

PENNSYLVANIA COMMUNICATION ANNUAL

**Journal of the
Pennsylvania Communication Association**
*Special Online Issue:
Centennial Celebration of the Women's Vote*

Guest Editor's Letter
Annette M. Holba.....8

**Responding to an Emergency Call: Carrie Chapman Catt,
Women's Suffrage, and the Crisis of a Nation**
Deborah Eicher-Catt.....13

**Persistent Voices: Local Commemoration of the
Women's Suffrage Movement**
Susan Mancino & Elizabeth Day.....33

**Viola Liuzzo and the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights
March: Resolving to Exercise Freedom of Expression**
Pat Arneson.....53

**Pragmatism as a Way of Democracy:
Ruth Anna Putnam's Pragmatist Ethics**
Jen Jones.....68

**From Suffrage to Social Justice: The Mind-Body
Performative Role of Women Athletes in Social Change
in the United States**
Elesha L. Ruminski & Dorene Ciletti.....83



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Guest Editor's Letter
Special Issue: Centennial Celebration of the Women's Vote

Annette M. Holba
Plymouth State University

This special issue of the Pennsylvania Communication Association Annual publication celebrates the centennial of the women's vote. The year 2020 has been marred by one of the most contentious political environments in recent memory, significant social unrest, and a pandemic that is now going into a second surge nationally and possibly a second year of significant impact. Instead of focusing on all that is wrong in the world today, though those issues will no doubt be part and parcel of future PCA Annual issues, this issue focuses on the 100th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment that ushered in the constitutional right for women to vote in the United States. Like the 2020 Women's Vote Centennial Initiative (<https://www.2020centennial.org/>), the *Annual* is celebrating this milestone of women's journey toward democracy in the United States by publishing an issue devoted to the celebration of women and their right to vote marking their official and legitimate participation in American democracy. This issue will look at specific women, their history, their contributions, and their role in society both before and after the 19th amendment was passed.

The sixty-sixth Congress met in Washington D.C. on May 19, 1919. There, a proposal was presented to amend the United States Constitution through a joint resolution. The proposal suggested an amendment to the United States Constitution that would provide the right for Women too legally vote. The text of the amendment stated: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" (U. S. Const. amend. XIX). This amendment is clean and clear but women's path to this moment in history was neither clean nor clear. History tells us that to reach this milestone involved a very long and challenging struggle that required disruptors, agitators, and protesters (Clift, 2003). Many of these early voices did not live to see the passage of this amendment in 1920.

The passage of the amendment endured a complex democratic process. First passed by the House of Representatives on May 21, 1919, two weeks later, the amendment also passed in the Senate. The process required a measured three-fourths support from the

collective United States and so the journey began for each state to deliberate and ratify, or not, this significant change to the constitution. When the state of Tennessee ratified the amendment on August 18, 1920, the three-fourths support was achieved. This act forever changed the face and fate of our democracy.

We know that this was just the beginning since this right to vote excluded black women and non-black women of color due to other structures of inequity in laws, conventions, and practices across all states. Some of these conditions included voting taxes, literacy tests, and laws that excluded children and grandchildren of slaves from the right to vote (Salvatore, 2009). These overtly racist laws actually remained in the law until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which was a landmark decision that prohibited racial discrimination in voting—a practice that lingered especially in the southern states after the fifteenth amendment was passed on February 3, 1870, which stated that all citizens had the right to vote and furthermore, no citizen could not be denied their right to vote based upon race, color, or any previous condition of servitude (being a slave or coming from a slave family). The right for women to vote was not a one step process and was not fully practiced equitably across the United States for a long time after the 19th amendment passed and was ratified. In fact, the history of the complexities involving the fight for the right for women to vote is intertwined with the abolitionist movement and our understanding of it continues to expand as scholars continue to tell the stories of women of all colors in their pursuit of equal participation in the democratic process (Jones, 2020).

The passage of the 19th amendment is entwined with the history of our constitution and our democracy which is not perfect and not easily and equally enforceable (Clift, 2003). As we can see with a close look at the history of our amendments, the struggle for equality, especially in regard to voting, was not easy, clear, or direct. As we celebrate this victory, we must also recognize women were resilient, powerful, and patiently took the high road even when it might have felt daunting or when the path became unclear. The essays that follow provide some unique stories of women's resilience, power, and patience along this journey. What follows are summaries of each essay that provide us with a composite of women's voices and how they used them on their journey toward equal participation in American democracy.

Deborah Eicher-Catt's essay, "Responding to an Emergency Call: Carrie Chapman Catt, Women's Suffrage, and the Crisis of

a Nation,” tells the story of Carrie Chapman Catt, a Suffragist, who led an incredibly successful, sometimes wrought with loss, life that had direct impact on the passage of the 19th amendment. Eicher-Catt weaves a biographical sketch of a women who stood out during her lifetime as a great orator and leader. Eicher-Catt also conducts a rhetorical analysis one of Catt’s most famous speeches, “The Crisis” suggesting that this speech, which she delivered at the emergency convention of 1916, used auditory metaphors that served as catalysts to action.

Susan Mancino and Elizabeth Day’s essay, “Persistent Voices: Local Commemoration of the Women’s Suffrage Movement” explores how local commemorative efforts, in public spaces, such as through museums, are essential to the celebration of the work of the suffragists and their enduring legacy for those people who are not well known but whose work mattered to the larger story and women’s movement. Their essay offers a case study of the “Votes for Women” exhibit at The History Museum, in South Bend, Indiana, as a local commemorative effort. It is important to commemorate through memory places such as museums, memorials, and cemeteries, to name a few, which aids in the participation of creating shared identity that is produced through public memory. This is a rhetorical act. Places of local commemoration contribute to the legacy of women who have come before, and their resilience, to offer new perspectives and interpretations of these narratives—these local places of public memory contribute to the national public memory. Mancino and Day excavate these local heroes in their essay and contribute to the larger story of the 19th amendment.

Pat Arneson’s essay, “Viola Luizzo and the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March: Resolving to Exercise Freedom of Expression,” tells the story of Viola Luizzo’s quest for social liberation during the civil rights era in the United States. Luizzo, a white woman from the southern part of the United States, used her voice, her body, and her presence, to advocate for and physically participate in the fight for the rights of black Americans to vote in Alabama, to protest, and to take a stand against injustice. Luizzo’s actions exemplify women’s resiliency through her bodily expressions which required her to stand against the local government and embedded social structures designed to limit civic participation of minorities. Arneson (2014) states that in the act and process of social liberation, the expressive dimension enables one to engage in activist mode. Social liberation is uniquely political in that as one communicatively expresses desires for equita-

ble social engagement and privilege toward a more just society, the complexities experienced in the communicative body, are “reflexively mirrored in the body politic” (Arneson, 2014, p. 173). This chapter weaves the story of Luizzo’s resiliency in her action toward social liberation.

Jen Jones’s essay, “Pragmatism as a Way of Democracy: Ruth Anna Putnam’s Pragmatist Ethics,” illuminates the implications of Ruth Anna Putnam’s pragmatist ethics and development of democracy as a way of life through exploring Putnam’s contribution to philosophy and political action. Jones provides a brief bio of Putnam and argues that Putnam’s advocacy for taking pragmatism seriously provides the philosophical ground for pragmatist ethics that is key to supporting the 19th amendment and recognizing that just talking is not enough. In fact, Putnam advocates to employ her pragmatist ethics, that one must vote, have a voice, and take action. At a time when one’s voice is not yet welcomed in the democratic conversation it is even more imperative that the voices of those left out of the conversation find a way to enter the conversation. This requires persistence and a communicative resiliency to continue moving from speaking to acting.

Elesha L. Ruminski and Dorene Ciletti’s essay, “From Suffrage to Social Justice: The Mind-Body Performative Role of Women Athletes in Social Change in the United States,” enters this conversation through an examination of an industry, sports. The argue that women’s participation in sport provides openings for women’s participation in democracy. By participating in public sports, women’s public voice emerges and demonstrates a mind-body public performance which undoubtedly contributes to the shaping of all women’s lives including their participation and role in the body politic. This essay expands our understanding of the impact that sport has had on women’s role in the sports industry, their role in political discourse, and women’s leadership development. For women to participate effectively in the sport industry, they forge social and political change which naturally requires persistence and resiliency.

These stories of women’s experiences in pursuit of equal participation in our democracy share a commonality of empathy and resilience. When women engage in social action toward a social liberation, they exemplify empathy for others. Josina Makau (2018) states that empathy is “a critical safeguard against morally corrosive forms of self-deception and rationalizations that compromise our capacities to perceive and fulfill our moral responsi-

bilities” (p. 63). For women to persist in an unequal and unjust social and political structure, this requires resilience, this means the ability to get back up when they are knocked down or to keep going even when situations seem dire or futile. Sissela Bok (2010) stated that “resilience must be counterbalanced by empathy, the capacity for fellow-feeling and compassion” (p. 119). In each of these essays, the thread of empathy and resilience weave these stories together in a mosaic celebrating women in democracy providing hope for a peaceful future.

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**Responding to an Emergency Call: Carrie Chapman Catt,
Women's Suffrage, and the Crisis of a Nation¹**

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“...it is better to imagine a crisis where none exists than to fail to recognize one when it comes; for a crisis is a culmination of events which calls for new considerations and new decisions. A failure to answer the call may mean an opportunity lost; a possible victory postponed.
Carrie Chapman Catt, “The Crisis” 1916²

To tell the story of Carrie Chapman Catt, a prominent leader of the women's suffrage movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is to recall a personal story about a woman's remarkable determination to accomplish a singular goal that spanned over thirty-five years of her lifetime. It is certainly a story about gaining women's suffrage in a democratic society that openly proclaimed freedom for its people while simultaneously disenfranchising women on a number of social, educational, political, and economic fronts.³ It is also a narrative about the many political struggles the movement faced in attempting to raise the consciousness of the populace so as to meet its democratic ideals as originally laid down in the Constitution of the United States. It is a story about many personal and political hardships and defeats as the suffragettes battled against mainstream thinking that insidiously took “control of public sentiment, the deflecting and the thwarting of public sentiment, through the [political] trading and the trickery, the buying and the selling of American politics” (Catt & Schuler, 2020, p. viii). Raising awareness about women's plight and dealing with the often-messy political landscapes in which they had to maneuver at both state and federal levels were no easy feats. However, Catt and her fellow suffragettes firmly felt time would ultimately prove them successful. Following in the footsteps of earlier suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Carrie Chapman Catt worked tirelessly for the sovereignty of American women in the crucial last years leading up to the 1920 ratification of the 19th federal amendment, granting women their right to vote. As a prominent leader, she declared that women were no longer “the exception” to the current rule of law which banned women from the voting poles.⁴ It was Catt's keen political sense and rational strategy (her final “winning plan”) that gave the suffrage movement its ultimate success.⁵

Most importantly, in 1916 Catt understood the pivotal point in time in which the movement teetered. Her sentiments are clearly voiced in her 1916 presidential address to the National American Woman Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.) emergency convention that she convened. She entitled her speech, “The Crisis,” acknowledging the pitfalls the movement had encountered through its many years of ineffectual action (to her way of thinking) and the resultant psychological “doldrums” it was currently in. This speech marks her concerted effort to declare a critical “state of emergency” for the movement and thereby set it on the right trajectory toward victory.⁶ It proves to be highly efficacious.

I begin with a biographical sketch of Catt’s life, both personal and political. I argue that her personal hardships and struggles afforded her a keen sense for crisis situations, situations she would confront as the final leader of the suffrage movement. Foremost, these early lessons taught her that women could enter rationally into a man’s world and successfully contribute to the social, political, and economic matters that directly affected them as citizens. She was convinced that a democracy that served only some of the people was altogether a “false democracy.” I then analyze closely her 1916 “The Crisis” speech. Here Catt emphasizes the significance of *time relations* to move her audience to action by contrasting it with the *spatial*, static successes of the movement’s past. This focus on time as the guiding metaphor, I believe, proved effective in keeping the movement *marching forward* to its eventual victory. Here, Walter Ong’s depictions of the contrast between sound and sight and Giorgi Agamben’s ideas about sovereignty and what it means specifically to *voice* a state of emergency prove helpful. I end by discussing the lessons we can learn from her life pursuits, especially regarding what it takes to maintain a “clean democracy” that still ring true today.

Biographical Sketch

Carrie Clinton Lane was born in Ripon, Wisconsin on her family’s farm January 9, 1859. She was the second child and only daughter of Lucius Lane and Marie Clinton Lane. She had two siblings, Charles Herbert and William Harrison. At the age of seven Carrie’s father moved the family to a farm outside of Charles City, Iowa. As biographer Jacqueline Van Voris notes (1987), her first encounter with feminist issues occurred at the young age of thirteen. Her father went to town to vote in the 1872 presidential election and didn’t take her mother along. It was then she learned that women were not allowed to vote, a situation she

Eicher-Catt

found to be extremely perplexing and unfair. She adamantly voiced her objections.

This sense of injustice toward women stayed with her as she finished high school, especially given that she set her sights on becoming a doctor (a profession not widely accepted for women). In high school she studied Darwin's *Origin of the Species* that provided her with a long-term philosophy about the promise of evolutionary systems—both natural and cultural. As she made plans to attend college at Iowa State Agricultural College in Ames, Iowa (to the dismay of her father and with little financial support), Catt discovered her resourcefulness and the positive results that could be obtained from strategic planning and determination. She taught school during the summers and worked odd jobs at the College (in the library and kitchen) to support herself.⁷ She entered college in 1877 as a sophomore and graduated in 1880 with a B.S. in the General Science Course for Women. She was the only woman graduate in her class of seventeen.

During college, her career ambitions changed, and she considered becoming a lawyer. Understanding the importance of debate to her future profession, she secured the right for women to speak in the college's Crescent Literary Society, essentially a debating society that excluded women from participation. Eventually she not only held offices in the Society but also learned parliamentary procedure, a skill she used throughout her later suffrage work. After college, her first job was working in a law office but in 1881 she was offered a teaching job in the Mason City, Iowa schools which she accepted. Two years later she was appointed superintendent of schools in Mason City, a significant achievement for a woman at this time. Her life, however, was soon to take an abrupt turn.

In Mason City she met and married Leo Chapman in 1885. She immediately resigned her position with the school system to become Leo's wife and business partner.⁸ He owned and was chief editor of the *Mason City Republican*, a local newspaper. His "reform-minded, liberal Republican stance" appealed to Carrie's reform orientation and she commenced to enter into the world of journalism, writing columns not "on food and fashions, [but articles] focused on serious issues, including woman suffrage" (Fowler, 1986, p. xii). Her column was entitled, "Woman's World" in which she "upheld the right of working women to strike for better pay and conditions, harvested notes of feminist interest from other publications, and constantly remind-

Responding to an Emergency Call

ed readers that sentiment for suffrage was useless without organization (Van Voris, 1987, p. 11). The marriage (and the business venture) did not last long, however. After selling the business shortly after their marriage, Leo went to San Francisco to find new job prospects. He died there from typhoid fever less than a year from the time they were married. Carrie traveled to California but tragically did not reach him before he died. From all accounts, they were deeply in love and especially appreciated one another's business and political sense. This was one of the first major crises that Carrie would confront in her personal life. At the age of only twenty-seven she was suddenly a widow. She had no career prospects and no substantial financial resources. She was on her own.

As she recollects, the tumultuous year she spent in San Francisco after Leo's death (1886-1887) was one of the worst of her life. Carrie lived with her aunt in San Francisco for a short period of time and tried to fashion a productive life as a single woman. She remained in journalism and supported herself by writing ad copy, freelance articles, and "became one of the estimated four million working women marginally employed, underpaid for long hours, with no job security and vulnerable to sexual harassment" (Van Voris, 1987, p. 14). By happenstance, she encountered George Catt on a San Francisco street, a young man she had known as a fellow classmate back at Iowa State.⁹ George was one year younger than her and studied engineering. At the time of their meeting, he was in the early stages of starting a very successful career. Catt biographer, Van Voris, speculates that it was because of George Catt's encouragement during their initial reunion that Carrie garnered the confidence to begin public lecturing on the popular speaking circuit.¹⁰ As Van Voris attests, during this historical moment "A bright speaker could be influential and make a good living. Soon she [Carrie] had written out three lectures, hired an agent to schedule them, and after delivering and polishing them on the west coast, returned to Charles City [Iowa in 1887] to begin her new career" (1987, 15).

She rented a house in Charles City, Iowa and her younger brother William lived with her. It was during this time her commitment to women's causes became more pronounced and she became convinced that women's suffrage would be her life's work. While maintaining a steady and demanding professional lecturing career, she joined the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and began editing its column in the *Charles City Intelligencer*. In 1889, she was elected recording secretary at the Iowa Suffrage

Eicher-Catt

Convention where she gave her first speech to fellow women. So impressed were the women delegates with her orations that she was subsequently elected state lecturer and organizer for Iowa.

George Catt continued to pursue her and by 1890 had convinced Carrie that marriage did not mean sacrificing her commitment to suffrage work. As a matter of fact, it is said that “Carrie insisted, as a precondition for their marriage, that she have free one-third of every year—which soon became most of every year—to promote woman suffrage, and her husband readily agreed” (Fowler, 1986, p. 15). They married in 1890.

This was also the pivotal year (1890) in which the two national suffrage organizations that had often times been working at cross purposes, (The American Women’s Suffrage Association, headed by Lucy Stone and the National Women’s Suffrage Association, chaired by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) finally merged into the National American Women’s Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A), an association that worked diligently for the next thirty years until the vote was finally secured. By the time of this merger, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was seventy-five years old and Susan B. Anthony was already seventy. Both prominent leaders were looking for the next generation of political activists who could carry their momentum forward. Carrie Chapman Catt attended the first convention of the N.A.W.S.A. in 1890 and, as one of the delegates from Iowa, gave an arousing speech. Anthony took notice and began seeing Catt as her possible successor. Apparently, Anthony perceived Catt to be a “great genius” at organizing and administrating. Others did as well, and Catt was elected to serve as chairperson of the Association’s Organization Committee from 1895-1900. This committee’s purpose was to organize workers throughout the nation. While her initial suffrage work and public lecturing began in Iowa, South Dakota, and Colorado she quickly became a key figure on the national scene. For the next thirty years, she crisscrossed America on behalf of women’s suffrage, attending organization meetings, giving lectures, and meeting with local government officials and state legislatures. She never drew a salary from the National Association (as some suffragettes did.) As George had indicated back in 1890 when they married, “I am as earnest a reformer as you are, but we must live. Therefore, I will earn the living for two and you will do reform work enough for both” (cited in Fowler, 1987, p. 16). By 1900, Carrie’s national prominence was duly acknowledged, and she was elected President of the N.A.W.S.A. and served in that post until 1904.

Responding to an Emergency Call

Unfortunately, during the last years of her first presidency for the national association, George became ill and she lost him in 1905 after fifteen years of marriage. The next few years were not easy for Carrie. Personally, she was greatly saddened by his death and by most accounts suffered bouts of deep depression. She spent the next ten years embroiled in a legal battle over George's estate which eventually was settled to her satisfaction.¹¹ In 1907, she lost both her brother William and her mother. These personal losses took a heavy toll on her and her suffrage activities waned for a bit.

Politically, she also felt that her recent presidency had not been as productive as she would have liked. In the past, she had been somewhat critical of Anthony's work as president, surmising that the Association needed better organization and leadership. As president, Catt felt she had not sufficiently remedied some of these organizational problems. While her unemotional, practical approach to handling internal organizational disputes proved effective most of the time (as her colleagues attest), there were still differences of opinion among the top leaders, typically concerning how to proceed strategically toward their goals.¹² So, while "harmony" among the ranks was "both expected and essential" (Fowler, 198, p. 21), the outspoken Catt often found herself at odds with other leaders. This was especially true when it came to her most immediate contemporary, Anna Howard Shaw. Shaw was the leading spokesperson and lecturer for the movement at the time but her organizational skills were sorely lacking according to Catt. Unfortunately, it was Shaw who succeeded Catt as President of the National Association in 1905 and served in that capacity until 1914. In any case, personally and politically, she found these early years of the 20th century especially difficult—experiencing crises as pivotal points in her journey as an aging woman and suffragette.

Between 1905 and 1915 and while still heavily involved at the national level, Catt also turned her attention to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. She served as President of this organization from 1904 to 1923. Although her international travel was interrupted by World War I, when permissible she traveled all over the globe (except Australia) organizing clubs and speaking to governmental officials (Clevenger, 1955). Perhaps because of her increasing presence and acceptance as a world leader of suffrage at the International level, in 1915 Catt was re-elected as President of the National Association at the age of fifty-six. She served in that role until the 19th amendment was ratified in 1920.

Eicher-Catt

As detailed by Fowler (1986), in 1915 Catt inherited the leadership of an Association that had fallen “into a serious and deepening crisis...and the finger of blame pointed to Shaw. Catt knew that the N.A.W.S.A. was in a sad state, ‘bankrupt’ in every sense of the word” (p. 26 & p. 30). Apparently, in her many years as President, Shaw “eventually was overwhelmed by mounting criticism over the painful reality that her long regime produced meager results towards victory” (Fowler, 1986, p. 24). It is not surprising, therefore, that after she resumed the Presidency, Catt convened an emergency convention in 1916. She entitled her first Presidential Address to the Association, “The Crisis.” Ultimately, it was Catt’s clear pragmatic and business sense that allowed the movement to finally succeed.¹³

After the suffrage victory in 1920, she turned her attention to world peace, founding the Cause and Cure of War Conferences. She spoke on behalf of this cause all over the world. She served as chairperson from 1925-1932 and then honorary chair until her death in 1947. She gave her last speech on her eighty-eighth birthday, January 9, 1947. Catt died two months later on March 9, peacefully at home in New Rochelle, New York where she had resided for many years. She had worked a full day at home, reading, writing letters, meeting with distinguished guests, taking care of household business, and making “plans for the future” (Clevenger, 1955, p. 21). Not surprising to her fellow comrades for the cause, she chose to be buried next to her longtime political ally, close friend, and housemate for many years, Mary G. Hay.

Declaring a State of Emergency: Catt’s “The Crisis” Speech

It is estimated that “by 1900, Catt had covered over 13,000 miles and visited twenty states” (Huxma, 2000, p. 312) in a response to the call for women’s suffrage. By 1920, the year the 19th amendment was finally ratified, Fowler (1986) estimates that she had traveled over 100,000 miles and spoken about 7,000 times. This grueling schedule speaks volumes about her commitment to the suffrage cause and is somewhat surprising given that Catt never thought she was particularly good at public speaking (Fowler, 1986; Clevenger, 1955, p. 77). Her speeches were primarily logical and rational in tone, using arguments built from extensive inductive and deductive reasoning. Catt is, therefore, described as the “movement’s pragmatic voice, bringing an organizational efficiency and shrewd sense of diplomacy to secure the move-

ment's aim" (Huxma, 2000, p. 312). Contemporaries touted her rhetorical skills and mastery; she had a sense of

'presence,' and what was then called 'magnetism,' an effortless way of commanding full attention as she spoke. Perhaps it came from her glow of health, perhaps from her extraordinarily mobile mouth that could shift in an instant from an impish smile to a rousing call for action. Perhaps it came from a carefully modulated voice that could resound through a great hall. Whatever the reason, when audiences heard Carrie speak, they listened (Van Voris, 1987, p. 19).

Her voice was deemed "splendid" and the logic she used in her speeches as "unanswerable" (Birdsell, 1993, p. 321). Most of her audience designated her as an "energetic speaker with poise, using few gestures, and having a voice pleasant, fluent, rich in quality, and possessing an earnest appeal" (Clevenger, 1955, p. 71-72.). She worked long and hard on her speech writing although during delivery she often spoke extemporaneously—responding to her assessment of the particular rhetorical situation in which she was engaged. Given that she never spoke to merely "entertain" (Birdsell, 1993, p. 321), her "critics described her as a 'rational pragmatist,' 'a great organizer,' and 'a practical politician'" (Fowler, 1986, p. 17, 40, 127). As stated by Mrs. Raymond Brown, a colleague and fellow suffragette, Catt's delivery was like "that of a statesman" (cited in Clevenger, 1955, p. 73). As we know, true statesmen[sic] always remind us, in an eloquent but rational way, of our democratic ideals and call us to pursue the greater good. All of these descriptions of her "style" of discourse are exemplified in one of Catt's most famous speeches: "The Crisis."

"The Crisis" was delivered in September of 1916 as she assumed her second presidency of the N.A.W.S.A. Catt had called an emergency convention in Atlantic City to discuss the fledging organization's need for a quick response to the seemingly growing apathy among the ranks. As she says, (Croy, 1998, p. 71), "Our cause has been caught in a snarl of constitutional obstructions and inadequate election laws" which have stalled the movement's progress. Thus, with her self-described "foghorn voice," (Pergande, 1995, p. 25) Catt used her speech as a way to declare officially a "state of emergency" concerning the suffrage movement.¹⁴ In particular, the organization needed to be decisive

Eicher-Catt

about its political strategy moving forward since there was equivocation among the ranks. Many suffragettes believed enfranchisement would be best achieved by concentrating on state legislatures and referenda (a plan that was in place for some time). Others thought working toward a federal amendment to the constitution was best (a plan begun by Anthony). Others argued they should continue to divide energies and work on both simultaneously. Catt insisted that they move forward by working solely on securing the ratification of the federal amendment. Huxma summarizes the speech's rhetorical value: "It was a most 'inspirational speech,' a 'major address that received much public attention' and conveyed brilliantly 'her sense of urgency, opportunity, and mission'" (2000, p. 315). A closer look is now in order to detail *how* Catt achieved her rhetorical objective.

Her speech begins by acknowledging that her declaration of a state of emergency or "crisis" may be a view not shared by all the delegates. Yet, she insists that it is better to perceive a crisis where none exists than to ignore a possibility for improvement and change that any crisis presents. Given her past experiences of crisis situations in her own life, Catt knew crises need to be confronted by first understanding the full scope of the problems or issues and second by strategizing the best avenues for resolution. She reminds her audience that crises always signal a pivotal point in time in which a genuine realization of what's at stake comes into sharp relief. In their case, rather than continuing to wait for the actualization of women's right to vote to "come down" from the clouds of abstraction or idealization, she says it is time to

shout aloud in every city, village and hamlet, and in *tones* so clear and jubilant that they will *reverberate* from every mountain peak and *echo* from shore to shore: 'The Woman's *Hour has struck.*' (Croy, 1998, p. 52, italics mine).

Thus, at the very beginning Catt sets the overall *tone* of the speech by appealing to the powerful metaphor of sound, the necessity for an audible declaration that woman's hour is now striking its loud call for all to hear. This refrain, "The Woman's Hour Has Struck," is repeated many times throughout the speech as she advances her argument and brings her listeners back to the metaphor of sound.¹⁵ While I cannot say that Catt wittingly invented her speech using the metaphor of sound, it becomes apparent as the speech progresses that she finds the illusions to it efficacious

to her aim. I argue, with Walter Ong (2000), that this is unsurprising because sound accentuates our existential sense of time, which is more dynamic than spatial references.

Speaking directly to their crisis she indicates, “Fellow suffragists, I invite your attention to the *signs* which point to a crisis and your consideration of plans for turning the crisis into victory” (Croy, 1998, p. 52, italics mine). She consequently refers to two overarching signs to which they must attend: 1) the status of women since the start of World War I (a “world crisis” as she called it), and 2) the monumental struggles historically fought and won since the inception of the women’s movement and the resources they now had at their disposal to finish the fight.

She begins detailing the first sign by describing how the World War has significantly changed the status of women for the better. They have entered the public realm and have shown their abilities to remain as productive citizens. As men have gone off to war, “Everywhere [women] have taken the places made vacant by men and in doing so, they have grown in self-respect and in the esteem of their respective nations” (Croy, 1998, p. 53). Women now cultivate the fields, work in munition factories and essentially have shown how they are “war assets.” She states, “Women are holding together the civilization for which men are fighting... it has been demonstrated in every European [and American] land that it is a partnership with equal, but different responsibilities resting upon the two parties” (Croy, 1998, p. 54). She reminds them of the ways they have already entered into the public realm by assuming administrative posts, becoming clergy, and filling essential service jobs. She asserts that when the war is over women will no longer be content to be mere “door mats” at the thresholds of their private domiciles. Instead, women (and the populace at large) will know that women now stand as “door jambs,” serving as the very thresholds from which “a much broader and more normal a vision of things” can be realized. The reference to door jambs puts women on equal footing to men socially, economically, and politically (Croy, 1998, p. 55). She concludes this section by emphasizing “The economic change is bound to bring political liberty” (Croy, 1998, p. 56). A wave of women’s emancipation is happening before their eyes, she suggests. Referencing again her sound metaphor Catt concludes this point by emphatically saying, “So it happens that above the *roar* of cannon, the *scream* of shrapnel and the *whir* of aeroplanes, one who *listens* may *hear* the *cracking* of the fetters which have long bound ... woman to outworn conventions... The Woman’s Hour Has Struck” (Croy,

Eicher-Catt

1998, p. 57, italics mine). She also rallies then to “boldly lead in the inevitable *march* of democracy” (Croy, 1998, p. 57, italics mine). Marching, of course, involves a movement through space, but it also signifies the musical or rhythmic progression through time, a beating and pulsating of intentional action.

In sharp contrast to use of auditory metaphors, in her second point, which takes up obstacles they had faced and managed to overcome, she appeals to more spatial metaphors. This is quite understandable given that she spends this portion of the speech reminding her audience of the very *foundation* they have already laid—*stone by stone*—and from which they now must move forward. She suggests, “As the most adamant *rock* gives way under the constant dripping of water, so the opposition to woman suffrage in our own country has slowly *disintegrated* before the increasing strength of our movement” (Croy, 1998, p. 57, italics mine). She mentions pioneers of suffrage such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Blackwell, and Susan B. Anthony indicating they all helped “build with others the *foundation* of political liberty for American women. Those that came after only laid the *stones in place*” (Croy, 1998, p. 57-58). She refers to their forebearers as “suffrage master-masons,” indicating that “the *edifice* of woman’s liberty nears completion. It is strong, indestructible. All honor to the thousands who have helped in the *building*” (Croy, 1998, p. 58).

She then describes the “four *Corner-stones* of the *foundation*” that included the demands of the movement since its inception: the right to equality for women in education, the right of religious liberty to pray and speak in church, the right of women to own property and make a decent wage, and political freedom which comes from the right to vote. And while “The *stones* in the *foundation* have long been overgrown with the moss and mold of time,” in parallel fashion, she describes the “*four cap-stones* at the top [that] have been set to match those in the base” (Croy, 1998, p. 58, italics mine). Here she lists the improved status of women which coincides with each of the foundation stones: education, religious practices, wage increases, and the fact that in 1916 “Women vote in 12 states; they share in the determination of 91 electoral votes” (Croy, 1998, p. 58). Even though progress has been made on each of these fronts, she asks the audience, “as builders of 1916...what shall we do?...Over our heads, up there in the clouds, but tantalizing [sic] near, hangs the roof of our edifice,—the vote. What is our duty? Shall we spend time in admiring the capstones and cornice? Shall we lament the tragedies

which accompanied the laying of the corner stones?” (Croy, 1998, p. 59). Switching back to her earlier auditory appeals and highlighting *time relations*, she encourages them to “*chant...and while we chant, grasp the overhanging roof and with a long pull, a strong pull and a pull together, fix it in place for ever more*” (Croy, 1998, p. 59, italics mine).

Strategically she again declares that they find themselves in a pivotal point in time—experiencing a state of emergency as a significant event. Their crisis is real and not imaginary and “it *calls* for action, bold, immediate and decisive” (Croy, 1998, p. 59, italics mine). By using spatial metaphors to describe the work so far completed she rhetorically draws the sharp distinction between the static characteristics of their past accomplishments (viewed as a spatial foundation) and the more dynamic *event* of crisis in which they now find themselves *called* to future action. Although there are plenty of obstacles yet to encounter, she reminds them of their strengths and resources indicating those who oppose their cause (the “anti’s” as she liked to call them) are “merely *deaf* to the *call* of Progress and enraged because the world insisted upon *moving on*” (Croy, 1998, p. 59, italics mine). She thus encourages them to “prepare for the onward *march*” (Croy, 1998, p. 60). To her way of thinking their major weaknesses rest with the fact their movement currently “lacks cohesion, organization, unity and consequent *momentum... [depicting their movement as a] great Niagara with a vast volume of water tumbling over its ledge but turning no wheel*” (Croy, 1998, p. 60).

Consequently, she admonishes them to abandon their old beliefs that suffrage will *eventually* materialize without concerted effort. Instead, they must *hear* that “The Woman’s *Hour has struck*” and it is *time* for renewed commitment fueled by a “*mobilization* of spirit.” She insists that such a slogan as, “The Woman’s Hour has struck,” will serve as a new symbolic sign with deep significance. Circling back to her auditory metaphor she concludes this opening section by saying,

Let us *sound* a *bugle call* here and now to the women of the Nation: ‘The Woman’s *Hour has struck.*’ Let the *bugle sound* from the suffrage headquarters of every state at the inauguration of a state campaign. Let the *call* go forth again and again and yet again. Let it be repeated in every article written, in every speech made, in every conversation held. Let

Eicher-Catt

the *bugle blow* again and yet again (Croy, 1998, p. 62).

She assures her audience that American women are waiting for this *bugle call*. They are waiting to *hear* that the final battle is on.

Catt is only about half-way through her address, however. Once she has the audience convinced they face a state of emergency, that they stand a pivotal time in history, she details what comes to be known as her “winning plan.” Acknowledging that the delegates have already voted to continue both forms of activity (seeking state referenda at the same time concentrating on ratifying the 19th amendment), Catt presents a cogent argument, well-reasoned and evidenced, for why they should turn their sole attention to the federal amendment. She quite methodically takes them through why seeking state referenda have proven to be so unproductive. In what probably took another hour of speaking, Catt argues that too many local and state political obstacles and illegal practices have proven successful at thwarting their efforts. She provides lengthy recitations on topics such as the “anti’s” arguments (the shorthand name for their opposition), the lack of education of most voters (and legislators), the liquor interests which have thwarted their state efforts, state election boards that have passed laws that curtail re-dressing failed suffrage referenda efforts, and the tendency to find political corruption and bribery that works against them. On the last topic (and relevant to my concluding discussion), she says

The corruption of each form of government commences with the decay of its principles. It is through the departure from loyalty to those principles that corruption has crept into our political life and it is through the weakness created by internal corruption that most of the great dead nations have met their downfall (Croy, 1998, p. 66).

Thus, she develops the argument that they are trying to win in an unfair political climate. She concludes by testifying to women’s “humiliation” at having to “beg the consent of men to their political liberty” (Croy, 1998, p. 70). Here she is reminding women that

Every five years of late an average of one million immigrant voters are added to our electors’ lists—a million men mainly uneducated and all molded by

European traditions. To these men, women of American birth, education and ideals must appeal for their enfranchisement. No humiliation could be more complete (Croy, 1998, p. 70).

She concludes by stating that these facts concerning the pursuit through states' rights speak for themselves and so the continuance of such a route is useless. While the federal amendment most certainly means ratification at the state level, she insists that the federal amendment should now be their primary aim. She says, "the women of this land, not only have the right to sit on the steps of Congress until it acts but it is their self-respecting duty to insist upon their enfranchisement by that route" (Croy, 1998, p. 71). She ends by repeating that the "Woman's Hour Has Struck. WOMEN ARISE. DEMAND THE VOTE!" (Croy, 1998, p. 72).

Conclusions and Implications

Of course, the suffrage movement prevailed and the 19th amendment was ratified in 1920.¹⁶ In responding to the call of a nation, the women's movement successfully declared women as an exception to the rule of patriarchy and in that declaration, they inaugurated their sovereign status. As philosopher Giorgio Agamben claims, sovereignty is based on exception, the ability to suspend the rules—to create or announce what he calls a "state of emergency" where "the usual laws are no longer valid, and the exception becomes the rule" (Agamben, 1998, p. 15.) A state of emergency is often declared at times when our natural ways of being in the world (what he calls bare life or *zoe*) are most in danger by the life we live in the *polis* or the living proper to a group of people or what he calls the *bios* (Eicher-Catt, 2020, p. 197). This danger can manifest either by natural catastrophes or when "one is obliged, in the name of bare life, to cancel the validity of the normal rule of law" (Dolar, 2006, p. 120).¹⁷

The American suffrage movement realized the existing danger they faced in 1916, their continued subjugation on a daily basis by the lawful denial of their full access in the *polis* of their country. These women understood Foucault's (1978) concept of biopower and the biopolitical functioning of institutions long before he ever articulated it. For too long they had been relegated to the private sphere. Catt knew from her own experience the insidious ways the political sphere (the *bios*) shapes even what we consider to be the private sphere of bare life (*zoe*). This knowledge tainted her view on political life in general because "nasty poli-

Eicher-Catt

tics” had been successful at declaring women an exception to the lawful right to vote. Hence, she approached the suffrage cause from a rational but suspicious point of view when it came to maneuvering within the political realm. Ironically, to battle the *polis* she evolved into a masterful politician, but one with an ear always attentive to the wider call for justice.

After the suffrage victory, Catt’s temperament did not allow her to merely revel in the glory. In her presidential convention speech in 1919 to the N.A.W.S.A. entitled, “The Nation Calls” (again appealing to an auditory metaphor) she rallied the women to support “the most patriotic memorial” she could think of to honor their success. This memorial she called a “League of Women Voters” and its organizational aim was to further enfranchise the thirty-five million women who now could vote through civic education efforts. She envisioned the League as non-partisan and non-sectarian. One of the main goals of this League was to increase literacy in America for not only women but all citizens, especially those like immigrants and minorities who were still suffering disenfranchisement on so many social fronts.

In this speech, she articulated her notion of a “clean democracy,” one which thrives on the ideals of a legitimately-educated citizenry whose primary goal was to advocate for the common good of all—not merely special interests. She clearly saw that without an educated, rationally-motivated citizenry, democracy would be weakened by uninformed voters and voters who could not think critically about pressing issues. Democracy could, in other words, be easily overtaken by political corruption, hypocrisy, party loyalties, and vote stealing.

In today’s political climate, when so many are declaring that our “great experiment” in democracy is now seriously in jeopardy—in a state of crisis, we would be remiss not to head her earlier call and think about the ramification of her words. I believe her voice on these issues still rings true today, especially given the decreasing value we seem to be placing on civic education in our schools. Catt would be appalled to learn that in a 2016 study it was found that “only nine states and the District of Columbia require one year of U.S. government or civics...Most states have dedicated insufficient class time to understanding the basic functions of government” (Shapiro & Brown, 2018, p. 11). It appears that currently “only twenty-five percent of U.S. students reach the ‘proficient’ standard on the NAEP Civics Assessment” (Litvinov, 2017, p. 2). “A 2016 survey by the Annenberg

Public Policy Center found that only 26 percent of Americans can name all three branches of government” (Shapiro & Brown, 2018, p. 10). Even more disturbing (and perhaps as a consequence of the lack of a civics education),

in 2011, the World Values Survey asked U.S. citizens in their late teens and early 20s whether democracy was a good way to run a country, about a quarter said it was ‘bad’ or ‘very bad,’ an increase of one-third since the late 1990s. Among citizens of all ages, 1-6 now say it would be fine for the ‘army to rule,’ up from 1 in 16 in 1995. . . In [another] study, almost half of the respondents said the government should be permitted to prohibit a peaceful march (McQuade, 2017, p. 3).

These statistics should give us pause as Americans. It is no wonder that many are now calling this upcoming 2020 election unlike any other in our country’s history. Past leaders are declaring that in this election our very democracy is at stake, especially given the authoritarian leanings of our current president. It appears we have reached a crisis point and it is time to recognize a “state of emergency” and declare the existing mode of leadership a clear exception to our democratic ideals and principles.

We need to heed Catt’s prophetic call in 1919 and bear in mind that living in a democracy requires a *response*-bility from each of us to remain educated on the issues. It obligates us to become actively involved in the on-going struggle that a thriving democracy requires of its citizenry. After all, a democracy is only as strong as its members’ hearts and minds and both, we need to remember, should bend toward the arc of justice. Only then will we sustain Catt’s sense of a “clean democracy” in the years to come.

Notes

- 1) This essay is dedicated to my step-granddaughter, Carrie-Jean Emma Catt Sanford, who carries forward, in her given name, a powerful legacy.
- 2) Herein, my page references to Catt’s 1916 presidential address, “The Crisis,” are to Croy’s (1998) published version.
- 3) At the time of the inception of the women’s suffrage movement, the United States looked upon husband and wife to be one and the same. “The legal existence of the wife so merged in that of her husband that she was said to be ‘dead in law.’ Not only did the husband control the wife’s property, collect and use her wages, select

Eicher-Catt

the food and clothing for herself and children, decide upon the education and religion of their children, but to a very large extent he controlled her freedom of thought, speech, and action. Although single women were legally as independent as men, it was contrary to accepted form for them to manage their own business affairs.” (Catt & Shuler, 2020, p. 4).

- 4) The idea that power and sovereignty resides in the ability of a person to declare an “exception” to a general rule—to declare a “state of emergency” comes from French philosopher, Giorgio Agamben (1998).
- 5) Her life and suffrage efforts are celebrated and memorialized at Iowa State University with the establishment in 1995 of the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics and the Plaza of Heroines that graces the front entrance. Catt returned to Iowa State in 1921 to give the commencement address, the first time a woman ever did so. She was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1926 and given the Chi Omega award at the White House from long-time friend, Eleanor Roosevelt, in 1941. For more, see Pergande (1995).
- 6) After all, the organized movement for women’s rights had begun back in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York with the writing of the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments (by Elizabeth Cady Stanton), a document that held so much promise for women’s enfranchisement.
- 7) As Fowler describes it, her determination to go to school even though she did not have the emotional and financial support of her parents (particularly her father) reflects her persistence and willingness to ignore family and social conventions at the time. For Fowler, this “reveals a part of her independence that she also manifested early, an unusual toughness” (p. 6).
- 8) At that time, women teachers who married were expected to quit their jobs in order to assume the homemaker responsibilities. Carrie quit her position—but not to be a full-time housewife.
- 9) I have always been intrigued by the ancestral link between this George Catt from Iowa and my husband, Isaac E. Catt’s, family tree. While it does not seem that the familial connection is immediate within the preceding five generations, it does appear from historical records that both families share ancestral links with a George Catt, the patriarch of the Catt name, who came to America from Sussex England back in the early 1700’s. In recognition of this ancestral link, my step-granddaughter, who coincidentally lives in Wisconsin, is named Carrie-Jean Emma Catt Sanford. It is also why I felt honored to assume the name upon marriage.
- 10) The first three lectures/speeches she wrote were: *Zenobia* (about an ambitious third-century queen of Palmyra, *America for Americans* (which reflects her initial nativist leanings) and *The American Sovereign* (an argument against what she saw as the tribalism of “aliens”). As Van Voris contends, these latter two reflect her initial suspicions of immigrants because she questioned their ability to productively contribute to American democracy and American val-

ues. These initial views on immigrants waned as her political circles widened and her knowledge of “alien’s” hardships and struggles increased—especially given her eventual extensive participation in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, traveling all over the world. She began to see that oppression and disenfranchisement of women (and other minorities) manifest in different cultural ways but work to subjugate just the same.

- 11) His estate afforded her the opportunity to continue her suffrage work until the end of her life.
- 12) From its inception, the suffrage movement went through several strategic phases in an effort to secure the vote. Early on the movement considered whether to advance their cause by way of the 14th and 15th amendments, interpreting them as implicitly extending the vote to women as well as to Negroes. When this effort was not successful, they began to work on securing state constitutional amendments to be adopted by electors at the polls. This work occupied their efforts for many years. It was finally Catt’s insistence in 1916 that their “winning plan” was a federal amendment to the Constitution that needed adoption by two-thirds vote of both Houses of the Congress and ratified by three—fourths of the State Legislatures (which amounted to thirty-six states). For more on these possible avenues to suffrage see, Catt & Shuler, 2020.
- 13) It was also Catt’s skillful management of a 1.7 million-dollar bequest from Mrs. Frank Leslie to the cause around the time that Catt assumed her second Presidency in 1915, that enabled her to lead the movement to the finish line. For more on this, see Johnson (2015).
- 14) It is interesting to note that she describes her own voice as a “foghorn.” As we know, foghorns sound an alarm or warning—sounding a sense of urgency.
- 15) As media theorist Walter Ong informs us, sound or the auditory as sense perception is associated with the dynamism of time, unlike the visual which is associated with static space. As he states, “None of the other senses [other than sound] gives us the insistent impression that what it registers is something necessarily progressing through time...Sound implies movement and thus implies change” (Ong, 2000, 41-42).
- 16) The ten states that did not ratify the 19th amendment are Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida.
- 17) It is interesting to note that the speaking voice is, for Agamben and Dolar, the pivot point between the *zoe* (or bare life) and the *bios* (the life in the polis). For more on this point see, Eicher-Catt, 2020.

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**Persistent Voices: Local Commemoration of the
Women's Suffrage Movement**

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This essay explores the importance of local public memory efforts with a specific emphasis on commemorating the centennial anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, which prohibited the federal and state governments from denying anyone the right to vote based on sex. Although the Nineteenth Amendment did not universally grant women the right to vote, it stands as a landmark achievement in securing more inclusive voting laws. Our essay highlights the contributions of local commemoration, celebrating the work of women from Michiana, a region including northern Indiana and southwestern Michigan. We turn to the South Bend History Museum's exhibit, "Votes for Women," as a representative case study. This local exhibition commemorating regional suffragists appears alongside the Smithsonian Institute's traveling exhibition, "Votes for Women: A Portrait of Persistence." Our contention is that local commemorative efforts are essential to celebrating this "Portrait of Persistence" by remembering the enduring legacy of suffragists who do not have household names but nonetheless whose work mattered.

Local commemoration is important as it offers a distinct perspective that textures public memory on a national scale. The essay begins with an account of public memory scholarship while acknowledging the role and significance of local commemoration. The essay then provides a brief sketch of the historical moment surrounding the suffragist movement and leading to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The next section offers our account of the "Votes for Women" exhibit at the South Bend History Museum as a case study of local commemorative efforts. The essay then concludes with broader implications about the significance of local commemoration within the scope of public memory as a significant theme within the field of communication.

This essay announces the perseverance and resilience of local public memory efforts. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen's (1998) *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* reveals the prominent role of museums in mainstream public perception about the past. Their work labels museums as the most trusted source for objective historical information before books, documentaries, personal accounts, etc.

Thus, museums play an important role in institutionalizing dominant public memory accounts that simultaneously and inherently result in “public forgetting” (Vivian, 2010). Rhetoricians have accounted for the implications of public forgetting on marginalized communities and urged for more inclusive memory spaces that foster empowerment and encourage self-representation (for instance, see Bodnar, 2010; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006; Hasian & Wood, 2010; King, 2006; Ott, Aoki, & Dickinson, 2011). G. Mitchell Reyes (2010) articulates a perspective of public memory based in an analytic of difference and ethic of alterity that does not equate identification with identity, moving away from an “either/or logic of the remembering/forgetting binary to an either/or, or, or...logic of alterity” (p. 224). This essay emphasizes local public memory efforts as standing among these “or’s” within the logic of alterity. We find local commemoration as an opportunity to texture understandings of the past that counteract the hegemonic implications of institutionalizing public memory and reaffirm the persistence and resilience of multiple perspectives.

Public Memory and Local Commemoration

French philosopher and sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs (1925/1992) is known for his work on collective memory as he sought to understand remembering as a social activity. Halbwachs’s work separates collective memory from the individual and recognizes that this form of memory occurs beyond any one person’s consciousness or experience; collective memory exists between and among people in a society, uniting them in a common understanding of the past. This section describes collective memory through the theme of public memory.

Collective memory’s shared perspectives of the past cannot be conflated with history, a distinction explored by French historian, Pierre Nora (1989). Nora contends that history aims for “analysis and criticism” despite our subjective, partial, and incomplete understanding of the past (p. 4). Memory, however, lives in “permanent evolution,” embodied within and dependent upon the “living societies” that do the remembering (p. 4). While Nora views history and memory in opposition, others such as Marita Sturken (1997), articulate an “entangled” and overlapping relationship (p. 5).

As accounts of history and memory are negotiated, publics turn to documented and material remnants of the past. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka (1994/2009) contends, public memory “is best located

not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share” (p. 4). These resources represent efforts to make sense of the past and include physical artifacts, symbolic acts such as laying flowers on a loved one’s gravesite, and the material byproducts of remembering, including books, movies, photographs, paintings, etc. She refers to these resources as *memory work*, and she argues that these resources are made by us all and become available through “personal experience” and “public offerings” (p. 4). For Irwin-Zarecka, these resources compete within realms of collective memory, but “there is no reason to privilege one form of resource over another—for example, to see history books as important but popular movies as not” (p. 4). Publics encounter, use, and ignore these resources for a variety of reasons that extend beyond their “persuasiveness” (p. 4). Our collective memories are not objective reconstructions, but rather alterable and evolving understandings of the meaning and implications of history.

Scholars within the field of communication understand these partial, incomplete, and always changing memories of the past as rhetorical. They emphasize not only the rhetorical nature of memory accounts but also the material rhetoric of the artifacts and spaces that shape them. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott’s (2010) edited collection, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, explores this theme with an emphasis on memory places, such as museums, memorials, cemeteries, parks, battlefields, and historic sites. They contend that our impulse to visit memory places reflects our participation in the shared identity produced by accounts of public memory.

In the introduction to their edited volume, Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) articulate public memory according to six defining characteristics:

1. The first characteristic recognizes that public memory cannot be separated from “present concerns, issues, and anxieties” (p. 6). We can only remember in the present moment, and as we remember, our perceptions of the past are inherently situated within and influenced by the distinctive cultural, social, and political contexts of present affairs and future needs.
2. The second defining characteristic is that public memory “narrates a common identity” (p. 7). Public memory provides a sense of connection and belonging as people join together

with common understandings about the meaning of the past. Shared public memory narratives become the ground for social connection and contribute to establishing narratives with local, national, and transnational identification.

3. The third characteristic acknowledges that public memory is “animated by affect” (p. 7). Our memories carry forth messages of worth—what should be remembered and what should be forgotten, who is the hero and who is the villain, what was a victory and what was a defeat. These value determinations reveal “emotional attachments” that inform publics about their priorities and virtues (p. 7).
4. The fourth defining characteristic stresses that public memory is always “partial, partisan, and thus often contested” (p. 6). Every interpretation of the past is reductive and selective; it never accounts for every perspective. As publics negotiate the details, meaning, and value of their memories, they emphasize some events, people, contexts, and implications that overshadow others. Contradicting accounts spark conflict and deliberation that inevitably surface in discussions of public memory.
5. The fifth characteristic positions public memory as reliant upon “material and/or symbolic support” (p. 6)—what Irwin-Zarecka (1994/2009) described as *memory work*. Specifically, Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) identify “language, ritual performances, communication technologies, objects, and places” (p. 10) as among the various material and symbolic support offered to public memories. This characteristic accounts for the symbolic and material remnants of memories and points toward their enduring legacies.
6. The final characteristic is that public memory has its own history (p. 6), meaning that we can trace the evolving trends in public memory narratives and within memory studies. The content and perspectives that characterize the public’s memories of the past change over time. With these shifts, public memory continually adapts to cultural and social perspectives as they evolve. Likewise, these shifts carry with them implications about our theorizing of memory more broadly. We can track historical trajectories of how public memory narratives correspond with shifts in public, social, and cultural life. Our understanding of the past is not marked by a stagnant and reified Public Memory but rather by the ebbs and flows of memories informed by the impulses and interests of the

publics that construct them.

Together, these six defining characteristics establish public memory as a rhetorical practice. Each characteristic indicates the ethos of rhetoric as being “meaningful, legible, partisan, and consequential” (p. 2). In other words, public memory practices and their consequences carry significance, require interpretation and attentiveness to context, are symbolic, contingent, and partial, and have implications for public life.

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) highlight four implications for understanding the rhetorical nature of public memory: affiliation, rhetorical legitimation, signification, and negotiation. A memory narrative can speak for a community by providing a sense of belonging and articulating their identification with a particular account of the past. Publics strategically construct and justify the legitimacy and accuracy of memory narratives and why they “matter” (p. 17). The negotiations of meaning in memory narratives prioritize without an exhaustive representation of meaning and engage the signifying task of producing public memory discourse. The production and circulation of memory can be understood as “violent” or “redemptive” (Assmann, 2006, pp. 92–93, as cited by Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 17)—one wrought with aggressive negotiations marked by winners (what is prioritized in memory) and losers (what is forgotten).

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2009) situate this revelation within the tension of remembering and forgetting, which they frame as:

“a stand-in or simplistic restatement of the problem of representation in public memory studies. In other words, a failure to represent a particular content publicly is not a necessary, or even provisional, sign of forgetting” (p. 18).

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott do not mistake a lack of representation for evidence of being forgotten. Instead, they separate these issues, calling for understanding and critical reflection about the status and relationship between and among memory narratives. Their position and its emphasis on representation is consistent with Reyes’ (2010) emphasis on public memory with a logic of alterity that moves beyond the binary of remembering and forgetting. Their work points toward meaningful implications for particular memory communities. The remainder of this section acknowledges work that considers the implications for local communities.

As part of Dickinson, Blair, and Ott's edited collection, John Bodnar (2010) draws upon distinctive memory practices within national and local contexts, particularly in response to World War II commemoration. He juxtaposes national monuments' messages of traditional values such as bravery, valor, and victory to local memorials reckoning with grief, sorrow, and loss. He ties the common practice of listing the names of those who served and those who died as a rhetoric of resistance characteristic of local commemoration (p. 156)—a memory practice that did not regularly appear in national monuments until the construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in 1982. Bodnar contends that local memorials offered a public space for communities to express their concerns about the struggle and cost of war, a place to make their pain “legible” by focusing on the impact to local communities and private lives (p. 156).

Carly S. Woods, Joshua P. Ewalt, and Sara J. Baker (2013) explore local commemoration through the theme of regionalism at the Nebraska History Museum. They analyze displays of gender in exhibitions on Brandon Teena¹ and Willa Cather.² Their view of regionalism extends beyond location to “a particular vision of place” with distinctive accounts of history and memory (p. 344). Woods, Ewalt, and Baker urge for *critical regionalism* as a strategy for understanding “the geopolitical dimensions of memory places” and their role within the contexts of local and national commemoration (p. 341). They acknowledge that exhibits at regional museums engage in a “dance” between local and national memory as they devote “rhetorical resources in the construction of publics at multiple geographical scales” (p. 343). Their work moves beyond identification with a particular geographic place to understand the “relationality” across spaces and political discourses (p. 357). This relationality accounts for the tensions between local and national public memory.

Commemoration surrounding the women's suffragist movement leading to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 becomes a platform for understanding the themes characteristic of public memory, at national and local levels. For instance, Alyssa A. Samek (2020) reviews the convention program of the 1977 International Women's Year (IWY) Conference, finding that commemorative representations of suffragists continue to empower white women and cast women of color as “immobile, invisible, silent, and locked in the past” (p. 278). Similarly, the design of the Women's Rights Pioneers Monument, the first statue in Central Park to honor nonfictional women, announced similar issues. Early design proposals highlighted white suffragists

without representations of women of color. While the final monument design includes Sojourner Truth alongside Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the monument, nonetheless, prompted public deliberation about our grappling with Anthony's and Stanton's perspectives on race and their active exclusion of black women within their efforts (Bellafante, 2019). These examples enact the rhetorical tensions of remembering, forgetting, and representation, urging us to consider the critical implications of our memory work and its construction of public memory narratives. This essay continues this discussion of remembering, forgetting, and representation within the context of the local memory narratives that often stand in the shadows of dominant and mainstream public memory at the national level.

Fighting for the Women's Vote Nationally and Locally

The women's suffrage movement formally began in the United States with the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The event organizers included Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Mary Ann M'Clintock, and Jane Hunt. Mott and Stanton initiated efforts to host a women's convention in the United States after being prohibited from attending the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. They collaborated with nearby abolitionists and attracted an estimated 300 attendees despite minimal advertising for the two-day convention. While only women were invited to attend the first day, the second day of the event was open to the general public and hosted men as well as women (Library of Congress, 2020).

Stanton played an integral role in framing the goals and purpose of the event. She was the principal author of the Declaration of Sentiments, which was modeled after the Declaration of Independence and signed by 100 of the convention attendees—68 women and 32 men, including Frederick Douglass, who was the only black person to attend the convention. Douglass played a fundamental role in the successful ratification of the Declaration of Sentiments (New York State Women's Suffrage Commission, 2017); furthermore, he published a copy of the document in *The North Star*, his antislavery newspaper circulating in Rochester, New York. As the original document has been lost, this publication remains the primary source for its content despite continued efforts to locate the original.³ The first and second national conventions occurred in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1850 and 1851. Douglass attended the first national convention along with Sojourner Truth, Lucy Stone, and other prominent abolitionists, securing strong collaboration between the two movements. These

events set the national agenda for women's rights activism for decades to come.

Although the Civil War interrupted the momentum of the women's suffrage movement between 1861 and 1865, Stanton and Anthony formed the American Equal Rights Association in 1866 along with Stone and Douglass. Soon after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment⁴ in 1868, the American Equal Rights Association deliberated its support over the Fifteenth Amendment, which would prohibit the federal and state governments from denying a citizen the right to vote on the basis of race—without securing voting rights for women. These debates caused the association to dissolve. Stanton and Anthony refused to support the Fifteenth Amendment, ending their collaboration with Douglass. In 1869, Stanton and Anthony established the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) to fight for a constitutional amendment at the federal level while Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) to work for amendments at the state level (National Women's History Museum, 2020).

During the 1872 presidential election, Anthony and fifteen other women were arrested for illegally voting. Truth attempted to vote in Michigan, but was turned away. Six years later, in 1878, a proposed amendment for women's suffrage appeared before Congress but was defeated in the Senate the following year. By 1890, the NWSA and AWSA merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) with Stanton as its first president. The organization focused specifically on securing women's suffrage at the state level.

Wyoming became the first state to grant woman suffrage in 1890 upon its admittance to the Union. In the thirty years leading to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, numerous states and territories recognized women's suffrage, including Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), Nevada (1914), Montana (1914), New York (1917), Arkansas (1917), Michigan (1918), South Dakota (1918), and Oklahoma (1918). Furthermore, Montana elected Jeannette Rankin as the first woman in the House of Representatives in 1916. Increasingly, women's suffrage became a central issue in political life at the state and national level.

Parades were organized to raise awareness and support. The Women's Political Union organized the first of these suffragist parades in New York City in 1910. By 1912, the New York City

parade reached twenty thousand supporters. In 1913, the NAWSA organized a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC, and by 1915, forty thousand marched in support of women's suffrage in New York City. In 1917, Alice Paul was arrested, organized hunger strikes, endured force feedings, was beaten, and was put in solitary confinement; press coverage and public outcry secured her release and rallied public support for women's suffrage. Also, in 1917, women from the National Woman's Party picketed in front of the White House. The following year, in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson publicly supported woman suffrage at the federal level.

In 1919, over forty years after first being introduced to Congress in 1878, the Senate passed the Nineteenth Amendment, sending it to the states for ratification. In August 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment, moving it into the law. The National Park Service (NPS) offers an overview of ratification on a state-by-state case. This material illuminates the importance and influence of state efforts. We provide summaries for entries on Pennsylvania and Indiana to provide a glimpse into the historical context leading to ratification. We begin with an overview of Pennsylvania as it is home to the association that publishes the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* and then turn to Indiana as home to the South Bend History Museum.

Women's Suffragists in Pennsylvania

The NPS (2019) recognizes Pennsylvania as "a center of women's rights activism" prior to the Seneca Falls Convention held in 1848 (para. 3). Pennsylvania's suffragist roots found origins in the abolitionist movement and the establishment of Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 by Lucretia Mott.⁵ The Society emerged as a response to male reformers who criticized women abolitionists as "unwomanly" for participating and speaking in public opposition to slavery (para. 3). In fact, when the World Anti-Slavery Convention excluded women delegates, this Society sent Mott to London to challenge its organizers (para. 3). This Society also held one of the earliest women's suffragist conventions in Pennsylvania in 1854.

As woman suffragist groups emerged throughout Pennsylvania, awareness of the fight to win the women's vote spread throughout the state. For instance, Carrie Burnham tried to and was denied from voting in 1871; this case reached the Pennsylvania Supreme Court with Burnham arguing that voting was a basic right of citizenship. Burnham lost the case, and in turn, Pennsylvania

amended its constitution to limit the right to vote explicitly to male citizens (para. 4).

In later efforts to amend the Pennsylvania state constitution, Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger and the Pennsylvania Women Suffrage Association created a replica of the Liberty Bell, named the Justice Bell; however, chains bound the clapper of the Justice Bell so that it could not ring until women had the right to vote. This bell toured Pennsylvania during the year of the vote to raise awareness and support. Although they hoped the bell would ring in celebration of the women's vote in Philadelphia later that year, it remained silent when the referendum was not passed. Pennsylvania did not ratify the amendment until June 24, 1919, after Congress approved the Nineteenth Amendment.

Women's Suffragists in Indiana

In Indiana, women's suffrage efforts emerged not long after the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. In fact, the NPS (2020) described the Indiana Woman's Rights Association as "one of the nation's first statewide organizations dedicated to the cause of women" (para. 3). This association was formed shortly following a convention on women's social, economic, and political rights in Dublin, Indiana in October 1851, an event organized by Amanda Way. By 1859, suffragists organized and presented the first petition for women's right to vote to state legislature.

In the subsequent decades, women continued to lobby the state legislature. The amendment had to pass through two consecutive sessions in order to change the state constitution. When Indiana suffragists successfully passed an amendment in 1881, they were not able to achieve long-term change since it had "somehow disappeared from the official record" during the next legislative session (para. 5). Susan B. Anthony even visited Indiana to address the Indiana General Assembly in 1897, where she stated: "I want the politicians of Indiana to see that there are women as well as men in this State, and they will never see it until they give them the right to vote. Make the brain under the bonnet count for as much as the brain under the hat" (para. 4). By the onset of the twentieth century, the Indiana Woman's Rights Association worked alongside other statewide organizations such as the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana and the Equal Suffrage Society.

The NPS addresses racial inequalities among these organizations and the suffrage movement more broadly. They explain that de-

spite “some evidence” that early suffrage efforts included women of color, racial segregation across the state and country regularly excluded women of color from organizations led by white women (para. 6). Despite this exclusion, black women formed separate associations dedicated to suffrage; Madam C. J. Walker, the United States’ first black woman millionaire, hosted one of these groups after moving her business headquarters from Pittsburgh, PA to Indianapolis, IN.

As Indiana suffragists largely shifted their focus from amending their state legislature to achieving a federal amendment, a chapter of the National Woman’s Party opened in Indiana, initially led by Eleanor Barker. In 1917, however, Barker left the party “perhaps out of concern for its increasingly confrontational tactics which included picketing the White House” (para. 7). In 1917, their efforts accomplished a partial woman’s suffrage law, passed by the Indiana General Assembly. Although the Indiana Supreme Court ruled against the law later that year, Indiana suffragists mobilized forces that registered almost 40,000 women to vote, and in one county, women represented 80% of all registered voters (para. 7). The following year, in 1918, Indiana suffragists sent a petition to Congress with 700,000 signatures in support of women’s suffrage. After Congress approved the Nineteenth Amendment, Indiana voted for ratification on January 16, 1920.

The nearly century-long struggle incorporated the efforts of suffragists with national recognition, such as Anthony, Stanton, Paul, Mott, and Truth, as well as the landmark meetings they organized, such as the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention, in Seneca Falls, New York. Alongside them, however, was the essential and meaningful work of countless other suffragists whose efforts centered on local communities and state governments. We recognize that our brief historical review does not begin to acknowledge the women and men who fought to secure women’s right to vote. With this context and recognition in mind, we turn to the South Bend History Museum’s exhibit, “Votes for Women,” to understand the role of local commemoration in securing strong public memory communities that acknowledge and honor their work.

“Votes for Women” Exhibit

The mission of the South Bend History Memory dedicates itself to the history and heritage of the Michiana region. The museum shares its site with the Studebaker National Museum⁶ and the J. D. Oliver family mansion.⁷ The History Museum’s “Votes for

Women” exhibit is on display from August 15, 2020 until March 21, 2021 and commemorates the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment with a special emphasis on Michiana suffragists. This exhibit appears alongside the Smithsonian Institute’s “Votes for Women: A Portrait of Persistence,” which is sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute’s “Because of Her Story,” the Smithsonian’s American Women’s History Initiative, and the National Portrait Gallery. The Smithsonian’s poster exhibit seeks to represent “the complexity of the women’s suffrage movement and the relevance of this history to Americans’ lives today” (The History Museum, 2020, para. 5). The traveling exhibit addresses activism, racism, and ratification from historical perspectives as meaningful to ongoing issues pertaining to voting laws.

The authors of this essay visited the exhibit together on September 9, 2020. The exhibition is located in the Carroll Gallery of the History Museum, a high traffic passthrough leading to the museum’s permanent collection. The exhibit celebrated Michiana suffragists such as Alice Mannering, Annie Belle Boss, and Helen Beardsley. Mannering was the first woman in Indiana to run for public office, campaigning for South Bend mayor in 1917 as the socialist candidate. Boss and Beardsley were active contributors to the Woman’s Franchise League, which later became the Indiana League of Women Voters. Beyond a strict focus on suffragism, the exhibit also highlights women whose work enriched the South Bend community such as Ella Morris (who saved the Morris Performing Arts Center), Elizabeth Fletcher Allen (the first African American woman to practice law in the state of Indiana), Josephine Curtis (one of the founders of H. T. Burleigh Music Association, an African American theater group), and Mother Angela Gillespie (one of the founders and the first directress of Saint Mary’s Academy, now Saint Mary’s College).⁸

The History Museum produced the “Votes for Women” exhibition in collaboration with Saint Mary’s College students in Dr. Jamie Wagman’s course, HIST 324: “US Women’s History.” Elizabeth Day, the second author of this essay, was part of Wagman’s course and contributed to the exhibition. The course led students through North American women’s contributions to the development of the United States through examples of national politics, society, and popular culture. Students examined existing archival sources, looked at women’s personal stories (such as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs), discussed the varied debates that shape the understanding of women in U.S. history, and applied them to writing projects with the goal of be-

Mancino & Day

coming familiarized with the process of historical interpretation and its consequences for the United States today. Day's experience with the course grants her a unique and multifaceted perspective encompassing student, researcher, exhibition contributor, and museum visitor.

Along with the other students in the class, Day was able to submit writing contributions for the History Museum's exhibit. The final exhibit included student insights interspersed with the primary documents on display. Student comments expanded on the significance of the artifacts and women's suffrage. The following quote from Day's writing was chosen to include in the exhibit: "The complicated narratives of women who lived during the Women's Suffrage movement create many questions for audiences but also help to further develop our existing ideas on how gender, race, and sexuality all affect our rights today." In this quote, Day wanted to emphasize how various aspects of a person's identity are all part of an interdependent storyline of history. Day's quote appeared between biographies on prominent American civil rights activists with connections to the South Bend region, Elizabeth Fletcher Allen and Josephine Collins. Allen and Collins played a prominent role in expanding opportunities for African Americans in the Michiana region. By placing the quote here, visitors were able to contemplate how these women's identities contributed to the suffrage movement and to see connections between the values of suffragists and contemporary discussions on civil rights.

Day examined Indiana newspaper clippings, flyers, and photos depicting suffragists and their efforts to give women the vote on a local level. The opportunity provided students the ability to interpret primary sources and draw their own conclusions on the information within the context provided during class sessions. The primary sources served as a way for students to form their own interpretations on the suffrage movement, which differs from traditional means of gaining information, such as thesis-driven lectures or secondary research. Drawing from visual evidence was particularly powerful for Day because while she was able to see the faces of many women who dedicated their lives to making sure she had more opportunities as a woman than they did, she also recognized the faces that were absent. All of the photographs pictured white and well-dressed local suffragists. Aware that women of color also participated in the suffragist movement, this point stuck with her as she concluded her essay, commenting on the "lack of diverse resources" that "archivalists constantly grap-

ple with.” Day found this recognition consistent with Blair, Dickinson, and Ott’s (2010) contention that memory is always partial as memory institutions and private collections act like gatekeepers that selectively determine what artifacts to preserve.

The opportunity to contribute to a full-scale exhibit gave undergraduate students the ability to see first-hand the transformation from low resolution newspaper clippings that students read for their class to the large-scale displays within the museum. Many of the pieces studied by the class were part of the Annie Bell Boss Papers (League of Women Voters) collection within the Indiana University South Bend Archives. Day reflected that the photographs and newspaper articles she examined in class reminded her of family keepsakes, what she might find in her grandmother’s attic, but when displayed in the museum, her perception changed. These keepsakes transformed into important historical artifacts. The museum space carried forth credibility that legitimized their historical significance and even changed the perspective of Day as a researcher engaging with the archival pieces.

Day also noted that the collection began as family keepsakes. Her initial perception of the collection corresponded with its history as its holdings passed from one generation to the next. These papers originally belonging to Boss became the property of her daughter, Helen K. Boss Winterhoff; upon Winterhoff’s death, they were gifted to members of the League of Women Voters of Elkhart, who presented the materials to the IU South Bend Archives (Pickrell, 1992). As the archives processed the materials, they transformed from keepsakes into archival pieces backed with institutional legitimacy and the necessary resources for proper preservation. Likewise, they became available to researchers and eventually to museum visitors. Accessibility to the artifacts allows publics to redefine their meaning and contribution to local memory narratives.

The archives and the exhibit provide evidence that these women and their stories have not been forgotten even though their commemoration might not appear in national arenas. Local commemoration of the women’s suffrage movement showcases the enduring persistence of these voices whose work promoted women’s rights over the past century. They remind us that the women’s suffrage movement was more than Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Cady Stanton. National public memory accounts often prescribe almost mythic qualities to Anthony and Stanton, but these

two women alone do not constitute a movement that altered public opinion and changed American public life. It was the countless women and men who fought alongside them that achieved lasting social change.

The South Bend History Museum's "Votes for Women" exhibit explicitly celebrates the persistence of Michiana suffragists. The title of the Smithsonian Institute's concurrent exhibit—"Votes for Women: A Portrait of Persistence"—confirms this emphasis. We describe their voices as persistent not only due to their unending commitment to achieving women's rights but also in their ongoing relevance within memory narratives. Local commemoration provides an opportunity for communities to remember what national and institutionalized public memory narratives do not include and what might have otherwise been forgotten. We understand this reminder as a central contribution of local public memory efforts. From this recognition of the significance of local commemoration and its role in the remembering-forgetting tension, we move to our implications.

Implications

Commemoration of the long struggle for women's suffrage in the United States is robust. Particularly now, at the centennial anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, public memory efforts abound in national and local contexts. Despite the abundance of information and artifacts, we recognize that memory narratives do not hold stagnant with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment a century ago. Our public memory continues; although still partial and vulnerable to forgetting, we celebrate those efforts and the meaningful work achieved by suffragists.

As Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) defined earlier in this essay, our perceptions of the past are situated within contemporary ideas as we forge bonds and build relationships around shared public memory. These perceptions assist publics as they prioritize their concerns and announce widely-held virtues. They recognize that each memory community recalls the past in a distinctive manner that diverges from other perspectives; no memory account objectively narrates history in its entirety. Public memory is selective, biased, and challenged. It becomes a subject for study as the memory narratives evolve based upon who is remembering and how they are situated in the present moment. These characteristics point again toward the dialectic tension of remembering and forgetting. Public memory scholars, such as Reyes (2010) and

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010), remind us that remembering and forgetting are not mutually exclusive. We cannot presuppose that all perspectives and artifacts outside of dominant public memory narratives are forgotten. Beyond this binary, extenuating factors dictate what becomes part of public memory explicitly and implicitly. Questions of representation extend this discussion into Reyes's (2010) logic of alterity that denies mutually exclusive conclusions.

Just because something is not actively part of dominant public memory does not mean that it is forgotten; local commemoration textures national public memory by uplifting the narratives that stand on the sidelines and in the shadows of prevailing mainstream public memory. In 2013, Italian semiotician Umberto Eco delivered an address at the United Nations entitled, "Against the Loss of Memory." His work was consistent with their UNESCO efforts to protect global memory sites and extends this essay's discussion of remembering and forgetting. Directly addressing the intersection of culture and memory, Eco expresses the practical necessity of both remembering and forgetting. Collective memory becomes the channel through which cultural identity forms and cultural meaning endures. However, when cultures face an excess of information, it filters through what is needed for its survival and what is not. Cultural memory does not have the resources or capacity to remember everything or to make sense of all that has endured. Filtering information does not mean inevitably or permanently being eliminated or forgotten. At times, cultural knowledge enters latent states, not active in public memory but rather as "messages in bottles" (Eco 2004/2006, p. 361) left for later discovery and interpretation.

Many of these messages in bottles awaiting interpretation and resurgence are preserved in private collections and public institutions such as museums, archives, and libraries. Local commemoration efforts search for these messages, for these traces of people, events, and artifacts that meaningfully contributed to local public life beyond dominant public memory accounts. When discovering them, local communities apply a different filter than national public memory that changes the criteria for what is necessary for the survival of cultural life. As local commemoration announces the memory narratives ignored in national platforms, they confirm what has *not* been forgotten and reaffirm their meaning and relevance.

Local commemoration contributes to their legacy, offering perspectives and interpretations of memory narratives that broaden

the scope and content of public memory. Eco's work aligns with Blair, Dickinson, and Ott, who contend that we cannot assume that all that is excluded from memory narratives is forgotten. Local commemorative efforts often contain the messages in bottles that escape national public memory, but nonetheless, persist. It could be easy to mistake the contributions of Alice Mannering, Annie Belle Boss, and Helen Beardsley as forgotten, overshadowed by national commemorative efforts devoted to well-known suffragists, but their presence and representation in the South Bend History Museum, the Indiana University South Bend Archives, the curriculum at Saint Mary's College, and even in this essay suggest otherwise.

Notes

- 1) Brandon Teena (1972–1993) was a 21-year-old trans man who was raped and murdered in Humboldt, Nebraska on New Year's Eve in 1993. His story is the subject of the 1999 Academy Award winning film, *Boy Don't Cry*, and the 1998 documentary, *The Brandon Teena Story*.
- 2) Willa Cather (1873–1947) was an American writer and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in 1923. Frontier life on the Great Plains was a recurring theme within her writing.
- 3) For a review of the ongoing national search to locate the original Declaration of Sentiments, see Liz Robbins and Sam Roberts' (2019) *New York Times*' article. Also see, the search issued by the Obama administration (Smith, 2015) and the call from the New York State government (New York State Women's Suffrage Commission, 2017).
- 4) The Fourteenth Amendment was one of three ratified during the Reconstruction era. Specifically, this Amendment granted citizenship and provided equal protection of the law to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, including former slaves.
- 5) Note, Mott was one of the organizers of the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls in 1848.
- 6) The Studebaker National Museum displays the industrial history of the South Bend region with a specific emphasis on the Studebaker automotive company.
- 7) The Oliver Mansion is the 38-room historic home of nineteenth-century industrialist, J. D. Oliver, who was the president of the Oliver Chilled Plow Works.
- 8) Saint Mary's College is a Catholic, women's liberal arts college, located in Notre Dame, Indiana. It was founded by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in 1844.

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**Viola Liuzzo and the Selma to Montgomery
Voting Rights March:
Resolving to Exercise Freedom of Expression**

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“U.S. Congressman John Lewis (D-GA) led over 600 nonviolent protestors in the voting rights march on Bloody Sunday. He said: ‘We are all called upon from time to time to take a stand or to ‘get in the way.’ Viola Liuzzo got in the way” (Di Florio, 2003).

Twenty-five miles outside of Selma, Alabama stands a memorial to Viola Liuzzo. She was murdered on March 25, 1965 following her participation in the Selma to Montgomery march. The march was a protest designed to force Alabama legislators to allow Black citizens to register as voters in political elections. Several hours after the march was over, Liuzzo was driving east toward Montgomery in her car to transport another group of voting rights protesters, who gathered earlier in the day outside the Alabama capitol building, back to Selma. While leaving Selma, Liuzzo was targeted and later murdered by members of the Ku Klux Klan on I-80, the road leading toward Montgomery. Liuzzo was the first white woman killed in the modern civil rights era. Several months after her death, on August 6, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Act removed barriers such as literacy tests and poll taxes designed to keep Black citizens from being politically represented in government.

This essay highlights Viola Liuzzo’s decision to exercise her freedom of expression as an ally with Black citizens in support of their Constitutional right to register to vote in Alabama. Black Alabamians were actively protesting for the right to vote, among other civil rights, in response to practices of social injustice dating back to slavery. Arneson’s work, *Communicative Engagement and Social Liberation: Justice Will Be Made* (2014), explains how people may use freedom of expression as a form of communicative engagement to yield social liberation from what are perceived to be unjust social situations. This essay considers how one phenomenologically resolves to participate in freedom of expression, which may be fraught with danger. From a phenomenological perspective, the decision-making process is not a matter of cognitively evaluating variables but rather is one of transversal awareness (Arneson 2014). Liuzzo’s expressivity re-

minds us of the power freedom of speech holds for attaining civil rights.

Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, 1965

In 1965 the nation was splitting at its seams. The country was mourning the November 22, 1963 death of President John F. Kennedy, conducting air raids against North Vietnam, and feeling the heat of civil unrest, especially in the South. Black citizens were pressing for rights granted to them in the U.S. Constitution, which were not recognized by state legislatures. The right to register and vote is granted in the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments, and social action seeking redress of grievances is granted in the First Amendment. Regardless of these rights, some white citizens in the South were holding fast to the Tenth Amendment, which grants state legislators the right to govern as they wish on all issues not specifically addressed in the Constitution. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was of little consequence to some white men in positions of power in the Alabama legislature and law enforcement organizations.

On Thursday, July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act prohibited discrimination “on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin” and strengthened the enforcement of voting rights for Black citizens. Prospective voters in Alabama must first register in their county to be able to cast an election ballot. The 1964 Act did not abolish literacy tests or poll taxes, which were often used to disqualify Black citizens and poor white citizens from registering to vote. In 1965, fewer than 2% of the Black citizens in Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, had been allowed to register to vote, even though the U.S. Constitution guaranteed and the U.S. Supreme Court reinforced that right in *U.S. v. Clark* (1965).

While Black protesters fought against illegal state restrictions, Alabama Governor George Wallace, with the support of local law enforcement officials, fought against any change in voter registration requirements. In response to the ongoing injustice, members of civil rights organizations including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) recognized the need to exercise their right to free speech with “more direct forms of action on voting rights” (Zelden, 2002, p. 29). Members of these organizations set out to publicly bring attention to the problem, and to register persons who had not previously been registered.

Arneson

In February 1965, peaceful Black demonstrators in Marion, Perry County, Alabama, were attacked by white segregationists. The protest was held in response to the unlawful arrest and jailing of James Orange, a voting rights project coordinator for SCLC. When protesters reached the jail, chaos ensued and an Alabama state trooper shot and killed Jimmie Lee Jackson, one of the demonstrators. Following Jackson's death, SCLC leader James Bevel presented a "spur-of-the-moment idea" at a mass meeting in Selma: "We've got to go see the man in Montgomery (Gov. George Wallace) and some of us ought to walk every step of the way" (Kuettner, 1965, p. 1). Meeting participants were both hopeful and doubtful about this possible exercise of free speech—but when the idea was presented again a few days later, more enthusiasm emerged. When Martin Luther King Jr. agreed to the 54-mile march, plans began to take shape (Kuettner, 1965).

The protest march was planned to begin in Selma and end in front of the state capitol building in Montgomery. The first attempted march, led by activists John Lewis (SNCC) and Hosea Williams (SCLC), took place on Sunday, March 7, 1965, a date now known as 'Bloody Sunday.' Pratt reports that protesters recalled the march as quiet: "there was no singing, no shouting—just the sound of their own heartbeats and the rhythm of marching feet" (2017, p. 1). Their corporeal expression spoke louder than the sound of voices. As marchers crossed the Edmund Pettis Bridge, Sheriff Clark, his deputies, and members of his posse used whips, clubs, and tear gas against the marchers, pushing them back the six blocks to Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church.

That evening, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) commercial television network interrupted their Sunday night movie, titled "Judgement at Nuremburg." The movie addressed bringing to justice Nazis who were guilty of war crimes in World War II. The ABC news division issued a special report, stopping the movie "to show 15 minutes of raw and dramatic footage from the attack" (Isserman & Kazin, 2004, p. 141). Americans were shocked to see the parallels between what had happened in Germany and what was happening in the United States.

Following the violent attack by law enforcement officials, SCLC leaders recognized they needed protection to exercise their first amendment rights to alter voting registration practices in Alabama. Their goal was to complete the 54-mile march to present their grievances to Governor Wallace. The next day, March 8, 1965, attorney Fred Gray filed *Hosea Williams v. George Wal-*

lace (1965) in federal court. Gray asked U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to prevent state troopers from interfering with the marchers' First Amendment rights. In response, Johnson asked that the protesters wait to continue their march until the court could hold a formal hearing and decide on the case (Harmon, 2015). While Gray was filing the case, King sent telegrams to prominent clergymen throughout the country. King's message read, in part, "In the vicious maltreatment of defenseless citizens of Selma, where old women and young children were gassed and clubbed at random, ... it is fitting that all Americans help to bear the burden. I call therefore, on clergy of all faiths, to join me in Selma" (qtd. in Garrow, 1978/1979, p. 78). People across the country responded to his call. Within a few days, thousands of people gathered in Alabama to speak/march against the unjust voting registration practices in the state.

A second march occurred on Tuesday, March 9, 1965. More than 2,000 demonstrators, Black and white, walked from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church toward Montgomery. When they reached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the highway was again blocked by Alabama troopers. As planned, King stopped the march, led the protesters in prayer, and turned the march back toward Brown Chapel. King was obeying Judge Johnson's federal injunction that required the group to wait for the federal court to rule on protection for the marchers, and the short march showing restraint allowed both sides to save face. That evening, a young white minister, James Reeb, was beaten when he and two other clergymen became lost and wandered outside the Silver Moon Café in Selma, a location recognized as "a white racist den" frequented by Ku Klux Klansmen (Garrow, 1978/1979, p. 91). Reeb died two days later of massive injuries to his head caused by a single blow from a club.

While people across the country were reeling from events in Selma, President Johnson gave a televised address to both houses of the U.S. Congress on Sunday, March 15, 1965. In his speech, he attributed recent events in Alabama to the inability of Black citizens to vote. President Johnson pledged his support to the Selma protesters. He stated, in part, "There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem.... Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome" ("And We Shall Overcome," 1965). The president introduced a new voting rights bill and called on members of

Arneson

Congress to pass the legislation.

Later that week, on March 17, 1965, Judge Johnson received a plan from the U.S. Department of Justice outlining protections that would be provided to protesters in a march from Selma to Montgomery. In the lawsuit, Gray proposed “no limitation on the number of marchers along that portion of U.S. Highway 80 that is four-laned; the plaintiffs further propose that, along that portion of the highway that is only two-laned, the number of marchers will not at any time exceed 300 persons” (*Williams v. Wallace*, 1965, at 107). Johnson found the request to be reasonable and ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. Law enforcement officials could not block citizens from marching to Montgomery: “The law is clear that the right to petition one’s government for the redress of grievances may be exercised in large groups ... and these rights may ... be exercised by marching, even along public highways” (at 106). The march would include 280 Black citizens and 20 white citizens from across the United States (Rex, 1965, p. 2). Between March 21 and March 25, 1965, protestors marched from Selma to Montgomery. When they reached Montgomery for a final rally at the state Capitol, King (1965) delivered his famous “How Long, Not Long” speech. Governor Wallace refused to receive their petition.

White segregationists used both legal and extralegal means to stop Black citizens from registering to vote, and from speaking up to seek equality with whites in the voter registration process. When “Sheriff Clark, his deputies, posse members and others acting in concert with him” were prohibited from acts of “coercion, punishment, intimidation or harassment” of Black citizens “or others acting with them in their exercise or attempts to exercise their constitutional rights” (*U.S. v. Clark*, 249 F. Supp. 720, 730, S.D. Ala, 1965), enforcement of racism simply shifted to another organization. Driven by bigotry, if ‘lawful’ means could not be used to enforce white supremacy, then members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) would use extralegal means to do so. As the Selma to Montgomery march was disbanding on March 25, 1965, Viola Liuzzo would find herself a target of the segregationist hate group.

**Viola Liuzzo:
Whether and How to Exercise Freedom of Expression**

Viola Fauver Gregg Liuzzo (1925-1965) was born in California, Washington County, Pennsylvania to Heber Gregg, a World War

I veteran and coal miner, and Eva Wilson, a teacher who was educated at the University of Pittsburgh. The family was very poor, and moved often in search of better living conditions. Liuzzo grew up in Tennessee, Georgia, and other parts of the segregated South. In 1943, her family moved to Detroit, a city marked by strict segregation and high racial tension. Rioting and violence were rampant in the city in the early 1940s. These social environments shaped Liuzzo's outlook on the world.

Arneson (2014) writes that a person's choices about how to communicate are predicated, in part, on one's philosophical assumptions. Each person identifies specific experiences, both positive and negative, as touchstones to guide one's life and shape one's communication habits and patterns. While a formal academic 'philosophy of communication' is illustrated in the professional writings of a scholar, an informal or personal philosophy is the result of one's effort to examine an issue from multiple perspectives and to consider how to best respond to that idea, situation, or topic. The dictum Plato attributed to Socrates in *Apology*, "The unexamined life is not worth living" (Plato, antiquity/2020, 38a5-6), points toward this orientation. Descriptions of Liuzzo from people close to her reveal that she did think and talk about the assumptions that grounded her life and that guided her approach to relationships with others and free speech.

People who were close to Liuzzo described her philosophical orientation to life. Liuzzo's daughter, Mary, told journalist Ken Fireman, "We were always taught a respect for life" (qtd. in Stanton, 1998, p. 64). Liuzzo's best friend, Sarah Evans, said, "she was very spiritual, she saw things—felt things—deeper than anybody I ever knew" (p. 80). Evans recalled that Liuzzo "always spoke out for what she believed in" (p. 91). Liuzzo's younger sister, Rose Mary, remembered her as "not judging people" (Di Florio, 2003). Beatrice Siegel, whose research "centered on the extensive newspaper and magazine coverage of the time and on personal interviews," summarized Liuzzo's approach to life:

A moral commitment to justice was part of her personal philosophy. It did not matter that others might disagree with the methods she used to call attention to injustices. Ingrained in her was a compelling force, a moral monitor that forced her to speak up when an unfair act was committed. (1993, pp. 118, 46)

Arneson

Each of these comments provides insight into the system of understanding that shaped Liuzzo's communicative engagement and freedom of expression.

Liuzzo's reflections about her life allowed her to act with a sense of confidence. This confidence furthered her speech/action. Evans described Liuzzo's orientation in the world as "original. ... She knew what was right" (Stanton, 1998, p. 77). Liuzzo's daughter Penny described her as "always so sure about everything" (p. 71), and Liuzzo's husband Jim said, "She was a fighter. ... [S]he never gave up when she thought she was right" (p. 65). Stanton gleaned from her research that Liuzzo was "complex" and "unpredictable," with "directness" and "courage" (p. 64).¹ She was "ambitious, generous, sometimes fixated, sometimes insensitive—she was all these things" (p. 64). On occasion, Liuzzo's mother would joke with Evans about Liuzzo's "willfulness" and stubbornness (p. 86). These insights aid in fleshing out Liuzzo's communicative character and the guiding principles that shaped her expressivity.

People choose how to communicate in the field of complex and overlaid systems of meaning that are their lifeworld (Arneson, 2014). Human expressivity is comprised of thinking/speaking in language/bodily gesture—from small movements to large social actions. Speech and gestures each complete the other as a person *makes* oneself as a sentient being-in-communication. Discourse is a phenomenological reduction of one's social world. Such a reduction enables a person to define and understand what one is experiencing. This enables a person to focus and comprehend what is near and now, as well as what is far and away, shifting locations within one's contemplations. A person constructs oneself as one is introduced to and participates in various culture spheres (e.g., geographical, political, economic, legal, moral, religious, linguistic, scientific, artistic), and reinforces or modifies the principles by which one coordinates one's life. A plurality of perspectives in each culture sphere is available in the social complex; aspects and/or whole perspectives join with other perspectives within and across various spheres. A person negotiates one's orientation, often without consciously 'thinking' about how one derives a particular perspective or principle that guides one's life.

When something disturbs an aspect/s of one's understandings (e.g., about justice), a person determines how to rework and 'make sense' of that which is disturbing, as well as that which is

disturbed, reworking a perspective to integrate or bracket an interpretation. By creatively engaging capacities of one's awareness, a person binds *theoria-poiesis-praxis* in fresh as well as habituated ways. Transversal awareness allows a person to transcend the way one orients oneself in the world and to work with information that is unsettling. Multiple meaning structures reinforce or alter one's orientation toward the site of dissatisfaction. This creative hermeneutic interpretation allows one to examine meaning/s in human experience. Three dimensions shape transversal awareness: critical discernment, hermeneutic interpretation, and narrative articulation (Arneson, 2014). In this space of questioning, a person discerns how to orient one's communicative engagement.

Liuzzo's Critical Discernment

Liuzzo's personal philosophy of justice was her wellspring for free speech. Tyrone Green, Evans' grandson, explained the Liuzzo "always kept up hope that things could get better" (Stanton, 1998, p. 78). Hope worked in concert with her contemplation of social justice. Transversal awareness, a phenomenological approach for considering the world and one's place in it, is prompted by a moment of critical discernment. In critical discernment one places one's prejudices (Gadamer 1976) or habits of thought into question. In acts of discernment, a person distances oneself from the ready-to-hand response—stepping back and suspending previous assumptions. In distancing one reflectively questions previous interpretations, prejudices, habits of thought, and social action. When Liuzzo considered the civil rights situation in Selma, she engaged in critical discernment of various circumstances.

In March 1965, Liuzzo was 39 years old and the mother of five children. She had begun taking classes as a part-time student at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. Liuzzo dropped out of school in the tenth grade, but she was conditionally admitted to the university and found college coursework exciting (Siegel, 1993). On campus, debates about the war in Vietnam, civil rights, and other political situations were regular occurrences. The city was also active. Detroit was home to several automobile manufacturers and other industries. The strength of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) union was reflected in the local presence of the Automobile Workers of America (UAW) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters organizations. Liuzzo's husband, Jim, was a business agent for Teamsters Local 247 and a friend of Jimmy Hoffa

Arneson

(“Calls the President,” 1965, p. 1). Liuzzo likely felt emboldened by her husband’s association with the union of workers: “Being a teamster member means that you belong to the strongest and most democratic labor union in the world” (Teamsters.org). The union represented both Black and white employees, and the Liuzzo’s lived in a “middle class interracial neighborhood” (Siegel, 1993, p. 40).

On Sunday, March 7, 1965, Jim and Viola Liuzzo were at home watching the 11:00 p.m. news. The broadcast showed footage of state troopers attacking marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. According to Siegel, “tears ran down Mrs. Liuzzo’s face. She raged in anger and sadness at the needless violence” (1993, p. 33). Sara Bullard wrote that Liuzzo “brooded over the scene for days” (1993, p. 80).² Liuzzo’s son, Tony, stated: “That really bothered her” (“She Didn’t Accept the Evil System,” 2002, p. 4). A lingering dissatisfaction with Southern culture seemed to be re-emerging within her. Siegel noted that “the images of the brutal events she had seen on television troubled her so much that she was distracted from her studies” (1993, p. 34).

Liuzzo seemingly experienced dissatisfaction toward racial mores in the South from the time she was a child. She was familiar with Jim Crow, growing up in Georgia with segregated “rest rooms, department store dressing rooms, water fountains, hospitals, churches, and cemeteries” (Stanton, 1998, p. 84). She was troubled by how Black citizens were being treated in Selma and across the country. Evans helped the family with childcare and worked for them as a housekeeper. She encouraged Liuzzo to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Liuzzo’s daughter, Penny, recalled that her mother had attended some meetings of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), but was not a member (“Calls the President,” 1965, p. 2).

By 1965, Wayne State University had become “a conservative institution that tolerated a core of committed activists who harangued the administration on issues of free speech, fair housing, and economic and social justice” (Stanton, 1998, p. 74). Liuzzo informed herself by reading newspapers, watching television, and listening to the radio. As a student at the University, Liuzzo began to attend First Unitarian Universalist Church of Detroit, a liberal church located near campus that was noted for social activism. She also became friends with Reverend Malcolm Boyd, Wayne State’s Episcopal chaplain, who had participated in civil

rights protests in the South (Gardner, 1996, p. 15). Boyd held weekly 'rap sessions' in his home, where people discussed their experiences and discussed "the mounting atrocities in the South" (Siegel, 1993, p. 54). A surge of protest was present at the University, which rippled throughout the country. Liuzzo became preoccupied with the brutality with which Black citizens were treated, upset "that so much violence was loose in the country, that defenseless people were the victims of the uncontrolled hatred of white segregationists" (p. 49).

March 17, 1965 provided an opportunity for hope: Judge Johnson ruled that federal protection must be provided to marchers exercising their right to free speech in petitioning the government for a redress of grievances. Liuzzo discerned liberating possibilities in Judge Johnson's *Williams v. Wallace* decision. In critical distancing, Liuzzo reflected on her orientation in the world. A white woman, she likely took into consideration the extent of the social injustice that was being perpetrated by white people toward Black citizens. She was attentive to general discrimination toward an Black citizens related to their right to vote. Her cultural upbringing, and the political activism in Detroit and on the Wayne State campus, melded as she considered her personal responsibility and how she could use free speech to attain greater social justice. As Liuzzo considered the events of Selma, she assigned meaning to her experiences, to the social complex, and to herself.

Liuzzo's Hermeneutic Interpretation

A second moment within transversal awareness is hermeneutic interpretation. In interpretation, one opens certain areas of meaning while closing other possible meanings, associates particular words with meanings not previously associated with them, punctuates life by analyzing parts and synthesizing wholes, and takes these together as they bind speech/action. This surge "uncovers 'the historical self-understanding of the experiencer' as one is situated in the world" (Arneson, 2014, p. 45). During interpretation one draws from one's experiences (including vicariously interpreting others' experiences) to inform how one can unravel the dissatisfaction being experienced. Stanton compares Liuzzo's life to those of other women at the time:

While her neighbors were taking cooking classes, raising funds for the March of Dimes, or doing volunteer work for the church, she was preparing her-

Arneson

self for a career, crusading for workplace rights, and trying to get herself admitted to college at thirty-six. (p. 66)

Liuzzo had been an advocate for social justice, exercising her right to free speech and willing to suffer consequences for her words and actions.

Prior to the Selma march, Liuzzo's work to advance social justice was an individual response to a specific event. When she was six years old, Liuzzo took money out of the cash register of a store her mother managed, and gave it to "a Black person she thought looked poor" (Stanton, 1998, p. 84). When the Detroit public school system lowered from 18 to 16 the age at which students could drop out of school, she kept her children home to try to pressure the school board to change their rule. She home-schooled their children for 40 days, and then was summoned to court. She pled guilty to the charge (Gardner, 1996, p. 16). Although the revised ordinance remained in place, Liuzzo protested because, her daughter Penny said, "she didn't think that was right. It was a reaction—a protest—against the new law" (Stanton, 1998, p. 71). Liuzzo had dropped out of school after the ninth grade, and later she seemed to regret her decision (p. 66). She then enrolled at the Carnegie Institute of Detroit to train as a medical lab technician.

After graduating from the Carnegie Institute of Detroit Liuzzo obtained a job as a medical assistant at Parkview Medical Center. When a secretary was laid off without severance pay, Liuzzo hoped to embarrass the administration by giving her paycheck to the woman (Stanton, 1998, p. 66). When her plan did not work, after her shift one day Liuzzo placed a telephone call to the Detroit police. She explained that "she was thinking about stealing a microscope" (p. 65). A patrol car stopped Liuzzo on her way home. Although Liuzzo had not stolen anything and no charges were filed, she demanded to be taken to the police station. She "used the attention she got as a platform to vocalize her opinions about the unfair labor practices at the nonunion Parkview Medical Center" (p. 65). Following this incident, Liuzzo was terminated from the Medical Center (Gardner, 1996, pp. 15-16).

Following Bloody Sunday on March 7, 1965, Detroit held one of the largest demonstrations in the country. Ten thousand people, led by the Governor of Michigan, George Romney, and the Mayor of the city of Detroit, Jerome Cavanaugh, marched

through the streets demanding that the federal government protect civil rights workers (Siegel, 1993, p. 50). As a student at Wayne State, Liuzzo found comradeship and began to participate in group activism. On Tuesday, March 16, Liuzzo participated “in a sympathy march in Detroit” (“She Didn’t Accept,” 2002, p. 4). This action, Siegel reports, “changed Viola Liuzzo from a passive supporter to an active participant in the civil rights movement” (Siegel, 1993, pp. 50-51). She was no longer alone in support of social justice, but joined with others in solidarity.

Liuzzo’s previous experience with southern culture and social protest informed her hermeneutic interpretation of the possibilities that might occur in the Selma to Montgomery march. These interpretations informed her critical distancing efforts. Interwoven with these two aspects of transversal engagement is a moment of narrative articulation (Arneson, 2014).

Liuzzo’s Narrative Articulation

A third moment within transversal awareness toward social liberation is narrative articulation. This impulse introduces the rationalities that one uses to articulate how one will engage in the world. When one acts toward social liberation, the conventional narrative is reconstructed to make a fitting response. This ethical speech/action response considers the holistic matrix and interdependence of social practices and communal involvements.

As February turned in March and spring break at Wayne State approached, Liuzzo continued to stay informed of current events. She recognized that members of SCLC and SNCC “would not be terrorized into silence” (Siegel, 1993, p. 27). Instead, they seemed to become increasingly determined to obtain their right to vote. Liuzzo and Evans, who was from Mississippi, talked frequently about the South, which they both missed despite “its foolishness” (Stanton, 1998, p. 89). Liuzzo recognized that free speech in the South carried risk. Her son, Tony, explained, “She knew what she was going down into, what the situation was. It was not a vacation. She knew that she could be beaten, arrested, shot, killed” (Di Florio, 2003). Liuzzo did not seem to take the protest lightly in her reflection on how she might choose to participate.

On Monday, March 15, 1965, Liuzzo attended a rap session at Reverend Boyd’s home (Siegel, 1993, p. 53). The next morning, before going to campus Liuzzo put a few clothes into a shopping

Arneson

bag. She confided to Evans that she was going to leave for Selma. Siegel reports that Liuzzo told Evans, "everyone was going" and she would be driving along with other students from the University (p. 54). Liuzzo arranged for Evans to care for the children and said she would be back in a few days. As the day unfolded, other students backed out of the road trip and did not join her. Before she left Detroit, she called her husband, telling him, "It's everybody's fight. ... There are too many people who just stand around talking" (p. 55). She also spoke to her daughter, Penny, who was 18 years old, refuting Penny's objections: "I need to be there, and I don't want to talk about it anymore" (p. 55). As Siegel summarized, Liuzzo's "uncertainty had disappeared, and everything had come together. The need to go to Selma was so compelling that she no longer had a choice" (p. 55). Driven by a sense of fairness, Liuzzo's transversal awareness toward social liberation was compelling her to act.

When Liuzzo arrived in Selma she was "full of energy," establishing a reputation for herself as "a tireless and cheerful worker" (Bullard, 1993, p. 80). Liuzzo's support of Black citizens seeking the right to register to vote had been determined. Her personal philosophy was driven by justice. Aspects of transversal awareness are clearly present in her response to civil rights activism. Her critical discernment was driven by "a nagging sense that she had to do more than she was doing" (Siegel, 1993, pp. 52-53). As she interpreted the social complex, her earlier efforts to seek social justice had laid the groundwork. Liuzzo had constructed a personal story that would fit into the broader civil rights narrative. Her contemplation stirred her to exercise what for her was a fitting response: "It meant going down to Selma" (pp. 52-53). She went to Selma to help liberate Black citizens from Alabama state laws that were enacted to stifle their vote, and therefore, their social progress.

Conclusion

This essay explains the 'decision-making process' from a phenomenological, rather than psychological, perspective. Liuzzo's linguistic/corporeal expressivity was compelled by her personal philosophy of justice and her transversal awareness, which heightened her attention to social liberation for Black citizens. Transversal awareness guides one's awareness of meanings within the phenomenological field that adumbrate within and through one another. As one considers various forms of meaning within the social complex, a person can arrive at a fitting response to a

given situation. Liuzzo's touchstone of justice was central in her making-of-self through the exercise of free speech, and had become a polestar in her ever-evolving personhood. The hope Liuzzo sustained for a just society was meaningfully constructed through her life-experiences. Her exercise of free speech drove this hope. Liuzzo dedicated her life to making the world a better place for herself and others.

Notes

- 1) Stanton (1998) relied on the few sources that are available about Viola Liuzzo's life, especially on newspaper articles published around the time of Liuzzo's murder: "Where I speculate about her motives, her thoughts, and her insights, I do so based on these resources and on the discussions I had with Sarah Evans, Tyrone Green, Penny Liuzzo Herrington, Mary Liuzzo Ashley, and Sally Liuzzo Prado" (Stanton, 1998, p. 229n1).
- 2) Sara Bullard conducted "detailed searches through newspapers, state archives, Library of Congress holdings, and papers of civil rights organizations, as well as numerous personal interviews and hundreds of letters soliciting information" for her book *Free at Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 9.

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**Pragmatism as a Way of Democracy:
Ruth Anna Putnam's Pragmatist Ethics**

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The centennial of 19th Amendment of women's right to vote in the United States presents great opportunity for scholarly inquiry and rejoinder. This article argues the pragmatist philosophy of Ruth Anna Putnam provides an appropriate lens to evaluate and respond to issues of moral value in democracy. Moreover, as a philosophy born in the United States, pragmatism is a fitting response to demagoguery and a way to elevate democracy to what Putnam terms a way of life. This paper also illuminates the value of Putnam's ideas, which as a woman in the field of philosophy, have been overshadowed by her male counterparts. This paper posits Putnam's ideas as apposite for a pragmatist ethics, which is direly needed in today's political arena. Through a hermeneutic approach, this paper formulates an understanding of a pragmatist ethics from Putnam's ideas presented in the text *Pragmatism as a Way of Life: The Lasting Legacy of William James and John Dewey* (2017). The paper does not seek to offer a universal consideration of *the* pragmatist ethics, but rather *a* pragmatist ethics through the lens of Ruth Anna Putnam.

This essay will explore Putnam's ideas in taking pragmatism seriously and positioning pragmatism as moral philosophy to present a pragmatist ethics. After establishing this philosophical ground, the essay will elucidate implications for a pragmatist ethics, and then offer assessment of a pragmatist ethics in democracy. Rather than a separate political system, Putnam orients democracy as ontological acts embodied within citizens, which are engaged to oppose dogmatism and embrace pluralism. Putnam's ideas are important to illuminate as we celebrate the centennial of women's suffrage and to honor her recent passing in 2019.

Situating A Life in the 20th Century

Putnam (1927-2019) was born seven years after the passing of the 19th Amendment in the roaring 20s but two years before the great stock market crash of 1929. A decade prior, at the turn of the century, the American society had experienced rapid change amid industrialization, mass immigration, and urbanization. Accompanying this change was a concentration of power among very few executives who controlled large corporations and sus-

Jones

tained their power under laissez-faire economic policy. Discontent among workers grew from oppressive and exploitative conditions that led people to demand change in their workplaces along with an end to government corruption. The country was in its first world war and experiencing a pandemic of Spanish influenza. America was a country divided between rich and poor, segregated in black and white, and separated with normalized roles based on sex. These tumultuous times called for economic, political, and social reform. Environmental reform accompanied these other reforms as industry cast poisons into the land, air, and water.

To address these challenges, pragmatism emerged as a fitting response with Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) first defining the new philosophy, followed by William James (1842-1910), John Dewey (1859–1952), and George Herbert Mead (1863–1931). Pragmatism engages the metaphors of freedom and choice in meeting the demands of the present moment. Pragmatism emphasizes “volunteerism and the need to work for social improvement—without either supernatural or self-evident natural support for its absolute rightness” (p. 145). William James wrote in his popular essay, “Habit” (1890) “As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work” (p. 151). Jane Addams (1860-1935) put this new philosophy in the affective realm with her devotion to the profession of social work. Despite her success and women gaining the right to vote, it was still a man’s world in Putnam’s formative years, so she viewed pragmatism as needed to further address social issues, such as structural sexism. While pragmatism was birthed at the turn of the last century, its application is needed at the turn of this century. Ruth Anna Putnam offers a moral political lens to guide a pragmatist response to the demands of this historical moment.

Brief Background of Ruth Anna Putnam (1927-2019)

Putnam was born in Berlin to a Jewish mother and Christian father, and at the age of five, she was sent away to live with her paternal grandparents while her parents hid from the Nazis. She was twenty-one when she saw her parents again during their emigration to the United States. Putnam was an astute student whose first academic interest in Chemistry diverted to Philosophy of Science, and then toward a love of Philosophy with specific attention to Ethics and Political Philosophy. While she had a great

passion for this subject, the Western Canon of Philosophy was dominated by white male voices. Early on she wrote “Why not a Feminist Theory of Justice?” (1995a) that was translated into several languages. She became a scholar of William James (1992), for whom she was the Editor for the *Cambridge Companion to William James* (1997) also contributing a chapter. She devoted advanced study of William James (Putnam, 1992; 2006; Putnam and Putnam. 1989; 1998). She was an active member of the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy and the William James Society. She also worked with the writings of John Dewey (Putnam 1995b; Putnam, Cochran, & Cochran, 2010). For thirty-five years, she served as a professor in philosophy at Wellesley College where she taught logic, the philosophy of science, and ethics, the latter of which she found she could make the strongest contribution in the area of moral and social values. Thus, Putnam made a great impact on pragmatism with her integration of ethics into the philosophy.

Her final work, *Pragmatism as a Way of Life: The Lasting Legacy of William James and John Dewey* (2017) was co-authored with her husband, Hilary Putnam, who overshadowed her in the field. In fact, many who identify as scholars of philosophy may only be familiar with the male Putnam and are surprised to learn of this other Putnam who worked in pragmatism. A Google search of Hilary Putnam produces many images of the man, as it does with other male pragmatists. Yet, a search for Ruth Anna Putnam only produced one image of her pictured with her husband, until her death when her obituary was published.

Philosophy is a male-dominated field, which calls for greater recognition of women’s contributions as we seek to enlarge the Canon to be inclusive of diverse voices—an edict of pragmatism. Of the twenty-seven chapters of this final text, fifteen are authored by Ruth herself, and two are co-authored with Ruth and Hilary. Having a hand in seventeen of the twenty-seven chapters, Ruth demonstrates she is a prolific contributor; however, she should be appreciated as a pragmatist philosopher in her own right and not as a mere accomplice to her husband since Ruth Anna Putnam’s understanding of philosophy is quite different from her husband’s. Some of the chapters she offers in the book elucidate and critique pragmatist ideas of Richard Rorty, William James, and John Dewey. While these chapters offer fascinating insight into these figures, the scope of this essay is limited to the other chapters by Ruth Anna Putnam, which account for her own pragmatism – an enlarged pragmatism that engage conceptions of

Jones

moral value and democracy.

This subject is apt for the Centennial of women's suffrage by giving voice to a valuable, yet overlooked, female philosopher, along with the great need to apply Putnam's pragmatism to respond to the social issues of this moment. As such, readers may employ her wisdom to participate in democracy and enact social change. Pragmatism emerged around the turn of the Twentieth Century, which laid a groundwork for Putnam to study and further the philosophy with considerations in ethics. Following the key figures of pragmatism, Ruth Anna Putnam furthers the conversation so that we may respond to the tumultuous times of this turn of the Twenty-first Century, or as Putnam argues, to take Pragmatism seriously.

Taking Pragmatism Seriously

While all pragmatists have their own lens through which to view the philosophy, all, according to Putnam (2017), deal with experience, or the "interactions between a human organism and its environment" (p. 13), which she identifies as appearing in all pragmatists' work. Rather than defining pragmatism, Putnam prefers to account for how to take pragmatism seriously. As such, she sees this venture as "developing a philosophy that will enable us to deal more effectively with the great problems that confront humanity" (p. 14) and where "we" does not mean merely the work of philosophers, but all of us who are affected directly or indirectly by these great problems. Pragmatism as a philosophy, ought to be accessible to a wide audience, particularly to those who experience humanity's problems.

Pragmatism, as the name implies, sets aside questions about existence that are philosophized in other domains of philosophy, such as questioning whether people live in the same world and if those people and things even exist. Rather, Putnam exclaims, "To take your problems – where you stand as a representative of humanity – seriously, I must take it for granted that the toe I would step on, were I not to take care, is the toe in which you would feel pain" (p. 15). Consequently, we may set the Cartesian and metaphysical problems aside, or take for granted that we can see the same objects in our world and communicate with one another about them through intersubjective encounters. Thus, "We cannot make sense of our moral lives unless we believe that there are other people and we live in a common world" (p. 355).

Taking pragmatism seriously means to take oneself to be living in a world that one shares with others, to discern the problems of the world with others, and to cooperate with others to achieve common goals. This serious work involves agency – not as an individualistic agent of forging one’s destiny, but a cooperative agent in the world confronting the question, “what needs to be done?” (p. 17). For Putnam, this work involves confronting moral and social problems, and recognizing the intersectionality of the moral and social with the political. Fundamentally, this work is grounded in human experiences rather than the theoretical realm.

Pragmatists “take themselves to be agents in the world rather than spectators; that is, experiencing is not a passive receiving of impressions but an interacting” (p. 109) with one’s surroundings. Agency is taken a step further with the concept of meliorism, which is an anti-deterministic view paired with the belief that humans can make the world better. Putnam speaks of a need for a meliorative cooperation where individual efforts are “motivated by a trust that others will make a like effort” (p. 111). This is a cooperative belief that the state of the world can be improved if all are pitching in together. Putnam writes that meliorism “is a view that has never been more desperately needed than today...” (p. 111).

Yet, this goal is not a firm teleological destination to aspire to, but is, for Putnam, conceived as a flexible telos, or “ends-in-view” (p. 17) that may modify or even abandon as life experience changes. Moreover, she writes, “we may discover, having achieved our goal, that we now confront worse problems than before” (p. 17), which Existentialist philosopher Hazel Barnes (1974) describes as a “counterfinality or an unexpected result of what we anticipated” (p. 119).¹ Life is muddy (Buber, 1947), and the future cannot be predicted, so we must meet existential moments with a pragmatic response – “to try to philosophize in ways that are relevant to the real problems of human beings” (Putnam, 2017, p. 18). Putnam believes subjectivity is often given too much weight because it focuses on the individual. More important for her is intersubjectivity, which she articulates as weaving seamless webs with communication and relationships with others.

Pragmatism as Moral Philosophy

Pragmatists account for value inquiry rather than a priori ethics, to make sense of moral life rather than trying to define it. In de-

Jones

scribing the moral life of a pragmatist, Putnam refers to James, who posits that making moral choices is also choosing who one is going to be (p. 360). Accordingly, moral choices and intersubjectivity create a derivative self, or character. The character engages in certain projects that shape a moral life. Normal life presents a relatively stable background upon which goals may be realized in the foreground. Yet, a critical moment involves a choice among equally coercive interests of which will be supremely life shaping from then on.

Everyday life presents a mixed bag of choices – “some of our moral choices will change us radically, while others will do so, if at all, only slowly and in minor ways. Alternatively, some of our moral choices deliberately and dramatically reaffirm our characters, while others simply reflect who we are” (p. 368). Character is an ongoing constructive or destructive endeavor through choice, which extends constructive and destructive forces on the world as well. Choices are forces that re-in-force oneself and society. This idea resonates with Sartre’s (1956) edict that in choosing for oneself, one also chooses for all humanity.² Yet, as Putnam observes, James elevates this idea with his statement, “there is but one unconditional commandment, which is what we should seek incessantly, with fear and trembling, so to vote and to act as to bring about the very largest universe of good that we can see” (p. 405). One’s character and the state of the world are never settled; “Life presents us again and again with the opportunity to change, to grow. We must grasp these opportunities lest we diminish” (p. 372). We must deliberate on and be deliberate about the formation of our own character and the state of humanity.

Putnam writes, “morally significant choices express who we are and shape who we want to be” (p. 352). This relation between conduct and character leaves room for choice, for moral growth or deterioration, and even dramatic reversals. We must realize that free will is making moral judgments, and these judgements are subject to intellectual critique. Putnam continues, “to make sense of our moral lives [...] we must believe that we are indeed, choosing, that our choices make a difference, and that there are standards by which we judge and are judged, standards that are themselves of human making and subject to human critique” (p. 354).

This pursuit is what Putnam calls moral progress, that is, “the search for and realization of ever more inclusive ideals ...” that involves reflection, which prompts new experiences (p. 373).

Again, striving for the moral life is a temporal telos:

We have learned from the Greeks that moral life is an examined life; it requires the opportunity to reflect. What one reflects upon may be the sort of person one is or wishes to be; or it may be the ends, the projects, and ideals that make one's life a life. One examines and reaffirms actions, habits, and customs that lead to or maintain desired ends; one criticizes and changes actions, habits, and customs that fail to accomplish one's projects or to realize one's ideals. Ends, in turn, may be reconsidered, reshaped, even replaced by other ends... (pp. 374-375)

Although a great deal of reflection is postulated here, as a pragmatist, Putnam views the engine of moral progress to be moral agents, not moral philosophers. She recognizes that a great deal of work remains to be done; nevertheless, she writes, "I hope to have shown that a pragmatic ethics has more to offer than has been acknowledged by most contemporary moral philosophers" (p. 384). Normative ethics have been taught for millennia; this era calls for ethics of informed action, or a pragmatist ethics.

Putnam believes fervently that philosophy must possess a moral impulse, or "the passionate desire to find a philosophy that makes room for our moral lives...", and that pragmatism could play an important role in this regard. Putnam acknowledges that Peirce, James, and Dewey pointed fruitfully in this direction, which she takes up to further articulate. The starting place of moral reflection is prompted by failures rather than successes. Reflection is followed by choice for moral growth rather than deterioration, and this choice necessitates interaction with others who provide views outside of oneself. Moral choices are not intuited, they are communicated through inquiry about what matters to us. Our beliefs, values, and perceptions are anchored in our experience (p. 354), which is an ever-changing web of being and becoming. As such, "It is not the case, then, that as adults we are reduced to reinforcing our already settled characters. Life presents us again and again with the opportunity to change, to grow. We must grasp these opportunities lest we diminish" (p. 372). She quotes Dewey writing, "everywhere, there is an opportunity and a need to go beyond what one has been... the good person is precisely the one who is... the most concerned to find openings for the newly forming or growing self" (p. 372).

Jones

Putnam asserts that “all pragmatists insist on the social character of inquiry where beliefs emerge as a result of experience, and may be altered in the light of contrary experience...” (p. 16). Therefore, all experiences are connected to prior experience; one does not have an experience as if emerging from a “total anesthesia” (p. 355). A gestalt exists within human experience. Disagreement takes place in the foreground, which occurs within the background of one’s successes. This dissonance brings to light one’s failures and what is important within the common world. For example, one’s state of privilege becomes interrupted with communication of another’s oppression, which illuminates a moral failure and need for equity. Putnam makes an insightful claim: “We do all too often fail to consider the price someone else is paying for our joys” (p. 419). This moral impulse calls for serious systematic thought about morality that needs to focus on a whole life, not just moments of moral dilemma.

A Pragmatist Ethics: Community Engaged Philosophy

Pragmatist ethics is philosophy in action, which may be understood in Putnam’s metaphor of weaving seamless webs. She first problematizes the fact/value distinction to show that facts exist in the manner we value them. Accordingly, facts and values are intimately interwoven. We place value on facts, and we create values and are enculturated to them in the midst of human life; values do not exist in some transcendent realm or moral ether. Values are temporal or provisional “as a result of deliberate challenges to old norms” as reflective persons confront them (p. 72). For example, Putnam observes that “today’s common sense is not that of a thousand years ago” (p. 414). Moral values emerge from societal needs, and the choices people make within an ongoing society.

Putnam asserts we can evaluate values “by how well they succeed in grounding stable human societies and in fostering human flourishing” (p. 74). Therefore, we are born into a world, which influences what we value, but have we conscious ability to change the world rather than be restrained by it. Our deliberate choices are woven into the larger fabric upon which others will take into reflection and weave their own choices accordingly. Putnam stresses that “Reflection is important because it makes moral change possible; reflection is inevitable because even the most detailed moral code fails to prescribe conduct for all eventualities” (p. 82). Thus, life is not a blank canvas for us to paint, but a piece of art started long ago to which we may offer contribution to its ever-changing mosaic in a pluralistic society.

Pluralism suggests recognizing and valuing difference, but it does not support a hyper-individualism or emotivism (MacIntyre, 1981). Emotivism and relativism fail to account for the importance of moral and other values in our lives (p. 422). We need others to nurture us in companionship, shared knowledge, and most important, “the sense that one’s very self and self-conception are to a very significant extent the result of one’s social environment” (p. 115). Yet, we are not condemned to relativism (p. 116) either. When we reject determinism, a plurality of futures are open to us (p. 117). Moreover, each of us possess a multiplicity of points-of-view, which Putnam describes as a more radical situatedness. Since no one can take in the whole universe, each person is worth listening to. It means

being willing to hear what the other has to say, which in turn, means creating institutions that make it possible for the other to speak and to be heard. But it means more than the institutions of a political democracy – universal suffrage, frequent elections, and majority rule. It means more even than a commitment to rights for individuals or to liberty, equality, and fraternity. (p. 117)

Listening to others enriches our human experience by increasing understanding and appreciation for the situation we share. Conversely, “the other may flatly contradict what we believe... and at other times it may be clear that the other is plainly mistaken” (p. 118). Nevertheless, we must listen to other voices, particularly to those who are rarely heard and even less taken account of (p. 119). Putnam calls this type of listening moral inquiry, which involves the necessity of listening for and hearing the cries of the wounded and disadvantaged. Those cries will inform us if we have made a great mistake and call for moral reconsideration and reevaluation. Moreover, “moral inquiry, properly conducted, will pay particular attention to the cries of the wounded, to those disadvantaged by a proposed course of action” (p. 432) and calls us to go a different way and to include these voices in the public sphere. By doing so, we enrich the picture and fabric of society.

Contributions to the mosaic are not individual additions but are constructed through people coming together in discourse. This coming together requires tolerance that Putnam describes as reasonable persons differing on moral issues but still respecting one another and reasoning with them about issues. Nevertheless, she questions whether agreement on values can occur – agreement, as

Jones

Aristotle asserted is needed for human flourishing. A pluralistic society unable to be one single point of view from which the world can be apprehended demands even greater communication and tolerance (p. 235). However, she cautions, the idea of tolerance does not mean tolerating the most extreme intolerance that denies the humanity of others (p. 86). Hence, Putnam argues that

Our problem, as philosophers, is to confront the advocates of slavery and fascism (and other ideologies which deny the humanity of some human beings or require their adherents to subject some human beings to inhuman treatment) and to seek some place – not an external Archimedean Point – where their web of facts and values touches ours and from which we can attempt to unravel theirs and persuade them to weave ours. As ordinary men and women we confront the question raised by Weber: how does one deal with great evil? That is the question on which reasonable persons may and do differ: here tolerance is not amiss; rather, tolerance and moral creativity are desperately needed. (p. 86)

Tolerance cannot be accompanied by disdain; it needs to be accompanied by a wanting of others to flourish. Tolerance, in a pragmatic view, is not a state of being, as it is engaged and communicative, which seeks community response to social issues. Putnam extends the idea of tolerance to a moral impulse of reciprocal respect, which builds self-respect that she believes is needed to flourish (p. 438).

Implications of a Pragmatist Ethics: Democracy as a Way of Life

Pragmatism, perhaps more than any other philosophy, is concerned with the question “So what?” More specifically, what are the implications of a pragmatist ethics? Putnam answers this resoundingly: it is democracy, democracy as a way of life. Moreover, she writes that “pragmatists endorse not only political democracy, but they also insist on social, liberal, and pluralistic democracy” (p. 421). Pragmatists believe in supporting the ability to participate in democracy where the free exchange of ideas are encouraged. However, Putnam writes, “the free exchange of ideas is not enough; it must, and it does, lead to action” (p. 434). This perspective includes providing people with an economic minimum. For example,

People who need to worry daily where their next meal comes from, or where they will find shelter that night, or how to obtain medical care without sinking into abject poverty – such people have neither the time nor the strength to develop all their talents, or to participate in the democratic process... where there are very large differences in wealth and income and/or where many are deprived of adequate schooling, the outcomes of the political process will be severely distorted in favor of the interests of the wealthy. (pp. 436-437)

Putnam further observes the enormous economic gulf between social classes that have pervaded throughout history and her day, which distort political and social democracy and deprive the poor of actively participating in democracy (p. 446). The purpose of democracy is to provide genuine opportunity for human flourishing. In a pluralistic society, we all may have different views of what human flourishing is, but we must provide genuine opportunity for all to flourish.

People need to be able to fully participate in democracy by having stability in life, including “at least universal suffrage, fair elections, a free press, and freedom of association” (p. 435). Moreover, she adds, they also need to be fully informed of alternative perspectives, political processes, and governance, which leads to having informed positions on matters of public concern. This claim is starkly contrasted to a fascist regime or dictatorship, regardless of whether it is malicious or benevolent (p. 435). Rather, referencing Dewey, Putnam asserts that democracy as a way of life needs to be embedded into thought and action – “as a *personal* way of individual life...determining desire and purpose in all the relations of life” (p. 439, italics in original). As such, both general welfare and the individual may become fully developed.

Democracy is not merely a form of government; it should be a way of life. Putnam observes two barriers to democracy: excessive individualism in the form of laissez-faire capitalism, and on the other side, collectivism (p. 441). The former tends to “protect the freedom of the rich and powerful at the expense of the of the poor and weak” while the latter tends “to block individual initiatives” that are necessary for social progress (p. 441). Therefore, “Social progress rests on the ability of individuals to criticize the prevailing conception of the good,” but, Putnam argues, individuals

Jones

must have developed the capacity for intelligent judgment and the moral courage and persistence to translate that judgment into intelligent actions; the society must provide the conditions in which these developments can take place. Ultimately the individual must be able to challenge the prevailing morality... (p. 441)

Putnam describes this as the construction of the good, and life of significance (p. 443).

People need moral philosophy not for prescriptive algorithms of conduct, but to respond with critical thinking to complex situations, which cannot be predicted in advance through some kind of rule book. As such, the best solution may be offered while also recognizing the possibility of fallibility where further discernment is needed to modify one's response. Pragmatism is oriented toward considering consequences, yet we cannot know the future. Hence, we will make mistakes. When actions inadvertently harm others, we have an opportunity to learn and change our actions. Fallibility involves humility. It says, I cannot know everything. Thus, fallibility calls for all voices to be heard. Governments and businesses have been a major source of the suffering of their stakeholders. These organizations need to recognize how they have been a source of suffering and then how they will make changes to enable people to flourish.

Assessment of a Pragmatist Ethics in Democracy

Putnam asserts that the success of democracy, a moral ideal, is assessed by the development of the social capabilities of every person in a society. Furthermore, individual laws and norms may be assessed likewise by whether they provide greater freedom and opportunity for people to participate in advancing the common good. Accordingly, laws and norms that limit equal opportunity for participation and freedom to develop individual capabilities are not only unjust, but also immoral. The purpose of democracy is "to make one's own and everyone else's capabilities available for the common good" (p. 446). If freedom is indeed an American ideal, it needs to be ensured for all.

Putnam concludes with the question, "But what is the common good?" (p. 447). First, she cautions that it is not a general characterization. Rather, in pragmatic fashion, she describes it as consisting of "all the particular solutions to particular problems as

these arise” (p. 447). Although she notes that Dewey conceives of the common good as the conditions that make the flourishing of all possible, she further offers that he, in true pragmatist fashion, “would respond that [the] characterization is so abstract it can at best serve to formulate a problem” (p. 447). Moreover, pragmatism seeks to overcome dualism, such as theory and practice, which stem from Dewey’s observation of a reflection of social dualisms such as “master and slave, bosses and workers, of rich and poor” (p. 447). To overcome these dualisms, barriers between socioeconomic classes and rulers and the ruled need to be removed through reconstruction and learning about the particular lives and experiences of others with essential moral interest.

This constructive view involves some deconstruction of aristocracy and elitism. Expertise and common interest need to coexist without hierarchy that indemnifies a dualism and, along with it, protection of private interests with private knowledge. Rather, knowledge needs to be shared within the public sphere fostered by conditions that support debate, discussion, and persuasion (p. 448). For example, Putnam exclaims, “Experts are needed to provide knowledge of facts, but the public needs to be able to judge the import of these facts on matters of public concern” (p. 448). She references Dewey’s belief that given information instead of propaganda, and provided an education that cultivates critical and moral thinking, “the public will prove equal to that task” (p. 448). Thus, dictators as well as intellectual elites may present power enemies to democracy.

Putnam and Dewey provide pragmatic hope for the common good through democracy while also possessing a pragmatic understanding of the real barriers and challenges in pursuit of this ideal. For example, Putnam asserts that legal guarantees of civil liberties are not enough (p. 449). Intolerance, suspicion, and fear breed hatred, which destroys the essential conditions for democratic living, even more so than coercion. Coercion by totalitarianism is only possible after the essential conditions have been destroyed with hate. Conversely, democracy works with cooperation, accommodation, and listening with others whose voices are uplifted rather than suppressed. Suppression afflicts interpersonal violence on the other. Putnam argues that in advancing the other, we may enrich our own experience.

Conclusion

We have come full circle back to the premise of pragmatism, which is experience, and the many possibilities experience may open. As such, “The minority of one who can envisage a better social world can only bring about a reconstruction of the social world if he or she is able to communicate that vision and win others over to it” (p. 451). Putnam observes that democratic political institutions are not enough; Germany had them, which allowed the rise and horror of the Nazi regime. Moreover, she contends that Roosevelt’s New Deal was also not enough because, even then, “too many Americans were excluded from the American dream and their potential contributions to the common good went unused and unappreciated” (p. 452). Rather, what is needed, according to her, is fundamental changes in attitudes towards tolerance with reciprocal respect combined with “the courage to be a minority of one” (p. 452). Putnam displayed this courage in her life. We are now charged to employ her pragmatist ethics with our vote, voice, and actions.

Notes

- 1) Hazel Barnes is another female philosopher who has been overlooked in the field, yet she made a significant contribution to Existentialism with her considerations of ethics in *An Existentialist Ethics* (1967).
- 2) For more on the relationship between Existentialism and Humanism, see Barnes (1959), *Humanistic existentialism: The literature of possibility*.

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Pragmatism as a Way of Democracy

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**From Suffrage to Social Justice:
The Mind-Body Performative Role of Women Athletes in
Social Change in the United States**

Elesha L. Ruminski and Dorene Ciletti

Introduction

Sport has played a significant role in leading social change, from suffrage to social justice. In particular, women in sport have contributed to how our nation has found its collective consciousness when it comes to fundamental characteristics of democracy. In celebration of the passing of the 19th amendment 100 years ago, we examine how sport has contributed to women's participation in social change and supported women's voice through mind-body public performance of sport and civic activities. This public performance has enhanced women's leadership development and contributes to a cultural paradigm shift in sport. Women's road to suffrage and other human rights has continuously correlated with the empowerment of both mind and body, as sport participation and leadership require. At a time when we witness women's sport being more affected by the pandemic economically (UN Women, 2020; Cohen, 2020), we focus attention on the important milestone of a century of women's formal civic engagement to understand what opportunities exist for women in sport and the impact on society going forward.

The sport industry is extensive, growing, and pervasive. Riche-lieu and Boulaire (2005) argue that "[w]ith the exception of music, cinema, and religion, there is probably no other field of activity that generates such passion among its customers as sport" (p. 24). Its impact on the economy reaches beyond sport itself, touching technology and education among other realms (Danylchuk, Doherty, Nicholson, & Stewart, 2008). Plunkett Research, Ltd. (2015) estimates the total U.S. sports market, including revenue derived from professional sports, sports equipment sales, sports apparel, and athletic footwear, is about \$498.4 billion in the U.S. and \$1.5 trillion globally. Considering the four segments of media rights, gate revenue, sponsorship, and merchandising, PricewaterhouseCoopers (2019), a multinational professional services network of firms in accounting and consulting, projects the North American sports market alone to grow more than 3.2%, from \$71.1 billion in 2018 to \$83.1 billion in 2023. A study by A.T. Kearney found that sport accounts for about 1 percent of global GDP, including events, apparel and equipment, and fitness spending (Collignon & Sultan, 2014).

With its omnipresence and size, it is not surprising that sport's impact stretches beyond the economy and into the sociocultural realm. Applying sport characteristics to non-sport activities is often referred to as *sportification*. Standeven and DeKnop (1999) refer to the 'sportification of society,' including increased sport tourism, interest in overall health and fitness and related increased sport participation (Glyptis, 1989), and changes in social attitudes and values (Jackson et al., 2001; Redmond, 1991) as well as politics and economics (Nauright, 1996; Cooper, Fletcher, Gilbert, & Wanhill, 1993; Collins, 1991). Sport has been shaped by globalization (Bernstein, 2000), democratization (Standeven & DeKnop, 1999), the role of sport and sport events in urban renewal (Getz, 1998), including implications for civic pride and economic development (Groothuis, Johnson, & Whitehead, 2004), and technological advances, including digital media (Dart, 2014).

Sport organizations have affected social change, as noted in the United Nations General Assembly's 2003 special resolution, which suggested sport is "a means to promote education, health, development, and peace" (Goss & Alexandrova, 2005, p. 54) and recognized in its 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations General Assembly, 2015, paragraph 37). Lessons learned in sport can be applied in areas such as politics and business (Dyreson, 1999), and a connection exists between athletic experience and business and politics (Cronin, 2003). Yet, in terms of the way it has been led and communicated about, with some notable historical differences based on class, race, and culture, sport has often historically exacerbated a masculine/feminine dichotomy, as men competed in games of athletic skill designed to showcase physical strength, agility, and competitiveness, and women were often relegated to the sidelines, at most spectators, viewed as fragile and delicate "decentered subjects, subjects who lack being, subjects diluted in the goals, needs, and desires of others" (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 485). But times have changed. Mind-body sport performance by women athletes has challenged the notion of fragility and exclusion of women's voices in public arenas of sport, moving them from spectators to actors, much as suffrage moved women from spectators to actors in a democratic society.

Mind-Body Engagement in Sport and Suffrage

No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire

Ruminski & Ciletti

to have them do so, they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety in an emergency, they must know something of the laws of navigation. To guide our own craft, we must be captain, pilot, engineer; with chart and compass to stand at the wheel; to watch the winds and waves, and know when to take in the sail, and to read the signs in the firmament over all. It matters not whether the solitary voyager is man or woman; nature, having endowed them equally, leaves them to their own skill and judgment in the hour of danger, and, if not equal to the occasion, alike they perish.—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “The Solitude of Self”

Stanton’s words were inspiration for first-wave feminists¹ seeking equality in the United States through suffrage in the mid-nineteenth century, women who were often saddled to the private sphere with domestic responsibilities if privileged, or domestic responsibilities *and* labor outside the home if not. Her analogy powerfully demonstrates that women as citizens must be able to stand on their own with “skill and judgment” to sail the seas of democracy, pointing to the recognition that women’s true empowerment must be holistic, or fully engage the mind and the body. Our premise here is that sport is an arena in life that has the potential to offer this engagement and empowerment, and women’s mind-body performance of sport has supported opportunities for civic engagement, from voting to social change efforts.

Schultz (2010) reminds us through the example of publicized suffragette hiking expeditions that took place in the early twentieth century that “women have vigorously propelled and navigated their bodies through time and space in order to dispel notions that they were physically, and thereby socially, inferior to men” (p. 1137), in some cases to the extreme:

Historian Joyce Kay, noting that ‘historians who have written extensively on the battle for the vote... have failed to make any connection with sport and leisure,’ brings to light several instances upon which women made use of prominent sportscares to advertise their cause, including vandalizing golf courses, boathouses and cricket clubs, among other venues. Perhaps the best known of these incidents involved suffragette Emily Davison, who died from injuries she sustained after throwing herself in front of a

horse belonging to King George V at the 1913 Epsom Derby. Women orchestrated these efforts, seen as outlandish acts of militancy at the time, as occasions upon which the public could not help but consider the issue of the ballot. (ctd. in Schultz, p. 1137)

Beyond these extreme examples, Schultz's (2010) research reveals that mindful, embodied activism meant that hiking suffragettes recognized the difference between the burdens they carried in their performative actions of hiking as a way to carry women into the realm of equal participation in democracy and those burdens of women in working class conditions who weren't part of the symbolic pilgrimage (p. 1144). The effort did cause strain—"the exertion of the hikes, according to the media, ravaged the women's bodies and their psyches" (p. 1148)—yet demonstrated the power of mind-body performance in democracy:

There are also a great many things that can be communicated only with the body, through motion, form, and appearance, in the occupation and navigation of space, by engagement and interaction, as ideological manifestation. Of all the tools available to groups and individuals in a given society, the body seems the most fundamental and Women's Suffrage, Pilgrim Hikes and the Public Sphere perhaps the most underestimated possibility for enacting change. The concept of physical activism may help bring to bear those situations through which to consider the power of corporeal action. (Schultz, pp. 1149-1150)

An examination of how the meaning (mind) and practice (body) of sport has evolved helps to position our understanding of its correlation to suffrage. Daniels (2016) points to the essential need for movement for human survival before it evolved to movement for recreation. The thirteenth century etymological root of *sport* is the French *leisure*, emphasizing play and amusement or a "carrying away" of the mind for this purpose (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). In the twenty-first century, in contrast, sport, through the lens of research by Roland (2004), emphasizes mind and body through examination of peak performance of athletes, achieved through not only physical skill but also psychological state and mental toughness. Organizationally, factors that designate an activity a sport according to Title IX legislation include "consistent program structure and administration" and "team preparation and competition" (Staurowsky, p. 29). Sport

has also evolved as entertainment. E-sports and the inclusion of cornhole and poker on ESPN have emerged additionally to transform the understanding of sport in recent years (Steinberg, 2018).

Sport, recognized by many as exhibiting competitive athleticism or entertainment for spectators, is in its various manifestations a social and cultural construct. Created in context, sport is recognized as giving us “a sense of history, a sense of tradition, and a sense of identity” (Schultz, 2018, p. 1) and can facilitate “social inclusion” (p. 3). In the Western world, sport favored “former colonial powers . . . wealthy nations . . . those activities invented by and for men and in accordance with what we think of as ‘masculine’ attributes, such as strength, power, and aggression” (pp. 6-7). Culturally, men’s competitive sports became a site of community spirit and even national unity, captured by mainstream corporate media to indoctrinate generations of viewers and citizens, who recognized men’s sport as the location of this citizen role and responsibility (Staurowsky, 2016, p. xvi). However, sport organizations designed for promoting women in sport, like the National Organization for Women and Girls in Sport, offer a contrast this competitive framework with an inclusive mission (Ladda, 2009). This organization has remained active since its roots of formation in the late nineteenth century and collaborates with other organizations and efforts including the Girl Scouts of the USA, National Women’s Law Center, Women’s Sport Foundation, and the White House Council on Women and Girls. Even with such organizations in existence for so long, Daniels recognizes that “the lack of visibility of this [women’s] sporting involvement in the greater population made its reality moot” (p. xxii). Differences in opportunity in sport led to Title IX legislation in the US as a legally mandated structural mechanism for addressing this difference, recognized by some as “nearly as important to our nation’s history as the 19th amendment,” but unfortunately without the same impact as civil rights legislation (Staurowsky, 2016, p. 27).

Sport, in addition to being defined as entertainment, competition, and sociocultural phenomenon, is a political construct and human right. Sport was recognized as contributing to civic identity and pride after WWII, mostly within men’s leagues (Schultz, p. xvi); more recently, in the pandemic era of 2020, sport is seen as “a mouthpiece for the modern age, . . . proven, time and again, to be a prominent backdrop for diplomacy. Whether it’s an athlete protesting for social justice, or a politician rallying public support, the sporting arena presents a stage to express one’s own personal

outlooks” (Impey, 2020). In addition to US Title IX legislation, sport is also globally recognized as a human right by the Olympic Charter and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Schultz, 2018).

Yet control over women’s bodies has been at the root of constraints on sport for mind-body development and its benefits, which is why first-wave feminists advocated for physical fitness and mindful activity. Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s now canonized short story “The Yellow Wallpaper” (1892) infamously chronicled the mental effects of the Victorian era’s prescribed rest cure therapy, a common medical establishment solution to women’s nervousness championed by physician Dr. S. Weir Mitchell. Women who exerted themselves physically or mentally were said to diminish their bodily function of fertility, pregnancy, and birthing, and thus were forbidden to go outdoors or use their minds for creative endeavors. They were meant to rest themselves to wellness. Within this social context, Vertinsky (1989) argued, Gilman supported women’s physical fitness as a “strategy for emancipation” by examining “notions of mind-body relationships illustrate dominant modes of thought about female health and autonomy in the late nineteenth century” (pp. 6-7).

A Beecher family relative and child of a single mother, Gilman was driven toward self-dependence and strength, including physical fitness (Vertinsky, 1989, pp. 7-8), relying initially on the advice of William Blaikie’s *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So* (1879), which encouraged “daily physical exercise for both sexes and all ages but gave special attention to women’s needs” (p. 8). She implemented a regime of weightlifting, gymnastics, and running, identifying herself in her journal as, “I, the budding athlete” (p. 9). A reluctant wife and mother, she explored the link between mind and body fitness when her husband sought the support of Dr. Mitchell: “In mapping out the cure for Gilman’s nervous depression Dr. Mitchell reflected well the attitudes of a number of leading establishment male physicians of his era toward the ‘new woman’ . . . You cure the body and somehow the mind is also cured” (qtd. in Vertinsky, 1989, pp. 12 & 14). However, Mitchell’s approach aligned with keeping women’s bodies focused on their job of mothering rather than fitness, indicating a disjointed connection between mind and body. The prescribed rest cure “was a behavior modification treatment designed to make nervous, over-active and dissatisfied women more passive, feminine and healthy, and to help them learn that domesticity was the cure, not the cause, of their problems” (p.

15); in contrast, Gilman felt, “Mental and physical health . . . were so intimately connected that true growth could only occur when both aspects were allowed to develop” (p. 16). Her infamous story “The Yellow Wallpaper” (1892) reflected her mind-body struggle to resist the rest cure after she willingly accepted the medical prescription initially. Later, after divorcing and leaving her daughter to be raised with her ex-husband and his new wife, her novel *Herland* (1915) projected a utopian and mind-body balanced “healthfulness” for women (p. 25).

Resistance to gendered physical restrictions were in line with women’s independence and empowered thinking. For example, women’s ability to ride a bicycle in more free-wheeling fashion in the late twentieth century led to less restrictive attire and signaled that the physical limitations imposed upon them were correlated to their other contributions as full human beings:

Suddenly, women could travel on their own, without a chaperone. Out of necessity, they started dressing in a less-restrictive fashion; higher hemlines and bloomers became popular. They were getting a taste of freedom and an entrée into citizenship; they began to view themselves as having the right and responsibility to advocate for things like better roads. Why shouldn’t they get to cast a ballot too?
(Shapely, 2020)

Frances E. Willard, a leader in the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, which played an active role within first-wave feminism, was an advocate of bicycling who wrote about it being a catalyst for more empowerment: “I began to feel that myself plus the bicycle equaled myself plus the world, upon whose spinning-wheel we must all learn to ride” (p. 27). Susan B. Anthony is said to have claimed the bicycle had “done more to emancipate women than anything else in the world” (Bly ctd. in Parks Pieper, 2020, p. 103), and Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s names were attached to an often-printed statement in periodicals of the time that “woman is riding to suffrage on the bicycle” (Lafrance, 2014). Similarly, the suffrage hikes Schultz (2010) researched focused on “physical activism” with political aims to raise women’s consciousness about their voice.

In the twenty-first century, in great contrast to that earlier era when sport activity for women was perceived as radical, fitness and athleticism are now recognized by most as a way to balance

and strengthen the whole person, regardless of gender or other intersectional standpoint difference; however, some still see the double-binds, controversies, and barriers as relegating female athletes as “second-class citizens” (Staurowsky, 2016, p. xii). When the Victorian era rest cure theory was challenged, leisure and sports were typically associated with those with means and privilege (Morris, 2016); Daniels (2016) recognizes that passive, non-competitive activities were emphasized for girls in the twentieth century rather than team sports, but this was primarily a class based phenomenon, with working classes emphasizing strength in competition more often than elite and white privileged classes. As Staurowsky (2016), whose edited collection examines sport as “a journey of liberation and as celebration” (p. xii), suggests, “sport has often served as the site where social struggles around race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, and gender have played out in both overtly public and subtly private ways” (p. xi).

Early efforts with women’s sport were not yet intersectional; Parks Pieper (2020) recognizes, as our history of suffrage reflects, that race was a contested issue amid these efforts: “Thus, in many ways, participation in physical activities embodied the spirit of the women’s suffrage movement, as well as its racialized dynamics” (p. 103). In her analysis of how suffragettes used the white male dominant realm of baseball to promote suffrage by hosting “Suffrage Days” at games, Parks Pieper (2020) cites research that indicates how women used “physical activities as a way to support their right to vote” (p. 101), using the community around sport and the attention it garnered as a way to raise awareness about the subject of suffrage.

Building awareness through physical activism generated the necessary social and communication capital that furthered suffrage efforts. Jeffres, Jian, and Yoon (2013) conceptually draw on social capital, which “consists of the stock of active connections among people, the trust, and shared values that bind people into networks and make cooperative action possible” (p. 542), in proposing communication capital to help us “understand the impact of communication phenomena in a changing environment” (p. 539). *Communication capital* recognizes that realms or competencies of communication cannot be understood or practiced in segregated ways. Instead, communicators must be competent and capable in the following multifaceted ways so they can navigate the spectrum of communication needed to have a voice within a collective society that is media-driven yet in need of civil interaction:

Ruminski & Ciletti

1. Interpersonal discussion of social problems and programs among family and friends, in the workplace, and in the neighborhood and community.
2. Discussion of social problems and programs in the non-work organizational context.
3. Attention to public issues and business in the media.
4. Using media for civic engagement. (Jeffres, Jian, & Yoon, 2013, p. 556)

Women have used this variety of approaches to perform with a collective consciousness that supports both social capital and communication capital, particularly when the performance of voting is an act of communicating that they are indeed citizens. Ray (2007) recognizes the public performance that suffragists in the late nineteenth century US participated in when they registered to vote and voted, in this way “performing a participatory argument in an ongoing public controversy about the parameters of the polity” in a post-Civil War context when voting was “a visibly public and communal activity” (p. 1). Women showed up at voting polls in the late 1860s and the 1870s, “Representing themselves as physical examples of the category ‘citizen’ and invoking the political power of a recognizable ritual of citizenship, they performed a reverential commitment to the sacredness of the form and the political institutions that it upheld” (p. 2).

This was in contrast to the early voting rituals participated in by men only, which sounded much like militant team sports:

Adherents wore the colors of their parties, canvassed friends and neighbors, and heard, read, and spoke a rhetoric of militance in which contending “armies” battled for victory, led by “commanders” at “headquarters” and buttressed by the support of “troops” among the “rank and file.” (multiple authors; ctd. in Ray, p. 2)

Ray reminds us that “[s]uch appropriated rituals were performed as participatory, persuasive argument in an ongoing public controversy about the parameters of the U.S. polity” (p. 2) with women “representing themselves as physical examples of the category ‘citizen’ and invoking the political power of a recog-

nizable ritual of citizenship” to perform “a reverential commitment to the sacredness of the form and the political institutions that it upheld” (p. 3). Mind and body were at the center of these performances of natural rights expression of citizenship: “The voting efforts of disenfranchised women, then, were not only the most physically confrontational suffrage activism prior to the parades, pickets, and hunger strikes of the early twentieth century. They also showcased argumentative and tactical conflicts of the woman suffrage movement during the tumultuous Reconstruction era” (p. 3). These efforts at communication capital represented “individual action emerging from personal networks and collective decision-making,” or social capital (p. 6).

Trailblazers transformed the performance of suffrage and initiated constitutional change; today women athletes are publicly performing their collective voice through voter engagement campaigns that are often coordinated as team or broader league efforts. It is not only positional leadership in sport making these changes, but also educational and grassroots opportunities through subsequent waves of feminism and other intersectional justice efforts that support women’s participation and leadership in sport and civic society. In the twenty-first century, focus has shifted to broader issues of social justice, so a greater range of social and communication capital is needed, a recognition that different historical moments require showing up to perform in different yet parallel ways.

Women Following and Leading through Resistance: From Suffrage to Social Justice

Sport has significant impact on business and society. Kelley and Tian (2004) write that “most of our lives are touched daily in some respects by sports, whether we realize it or not” (p. 27). In fact, some argue that “sports have replaced formal religion as a dominant force in the lives of many Americans” (Beck, 1994, p. 244). With this reach, sport organizations and sport leaders hold credibility and trust within society, which enables them to magnify voices for social change advocacy.

Several examples of women who have broken the glass ceiling of male-dominated sport leagues now exist; examples in 2020 alone include Emily Zaler, who became the first coach for the National Football League’s (NFL’s) Denver Broncos, alongside other recent women in the league:

Ruminski & Ciletti

Zaler joins a growing group of full-time female coaches in the NFL that now includes the 49ers' Katie Sowers (offensive assistant), the Buccaneers' Maral Javadifar (assistant strength and conditioning) and Lori Locust (assistant defensive line), and the Browns' Callie Brownson (chief of staff). (Legwold, 2020)

Kim Ng was recently hired as the first woman to be a general manager for the Major League Baseball (MLB) team (the Miami Marlins); even with this act, that all American institution earned a “B” grade by the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports (Connor, 2020) since there are still so few women in major leadership roles in the league.

While these breakthroughs represent a shift in positional leadership in sport, others have measured the culture of the sport by its accessibility as a human right for all athletes regardless of leadership rank. Referencing the United Nations General Assembly’s 2003 special resolution suggesting “sport as a means to promote education, health, development, and peace,” Goss and Alexandrova (2005, p. 54) note that the UN and non-governmental organizations including Right to Play founded by Olympic gold medalist Johann Koss use sport to promote peace. The UN continues to recognize the role that sport plays in economic and social development; its 2030 Agenda provides direct reference to the role of sport:

Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives. (United Nations General Assembly, 2015, paragraph 37)

Sport has a history of breaking down barriers, suggesting that athletes serve as change agents and risk-takers, as mind-body mechanisms for social change. Initially, mainstream sport and media recognized men of color breaking down barriers; later, women stepped into barrier breaking and took it to the next level. First it was playing the game, embodying the opportunity to be an equal on the playing field; later it included engaging the team,

fan base, and even public in civic engagement and in some cases the politics of identity and justice.

Through public campaigns during sport events, athletes are able to raise awareness of social issues. The “Final4Fairness” campaign during the NCAA men’s Final Four Championship in Indiana opposed anti-LGBT legislation in that state, which led to Indiana’s governor amending the law. Student-athletes continue to become more aware of social injustice and are willing to play a role in working toward change starting from emphasizing attitudes and positive behavior that sport brings such as values of respect, fairness, inclusivity, and teamwork. In addition, partnership with various organizations and crafting personal narratives can foster social change (Melton, 2015). Athletes are showing up in mind and body on the field and on campus, for example, educating and advocating around civic engagement through the Big Ten’s Voter Registration Initiative, in which athletes lead campus efforts to register student voters and inform students regarding the voting process (Ryan, 2020).

Athletes don’t just support social change through preplanned campaigns; they generate awareness and drive social change through intentional acts, showing up in mind and body as individuals. We are well aware of examples of athletes who are men who have promoted social change: Jackie Robinson broke racial barriers and was known as a civil rights pioneer in the U.S. as the first African-American to play MLB as a member of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 (Guardian Staff); more recently, tension connected to showing up in mind and body were illuminated through Colin Kaepernick’s performance in the NFL both to play football and to generate awareness around racial violence. In 2016, he sat and later knelt during the playing of the national anthem before NFL games as an act of civil disobedience in silent protest of police brutality and oppression of people of color. He faced significant criticism and ultimately remains an unsigned free agent (Rapinoe, 2016).

Unfortunately, the double bind for women has often been stronger than marginalized men have faced. Gertrude Ederle and Serena Williams are women who showed up in mind and body, separated by nearly a century, breaking barriers and shifting norms in performance, in fashion, and in society. Ederle demonstrated the ability of women to excel in sport performance, breaking swimming records held by men and becoming the first woman to successfully swim the English Channel in 1926, demonstrating both

the mental and physical capability to overcome women's perceived inferiority while claiming agency over her appearance and identity. She bobbed her hair, listened to jazz, and completed a significant feat during a historical moment in which sport and competitiveness were valued in American culture, yet women were viewed as inferior, a moment "when many found it difficult to take women seriously" (Severo, 2003). At the same time, covering a woman's body was prioritized over safe and effective attire, and sport associations supporting women were increasing in number to provide opportunities as well as address concerns including appropriate athletic fashion for women. Prior to her second (and successful) attempt to swim the English Channel a few years after ratification of the 19th amendment, Ederle resisted the notion of the traditional swimsuit which, at that time, was designed to cover the body loosely with heavy fabric that took on water. Instead, Ederle claimed agency over her appearance, designing and wearing what was to her a "decent" two-piece swimsuit that would not detract from her ability to swim (Severo, 2003) but to others was "nearly scandalous" (Stout, 2009). Her appearance was a focus of then-president Calvin Coolidge when he congratulated her on her achievement, commenting that he was "amazed that a woman of [her] stature should be able to swim the English Channel" (Severo, 2003). This is not far from the vast amount of media coverage dedicated to scandalous bloomer length for women cyclists in the late nineteenth century (LaFrance, 2014).

Similarly, Williams showed up to play tennis and claim her body as her own, regularly choosing to play in attire outside the norm. Claiming agency over her appearance, the full-body catsuit she wore to the French Open in 2018 served a functional purpose—she had recently given birth and shared that the catsuit would help prevent blood clots—and provided an aesthetic outside the tennis norm for women. Williams commented that it made her feel "like a superhero" (Maitland, 2020). Following her appearance in the catsuit, French Open president Bernard Giudicelli announced a move to reduce this kind of agency, suggesting that the catsuit had "gone too far" and that player attire would be regulated through implementation of a new dress code (Associated Press, 2018). Williams continues to use her voice to support women and speak out against systemic prejudice both in tennis and in society and promote those who are marginalized through her venture capital firm and her fashion line (Maitland, 2020).

Agency for women athletes has expanded beyond eliminating

limited perceptions based on attire. Soccer star Megan Rapinoe advocates for equal pay, voting rights, and social justice, representing the fourth wave of feminism and its use of communication capital through social media to advocate for social change and engage fellow athletes and fans alike. Rapinoe, whose calls for social justice for the GLBTQ+ and BIPOC communities have been magnified since the Women's Soccer team World Cup fourth win in 2019, most recently called on students to vote (McInerney, 2020). Rapinoe suggested that women form a voting plan and called for solidarity: "We need more focus on Black women, working moms, immigrants, essential workers, domestic workers, and service workers. Lifting them up eventually lifts everyone up. We *know* that" (ctd. in Singer, 2020).

Recognized by Wingard (2019) as a "lateral leader," Rapinoe emphasizes horizontal leadership while she maintains focus on expertise/athletic skill, relationship building, and empathizing, being the one of the first athletes outside of American Football to kneel in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick's Black Lives Matters efforts (NBC Sports, Sports Northwest). In 2016, in a piece titled "Why I am Kneeling," she acknowledged that an athlete's role is not relegated to the field: "I haven't experienced over-policing, racial profiling, police brutality or the sight of a family member's body lying dead in the street . . . But I cannot stand idly by while there are people in this country who have had to deal with that kind of heartache...I am choosing to do something. I am choosing to care."

These examples demonstrate the ongoing ability of women in sport to impact issues of social justice. Rather than managing the tension between athleticism and hegemonic femininity by reinforcing gender hierarchies, Ederle, Williams, and Rapinoe resisted, demonstrating agency over appearance and identity politics, showing up in mind and body, in contrast with the "feminine apologetic" of an earlier era when women compensated for their involvement in male domain matters by enhancing their feminine or even heterosexual qualities (Shultz, 2018, p. 48). From these examples of swimming, tennis, and soccer, women in sport continue to push for agency over body and mind, wearing less-restrictive attire, advocating for agency and justice, and demonstrating capability through mind-body performance. Women athletes are showing up to embrace social justice opportunities from a collective rather than narcissistic perspective, pushing the boundaries of their role on the field to impact social justice off the field. The phenomenon of sport is that it gives women ath-

letes an opportunity to intersect their place in the world both through mind-body performance on the field or in the arena as well as in the marketplace. Women in sport have contributed to the history of how our nation has found its collective consciousness when it comes to suffrage and social justice and have kept the focus on how sport contributes to societal expectations that are not just economic but also equitable.

New Paradigm: Women's Interactive, Intersectional Mind-Body Leadership Performance

Dialectical tensions help navigate internal, personal double binds of anima/animus as well as external binds that arise from representation and participation in older paradigms of leadership. A new paradigm is emerging that can be correlated with the work of those promoting a shift from the glass ceiling metaphor to the labyrinth metaphor of women's leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Ruminski and Holba, 2012). Leadership, as in sport, requires both individual performance, participation, and achievement while supporting the performance, participation, and achievement of others on the team (or within democracy). In other words, women athletes and effective citizen leaders know they have to be individually competent as well as "play well with others."

Today, sport and women's empowerment are different; bifurcated gender distinctions aren't the same as early emancipation and suffrage work because we now integrate more comprehensive gendered realities and intersectional expectations. The emphasis on fans consuming sport as passive forms entertainment often fixated on interpersonal player conflicts that promulgate divisive rhetoric has come to a head in recent years. Opportunities exist for this passivity and focus on adversarial relationships to shift toward more participatory perceptions of fan-athlete relationships that position athletes as whole humans with mind-body agency. Women's leadership in sport has begun to shift the perception of women's contributions in sport as well as overall expectations for sport. While economic impact and player and team statistics, particularly wins, are still prominent in media communications about sport, sport organizational communication contributes to greater cultural impact and offers opportunities to shift the experience and perception of sport leadership. These impacts are increasingly recognized through research on sport as well as media coverage.

"Showing up to perform" in mind and body as an athlete models

leadership that moves toward more mindful performance of both athleticism and democracy. Rather than showing up, being patriotic entertainment, or fulfilling some prescribed civic identity, there is a shift from a hierarchical to labyrinthian framework for negotiating human capital and public performance. Showing up mindfully can help athletes more intentionally form collective sport identity that brings them into interaction with their fan bases and sport industry, which formally wanted to keep control of players behaviors if not their views (consider the widespread backlash to taking a knee during the National Anthem). Women in sport who focus on collective consciousness that unites around social justice have the potential to mobilize organizations and fans for justice. While sport is often missing its live public fans in this pandemic era physically, the fans are there mindfully; sport and civic media can play an important role to move from narcissistic individualistic uses of social media by athletes to collective consciousness of athletes and fans together.

Public performance of public sport and voice draws on communities of memory to build consciousness and culture. Mullin, Hardy, and Sutton (2007) note “enjoyment of sport...is almost always a function of interaction with other people” (p. 14), suggesting that few watch the Super Bowl alone as an example that illustrates the centrality of social facilitation to sport. While an exchange generally includes an economic investment, the sports exchange, particularly considering professional sports teams, includes a significant social investment (Wakefield, 2007). This includes identity derived from a connection with the team, the emotional involvement related to uncertainty that is experienced with others in a social setting, and the overall interaction and relational impact of sport spectatorship through the group experience. Underwood et. al (2001) suggest that “the fan experience is intensified in the presence of others” (p. 5), and these shared, lived experiences that occur through sport events provide social connections. Stotlar (2002) concurs, noting that socialization is associated with consumption of sports, and this “sense of kinship or affiliation” (Hoeffler & Keller, 2002, p. 81) with those who are similarly associated with the brand provides a kind of social capital.

Zheng (2020) claims employees and customers alike are looking for more than social responsibility in their organizational and consumer experiences of corporate products and services. This reveals a shift in the politics of what civic engagement. More than “social issues marketing, philanthropic efforts, employee

volunteer initiatives, and diversity and inclusion work” (policies and training), organizational stakeholders are “raising the bar” to focus on corporate social justice efforts that promote “a more just society,” highlighting increasing focus on collective consciousness of particular key values or ethical or moral standards. The idea is to “leverage their influence” to reflect and support the communities in which these companies, and in the case of sports, teams and leagues, are embedded.

Social justice’s more pronounced emergence in sport through athlete’s individual and collective mind-body performance reveals a culture that is beginning to shift through equitable opportunities to engage in shaping that culture. The culture that is emerging resists overemphasis of the economic impact of sport that has favored certain (male) teams because they are consumed or valued more economically. The trend in sport leadership through these examples is that women athletes, not just industry leaders, are moving away from self-important narcissistic communication focused on personal or even team status toward the collective interests of society. This helps to shift the culture of sport. In this context, balance, commitment, and resilience become evident as priorities shift from a focus on economic demands and control. Women recognize they must often do more and cannot do it all, so they must decide how to focus their energies. This is what mind-body performance is about—assessing and maintaining the mind and body’s ability to perform. In the past, women faced restrictions that limited control of their bodies and minds; today, many have gained control through sport and civic engagement and now are more often viewed as whole persons with a significant and equal role to play in society.

Sport continues to lead, giving voice to voter engagement initiatives through preplanned collective initiatives and individual efforts. Stacy Abram’s recent efforts in Georgia for voter rights found support through the civic leadership of athletes; in this context, sport has to keep up in how voter disenfranchisement is a focus now and how sport is one aspect of a broader cultural and political revolution that is unfolding to meet and mend the divisions we face in the United States. The N.B.A.’s Detroit Pistons met with voting rights activist Abrams, founder of Fair Fight, as the team implemented initiatives “promoting informed participation in the electoral process” (Ellis, 2020). Abrams reminded the Pistons that our social contract includes making “certain every person in our country, every citizen has the voice necessary to select representatives who can speak for us” (Ellis, 2020). Pis-

tons' voter engagement initiatives included using sports facilities as polling places, internal employee volunteer programs, partnering with the Secretary of State's office in public service announcements focused on voter education, and featuring a voter registration page on their team website that could feature voter registration events (Ellis, 2020).

N.B.A. star LeBron James collaborated with other professional athletes to found More Than A Vote to combat racial injustice, voter apathy, and suppression, with plans to partner with Abrams' Fair Fight, acknowledging his focus on using his platform for social justice (Martin, 2020). More Than A Vote recruited more than 10,000 volunteer poll workers (Kim, 2020), "donat [ed] \$100,000 to the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition to help pay outstanding fines and fees for people with felonies seeking to vote in Florida" (Rachko, 2020), and developed a show-within-the-game, 2KTV within NBA 2k21 to blend "historical context to educate gamers on why they should make a plan to vote," with the first episode featuring ESPN analyst Maria Taylor and "her own experiences witnessing voter suppression" (Baker, 2020).

Collegiate sport is also demonstrating leadership in voter engagement. For example, the Big Ten conference implemented a Voter Registration Initiative in which athletes use their platform to promote civic engagement and voter registration. The Big Ten recruited athletes from all 14 of its member schools to lead the effort. Collegiate golfer Ali Morillos serves as a leader on her Illinois campus, noting that "[as] athletes, we have an opportunity to have an incredible impact and platform" (Ryan, 2020). At the University of San Francisco, Megan Rapinoe showed up to encourage civic engagement and voter participation on campus through the University's Silk Speaker Series, acknowledging the value of student voices and imploring students to get involved because they are "going to be the future. You're going to have to save us" (McInerney, 2020). Even at the Division 2 level, efforts are being made; during the 2020 presidential election, for example, Frostburg State University's Student Athlete Advisory Council (SAAC) Civic Engagement Subcommittee and Student Development & Success Office in the FSU Athletic Department worked to register the state university's 22 teams. While this effort involves all teams, the efforts were recently led by women. Women's suffrage efforts have come full circle to embrace social justice efforts as well as resume efforts to support voting rights today, in this case with a recognition of intersectionality and coalition building across major and collegiate levels rather than a

narrow focus on women's voices alone. The culture of sport will continue to be co-created and is open to interpretation and participation in the twenty-first century.

Conclusion: Sport as Facilitator of Civic Capital

A centennial after suffrage, voting rights are still embattled and those on the playing field continue to lead efforts to retain and foster those rights. What started as suffrage is now focused on "voter engagement." Communication capital remains important to women's civic capital for athletes and fans. Women athletes' performance of civic agency and collective effort needs to embody all forms of communication capital. Communication capital leads to capacity for civic capital. Conceptually drawing on social capital and communication capital, civic capital points to the resources, norms, practices, and processes needed for enhanced civic capacity to create and sustain social change that is informed by intersectional distributive understandings of justice and deliberative inquiry (Carcasson & Sprain, 2016).

Women's empowerment and equity will rely on local and global, government and non-governmental, fan and athlete partnerships. By highlighting pioneering women athletes and athletic organizational missions alongside men, their organizations, and their efforts through a significant interactive presence on social media, sport projects an empowered future for girls by featuring women athletes who have been fighting for social justice on various fronts. The work of empowering women in sport will require continued support for women's mind-body performance and individual and collective leadership efforts. Women athletes' holistic contributions and how that influences social and political institutions to support diversity, equity, and inclusion will be increasingly relevant to democracy, citizenship, and the sociocultural institution of sport.

Voting is performance, and just as in sport, it is performance of physical ability as well as an act of conscience mind. Voting will continue to support performance of agency within democracy, while justice grows to create performance of collective consciousness. Across US history, women athletes have moved toward a commitment to showing up with their own minds and bodies for themselves and their sisters. An increasingly cross-intersectional effort will be important in coming decades. Past and recent leadership by women athletes suggests women in sport will continue to support democracy alongside coalitions of di-

verse others who align with common social justice goals.

Note

- 1) The four waves of feminism in US history began with mid-nineteenth century calls for women's natural rights by mostly privileged and heterogeneous women's groups and evolved to include intersectional perspectives, including men's voices and BIPOC and GLBTQ+ interests, by the early twenty-first century. See *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (2010) edited by Nancy A. Hewitt or recent work by Roxane Gay and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie among others for more on changing interpretations of the Western feminist movement.

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