrage	1848	1920	72	II

Explanations for Dates Listed:

AUL Aboriginals (1902-1984): Barred from voting in the Commonwealth Franchise Act; suffrage guaranteed in the Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act.

AUL Women (1889-1902): Founding of Women's Christian Temperance Union in support of women's rights; gained suffrage Commonwealth Franchise Act.

CAN Felons (1961-2002): Voting rights stripped by the Penitentiary Act; this provision was later deemed unconstitutional in a Supreme Court ruling.

CAN First Nations (1878-1960): Barred from voting in the Indian Act; suffrage gained via Constitutional Amendment.

CAN Women (1867-1918): Barred from voting by the British North America Act; suffrage gained by Decree of Parliament.

FRA Unlanded (1789-1848): First Revolution resulted in Constitution with land requirements for suffrage; land requirements removed upon Second Republic's foundation.

FRA Women (1908-1944): French Union for Women's Suffrage sought increased women's rights; suffrage protected upon the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic's Founding.

GER Women (1907-1919): Increasing the rights of women discussed in various socialist meetings; women's suffrage protected upon the Weimar Republic's Foundation.

GRE Women (1887-1952): "Ladies Newspaper" began circulating, advocating feminist ideals and political equality; the passage of Law 2159 granted women suffrage.

ISR Women (1917-1948): Balfour declaration originated the major support movement for a Jewish nation in Palestine, but provisional governments were largely male-dominated; the State of Israel granted women suffrage upon its declaration in 1948.

KOR Women (1910-1948): The short-lived Yi Dynasty restricted many female rights and supported "Traditional Confucian Values;" women gained suffrage in the newly independent Korea following a Constitutional amendment.

MEX Women (1917-1953): Constitution gave no voting rights to women; Constitutional Amendment guaranteed women's suffrage.

NET Male Universal (1879-1917): Pro-Suffrage Organization championed universal male suffrage; suffrage granted via Constitutional Amendment.

NET Women (1887-1917): Women unable to vote due to Constitutional prohibition upon its drafting; women's suffrage granted by Constitutional amendment.

NZ Women (1891-1893): Women's Petitions encouraged the newly independent government to grant women suffrage; Act of Parliament granted suffrage.

SA Anti-Apartheid Movement (1960-1993): Sharpeville Massacre sparked wider resistance to the Apartheid system; universal suffrage protected by the New Constitution post-Apartheid.

SA Women (1899-1930): Women's Christian Temperance Union fought for increased women's rights; white women's suffrage decreed by Presidential Act.

SWI Women (1909-1971): Swiss Association for Women's Suffrage fought for increased political rights; women's suffrage guaranteed by Constitutional Amendment.

UK Felons (1983-2018): The Representation of the People Act denied suffrage to felons; a ruling by the European Court of Human Rights led to Temporary Licenses to Vote being issued.

UK Unlanded (1838-1918): First Chartist Petition served as the first recorded suggestion of universal male suffrage to Parliament; Representation of the People Act removed property and wealth qualifications for voting.

UK Women (1872-1928): National Society for Women's Suffrage fought for women's rights; Representation of the People Act brought about women's suffrage.

US African Americana (1910-1965): Founding of NAACP represents wider efforts to improve the rights of African Americans; the adoption of the Voting Rights Act signified political equality amongst the races.

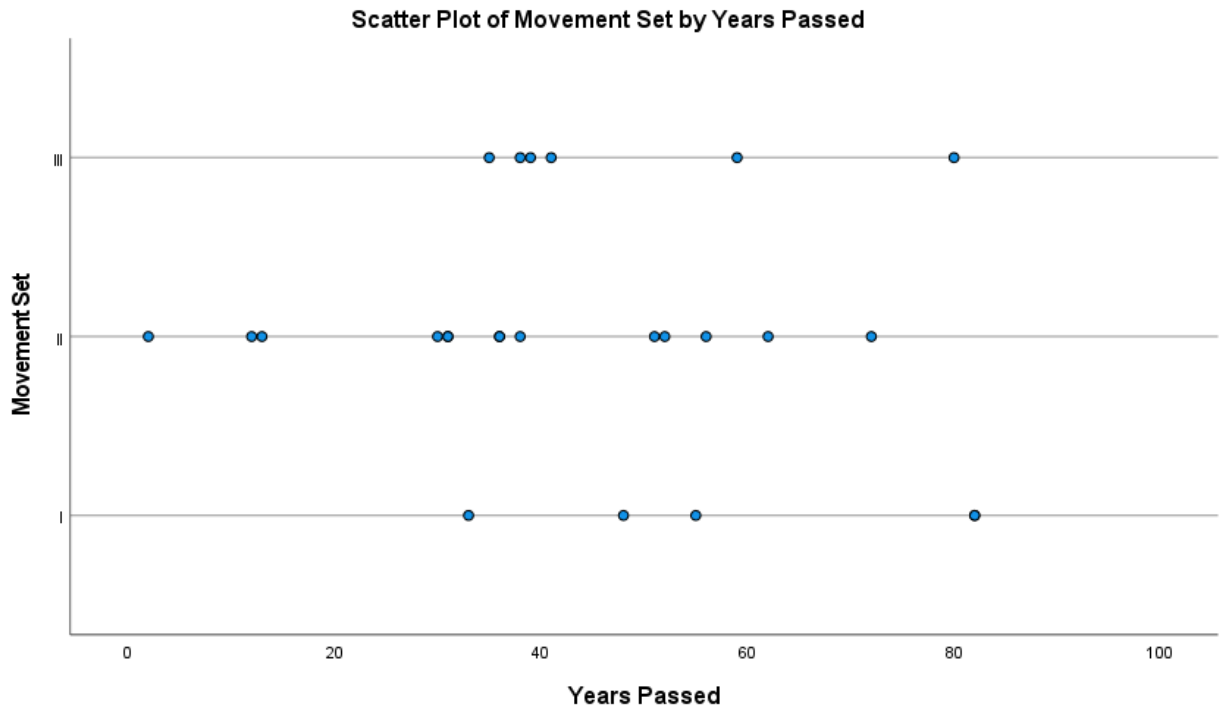
US Native American Rights (1876-1924): A 1876 Supreme Court ruling deemed Indians unable to be citizens; the Indian Citizenship Act reversed this and guaranteed Indian citizens voting rights.

US Unlanded (1789-1828): Upon the establishment of the Constitution, states imposed property requirements on voting; by the election of Andrew Jackson, popular democratic sentiment had removed most of these requirements across the states.

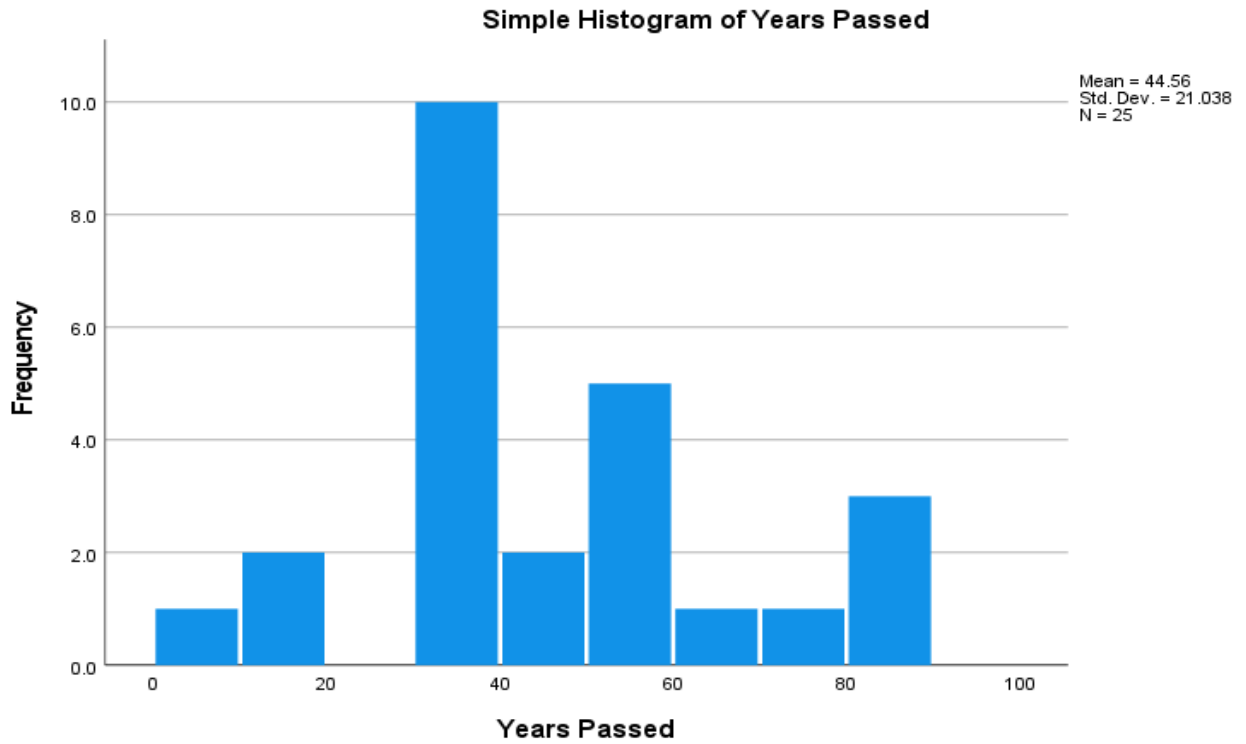
US Women's Suffrage (1848-1920): The Seneca Falls Convention serves as the origin of the American women's rights movement; the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment guaranteed women the right to vote.

Appendix C- Additional Graphs

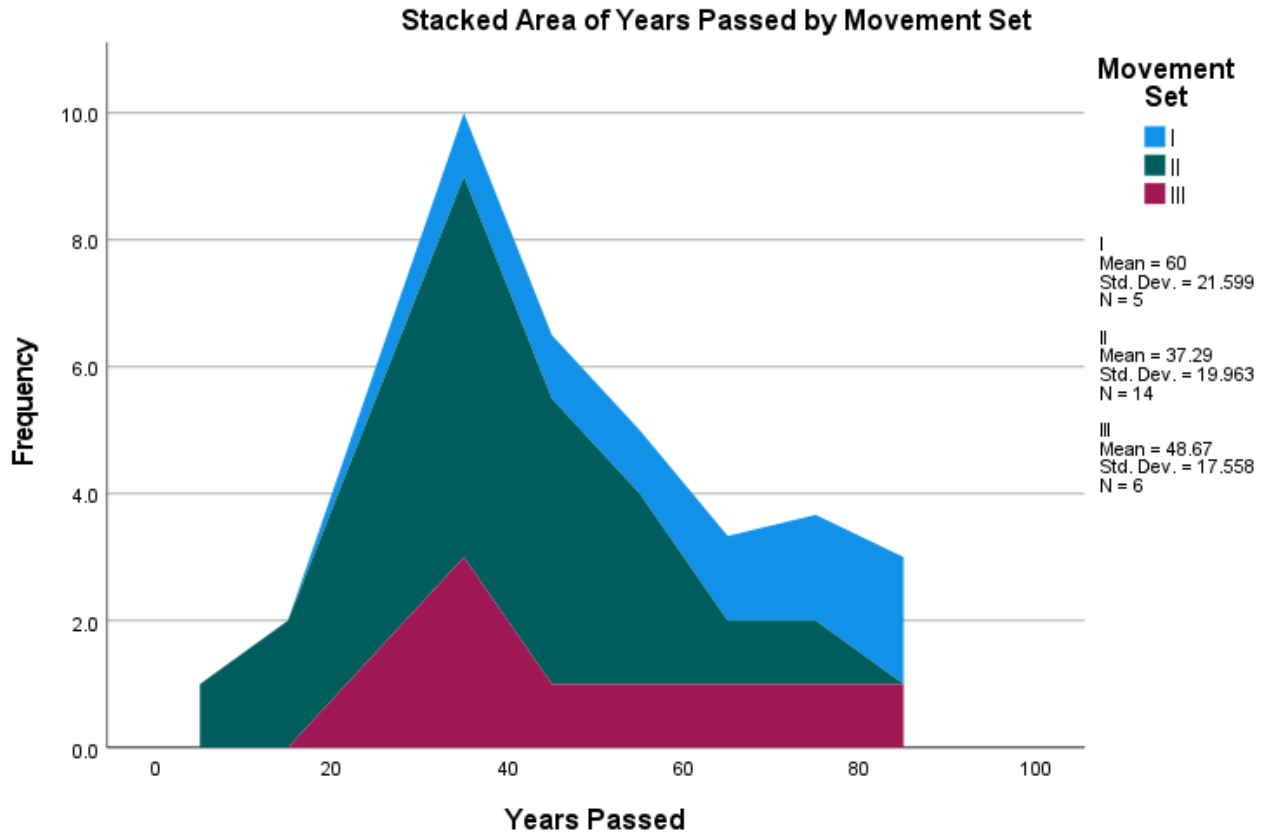
**Graph 1- Scatterplot comparison of movement success rates.**



**Graph 2- Histogram of movement success rates.**



Graph 3- Comparative graph of movement sets.



## Bibliography

- Aidt, Toke S, and Raphaël Franck. "Democratization Under the Threat of Revolution: Evidence from the Great Reform Act of 1832." *Econometrica* 83, no. 2 (2015): 505–47.
- Anderson, Nicholas D., Alexandre Debs, and Nuno P. Monteiro. "General Nuclear Compellence: The State, Allies, and Adversaries." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2019): 93–121.
- Brown, Gavin, and Helen Yaffe. "Practices of Solidarity: Opposing Apartheid in the Centre of London." *Antipode* 46, no. 1 (2014): 34–52.
- Godek, Paul E. "Determining State Preferences for the Electoral College: 1788-2016." *The Cato Journal* 38, no. 3 (2018): 631-653.
- Klotz, Audie. "Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences." *European Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 1 (March 2002): 49–76.
- Laidler, Paweł. "'Good Law' Versus 'Bad Law': Civil Disobedience During the Desegregation Process in the United States of America." *Politeja* 13, no. 45 (2016): 27–42.
- Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Lott Jr, John R, and Lawrence W Kenny. "Did Women's Suffrage Change the Size and Scope of Government?" *The Journal of Political Economy* 107, no. 6 (1999): 1163–98.
- McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930-1970*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Moehling, Carolyn M, and Melissa A Thomasson. "Votes for Women." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 34, no. 2 (2020): 3–23.
- Sampson, Robert J., Doug McAdam, Heather MacIndoe, and Simón Weffer-Elizondo. "Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 3 (2005): 673–714.  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/497351>.
- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1986): 464–81.
- Spierings, Niels. "Trust and Tolerance Across the Middle East and North Africa: A Comparative Perspective on the Impact of the Arab Uprisings." *Politics and Governance* 5, no. 2 (2017): 4–15.
- Wasow, Omar. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *The American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (08, 2020): 638-659.

Wood, Geoffrey, Pauline Dibben, and Gilton Klerck. "The Limits of Transnational Solidarity: The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Swaziland and Zimbabwean Crises." *Labor History* 54, no. 5 (2013): 527-539.

## Works Consulted for Dates

- “1880 Census.” Census.gov. Accessed March 23, 2022.  
[https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/1880-compendium/1880b\\_p1-01.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/1880-compendium/1880b_p1-01.pdf).
- “1920 Census.” Census.gov. US Government. Accessed March 23, 2022.  
<https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1920/volume-3/41084484v3ch01.pdf>.
- Beisenherz, Maja. “Women's Suffrage in Germany.” Oxford Human Rights Hub. University of Oxford, March 12, 2018. <https://ohrh.law.ox.ac.uk/womens-suffrage-in-germany/>.
- Chastain, James. France: Constitution of 1848. Accessed March 30, 2022.  
<https://www.ohio.edu/chastain/dh/frconst.htm>.
- Fogiel-Bijaoui Last updated January 21, Sylvie. “Politics in the Yishuv and Israel.” Jewish Women's Archive, January 21, 2022. <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/politics-in-yishuv-and-israel>.
- “French Union for Women's Suffrage (Union Française Pour Le Suffrage Des Femmes, UFSF) (1908-1940).” Towards Emancipation?, 2018.  
<https://hist259.web.unc.edu/frenchunionsuffrage/>.
- Gesley, Jenny. “Suffrage for Swiss Women – a More than 100-Year-Long Struggle.” Library of Congress, August 13, 2019. <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2019/08/suffrage-for-swiss-women-a-more-than-100-year-long-struggle/>.
- Greiff, Felicia. “Women's Rights in Korea.” Think Global: Asia, May 7, 2013.  
<https://thinkglobalasia.wordpress.com/2013/04/22/womens-rights-in-korea/>.
- “History of the Canadian Correctional System.” Correctional Service Canada. Correctional Service Canada. Accessed April 18, 2022. <https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/educational-resources/092/ha-student-etudiant-eng.pdf>.
- “Hundred Years of Universal Suffrage, a Celebration.” House of Representatives. Dutch House of Representatives, November 5, 2018.  
<https://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/dossiers/hundred-years-universal-suffrage-celebration>.
- Johnston, Neil. “Prisoners' Voting Rights: Developments Since May 2015 - House of Commons Library.” House of Commons Library, November 19, 2020.  
<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7461/>.



- “Key Dates - UK Parliament.” UK Parliament. UK Parliament. Accessed March 31, 2022. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/chartists/keydates/>.
- Leslie, John F. "Indigenous Suffrage." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published March 31, 2016; Last Edited March 31, 2016.
- McCammon, Holly J., Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg, and Christine Mowery. “How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movements, 1866 to 1919.” *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (2001): 49–70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657393>.
- “New Zealand Women and the Vote.” New Zealand History. Ministry for Culture and Heritage, December 20, 2018. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/womens-suffrage>.
- Nwanazia, Chuka. “The Fight for Women's Suffrage in the Netherlands.” *DutchReview*, November 29, 2018. <https://dutchreview.com/culture/history/womens-suffrage-in-the-netherlands/>.
- “Our Vote = Our Future.” Australia's Defining Moments Digital Classroom. National Museum of Australia. Accessed March 30, 2022. <https://digital-classroom.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/indigenous-australians-granted-right-vote>.
- Papantoniou, Margarita. “Greece Marks 61 Years After Suffrage.” *Greek Reporter*, May 28, 2013. <https://greekreporter.com/2013/05/28/greece-marks-61-years-after-suffrage/>.
- Quirk, Robert E. “Woman Suffrage in Mexico.” *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Duke University Press, February 1, 1965. <https://read.dukeupress.edu/hahr/article/45/1/164/159015/Woman-Suffrage-in-Mexico>.
- Ramirez, Francisco O., Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan. “The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women’s Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990.” *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 5 (1997): 735–45. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657357>.
- “Start of the Suffragette Movement.” UK Parliament. UK Parliament. Accessed March 31, 2022. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/overview/startssuffragette-/>.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Women's Suffrage in Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published June 20, 2016; Last Edited January 28, 2021.
- Thomas, Kylie. “Bitter Emotion: Affective Archives and Transnational Solidarity Against Apartheid.” *Interventions* (London, England) 23, no. 1 (2021): 42–60. doi:10.1080/1369801X.2020.1813616.

- “Voting Rights for Native Americans.” The Library of Congress. Accessed March 30, 2022. <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/elections/right-to-vote/voting-rights-for-native-americans/>.
- “White Women Achieve Suffrage in South Africa.” South African History Online, September 30, 2019. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/white-women-achieve-suffrage-south-africa>.
- “Women's Suffrage.” National Library of Australia. National Library of Australia. Accessed March 30, 2022. <https://www.nla.gov.au/digital-classroom/senior-secondary/shoulder-shoulder-feminism-australia/womens-suffrage>.