Cycles of Conflict, a Century of Continuity:

The Impact of Persistent Place-Based Political Logics on

Women's Movement Form

Laura K. Nelson*
Northeastern University

*Corresponding author. 960B Renaissance Park, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Northeastern University, Boston, MA, USA. The author can be reached by email, L.Nelson@northeastern.edu, or by phone, 307-760-7281.

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Abstract

Social movement theories suggest that recurrent social movements are shaped by two broad social forces. First, social and political structures change over time, producing distinct social movement forms in different historical moments. Second, social movements exhibit a rolling inertia: once established, movement form is relatively continuous over time. Overcoming methodological challenges that have made it difficult to isolate the effects of these two forces in practice, I use a novel combination of network measures and computational and qualitative text analysis techniques to compare the women's movement in Chicago and New York City in the first and second waves, finding more similarities than differences between the two waves. I present a theory of persistent place-based political logics as a meso-level structure shaping social movements, producing this continuity over time. Macro-level forces, I conclude, must be interpreted through these meso-level structures to explain social movement form.

Keywords

social movement form, women's movements, social movement cycles, social movement continuity, political logics

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Questions about appropriate movement goals, targets, and strategies to pursue desired ends are core to every social movement. For social movement scholars, the goals and strategies social movements adopt are not arbitrary, but are the result of a mix of social, economic, political, and cultural forces. Institutional and social movement scholars have introduced the concept of *political logics* as one theory that explains how and why social movements adopt particular goals and strategies in any one moment, but there are continuing debates about precisely how heterogeneous and often competing political logics affect social movements in practice, and how to measure these effects.

A specific question arising from this debate is whether movements are shaped more by macro, society-wide political logics that produce movement change over time, or meso, community-based political logics that lead to movement continuity over time. On the one hand, scholars have demonstrated that social movements follow a cyclical pattern, where changes in macro-level structures create different incentives for social action leading to the emergence of

fundamentally different forms of social movements over time (Ferguson, Dudley, and Soule 2017; Giddens 1991; Habermas 1985; Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Melucci 1996; Tarrow 1994, Touraine 1981). On the other hand, scholars have demonstrated that placed-based logics produce regionally-distinct social movements which, once institutionalized, persist over time, producing a rolling inertia that leads to movement continuity (Biernacki 1997; Greve and Rao 2012; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000; Young 2002). Owing in part to the methodological difficulties of empirically measuring the impact of heterogeneous and often conflicting logics (see, e.g., Schneiberg and Clemens 2006), it has been difficult to systematically determine which of these forces is more important for a particular social movement at a particular moment in time, and to determine precisely how these sometimes competing forces might work together to shape social movements in practice (*cf.* Bonikowski and Gidron 2016; Ermakoff 2017).

In this article I address these questions by asking how *macro socio-political* logics and *meso place-based* logics, separately or in tandem, shape social movement form. By form, I mean a movement's targets, goals, and strategies, as well as which organizations gain influence in a movement. Using the women's movement in the first and second waves and in Chicago and New York city as a strategic dual-level comparative case-study, I isolate the effects of these two

forces using a combination of network analysis, computational text analysis, and qualitative deep reading. While I find the women's movement did indeed change over time, I find more evidence that influential women's movement organizations in Chicago and New York City embodied regionally-distinct political logics that persisted over time, leading to more continuity than change between the waves.

I present a theory of persistent place-based political logics as a crucial meso-level structure shaping social movement form. While macro social-structural changes in society do indeed influence social movements, they do so within the framework of these place-based persistent political logics. Similarly, while place-based political logics guide social action, they do not dictate it; many different issues and ideas can be incorporated under the same guiding political logic, allowing for specific issues and ideas addressed by social movements to change with changing historical and cultural circumstances. The persistent place-based political logics perspective thus allows for, and can help explain, both continuity and change within recurrent social movements.

The key to isolating these effects is a strategic dual-level comparison, enabled by the broad geographical and temporal reach, and the particular historical characteristics, of the U.S. women's movement. Debates about social movement continuity versus discontinuity have been particularly prominent in

historical and social science accounts of the women's movement. The women's movement is most commonly described as happening in distinct waves. The first wave women's movement began in the middle of the nineteenth century, gaining momentum in the 1890s through the 1910s around the issue of woman suffrage, and persisted until the passage of the nineteenth “Woman Suffrage” amendment in 1920. This movement, as the common account suggests, focused largely on political change, to the detriment of social and cultural change. The second wave women's movement began in the early 1960s and peaked in the mid-to-late 1970s. Participants in this wave coined the phrases “consciousness raising” and the “personal is political,” indicating a shift from the strictly political realm to the social and cultural realm. Historians point to these phrases as representing the fundamental difference between the second and first wave. Despite the popularity of this wave conception, social movement scholars have also convincingly demonstrated marked continuities between the first and second wave movements (Cott 1987; Rupp and Taylor 1987), and the second wave and subsequent moments (Reger 2012; Staggenborg 1996; Whittier 1995). Historians have also documented that second wave feminism in Chicago looked remarkably different than second wave feminism in New York City, tantalizingly suggesting that the women's movement, at least in the second wave, was also regionally distinct. Like

the literature on social movements more broadly, historical accounts of the women's movement prompts the question, what was more consequential in shaping the form of this recurrent movement: temporal change leading to distinct waves, or regional variation and continuity over time?

Through my comparative and historical approach, I isolate the effects of these two levels of heterogeneous and sometimes competing political logics, clarifying precisely how these (taken-for-granted) forces shape an actually existing social movement. Empirically, I find the influential women's movement organizations in Chicago in both the first and second waves adopted a strategy I call *policy-oriented community organizing*, in which they fought to win policy reforms around the concrete needs of the community. The influential women's movement organizations in New York City, again in both waves, adopted an alternative strategy I call *narrative-based consciousness-raising*, in which they leveraged personal narratives to raise awareness of the social causes of women's oppression and to change society by mobilizing this awareness. What historians have labeled second wave feminism, with its focus on cultural and social issues, I find actually existed in both waves, and was tied to its geographic origins in New York City. These findings thus challenge the commonly accepted history of this movement.

In addition to these historical implications, this article makes the political logics perspective more tractable, presenting a methodological, empirically-grounded, and analytically specific foundation for theoretical claims about the multiple forces shaping movements (Ermakoff 2017: 128). I end with implications for the intersection of institutional and social movement research, as well as theories about the relationship between macro-level and meso-level forces more generally.

POLITICAL LOGICS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT DIVERSITY

Recently, social movement scholars have been turning to institutional theory to make sense of questions not easily explained by resource mobilization and political processes, including movement sector emergence (Dromi 2016); within-movement diversity, contradictions, and change (Armstrong 2002; Armstrong and Bernstein 2008); and movement continuity (Greve and Rao 2012; Lee 2016; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000). The concept of political logics came out of this intersection between institutional theory and social movement theory. Defined as "background sets of assumptions about how society works, the goals of political action, and appropriate strategies to pursue desired ends" (Armstrong 2002, 13–14), political logics are taken-for-granted and

constitutive theories about the nature of the world that guide the decisions actors make and the articulated political debates that lead to overall social movement form. While proposed in the early 2000s, this concept has since not been fully incorporated into social movement research, even as research on the role of logics in society more generally has flourished (e.g., Friedland and Alford 1991, Friedland, Mohr, Roose, and Gardinali 2014; Thornton, Lounsbury, and Ocasio 2012).

In conjunction with institutional field theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), political logics were initially described as an internal mechanism that produce intra-movement diversity and conflict, as different sections of a movement are shaped by different, often competing political logics. Political logics were also initially used to explain movement change over time, as new identities form that challenge existing political logics and alter, sometimes suddenly, the nature of a social movement (Armstrong 2002). The role of how political logics impact social movements has since been expanded to incorporate the role of logics within and across institutions outside of social movements (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). According to this theory, oppression is distributed across many institutions in society producing multiple movement targets. As each institutional target operates according to a distinct logic, movements will employ diverse, sometimes

competing, strategies and tactics as they work within or against these different institutions (ibid.).

In short, the intersection of social movements and institutional theory suggests that social movements are shaped by internal political logics that guide participants to employ different, often competing, strategies, while movements also exist in a world made up of institutions with competing logics, which additionally push movements to adopt distinct, competing, forms as they target different institutions. Political logics can thus help explain the sheer diversity and complexity we see in social movements.

COMMUNITY-BASED AND MACRO POLITICAL LOGICS

Within-movement contradictions and debates have also been linked to geographically distinct developments and local community logics (Biernacki 1997; Greve and Rao 2012; Guenther 2010; Lounsbury 2007; Marquis, Glynn, and Davis 2007; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000). According to this research, geographical units – cities, regions, or nations – develop different cultural and symbolic understandings about the social world that lead to distinct strategies and practices. Scholars have shown, for example, that different cultural understandings of the role of labor in Germany and Britain in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries led to different strategies for labor unions in these two countries (Biernacki 1997), different initial reactions to oil development in the 1860s in Ventura and Santa Barbara, California, shaped the types of organizations present in the 1970s in these same cities (Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000), and wider spatial-political orientations produced different women's movements in two cities in Eastern Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Guenther 2010). Otherwise similar organizations or organizational fields that follow the same macro-logic (that of capitalism or civil society, for example), but are housed in different communities, may be distinct in their overall approach to, and motivation for, social action.

Scholars have not only recognized that similar movements take different forms in different locations, they have also identified path-dependent effects of this regional variation (Greve and Rao 2012; Lee 2016; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000; Young 2002). Once differences between cities exist, through early events, organizational foundings, or cultural developments, these differences tend to persist over time, shaping movements long after the initial event or movement has waned. The mechanisms of persistence in this literature are varied, including persistence via stories of successful political action passed from one generation of activists to the next (Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000),

political models that are institutionalized through organizational form or networked relations (Saxenian 1996), or persistence via the endurance of systems of thought that include background assumptions about the way the world works (see also, Haydu 2011; Haydu and Skotnicki 2016).

This research on institutionalized regional continuity challenges influential social movement research that has persuasively demonstrated that social movements happen in waves or cycles (Snow and Bedford 1992; Tarrow 1994). According to this research, global structural changes, such as industrialization and post-industrialization, produce different political opportunities that encourage different types of social action. As social movement cycles rise and fall, the type of political opportunities shaping each cycle change, producing fundamentally different social movement forms in each subsequent cycle.

When state structures consolidated into more centralized institutions in the nineteenth century, for example, social movements shifted from being short-lived and regionally contained to being more nationally focused, sustained, and modular (Moore 1978; Tarrow 1993; Tilly 1986, 1997). Similarly, as society transformed from the industrial age to the post-industrial age, movements shifted from being focused on political, material, and class issues to “new social movements,” which incorporated identity-based perspectives and focused on

social and cultural change (Giddens 1991; Habermas 1985; Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Melucci 1996; Touraine 1981). While certainly contested, this cyclical view of social movements is one of the more lasting paradigms in the social movements collective imagination (for a recent article that builds on the cycles of protest argument, for example, see Ferguson, Dudley, and Soule 2017).

Research based on limited movement case studies, and on broad generalizations across multiple movements, have thus persuasively demonstrated that two forces shape social movement form: macro-level structures produce movement *change* over time, and institutionalized regional variations produce movement *continuity* over time. Given both of these sometimes contradictory forces shape social movements, how do we know which is better suited to explain the specific form of a social movement in a particular place and moment? Or, alternatively, what mix of forces can help explain the form of a widely existing and recurrent social movement? If we can isolate the effects of these two forces to better understand how they separately or together impact the form of an actually existing movement, we can better theorize them as a mechanism. Isolating these effects while holding constant the many other variables impacting social movements requires a single social movement that allows for both geographic and temporal comparisons. I isolate these effects via one of the major recurrent social

movements in the U.S. that meets these requirements: the women's movement.

THE CASE STUDY: U.S. WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS, 1900 to 1975

The U.S. women's movement, a long-standing recurrent social movement, is an ideal case study to investigate cyclical and regional theories of social movements, as historians and social scientists have documented temporal change, temporal continuity, and regional differences within this rich and diverse movement. While the wave conception has long been criticized by historians and social scientists, particularly those who study working class and non-white sectors of the movement (see, e.g., Cobble 2005; Roth 2004), it remains to date the dominant framework used to describe this movement. The first wave women's movement – focused primarily on suffrage and an example of the national and modular movements common in the nineteenth century (Buechler 1990) – is commonly described as fundamentally different from the second wave women's movement, a paradigmatic example of the "new," identity-based social movements of the 1960s (Habermas 1985; Laclau and Mouffe 2001).

In particular, while scholars have accepted that the National Organization for Women, an exemplar of the liberal women's rights wing of the second wave

movement, has direct connections and resemblances to the first wave (Rupp and Taylor 1987), scholars almost universally maintain the uniqueness of the other wing of the second wave movement, the women's liberation wing. Sociologist Barbara Ryan, for example, claims the first wave "suffered from its failure to develop a multi-faceted view of women or a deeply ingrained feminist ideology to hold activists together" (1992, 37). In her history of the second-wave women's movement, Ruth Rosen emphasizes the novelty of the radical wing of the second wave movement in its focus on culture and beliefs, which, she claims, the first wave failed to challenge (2000, 344). Even Nancy Cott, one of the first to document the origins of modern feminism in the 1910s, specifically details the differences between the two waves, claiming that the second-wave movement's positive conception of women as a "sex-class" distinguished 1970s radical feminists from first-wave feminists (1987, 283). According to these scholars and the theory that social movements happen in distinct cycles, I should find evidence that second wave women's organizations were indeed fundamentally different than first wave organizations.

In contrast, however, there was a major debate within the second wave that was exemplified by a geographical divide between Chicago feminists, who self-identified both as *politicos* and *socialist feminists*, and New York City

feminists, who self-identified as *feminists* and *radical feminists* (“Chicago Women’s Liberation Union Papers” n.d.; Echols 1989; Rosen 2000). These city-distinct approaches disagreed on almost every fundamental axis of social movement strategy: the cause of discrimination against women (Chicago women believed it was capitalism, New York City women believed it was patriarchy); the appropriate target of women's action (Chicago women targeted institutions, New York City women targeted men); the effectiveness of different types of tactics (Chicago women focused on direct action, while New York City women focused on consciousness-raising); the relationship of women's organizations to the larger political arena (Chicago women joined other left groups, New York City women were separatists); and basic political ideology. Historians describe this debate as interesting but relatively arbitrary. Some simply describe it as an historical quirk; others claim this debate is the result of movement spillover from the civil rights and New Left movements (Echols 1989). According to institutional theorists that show that city-based differences exist and persist over time, and numerous studies that show place-based differences between women’s movements in particular (Enke 2007; Ferree 2012; Guenther 2010; Halfmann 2011; Hellman 1987; Ray 1999), this debate may be connected to deeper, long-standing structures within these two cities. If this regional institutionalization theory is supported,

organizations in Chicago will be different from organizations in New York City in both waves, and there will be more similarities within each city across the waves.

Beyond being the two cities at the center of this second wave debate, Chicago and New York City are particularly well-suited for this dual, place and period, comparison. These two cities are broadly similar in demographics[1] and mainstream politics—both cities have historically been more politically liberal and most often vote Democratic, and both are historically known for their "political machine" parties (Allen 1993; Burrows and Wallace 1999; Royko 1988). Both cities are additionally well-known for their progressive, and sometimes radical, activism (Storch 2007) and for their counter-cultural activities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Rosemont 2003; Wetzsteon 2002). Importantly for my purposes, New York City and Chicago have long been early and central players in women's politics. The women's movement started around the same time in these cities with the campaign for woman suffrage (Buechler 1986; DuBois 1998; Stanton et al. 1881). Subsequently, the first two women's liberation organizations in the country were founded almost simultaneously in 1967 in Chicago and New York City, initiating the influential second wave women's liberation movement.

In addition to this productive geographical and temporal diversity, the women's movement, as with most movements in democratic states, produced a number of texts describing in detail the ideologies, politics, strategies, and goals of the movement. The availability of these texts enables a detailed comparison of targets, goals, and strategies across a wide variety of organizations, locations, and time. In short, the recurrent nature of this movement in two broadly similar cities, combined with key regional differences and the availability of data, make the women's movement ideal to analyze the effects of macro- and meso- structures on movement form.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Given the complexity of social movements generally, and the difficulties in empirically measuring the impact of heterogeneous and taken-for-granted forces, I use a variety of quantitative and qualitative techniques within a two-part analytic strategy. In this section I describe my overall analytic strategy to provide a framework to understand the subsequent analyses and results. I discuss the specific techniques used, together with the results from each technique, in the following sections. My analytic strategy broadly includes two parts: a structural

analysis using network measures to identify organizational *influence*, and a combination of quantitative and qualitative text analysis techniques to measure movement *targets*, *goals*, and *strategies*.

In part 1 of my analysis I measure the structure of the women's movement in Chicago and New York City in the first and second waves in order to determine which of the many, diverse organizations were most influential in each location and period. While multiple social movement strategies exist in tandem in each of these cities and periods, not every strategy will carry equal weight in a particular time and location. Organizations will have more or less access to resources, they will sponsor more or fewer events, they will have more or fewer members, and most importantly, some organizations will have more *influence* than other organizations within the movement. One common way to measure influence is via network analysis, which I use to identify the most influential organizations in each city and each period. I do not assume these influential organizations, and the targets, goals and strategies they constitute, are representative of the targets, goals, and strategies of all of the organizations in their respective city and period; rather, I claim they represent the targets, goals, and strategies that have gained a measure of recognition in that particular local iteration of the movement. To contextualize these influential organizations, I end the structural analysis section with a brief

discussion of some of the peripheral organizations, to acknowledge the diversity of thought within each iteration of the movement and to suggest why those organizations remained peripheral.

In the second part of my analysis I focus on the political texts produced by these core organizations to identify influential targets, goals, and strategies, looking for patterns in political discourse within and across organizations. I analyze the texts in three steps (I provide more details about the specific techniques in each step below). In the first step, I use computational techniques to reduce the complete, complex text into meaningful groups of words, cutting through the subterfuge of language to reveal meaningful linguistic patterns in the text (Bail 2014, DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei 2013; Mohr and Bogdanov 2013). I follow this analysis of word-based patterns with a deep-reading of strategically selected texts in order to better understand how linguistic patterns translate into political discourse. In the final step, I use quantitative techniques to measure the prevalence of these qualitatively identified patterns and discourses across the text as a whole. Taken together, these three steps allow me to inductively identify linguistic patterns, provide meaningful interpretation to these patterns, and more precisely measure the prevalence of these patterns across the corpus, isolating regional and temporal variation within this movement.

I conclude the analysis by synthesizing the results from the network analysis, quantitative text analysis, and qualitative deep reading to provide an empirically-grounded account of the impact of heterogeneous forces on the form of the women's movement across time and place, addressing the main question posed at the outset.

PART I: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Enabling both temporal and geographic comparisons, I treat the women's movement as four local movement sectors (Armstrong 2002; Fligstein and McAdam 2012), one in each city in the first wave (1865-1920) and the second wave (1964-1984). Each social movement sector includes all organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute the recognized women's movement in each city and period (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 148–49). I define these sectors using social movement organizations rather than individuals in order to capture the collective form constituted in these organizations and as a way to measure the relative influence of each form (DiMaggio 1997).

To construct these sectors I identified every women's organization mentioned in any archival source—primary and secondary —in both cities and

both periods and recorded ties between organizations if they shared members or co-sponsored an event together any time during their existence (for this article, ties are not time-dependent).[2] The data for the structural analysis thus consists of four adjacency matrices, two containing all of the organizations active in 1917 in Chicago and New York City, respectively, and two containing all organizations active in 1969 in the two cities. I chose these two years because they were the years in which most organizations co-existed at the same time in each period, capturing the richest sector moments.

I calculated both Bonacich's centrality measure, a common measure of influence in a network (Bonacich 1987), and the betweeness centrality measure (Borgatti 2005), a measure of control of a social network, to determine which organizations were the most influential in each city and period. Both measures unambiguously indicated one organization as most central for each of the four adjacency matrices (one in each city in each wave): Hull House in Chicago and Heterodoxy in New York City in the first wave, and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) in Chicago and Redstockings in New York City in the second wave (see Appendix A for the full table of these two measures).

These four core organizations represent movement forms that were influential in each city and period, but they do not represent the entirety of

thought in each of these movement sectors. The organizations not represented by these influential forms, however, struggled to succeed, either dissolving, moving to a different city, or they remained peripheral to the larger movement in their respective sector. For example, in Chicago, the anarchist and feminist magazine *The Little Review* (with an eigenvalue equal to 0.07), was in many ways similar to New York City's *The Masses* (eigenvalue equal to 0.84), combining art and politics in order to effect a better society. *The Little Review* was established in Chicago in 1914 but struggled to find an audience there. In 1917 it moved to New York City, to the same neighborhood that was home to *The Masses*, where it became one of the most influential magazines of the progressive era (Anderson 1969). Greenwich House (eigenvalue equal to 0.05), alternatively, was founded in New York City and explicitly modeled itself off of Chicago's Hull House (eigenvalue equal to 1.0). In their literature, the members of Greenwich House wrestled with their struggle to gain members, concluding that their neighborhood was a "community individualistic in tone," and one in which "no local consciousness of social and neighborhood needs has been developed" (Simkovitch, 1903). Greenwich House remained on the periphery of the New York City women's movement throughout its existence. Similarly, in the second wave, women in New York City founded an organization called the "Brooklyn

Women's Liberation Union" (BWLU, no eigenvalue as they were too short-lived), modeled explicitly off of the Chicago organization CWLU (eigenvalue equal to 1.0). Unlike the CWLU, the BWLU never attracted more than a few members and only lasted a few months before it completely dissolved ("Rosalyn Baxandall and Lindon Gordon Research Files on Women's Liberation," n.d.).

While a complete analysis of the intra-sector dynamics is outside the scope of this article, the preceding examples suggest that the organizations on the periphery may have remained on the periphery because they did not adopt the influential strategy in their respective movement sector. The next step in my analysis focuses on the literature produced by the four core organizations to better understand the *influential* targets, goals, and strategies in these four movement sectors, looking for similarities and differences across city and wave.

Fortuitously, while not the goal of the structural analysis, my own archival research, as well as secondary sources, suggest that the four core organizations had similar membership demographics: they were largely white, middle class, and when the members had jobs, they most often had jobs in the professions.[3] Thus, in addition to being the most influential organizations in their respective social movement sectors, these four organizations allow me to hold constant the demographic composition of the membership. If I do find differences in

movement form, I can be more confident that they are due to the effects of these larger social forces rather than differences in membership race, ethnicity, and/or class background.

PART 2: TARGETS, GOALS, AND STRATEGY

Organizations typically (but not always) produce some sort of regular literature to organize themselves, to recruit others, to influence other target actors, or simply to present political arguments. The content of this literature is designed to represent the collective beliefs of the members, but it also shapes these beliefs. These four organizations produced a variety of types of writing, including but not limited to political speeches, op-eds, polemical pamphlets, policy recommendations, internal newsletters, and public-facing journals. Organizations most commonly and systematically outline the nature of their political work and political analyses in journals or bulletins that they distribute to the public. This public-facing literature, I argue, best captures the collective political understandings embodied in each organization. My data thus consist of the public-facing literature produced by the four women's organizations identified above through the network analysis.

In the first-wave women's movement, Chicago-based Hull House regularly

maintained an outreach publication that began in 1897 as the Hull House *Bulletin*, and was published up to twelve times per year. In 1906 the publication changed its name to the Hull House *Yearbook*, which they published once a year and was typically over 50 pages long. In these publications they described their activities and presented justifications for, and the theory behind, the work of Hull House. New York City-based Heterodoxy did not publish any official literature, priding itself on discretion. The individual women of Heterodoxy, however, did write and publish extensively, particularly in the 1910s magazine *The Masses*, and these two organizations were intimately connected. A sizable number of the women who wrote for *The Masses* were members of Heterodoxy, including Louise Bryant, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Inez Milholland, Crystal Eastman, Alice Duer Miller, Elsie Clews Parsons, Grace Potter, and Mary Heaton Vorse.[4] *The Masses* was closer to a Heterodoxy publication than anything else in New York City, and the feminist articles in this magazine are a direct reflection of the feminist ideas that were developed through Heterodoxy. The data for Heterodoxy, then, are the articles focusing on women's issues in the publication *The Masses.*[5]

In the second wave women's movement, the Chicago-based CWLU and the New York City-based Redstockings regularly produced publications for public consumption. CWLU started publishing a journal called *Womankind* in 1971 as a

monthly outreach publication in which they detailed their activities and published political analyses. Redstockings published three journals meant to document different aspects, activities, and arguments within the radical feminist movement in New York City: *Notes From the First Year* in 1968, *Notes From the Second Year* in 1970, and *Feminist Revolution* in 1975. *Feminist Revolution* consists of a collection of articles written by radical feminists between 1973 and 1975. The articles from all three publications detail their organizing ideals, actions, and their feminist politics.[6]

My complete dataset consists of twelve *Bulletins/Yearbooks* published by Hull House between 1900 and 1917,[7] 67 articles that dealt with women's issues from *The Masses* spanning the years 1911 to 1917, all of the issues of *Womankind*, published by CWLU from 1971 to 1973, and 78 articles from *Notes From the First Year*, *Notes From the Second Year*, and *Feminist Revolution*, published by Redstockings between 1968 and 1975 (see Table 1 for a summary of these data). Each page from each publication is one "document."[8] My corpus is a collection of all of these documents and the associated meta-data for each that include publication, date of publication, city of publication, and organization.

[Table 1 here]

With these texts as my data, I turn to part two of my analysis, an analysis

of the text to identify targets, goals, and strategies in the movement. I first use quantitative text analysis techniques to identify patterns, I then interpret those patterns using qualitative deep reading, and finally check the prevalence of those patterns in the full corpus using further quantitative techniques.

Pattern Detection

Techniques: In the first step I use computational and quantitative techniques to reduce the complicated text into interpretable lists of words; these lists of words, as they are abstracted from full sentences, can suggest meaningful linguistic patterns in the text. I use two specific techniques in this first step. The first is a lexical-based technique that calculates words with the largest and smallest difference of proportions for two sets of text (see Equation 1). Using all of the text produced by one organization, a difference of proportion calculation indicates the words that are most distinctive to one organization compared to the other. This method has been used by others to calculate the different ways in which political issues are discussed by different groups (e.g., Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008). I conducted four pairwise comparisons: between-city comparisons within each wave (Hull House versus Heterodoxy and CWLU versus Redstockings), and between-wave comparisons within each city (Hull House

versus CWLU and Heterodoxy versus Redstockings).

[Equation 1 here]

The difference of proportions analysis counts words on their own. A second pattern detection technique, Structural Topic Modeling (STM), measures the co-occurrence of words within documents to estimate common topics or themes across the full corpus (Roberts et al. 2014). I use STM to simultaneously estimate topics, with each topic represented as a distribution over weighted words, and classify documents into those topics, with each document represented as a distribution over weighted topics.[9] In addition to identifying themes in the text, this technique calculates a weight that associates each text with each theme. The topic weights for each document enables the targeted, qualitative deep reading I use in the second step.

STM requires the researcher to indicate the number of topics the model estimates. The current standard is to run multiple models, each with a different number of topics indicated, picking the model that produces the most substantively coherent and helpful topics (DiMaggio 2015). I ranged the number of topics for the STM from 20-60, examining the top weighted words for each model.[10] The 40-topic model produced the most semantically coherent topics according to my analysis of the top weighted words per topic, and it was

additionally the model that produced the highest top topic weight across the most documents (a way of determining coherence). I use this model for the subsequent analyses.[11] Using Equation 2, I calculated the most prevalent topics for each organization.

[Equation 2 here]

Results: Because of space restrictions, I show the results here for the two city-based comparisons from the difference of proportions analysis: Hull House versus Heterodoxy and CWLU versus Redstockings. Table 2 shows the top 30 words associated with each organization from these two pairwise calculations.

[Table 2 here]

Compare the words distinct to Hull House in Chicago during the first wave, such as *club*, *school*, *members*, and *classes* which all indicate concrete entities, to the words distinct to Heterodoxy in New York City during the first wave, such as *life*, *know*, *think*, and *right*, which indicate abstract ideas and concepts. Similarly with CWLU in Chicago and Redstockings in New York City during the second wave. The words distinct to CWLU, such as *children*, *union*, *vietnam*, and *school*, are mostly concrete entities, compared to the abstract concepts indicated by the words distinct to Redstockings, such as *radical*,

feminist, history, and *oppression.* These word lists suggest a general pattern: the words distinguishing both Chicago organizations from their New York City counterparts are more specific and concrete, while the words distinguishing both of the New York City organizations from their Chicago counterparts are more abstract and general.

Table 3 displays the results from the STM, showing the top topics by organization (labeled by myself), the percent of words from the full text produced by that organization aligned with each of these topics, and the top weighted words by topic. The topics were labeled by me by examining the top weighted words and documents per topic (see the supplemental material for excerpts from the two top weighted documents for the topics examined below).

As Table 3 shows, the most frequent topics for Heterodoxy are what I have labeled *Sanger and Birth Control* (22% of the total words from the Heterodoxy literature are aligned with this topic, meaning close to a quarter of the words produced by Heterodoxy and included in this analysis are about, or connected to, the topic of birth control), *Women's Lives* (22%), and *Women's Resistance* (9%). For Hull House, the most frequent topics are *Public Institutions* (28%), *Hull House Social Activities* (27%), and *Hull House Practical Activities* (18%). The frequent topics for Redstockings are *Movement History* (11%), *Movement Theory*

(9%), and *Forms of Resistance* (9%). The top topics for CWLU are *Liberation School* (8%), *Anti-War* (7%), and *Women's Sexual Health* (6%). The top weighted words for these topics suggests a similar pattern uncovered using the difference of proportions analysis: the topics in Chicago, as well as the top weighted words, are specific and concrete (e.g. *Public Institutions* and *Women's Sexual Health*), while the topics and top weighted words from New York City organizations are general and abstract (e.g. *Women's Lives* and *Movement Theory*).[12]

[Table 3 here]

Combining the interpretations of the results from the difference of proportions analysis and the STM, I propose a first linguistic pattern:

Pattern 1: The two Chicago organizations focused on concrete and particular issues and solutions, while the two New York City organizations focused on more abstract and general issues and solutions.

To contextualize, interpret, and refine these results I move to step two: a targeted, qualitative, deep reading of selected texts.

Pattern Interpretation

The inductive computational pattern detection step enables researchers to see their data abstracted from the noise, quantity, and complexity of written texts that can obfuscate relevant linguistic patterns across large corpora. Linguistic patterns, however, do not necessarily accurately capture or reflect political discourse. While discourse is certainly partially captured by individual words, discourse also includes things like context, humor, irony, and metaphors. In the second step I do a qualitative deep reading of representative texts, with an eye toward understanding how linguistic patterns are related to, or translated into, political discourse, including all the complexities and nuance inherent in natural languages. For this qualitative step, I analyzed the top ten most representative documents for each of the top twelve topics described above (see Table 3), as well as a number of documents from the remaining topics.

I found the documents produced by Hull House and CWLU in Chicago most often detailed direct services that their organization offered to address the immediate needs of their communities, as well as their activities aimed at changing city institutions and laws to better address the needs of women. In contrast, the documents produced by Heterodoxy and Redstockings in New York City most often narrated stories about individual women aimed at highlighting the effects of patriarchal institutions on women's lives, as well as generalizing from

these stories to describe the abstract social structures that produced common experiences among women. My reading of the content of these documents suggests the core organizations in these two cities had fundamentally different targets, goals, and political strategies.

The State, Institutions, and Community Service in Chicago. Many of the documents from Chicago detailed the concrete everyday needs of women or the community and the attempts of the Chicago organizations to either directly meet those needs, or persuade a specific city or state institution to do the same. For example, one of Hull House's major successes was to pressure the state to pass factory laws in Illinois that immediately made the lives of the women and children working in factories better:

> It was an indirect result of a careful investigation into the sweating system that resulted in the first factory law for Illinois, which dealt largely with the conditions of the sweat-shop and the regulation of the age at which a child might be permitted to work. (Hull-House 1916, 55)

Hull House also investigated living conditions as a cause for tuberculosis and advocated for better health codes, lobbied for, and won, the establishment of a juvenile court system to better treat minors, and successfully fought to get women

hired to civil servant positions in Chicago, providing higher paying jobs for the women in the community.

Similarly, CWLU reported in *Womankind* how they pressed the city government to change its review process for day care centers to better meet the needs of women:

> Attempts to put pressure on the city Licensing Review Committee, set up to review and revise licensing procedures for day care centers, is one of the current concerns of the Action Committee for Decent Childcare, an organization of mothers, daycare workers, and other women concerned about childcare. ACDC, which is itself part of the Licensing Review Committee, is concerned about the way in which the Committee seems to be more responsive to the city government machine than to the parents and children whose needs it supposedly serves. ("Action Committee for Decent Childcare" 1972)

In addition to childcare, CWLU sued the city, and won, higher wages for women custodians, and fought for family visitation rights and for a nursery space at a local prison.

One strategy common to both Hull House and CWLU, then, was to identify particular problems or needs (e.g. sweatshop labor, child care) and then target specific institutions or a policy responsible for creating or meeting these needs (e.g., a state factory law in Illinois, age restrictions on labor, and the City Homes Association in the Hull House documents; the city Licensing Review

Committee, childcare, and the city government in the CWLU documents).

When the organizations failed in their campaigns to get the city or state to better meet the needs of women, a second strategy common to both organizations was to offer the services themselves. For years Hull House housed a Post Office, so that immigrant workers sending money back home could do so without the risk of going to predatory brokers (Hull House 1913, 36), they established spaces for women, such as the "Jane Club," which was a "co-operative boarding club for young women," they provided nurses and kindergarten teachers who traveled to the homes in the community who could not make it to Hull House, they ran after-school activities for children so mothers could work, and they even provided an early version of a domestic violence shelter. They provided many other services over the years, which they always hoped would eventually be taken over by other institutions or the state (see, e.g., Hull-House 1906, 54).

Founded 78 years later, CWLU was also in large part concerned with directly providing needed services to their community. They provided legal clinics:

> Among the most frequently asked questions at these legal clinics, said one of the attorneys, are those concerning a woman's rights in marriage, ownership rights, property rights, rights in business, and labor union problems. ("Legal Aid" 1973)

They also established a rape crisis line to “help women who have been raped with counseling and medical and legal services” (ibid), and set up a center that provided “a place for women to meet together to talk about Women's Liberation” and that also included “legal counseling, Liberation School classes, and pregnancy testing” (“New Women’s Center Opens” 1972). The Liberation School Classes included classes on car maintenance, self-defense, and reproductive health issues, such as a class “intended to help high school women learn about the anatomy and physiology of their bodies, about methods of birth control and abortion, vaginal examination procedures, and signs and symptoms of venereal diseases” (“Liberation School Fall Classes” 1971). For a number of years women in CWLU provided illegal abortions or abortion referrals through a group called the Jane Collective, or just Jane, reminiscent of the similarly named Jane Club started by Hull House years earlier (Kaplan 1997).

In sum, while the specific issues important to the community were remarkably different in the two periods, both of these organizations in Chicago regarded persuading the state to pass specific policies, or provide services that would directly make women's lives easier, as their main task, and where the state failed, the organizations stepped in themselves to provide these services.

From the Individual to the Social in New York City. The documents in the most prevalent topics from New York City detailed a much different approach to social change. Rather than discussing the specific needs of the community and ways to meet those needs, the documents produced in New York City contained two dominant rhetorical tactics: (1) the documents used the experiences of women – both actual women but also women as a group or a woman in the abstract – to highlight general social structures shaping women's lives; and (2) they detailed theories about how to approach change. Consider the following passages that explain how love as a social structure has barred women from participating in cultural activities. From *The Masses*:

> Magdalene was born a woman, this fact, according to the dictates of man, prohibiting her from every field of life except love. … Society, with the unaccountable, contradictory attitude it sometimes manifests, censured her for doing the only thing that it allowed her to do. … She was not allowed to forget her individual misfortunes by depicting in literature or on canvas or in music the lives of the aggregate of individuals. She was not allowed to forget her own needs by busying herself with the needs of society as a whole. All these paths of endeavor, that of the musician, the painter, the writer, the statesman and the physician, were bolted and barred against her. (Wentworth 1911, 14)

From Redstockings:

> Women and Love are underpinnings. Examine them and you threaten the very structure of culture. What were women doing

> while men created masterpieces? … Men were thinking, writing, and creating, because women were pouring their energy into those men: women are not creating culture because they are preoccupied with love. (Firestone 1970, 19)

In both of these documents no concrete entity is identified as oppressing women, just "society" or the "structure of culture." These abstract structures in turn dictate women's life choices.

The documents throughout these New York City publications narrated stories depicting a range of more specific situations common to women. In *The Masses*, stories included a civic worker who, unlike her male colleagues, had to worry about the way she looked in front of cameras ("Feminine Foible" 1914), a woman being sexually harassed on a train (Hall 1914), and women working in jobs such as nursing (F.D. 1915). Documents in the Redstockings literature detailed women fighting to succeed in male-dominated careers, their experiences working while pregnant, and women working while supporting their families, among other subjects. The goal of these documents, and the situations described within, was to demonstrate the effects of male-dominated society as a social structure on the everyday lives of women through the rhetorical device of story-telling.

Other documents detailed theories about what need to change, and

women's efforts to resist male-dominated society. In both waves in New York City, authors argued that women's common situation produces a common psychology among women. The goal of the movement, these documents claimed, is to change this psychology. From *The Masses:*

> But one thing this treatment of women has done—it has produced a certain feminine psychology, a mob psychology, that will take much exorcising before it disappears. … The great body of women today are not factory workers, they are still isolated in a home with much of the psychology of the old slave wife. (Kaneko 1911)

From Redstockings:

> The central radical idea of feminism was that there was a common situation of women, a political and historical situation of oppression by men, and that until male supremacy was overthrown there would be no personal solutions, only personal compromises. (“The Pseudo-Left/Lesbian Alliance Against Feminism” 1978, 191–92)

Other documents detailed strategies to resist the prescribed roles for women and to achieve this new psychology. In the first wave, one of these lifestyles was widowhood. One story from *The Masses* described a woman who faked being a widow in order to have access to a range of lifestyle options and to be, and feel, more free (Gillmore 1911, 17). In second wave, as described in the Redstockings literature, one of these ways was lesbianism: “...[R]adical feminists, starting with Simone de Beauvoir analyzed lesbianism as one of the fundamental

life patterns deriving from woman's common situation. Like all the ways women now live it is both a form of compromise with male supremacy and a form of resistance to it." ("The Pseudo-Left/Lesbian Alliance Against Feminism" 1978, 191).

Rather than pointing to specific laws or policy changes, these documents described the common situation women face, a psychology common to all women, and creative lifestyle responses to that situation. In both waves in New York City, changing women's expectations of themselves, and men's expectations of women, was considered the necessary first step toward larger social change.

From the results from the initial quantitative techniques, I found that concrete and particular words were common in the literature from Chicago while abstract and general words were common in the literature from New York City. Using a qualitative deep-reading, I demonstrated how concrete and abstract words translated into full political discourse, reveling different targets (specific institutions in Chicago, individuals in New York City), goals (policy and institutional change in Chicago, psychological change in New York City), and strategies (incremental but practical institutional change in Chicago, raising awareness and changing consciousnesses in New York City). This re-engagement

with the full data also revealed a second linguistic pattern:

Pattern 2: The two Chicago organizations more often referred to organizations and groups, while the two New York City organizations more often referred to individuals.

Pattern Confirmation

To ensure the patterns identified in the first two inductive steps are not based on a biased or selective reading and interpretation, I complete the text analysis with a computational confirmation of these two linguistic patterns. This step provides a final validity and reliability check on the different political discourses, but it also isolates how these patterns are distributed across city and time, enabling a precise and quantitative comparison of temporal and geographical trends.

Concreteness and Specificity. I used two methods to confirm Pattern 1, that the two core Chicago organizations used language that was more concrete and specific while the two core New York City organizations used language that was more abstract and general. To measure the *concreteness* of the texts I used a

crowdsourced database that contains an average human-rated concreteness score for close to 40,000 English lemmas (Brysbaert, Warriner, and Kuperman 2014).[13] Researchers have used this database to measure the concreteness of various texts and their relationship to social processes (Snefjella and Kuperman 2015). I used this database to map the average "concreteness score" from the database to every matched word in my corpus.

To measure the *specificity* of the texts I used the lexical resource WordNet (Princeton University 2010). Among other things, WordNet organizes English nouns and verbs hierarchically through the "type-of" relationship – hypernyms and hyponyms. For example, a chair is a type of seat, which is a type of furniture, which is a type of furnishing, and so on. The more hypernyms a word has, the more specific it is (*chair* has more hypernyms than *furniture*, for example). Using WordNet's hypernymn organization, I calculated the number of hypernyms for each noun and verb in the text that was also mapped in WordNet, for each organization.

To form a baseline comparison, separately for each measure – the concreteness measure and the specificity measure – I drew 1000 random samples from the full array of scores from all four organizations, constructing one random array for each organization with length equivalent to the length of the real array

for each of the 1000 draws. These random samples are a measure of the null hypothesis – that there is no difference in the specificity and concreteness in the language used by each organization.

To compare both place and time, I combined the scores from each city together and each wave together. Table 4 shows statistics comparing the concreteness scores and specificity scores for the first wave (the concatenated Hull House and Heterodoxy literature) compared to the second wave (the concatenated CLWU and Redstockings literature), and for Chicago (the concatenated Hull House and CWLU literature) compared to New York City (the concatenated Heterodoxy and Redstockings literature). The results suggest that there was a larger difference between the two cities compared to the two waves, for both measures. The percent difference on the concreteness score scale (1:5) for the two waves is 0.035%, with a percent difference between the cities almost twice as much at 0.063% (if there were no differences between groups we would expect a percent difference around 0.003%). An independent samples t-test statistic follows a similar pattern, with a test statistic of 39.95 for the waves comparison, and a test statistic a little under twice as large for the place-based comparison at 65.29 (if there were no difference we would expect a test statistic around 3). The specificity score confirms this pattern, with an even larger

difference between the cities compared to the waves. The percent difference on the specificity score scale (1:18) between the waves was 0.005%, while it was a little over twice as large for the two cities, at 0.011% (a percent difference around 0.002% would indicate no differences). The test statistic for the two waves was 8.86, with the place-based test statistic well over twice as large at 24.57 (a test statistic around 3 would indicate no differences).[14]

[Table 4 here]

In sum, these results suggest that while the movement as a whole did indeed get more abstract and general over time, as the preponderance of historical accounts of this movement maintain, the regional effects were much stronger, in both magnitude and according to statistical significance tests.

People and Organizations

To confirm Pattern 2, that the documents from New York City more often mentioned individuals while the documents from Chicago mentioned more organizations, I use the inbuilt part-of-speech tagger in Python's Natural Language Tool Kit library (Bird 2006). Named Entity Recognition (NER) is a subtask within information extraction that automatically assigns elements of text into predefined categories: people, organizations, locations, and miscellaneous. I

used it to extract all mentions of either people or organizations from the data.[15] Overall, returning to my place and wave comparison, the Chicago organizations mentioned proportionally more organizations (62%) compared to individuals (38%), while the New York City organizations mentioned proportionally more individuals (61%) compared to organizations (39%), supporting Pattern 2 identified above. There was not a clear pattern when comparing the two waves, with more organizations compared to people mentioned in both waves, but with a much smaller difference: 52% were organizations compared to 48% individuals in the first wave, and 56% were organizations compared to 46% individuals in the second wave (see Figure 1). These findings confirm what is now a persistent, and I claim conclusive, pattern: there were more differences between cities compared to waves.

[Figure 1 here]

FROM RESULTS TO POLITICS LOGICS

Combining the quantitative and the qualitative text analyses indicates two distinct, regionally-bounded political logics underlying these four core women's movement organizations in Chicago and New York City, and suggests that these place-based political logics were persistent over time. The two core organizations

in Chicago shared a political logic that assumed social change happens through institutions and the state, and is achieved through short-term goals around particular issues that win concrete changes that affect women's lives. This style of feminism I am calling *policy-oriented community organizing*. The two core organizations in New York City followed an alternative political logic, one that assumed social change happens through individuals, and is achieved through building solidarity based on generalizing the experiences of individual women, and mobilizing individual consciousness through abstracting from these experiences to make claims about social structures. This style of feminism I am calling *narrative-based consciousness-raising* (see Table 5 for a summary of these findings). I crafted the content of these logics from the ground up: I started with linguistic patterns among word frequencies across texts and the co-occurrence of words within sections of the text, I used these results to guide a qualitative deep reading of the text to translate linguistic patterns to patterns within political discourse, and I ended with a computational test of the conclusions drawn from the quantitative and qualitative analyses.

[Table 5 here]

DISCUSSION

Scholars have struggled to identify precisely how heterogeneous, often conflicting, macro- and meso-level forces interact to influence the form of social movements. In this article I isolated the effect of these competing forces through a simultaneous temporal and geographical comparison of U.S. women's movements. In line with scholars identifying movement continuity, I found that, despite changes and progress made by the women's movement, the regional differences between women's movement organizations in Chicago and New York City eclipsed temporal differences, and there was a surprising coherence to the regional differences over time. I propose the theory of persistent place-based political logics as a meso-level structure to explain movement continuity and change.

Substantively, I find that the core women's organizations in Chicago embodied a political logic that assumes change happens through specific institutions and by meeting the concrete, material needs of the community, while the core women's organizations in New York City embodied a political logic that assumes change happens by revealing the common causes of shared oppressions to change the hearts and minds of individuals. While the organizations in each of the cities were diverse, representing a variety of movement strategies and goals,

organizations that did not embody this influential logic remained peripheral.

This analysis challenges our historical understanding of U.S. women's movements. First, it decenters the New Left, anti-war, and civil rights movements as the main explanation for the form of second wave women's liberation. Debates between “politicos,” or socialist feminists, and “feminists,” or radical feminists, that animated the second wave movement were not arbitrary, nor did they originate in the political styles of the civil rights movement and the New Left as historians have claimed. This debate, while in some ways distinct to the political moment in the 1970s, was deeply rooted in political models institutionalized long before the 1970s, going as far back as the 1910s. Even as the women's movement in general changed and progressed between the first and second wave, undoubtedly influenced by other social movements and changing historical circumstances, within each wave, women in the two core organizations in Chicago and the two in New York City had fundamentally different understandings of the targets, goals and strategies for political change. These understandings, or place-based political logics, persisted between the waves.

Second, while the wave metaphor used to describe U.S. women's movements is useful in some respects—for example drawing attention to periods of heightened collective political action—this metaphor has served to mask

systematic within-wave differences and between-wave continuities. In particular, historians have almost universally claimed that second wave feminism was distinct in three ways: its focus on personal problems as political problems, the theory that psychological change is a necessary prerequisite for institutional change, and consciousness-raising as a feminist tactic. I show that this form of feminism existed in almost this exact form seventy years prior, originating during the first wave movement. What scholars claim is second wave feminism, I claim is narrative-based consciousness raising feminism, a form that existed in both waves, each time tied to New York City. To fully explain the way women approached politics in the second wave movement, scholars need to acknowledge the origins of the different approaches in earlier periods, and recognize the role of persistent regional structures in producing those approaches and their continuities over time.

Third, scholars should take note of the interaction between macro- and meso-level structures when doing cross-national comparisons. In addition to recognizing a diversity of theories, discourses, and organizational structures within a movement, scholars should pay attention to how these persistent place-based differences might extend to the national level.

Theoretically, this analysis disambiguates the effects of changing macro-

level forces that scholars suggest produce distinct social movement forms over time, from the effects of meso-level regional structures that scholars claim produce movement continuity over time. By presenting a theory of persistent place-based political logics, I find that while macro-level forces do indeed shape movements in the abstract, producing change over time, these forces are filtered through place-based political models that can explain the specific form of actually existing social movements. These place-based political models do not dictate strategies and goals for all movement organizations; multiple organizations with diverse strategies and goals exist in the same city at any one moment, and multiple ideas can be incorporated under the same logic. Anecdotal evidence suggests that organizations that do not embody this dominant, place-based political logic remain peripheral to the sector as a whole.

Methodologically, to identify these political logics I presented a two-part analytical approach, including network analysis to measure structure and influence, and a combination of quantitative and qualitative text analysis to measure movement targets, goals, strategies, and political discourse overall. Computer-assisted or computational text analysis shifts the interpretive work from before the actual analysis of text (the dominant method to date of analyzing text) to after the categories emerge inductively from the text, similar to other clustering

and block modeling methods (Carley 1994; Martin 2000; Mische and Pattison 2000; Mohr and Duquenne 1997). Particularly when documents span historical periods and are written in different styles, automated text analysis can reveal potentially latent categories that might not be apparent to a human reader. This approach also facilitates a targeted deep reading of text, enabling a nuanced and context-dependent understanding of more abstract linguistic patterns. Together, this approach is reproducible and scalable, allowing scholars to incorporate more data if needed, opening further avenues of research on the complex role of competing political logics in shaping movements in a multi-institutional, diverse, society.

FUTURE QUESTIONS

No single article can cover every relevant aspect of a complex and diverse movement that has existed for well over a century. The methods and findings presented here have provided a better understanding of one aspect of this movement – regional distinctions and continuities in movement form – but these findings also prompt a number of questions that future research could address. First, future research could incorporate all of the organizations in each movement sector to explore intra-sector contradictions and debates, to understand internal

movement dynamics and development between core and peripheral organizations in more complete and complex detail. The methods presented here allow for this type of analysis, if the data can be collected and digitized.[16]

Second, while these findings demonstrate the persistence of targets, goals, and strategies over time, other aspects of movements might persist or change over time as well. Organizational structures, tactics, or overall network structure may also indicate continuity and change, and could be explored in future research (see, e.g., Saxenian 1996).

Third, there are several possible mechanisms the produce this persistence (e.g., Haydu and Skotnicki 2016). While I leave the full exploration of these mechanisms to subsequent papers, I have found evidence for a number of potential mechanisms. One mechanism is concrete ties between the waves, as people and organizations overlap and transfer ideas via direct contact (Staggenborg 1996; Reger 2012; Rupp and Taylor 1987). Another is the natural "rolling inertia" that comes via socialization. As local community members are socialized into the community and as they draw on established knowledge to form their own organizations, they may be more likely to found organizations similar to those established in the past, as evidenced by more organizations similar to Hull House in Chicago, more organizations similar to Heterodoxy in New York City,

and so on (Greve and Rao 2012; Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen 2000). In addition, there could be a certain path-dependency created by entrenched organizations that, once established, is difficult to change (Saxenian 1996). Relationships with external organizations or institutions, such as the mass media, have their own inertia, and may also contribute to persistence (Seguin 2015).

Finally, something produced these differences in the first place. One possible explanation, supported by anecdotal evidence, is that the differences between Chicago and New York City in the women's movement during the first wave was tied to differences in the larger left culture in these two cities during this period. The Chicago left at the turn of the century was decidedly ideological and working class, organized around a series of centralized left organizations such as the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World. These organizations, and the Chicago left in general, were focused on social change via disciplined working class organization and action. In New York City, alternatively, left thought was a mix of Marxism and Freud, and was focused much more on changing the individual. Left organizations such as *The Liberal Club* sought to create better individuals by combining art and culture, and in doing so, build a better society from the individual up. The women's movements in these cities were intimately connected to this larger left culture. In addition to

explaining the origins of these differences, this anecdotal evidence suggests that other movements might be similarly affected by these persistent place-based political logics. The theory presented here could thus help explain other recurrent social movements such as the civil rights movement (see, e.g., Ralph, Jr. 1993), and research on these other movements could provide more evidence that the place-based logics impacting the women's movement are truly city-wide. Future research thus could extend this analytic approach to other movements and cities, and address questions around sector emergence more directly (e.g., Dromi 2016).

While prompting many more questions than they answer, the findings presented here emphasize the important role of meso-level persistent place-based political logics in explaining the shape and form of recurrent social movements. As Mignon McLaughlin once remarked, "The past is strapped to our backs. We do not have to see it; we can always feel it" (1963).

1 According to the U.S. Census, from 1890 to 1970 New York City and Chicago ranked number 1 and 2, respectively, as the largest cities in the U.S., and the census reports relatively similar demographics over time.

2 I visited a total of nine different archives in three different cities and I searched through four online archives (see the supplemental material for a list of the archives). I additionally scoured secondary sources about New York City and Chicago. As I explored the archives and read secondary sources, I kept a running spread sheet of women's movement and allied organizations, with details on each one, and recorded ties between organizations when I found them.

3 This is likely not a coincidence, as white, middle-class women had more social power than women in other demographic groups.

4 Heterodoxy never published a membership list, so it is possible that all of the women who wrote for *The Masses* were also members of Heterodoxy, given the close relationship between the magazine and the feminist organization.

5 These articles include those listed under the “women” and “feminism” tabs in the *The Masses* subject index (Watts 2000), but I also browsed through all of the articles myself to find relevant articles. See the supplemental material for a list of the articles from *The Masses* included in the analysis.

6 One article, “The Personal is Political,” was published in both *Notes From the Second Year* and *Feminist Revolution*. In my data analysis, I only included the article once. *Notes From the Second Year* contained a section with the manifestos of a number of women's organizations. I did not include this section as manifestos are a different type of writing than public journals. See the supplemental material for a complete list of articles included from these publications in the analysis.

7 I collected these publications from the Hull House collection at the University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections. This archive had a limited number of the *Bulletins/Yearbooks.* In this analysis I used the publication from years 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1910, 1913, and 1916. Hull House's bulletins typically followed a standard format. Given the repetitive nature of this publication it is quite unlikely that changing which bulletins I used in the analysis would change the results, although this could easily be tested if the data were available.

8 Delineating each page as one document ensured that each document was close to the same length. I converted scanned copies or digital photos of each page into text using the free Optical Character Recognition Software Tesseract, which has a 98% accuracy rate. I then corrected the output by hand, achieving 100% accuracy. The majority of the quantitative methods I use are on the level of words, not documents, minimizing the impact of the relatively arbitrary division of one page as a document.

9 I include document source as a document-level co-variate.

10 I first did common pre-processing steps on the text: made the text lower-case, removed punctuation, removed very common words, and stemmed the words using the Porter Stemmer.

11 The 20-, 30-, 40-, and 50-topic modes contained many comparable topics. As this step is used for inductively exploring the text, choosing a different model would not have changed the substantive analysis.

12 The most prevalent topic in the Heterodoxy literature was Sanger and Birth Control, a seemingly concrete topic. *The Masses* provided extensive coverage of the arrest of Margaret Sanger and her husband, and the ensuing court cases. Despite this one concrete topic, the Heterodoxy literature still proves to be more abstract, in essence providing more evidence to my overall claim. Additionally, many of the articles which focused on birth control did so by providing narratives about individual experiences with birth control, which fits into the *narrative-based consciousness raising* theme in New York City.

13 To create this database, Brysbaert et al. recruited participants on Amazon's crowdsourcing Web site Mechanical Turk to rate words on a concreteness scale from 1 (most abstract) to 5 (most concrete), with an average concreteness score close to 3. They defined concrete words as "something that exists in reality; you can have immediate experience of it through your senses." Abstract words were defined as "something you cannot experience directly through your senses or actions. Its meaning depends on language" (Brysbaert, Warriner, and Kuperman 2014, 904).

14 Results from the random, null-hypothesis calculations, and for the four organizations separately available on request. The p-values for each of the comparisons was well under the 0.001 cutoff. Some of the randomly generated comparisons also had p-values less than 0.001, suggesting standard p-value cutoffs should not be used when doing statistical comparisons of texts. Because of this, I only discuss the test statistic in the text, not the p-value.

15 Hull House published its entire membership list in each bulletin and year book. Because I am interested in the named entities mentioned in relationship to their political work and political theory, I removed the membership lists before doing this analysis. None of the other organizations published membership lists.

16 I am indeed working on digitizing this data through the organization HathiTrust.

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Tables and Figures

Equation 1:

The observed proportion is defined as:

$$f_w^{(i)} = y_w^{(i)} / n^{(i)}$$

where $y_w^{(i)}$ is the frequency of word *w* in document *(i)* and *n* is the total number of words, or row sum, for document *(i)*.

The difference of proportion is defined as:

$$f_w^{(i_1)} - f_w^{(i_2)}$$

Equation 2:

The percentage of words from organization *o* aligned with topic *k* is defined as:

$$\sum \frac{w_d^{(k)} \times wc_d}{wc_d}$$

where $w_d^{(k)}$ is the weight of topic *k* for document *d* and wc_d is the word count for document *d*.

Table 1: Summary of Data

Organization	City	Wave	Publication	Years	Word Count	Page Count	Article Count
Hull House	Chicago	First	*Bulletin/Yearbook*	1900-1917	200,747	357	~56[2]
CWLU	Chicago	Second	*Womankind*	1971-1973	303,306	364	?[3]
Heterodoxy	New York City	First	*The Masses*	1911-1917	70,393	78	67[4]
Redstockings	New York City	Second	All Publications[1]	1968-1975	264,248	332	75[4]

1. *Notes From the First Year, Notes From the Second Year,* and *Feminist Revolution*
2. Hull House did not publish a Table of Contents or an Index, so I calculated the approximate number of articles by counting the articles in one issue, and then multiplying that by the number of issues included in the analysis.
3. *Womankind* also did not produce a Table of Contents or an Index, and it was difficult to distinguish what counted as an article.
4. See the supplemental material for a list of articles.

Note: This table presents a summary of the data used in the text analysis portion of the article.

Table 2: Most Distinctive Words, Difference of Proportions

First Wave[1]		Second Wave[2]	
Hull House (Chicago)	Heterodoxy (New York City)	CWLU (Chicago)	Redstockings (New York City)
hullhouse	woman	chicago	movement
club	man	children	women
miss	women	center	men
school	life	union	radical
given	know	school	feminist
year	world	work	male
members	like	cwlu	political
chicago	sanger	vietnam	history
mr	men	nixon	womens
classes	said	people	feminism
house	home	office	revolution
boys	just	day	love
work	say	health	feminists
years	dont	city	left
social	little	working	power
held	way	vietnamese	oppression
clubs	think	legal	class
mrs	things	war	female
residents	want	care	personal
room	sex	womankind	woman
children	right	government	really
evening	masses	workers	consciousness
neighborhood	make	south	consciousnessraising
italian	things	medical	group
building	good	home	theory
various	buisness	hospital	groups
plays	law	rape	action
summer	case	abortion	new
city	control	help	oppressed
association	birth	pay	supremacy

1. Words with highest and lowest difference of proportions. Words with the highest difference of proportion are distinct to Hull House, while the words with the lowest difference of proportions (i.e. the largest negative difference) are distinct to Heterodoxy.
2. Words with highest and lowest difference of proportions. Words with the highest difference of proportion are distinct to CWLU, while the words with the lowest difference of proportions (i.e. the largest negative difference) are distinct to Redstockings.

Note: This table presents a list of the most distinctive words in the Hull House texts compared to the Heterodoxy texts, and the CWLU texts compared to the Redstockings texts, using a difference of proportions calculation (see Equation 1).

Table 3: Highest Weighted Words for the Most Prevalent Topics, by Organization

Top Topics and Top Words by Topic for Hull House (Chicago, First Wave)			**Top Topics and Top Words by Topic for Heterodoxy** (New York City, First Wave)			**Top Topics and Top Words by Topic for CWLU** (Chicago, Second Wave)			**Top Topics and Top Words by Topic for Redstockings** (New York City, Second Wave)		
Public Institutions[1] (28%)[2]	**Hull House Social Activities (27%)**	**Hull House Practical Activities (18%)**	**Sanger and Birth Control (22%)**	**Women's Lives (22%)**	**Women's Resistance (9%)**	**Liberation School (8%)**	**Anti-War (7%)**	**Women's Sexual Health (6%)**	**Movement History (11%)**	**Movement Theory (9%)**	**Forms of Resistance (9%)**
hullhous[3 4]	club	hullhous	sanger	one	woman	women	vietnam	women	movement	radic	women
miss	year	play	one	love	women	liber	vietnames	gonorrhea	women	liber	men
school	member	year	will	will	man	work	people	doctor	feminist	women	liber
children	miss	given	public	mother	will	cwlu	war	infect	histori	polit	movement
hous	boy	greek	birth	life	suffrag	union	american	can	radic	feminist	male
chicago	social	italian	inform	day	men	chicago	south	pain	femin	attack	group
resid	mrs	lectur	can	littl	one	call	north	treatment	liber	movement	organ
year	hullhouse	build	time	man	life	offic	nixon	drug	polit	group	struggl
work	even	meet	year	know	great	peopl	bomb	diseas	new	consciousnessrais	revolut
offic	parti	organ	new	billi	world	center	govern	patient	lesbian	left	oppress
summer	meet	dramtic	give	woman	sex	chang	will	caus	even	issue	work
public	room	music	life	work	home	will	prison	pill	one	power	fight
citi	two	present	control	came	suffragett	legal	one	bacteria	first	action	now
street	given	audienc	mrs	take	like	can	can	penicillin	time	person	right
open	committee	mani	law	well	say	societ	peac	vagina	idea	peopl	chang
made	present	school	book	ladi	vote	womankind	agreement	tube	origin	problem	equal
neighborhood	danc	russian	make	like	can	problem	forc	symptom	now	psycholog	polit
investig	entertain	club	pamphlet	mickey	new	come	militari	uterus	year	theori	must
associ	mani	one	woman	time	social	togeth	viet	birth	media	interest	radic
visit	one	chicago	case	hand	never	abort	saigon	examin	write	oppress	issue
1 Topics label chosen by me											
2 Percent of words from the organization's literature aligned with the topic. This was calculated for each organization and each topic by multiplying the topic weight by the number of words for each document, summing this result across all documents, and dividing by the total number of words.											
3 Top weighted words for the topic											
4 Words were stemmed using the Porter Stemmer											

Note: Top 3 most prevalent topics from each organization, calculated using the 40-topic Structural Topic Model (see Equation 2). The words are the top weighted words, or most distinctive words, for each topic, suggesting the content of the topic. The topic was labeled by me, done by examining the top words and representative documents for each topic, to suggest the content of each topic. See the supplemental material for sample documents for each topic.

Table 4: Concreteness and Specificity Score Comparison by Place and Period

	Concreteness Score[1] (Range, 1:5)			Specificity Score[2] (Range, 1:18)		
	Means	Percent Difference	Test Statistic[3]	Means	Percent Difference	Test Statistic
Temporal Comparison (First Wave[4] and Second Wave[5])	First Wave: 2.57 Second Wave: 2.43	0.035	39.95	First Wave: 6.69 Second Wave: 6.61	0.005	8.86
Place-Based Comparison (New York City[6] and Chicago[7])	NYC: 2.32 Chicago: 2.56	0.063	65.29	NYC: 6.53 Chicago: 6.72	0.011	24.57

1 Calculated using the Brysbaert, Warriner, and Kuperman (2014) database

2 Calculated by using WordNet to count the number of hypernyms

3 Calculated using an independent samples t-test. The p-value for each test was infinitesimal; I focus instead on the test statistic.

4 Hull House Literature and Heterodoxy Literature

5 CWLU Literature and Redstockings Literature

6 Heterodoxy Literature and Redstockings Literature

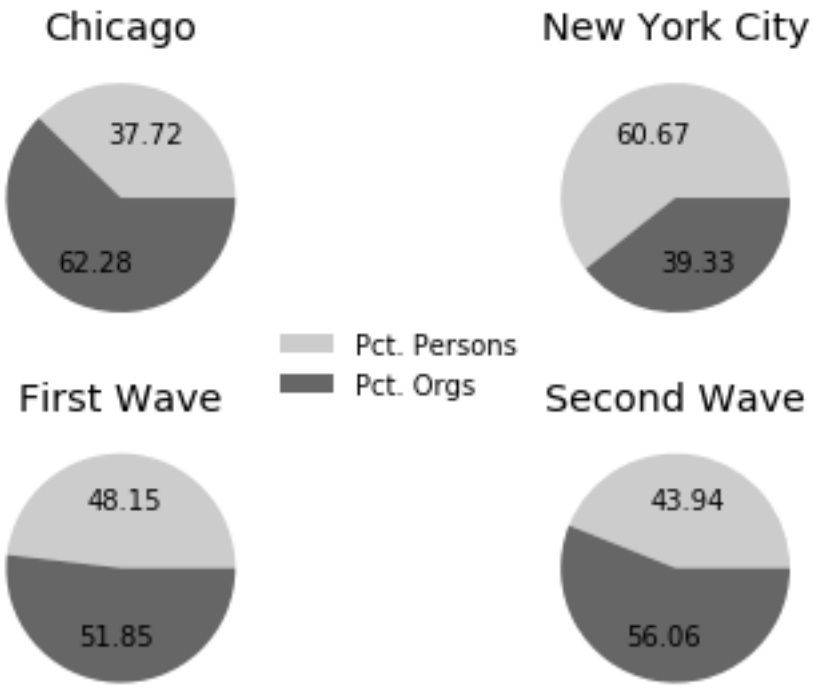
7 Hull House Literature and CWLU Literature

Note: This table compares the difference in average concreteness score and specificity score between first and second wave organizations, and New York City and Chicago organizations, in relation to the overall concreteness and specificity scale, as well as using the test statistic from an independent samples t-test (the p-value for each test was infinitesimal). The results show that the magnitude of the place-based differences is around twice as large as the wave-based difference.

Table 5: Summary of Findings

	Organization	Difference of Proportions	STM	Qualitative Analysis	Concreteness/ Specificity Scores (Pattern 1)	Named Entity Recognition (Pattern 2)	Political Logic	In Their Own Words
Chicago	Hull House (First Wave)	Concrete and specific words e.g., club, school, children, boy	Concrete and specific topics e.g., *Public Institutions*	Documents outline the concrete material needs of the community, and detail practical solutions to meet those needs, including policy change.	Higher	Literature mentions more organizations than individuals	*Policy-Oriented Community Organizing:* Social change happens through institutions, and is achieved through short-term goals around *particular* issues that win *concrete* changes that affect women's lives.	"Abstract minds at length yield to the inevitable or at least grow less ardent in their propaganda," while the "concrete minds [at Hull House], dealing constantly with daily affairs, in the end demonstrate the reality of abstract notions."
	CWLU (Second Wave)	Concrete and specific words e.g., center, children, school, hospital	Concrete and specific topics e.g., *Women's Sexual Health*					"With strategy and struggle for short-term goals, women can come to perceive a long-term self-interest. Abstract social goals are defined and given concrete form in programs."
New York City	Heterodoxy (First Wave)	Abstract and general words e.g., will, thing, know, life	Abstract and general topics e.g. *Women's Lives*	Authors use stories and narratives to raise awareness about the causes and consequences of women's oppression.	Lower	Literature mentions more individuals than organizations	*Narrative-based consciousness-raising*: Social change happens through individuals, and is achieved through building solidarity based on *generalizing* the experiences of individual women and mobilizing individual consciousness through *abstracting* from these experiences to make claims about social structures.	"Feminism means more than a changed world. It means a changed psychology, the creation of a new consciousness in women."
	Redstockings (Second Wave)	Abstract and general words e.g., movement, radical, oppression, consciousness	Abstract and general topics e.g. *Movement Theory*					"Our chief task at present is to develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions."

Figure 1: Number of Entities Comparison by Place and Period[1]



1. Named entities identified using Python's NLTK library
Sources: *Womankind*, Hull House *Bulletins*, *The Masses*, and *Notes From the First Year, Notes From the Second Year, Feminist Revolution.*

Note: This figure shows the percent of non-unique named entities that were persons and organizations mentioned, by place and period. Chicago organizations mentioned proportionally more organizations compared to people, while New York City mentioned proportionally more people compared to organizations. The is no clear trend between the waves.

Appendix A: Eigenvector and Centrality Measures for Four Women's Movement Networks

Chicago, First Wave (1917)

Organization	Eigenvector[1]	Betweenness[2]
Alpha Suffrage Club	0.0062873555	0.0689655172
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America	0.1134182546	0
Chicago Association for the Advancement of Colored People	0.0011226214	0
Chicago Teachers Federation	0.0661162695	0
Chicago Training School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement	0.0661162695	0
Chicago Urban League	0.2660722871	0
Chicago Woman's Aid	0.1785522366	0
Chicago Women's Club	0.5794372365	0.0209359606
Cook County Women s Christian Temperance Union	0.0451247259	0
Dil Pickle	0.0675033305	0
Fortnightly	0.0520120743	0
Hull House	**1**	**0.8218390805**
Illinois' Social Hygiene League	0.4498546567	0
Illinois Birth Control League	0.4901649633	0.0036945813
Illinois Federation of Colored Women s Clubs	0.0340903538	0.1330049261
Illinois Immigrants Protective League	0.2820120511	0
Infant Welfare Society	0.4498546567	0
Industrial Workers of the World	0.3105559522	0.1375205255
Juvenile Protective Association	0.1785522366	0
Municipal Order League	0.2912989233	0.0689655172
National Consumer s League	0.2649195891	0.0242200328
Phyllis Wheatley Woman's Club	0.1846391455	0.1921182266
Progressive Party	0.1785522366	0
Socialist Party	0.2340026964	0
The Little Review	0.0675033305	0
University of Chicago Settlement	0.2527256268	0.0689655172
Woman Suffrage Party of Cook County	0.1785522366	0
Woman's Peace Party	0.1785522366	0
Women's City Club of Chicago	0.2820120511	0
Women's Trade Union League	0.3702909061	0.1863711002

New York City, First Wave (1917)

Organization	Eigenvector[1]	Betweenness[2]
Birth Control League	0.4648885353	0
Consumers League of New York City	0.0518691107	0.0769230769
Dodge's Evenings	0.8178441758	0.0269230769
Greenwich House	0.0518691107	0.0769230769
Heterodoxy	**1**	**0.5325641026**
Industrial Workers of the World	0.4568304824	0
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union	0.0502874294	0
League of Women Voters	0.0500056836	0
Men's League for Woman Suffrage	0.1474484606	0
National Consumers League	0.0090576159	0
National Woman's Party	0.487840664	0.0053846154
Neighborhood Guild University Settlement	0.0090576159	0
New York City Federation of Women s Clubs	0.0515785033	0.0769230769
New York Federation of Women s Clubs	0.0500056836	0
New York Social Hygiene Society	0.0500056836	0
New York State Woman Suffrage Association	0.100293113	0
Provincetown Players	0.4296544736	0
Socialist Party	0.6894678601	0.0020512821
Sorosis	0.0090068688	0
Teachers' Union of the City of New York	0.1084284973	0.0102564103
The Feminist Alliance	0.3329491459	0.0225641026
The Masses	0.8443745662	0.1051282051
The Village Liberal Club	0.7982295275	0.0407692308
Woman's Peace Party	0.2598133865	0
Women's City Club of New York	0.2863612631	0.4302564103
Women's Municipal League of New York City	0.0500056836	0
Women's Trade Union League	0.287974701	0.4025641026

Chicago, Second Wave (1969)

Organization	Eigenvector[1]	Betweenness[2]
Chicago Women s Liberation Union	**1**	**0.8272058824**
Congress of Racial Equality	0.2672443279	0
Hull House	0.4713757635	0.3308823529
Illinois' Social Hygiene League	0.3916781824	0
Planned Parenthood	0.6025643723	0.4852941176
Illinois Immigrants Protective League	0.1259724991	0
Independent Committee to End the War	0.2672443279	0
Infant Welfare Society	0.3916781824	0
International Socialists	0.2672443279	0
Juvenile Protective Association	0.1259724991	0
National Organization for Women Chicago Chapter	0.2672443279	0
Progressive Labor Party PL	0.3950995006	0
Revolutionary Youth Movement	0.3950995006	0
Socialist Party	0.1259724991	0
Socialist Workers Party	0.2672443279	0
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	0.2672443279	0
Students for a Democratic Society	0.4784205289	0.0036764706
Women for Peace	0.2672443279	0

New York City, Second Wave (1969)

Organization	Eigenvector[1]	Betweenness[2]
Conference on the Status of Women	0.2128350418	0.0467836257
Consumers' League of New York City	4.33964E-017	0
League of Women Voters	0.0582254784	0
NAACP	0.4291107469	0.0233918129
National Consumers' League	5.68297E-017	0
National Organization for Women New York	0.6227359551	0.2743664717
National Woman's Party	0.1546095635	0
New York City Federation of Women s Clubs	0.0582254784	0
New York Federation of Women s Clubs	0.0582254784	0
New York Radical Feminists	0.3865857999	0
Redstockings	**1**	**0.4230019493**
Planned Parenthood	0.1546095635	0
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	0.2482746696	0
Southern Conference Educational Fund	0.5041464008	0.0087719298
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	0.6014886764	0.019005848
Students for a Democratic Society	0.3697845664	0
The Feminists	0.5570891731	0.2480506823
WITCH	0.489417213	0.0043859649
Women Strike for Peace	0.2482746696	0
Women's City Club of New York	0.2345204143	0.2680311891

1 Bonacich's centrality measure (Bonacich 1987)
2 Betweeness centrality (Borgatti 2005)

Note: A tie between organizations indicates they shared at least one member or co-organized an event together. An eigenvalue of 1 indicates the most central organization. Both measures indicated the same organization as the most central in their respective networks.