

## How Women Can Fulfill Career Goal Despite the Oppression by Gender Norm: Lesson from Hillary Clinton's Life as First Lady

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### 抄録

本稿では、ヒラリー・クリントンの大統領夫人時代を通し、アメリカのジェンダー規範である「共和国の母」に着目し、ヒラリーがどのように大統領夫人としてジェンダー規範と向き合ってきたのかを考察する。検証においては、ヒラリーの自伝「リビング・ヒストリー」と大統領夫人に関する文献、そしてヒラリーの評価調査を Discourse Analysis を使用して解明する。第1章では、序論としてアメリカの理想の女性像、ヒラリー・クリントンという人物の概要について述べる。第2章では、アメリカ社会で理想の女性像とされてきた「共和国の母」の概念から、理想の大統領夫人像について解明する。歴史的に大統領夫人はアメリカ人女性の模範として機能し、家族を支える妻としての役割を期待されてきた。そのため、彼女たちの主な活動範囲は「家庭」に限られ、政治活動に関わることは好ましくないものであった。このような活動範囲の制限が彼女たちの「もがき」に繋がった。第3章1節では、ヒラリーの幼少期を通して彼女の政治的関心の根源を解明し、白人中流階級家庭生まれとしての彼女の特権性について述べる。第2節では大統領夫人時代に直面した問題について、大統領夫人としての役割の境界違反とダブルバインドから検討する。彼女の政治的関心が大統領夫人としての役割の範囲を超越し、批判を生んだ。1992年の夫ビル・クリントンの選挙の際には有権者から「政治に対して積極的すぎる」として非難を浴びた。その結果、大統領夫人時代の彼女は political interloper として表象されることになった。第3節では、1994年の医療保険制度改正失敗と1997年のルインスキー・スキャンダルにおけるヒラリーの対応、そして2000年の上院議員への立候補を分析することを通し、彼女がどのように「大統領夫人としての期待」と「自身の政治参加への関心」との折り合いをつけてきたのかを解明する。大統領夫人初期は医療保険改革問題特別専門委員会の委員長に就任するなど、積極的に政治に参加していたヒラリーであるが、廃案後は自身の大統領夫人としての行き過ぎた政治参加を見直し、政治参加をしない「象徴としての」大統領夫人を演じるようになった。さらに夫ビルの不倫騒動発覚後、彼女は夫を支える妻を演じた。このことから、彼女は危機を乗り越えるために理想の大統領夫人像に追随し、大統領夫人としてアメリカ社会から認められることを選んだのである。一方でヒラリーは、大統領夫人でありながら上院議員に就任するなど、彼女なりにキャリアを叶えることに成功した。キャリアウーマンという言葉が多く使用されるようになり、様々な分野において女性の活躍が注目される昨今において、ヒラリー・クリントンの大統領夫人としての人生から、女性がどのようにジェンダー規範と向き合っていくのかという指針を検証する。

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Lately, women have come to play active roles in various fields in Japan. In 2015, The Japanese government also enacted law called “The Act on Promotion of Women’s Participation and Advancement in the Workplace”. The law obliges companies with 301 or more employees to set numerical targets for the employment and promotion of women. During the 1980s in Japan, it was common for women to quit jobs after marriage. Eight percent companies had early retirement programs for women. Within the financial industry, the percentage increased up to 20.2 percent. It was really hard for women to keep working and develop a career. Along with the government policy, however, Japanese companies are also trying to support women to develop their career these days. Women who develop a career are called “Career Woman” in Japan. According to Ravenna Helson (1972), the definition of a career woman is one who found a primary avenue of self-expression in the work world. The very term “career woman” suggested pretentiousness or hard-boiled insensitivity and rejection of femininity (p.36). Therefore, career woman is usually portrayed as a woman who is too aggressive. They try to develop career even after marriage and giving birth. Therefore, they are different from previous women who quit jobs after marriage or giving birth in terms of career development. At the same time, the way to utilize the career women’s skills is big issue in Japanese society and economy today. Even though the government is trying to change working condition for women, there is still strong influence of gender role which make it difficult for women to show their real capabilities. Madoka Nakano (2016) says, there are two pressures toward working women: the pressure for self-fulfillment, and the pressure to give birth and keep working. The first pressure is the result of individual-oriented education and career education. The second pressure is the result of countermeasures to the falling birthrate. In addition, the second pressure contains the aspect of gender role which consider raising children as women’s job. Even if women want to develop their career, they might be exhausted because of this double pressure and lose their passion toward working (p.12).

What about American women? In the Unites States, there is civic virtue called “Republican Motherhood”, and it has been restricting American women. According to Republican Motherhood, ideal woman is who is dedicated to the service of civic virtue (Kerber, 1976, p.202). Besides, in American society it is often considered that true woman is “pious, pure, submissive, domestic, and naturally religious” (Parry, 2002, p.573). Republican Motherhood and true womanhood are the foundation of ideal women in the United States, and it has influenced successive First Ladies as well.

The term First Lady is used to refer to a woman who married to the American president.

According to Watson (2003), the study of the First Lady appeared and advanced in the late 1980s. These were mainly about First Lady's crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries (p.439). Meanwhile, First Lady is not an official institution and her position is not outlined in the constitution. First Ladies have usually been expected to be ideal women representative of American women. Their primary role is supporting the president and removing domestic or family distractions. It is unfavorable for a First Lady to get involved with any political issues. However, there were some First Ladies who challenged this norm and actively engaged in social issues. Among them, Hillary Rodham Clinton was an especially remarkable woman in terms of women's empowerment in the male domain, in particular, politics and the work place. She was the wife of President Bill Clinton and served as First Lady from 1993 to 2001. While she was First Lady, she challenged moving from just a spouse of the U.S. president to a U.S. candidate. Indeed, she succeeded. It was historical moment, she became the first First Lady got elected into an office. Furthermore, after serving as a U.S. senator, she ran campaigned for president twice, in 2008 and 2016. It was a significant event in American history for the first time, which a woman came very close to becoming the leader of the United States. The following is an excerpt from her concession speech during the 2008 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination:

Although we weren't able to shatter that highest, hardest glass ceiling this time, thanks to you, it's got about 18 million cracks in it, and the light is shining through like never before, filling us all with the hope and the sure knowledge that the path will be a little easier next time. (The Guardian, 2008)

"Glass ceiling" was her key word during the presidential campaign as she advocated for American women. This was a memorable speech in the United States in the terms of the women's empowerment. Even though she did not win the election, she demonstrated women's hope to expand their domain in the society and the world.

As a First Lady, she advocated especially for Health Care Reform and gender equality. Her speech about women's rights at Beijing in 1995 was remarkable: "Human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights" (Clinton, 1996, p.100). She also played an active role as a symbol of the human rights movement. Not just being the symbol of campaigns as First lady, she preferred to suggest concrete solutions and working out policies by herself.

Clinton was not interested in "feminine hobbies", such as cooking and decorating the house. Her interests were mainly toward political matters. For instance, as First Lady, she insisted to have her office in the West Wing of the White House, where political decision-making takes place. It was the first time in the history of First Lady that a First Lady had her

own office in the West Wing. First Ladies traditionally only had offices in the East Wing. In addition, she served as the head of the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. This was the first time that a First Lady served as a policy maker for a major administration initiative. Taking advantage of the popularity of Hillary, the Democrat party asked her to run in the Senate campaign in 2000 and she agreed to stand as a candidate. Eventually, she won the campaign. This was the first time that a First Lady sought and won elected office in the U.S. Senate (Lim, 2009, p.254). Because of her active engagement in political issues and indifference toward housework, she was often castigated for being pushy, meddlesome, and even “bitchy” (Anderson, 2002, p. 106). Such negative perceptions promoted an image of her as presidential advisor, instead of the more traditional First Lady roles of “loyal helpmate and attentive mother” (Burns, 2008, p.141).

Hillary had to handle the balance between perusing her political career and being an ideal American woman. Her life as First Lady is a good example of women’s challenges with gender norms and gender roles. It also suggests how women can tackled the challenge in pursuing their career goals while navigating gender norms and roles of the society. In this thesis, I would like to suggest how women can manage the struggle in present society by analyzing the life of Hilary Rodham Clinton. For this purpose, I utilize discourse analysis to examine Hillary Clinton’s autobiography, *Living History* (2003), previous research includes documents about First Lady; Hilary Clinton; and the survey of social evaluation of Hillary Clinton.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. In Chapter 1, as introduction, I mention about American ideal womanhood and the brief history of Hillary Rodham Clinton. In chapter 2, I will analyze ideal First Lady through Republican Motherhood. In the first section of Chapter 3, I will analyze the roots of Hillary’s political interests and mention her privilege as white-middle class. In Section 2, I will verify Hillary’s challenge as First Lady, focusing on boundary-violating aspect and double-binds. In Section 3, I will analyze how Hillary handled the struggle between her political ambition and social expectation as First Lady through the failure of Health Care Reform in 1994 and Lewinsky scandal in 1997, and nomination for U.S. Senate in 2000. In Chapter 4, as conclusion, I will suggest how women can fulfill their career goal under the gendered society from Hillary’s life as First Lady.

## **Chapter 2: Republican Motherhood and ideal First Lady**

“Republican Motherhood” is an important concept when analyzing the role of the First Lady, in the United States. The concept of Republican Motherhood first appeared in literature from the 1790s to 1830s, it defined certain women as a member of the nation. At that time, women had been considered as a possession of their husband and they did not have any property rights under the coverture law. After the American Revolution of 1783, the republican government considered family as the foundation of nation and stressed out the importance of family. It was during this time that women were able to gain a new political role as Republican Mothers, and they began to have the right to some decision making in the home. This provided them with the greater opportunity to have interests in social and cultural issues. However, their activities were mostly only allowed within domestic sphere.

According to Linda K. Kerber (1976), The Republican Mother’s life was dedicated to the service of civic virtue: “she educated her sons for it; she condemned and corrected her husband’s lapses from it” (p.202). In short, women were expected to be good mothers and wives who supported the family and their domain was still limited within the house.

Republican Motherhood, however, also extended the women’s domain by making it possible for women to participate in civic culture. The role as a Republican Mother gave them rights to have influential voices within house. Through Republican Motherhood, women gradually gained a voice at home. It also let more women to participate in political and cultural issues within their community. They mainly engaged in church services, charities, and education activities. Such activities were seen as suitable for women by society. These activities reified women’s prescribed political and patriotic role as Republican Mother (Parry, 2003, p.573). Women were able to engage in activities, as long as they played the role as Republican Mother. As Kerber says, Republican Motherhood has both function to empower and oppress women.

For one woman, Republican Motherhood might mean an extension of vistas; for another it could be stifling. The ambivalent relationship between motherhood and citizenship would be one of the most lasting, and most paradoxical, legacies of the revolutionary generation. (Kerber, 1976, p.205)

Even when women engage in political issue, it should be a domestic issue. There is no freedom for women in the real sense. This paradox causes women to struggle and it even affects First Ladies.

During the 1820s to 1860s, Republican Motherhood intersected with notions of the “true woman”. The virtue of “true woman” emphasized “piety, purity, submissiveness and

domesticity.” Without them, even if a woman succeeds to get wealth, all was ashes. With them the woman was promised happiness and power (Welter, 1966, p.152). American women were required to fit into the image of the ideal women which reflects Republican Motherhood and “true woman”. She needed to be a good mother and wife who support her family and meet four virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. In addition, her area of activity must be within the home and she was not allowed to go over the boundary. I would like to mention, however, that this ideal womanhood is mainly relevant to upper-middle-class white women. Black women and working class white women, who worked as slave or under dangerous conditions, were excluded from this ideal womanhood. Because American society had considered them as just labor, not as ladies who need to be ideal women. Moreover, Black people in general were considered as not pure just because of their race.

This ideal female image has affected American women, including First Lady. First Ladies were expected to support the president and remove domestic or family distractions for him, and her domain should be limited within home. Even though her life is under the public spotlight, and she lives in White House where the nation’s secret information is treated, she should concentrate on domestic issues. It was considered inappropriate for the First Ladies to engage in any political issues. In the environment, First Ladies took the values of Republican Motherhood to their public volunteerism. Public service, such as volunteerism, was considered as reflection of Republican Motherhood. Therefore, First Ladies have used the norm in order to rationalize their public engagement. For instance, 4<sup>th</sup> First Lady Dolley Madison preformed the Republican Motherhood role of caring for the nation’s children (Parry, 2002, p.573). While First Ladies could engage in public activity by using Republican Motherhood, the notion limited their political activity and never allowed step into political arena. According to Burns (2008), their political influence was often tempered by the Republican Motherhood notion that these women were serving as mere helpmates to their husbands rather than political actors in their own right, keeping their actions safely contained within the private realm (p.21). While Republican Motherhood made it possible for First Lady to engage in public service, the notion also strengthens the boundary between First Lady’s and political domain.

First Lady is not an official institution and their status have been unstable and shifting as American society has changed. According to Lisa M. Burns (2008), who wrote *First ladies and fourth estate: press framing of presidential wives*, there have been ways to imagine First Ladies since the foundation of nation: 1) public women, 2) political celebrity, 3) political activist, and 4) political interloper. Around the birth of First Lady institution, she was often portrayed as a queen, a republican mother, a Jebel by media. Then, after the Civil War, they were considered as the center of social debate over women’s role. There were some First Ladies who were

publicly active, such as Mary Todd Lincoln (1861-1865). She was praised by some newspapers as a patriot for her volunteerism during the war. She visited to Union hospitals, where she delivered flowers, food, and sympathy to wounded and dying soldiers. She also donated to the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which raised money for soldiers; and worked for the Contraband Relief Association, which provided aid to freed slaves flooding the nation's capital. From the time of President Roosevelt (1933-1945), First Ladies took initiatives to engage in social issues that are outside of "domestic issues", such as women's suffrage and policy measures for urban slum communities. American society began to consider First Ladies as public figures around this time. The way to imagine the First Ladies shifted to celebrity between 1932 and 1961; and to political activist between 1964 and 1977. Finally, they were considered as political interlopers from 1980 to 2001. Some First Ladies, such as Hillary Rodham Clinton, were criticized for "too aggressive" engagement in political issues. As Burns (2008) mentions, the social image of First Lady has been quite fluid and this relate to the unstable of the First Lady's role.

According to Caroli (2001, cited in Kelley), First Ladies have mirrored the status of American women of their time, symbolizing the "new" or "modern" of her era, while simultaneously shaping expectations of what future women might do and become (p. x vi). First Ladies have reflected both the traditional and modern gender roles of American society. With no exact rules or guide lines for the role of First Lady. This continues to cause First lady's unstable status and controversies over their actions and roles.

Social images toward First Ladies have shifted in each era, but one foundation has never changed. It is the idea that it's unfavorable to engage in political issues which are the male domain, and her primary role is to support her husband. In other words, First Ladies are required to be Republican Mother whose domain remain within domestic matters. According to Parry (2002), if she does not meet the social expectation and crossed the line of First Lady's role, she was often criticized (p.581). Hence, First Ladies had to balance and reconcile the role as First Lady. These limitations of their roles caused struggles for First Ladies, especially Hillary Rodham Clinton who notably faced gender specific criticism as First Lady.

### **Chapter3: The life of Hillary Clinton as First Lady**

#### **1. Background of Hillary's political ambition**

Before considering Hillary's challenge, I would like to mention about the foundation of Hillary's political ambitions along with information mainly from her autobiography *Living History*. Hillary Rodham Clinton was born in Chicago, Illinois, on October 26, 1947 and moved to Park Ridge, Illinois, where she grew up. The hometown was a conservative Chicago suburb, Republican, and white. Her father, Hugh Rodham, was also conservative and republican. Her parents emphasized education for their children, and raised her to become independent individual. According to Gould (2001), "Her mother encouraged her to choose any career that she wanted to pursue; her father stressed the need for high academic achievement (p.425). Hillary also mentions her parents' expectations in her autobiography *Living History* (2003): "Both my parents conditioned us to be tough in order to survive whatever life might throw at us. They expected us to stand up for ourselves, me as much as my brother" (p.18). She had a chance to experience various activities since childhood. In her autobiography, she writes her world and political sensibilities were expanding by 1960 (Clinton, 2003, p.24).

Her active involvement in the First United Methodist Church of Park Ridge opened her eyes and heart to the needs of others and helped instill a sense of social responsibility rooted in her faith. She spent a lot of time at church, and Donald Jones, a Methodist youth minister, was a big influence on her. He helped Hillary to broaden the outlook on the world and politics. He hoped she would become more aware of life outside of Park Ridge. Jones held Fellowship sessions called "the University of Life" for children. The session was not only about art and literature, but also about social issues, such as racism and poverty. In the session, Jones took children to the inner city of Chicago to see the living conditions of African American and Hispanic residents. Hillary learned that, despite the obvious differences in environment, those children who live there were more similar to herself than she had imagined. The children in the inner city of Chicago knew more than Hillary about political issues, such as civil rights movement. To the contrary, she had only slightly heard of Rosa Parks and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This session sparked Hillary's interest toward political issues and civil rights movement. Furthermore, Jones took Hillary to hear Dr. Martin Luther King's speech at Orchestra Hall in April 1962. It was a significant moment in her life. She mentions in her autobiography what she felt from his speech: "I had been dimly aware of the social revolution occurring in our country but Dr. King's words illuminated the struggle taking place and challenged our indifference" (Clinton, 2003, p.34).

These political experiences inspired her and she became engaged in politics when she



was a high school student. In 1964, she participated in the campaign of the Republican presidential candidate, Senator Berry M. Goldwater of Arizona, as a “Goldwater Girl”. After she graduated from high school, she entered into Wellesley College, an all women college. The environment at women’s college had a significant influence on her. According to Hillary (2003), “Unlike some of the smart girls in my high school, who felt pressure to forsake their own ambitions for more traditional lives, my Wellesley classmates wanted to be recognized for their ability, hard work and achievements” (p.45). ‘Traditional lives’ that she mentions in this sentence is an idealized American women’s life which deems women as subordinate being. Therefore, seeking their own ambitions was considered as an improper act. Since there were no male student at Wellesley College, however, it was possible for female students to seek their academic achievement. Girls ran all activities at Wellesley even as leaders. In addition, she mentions the absence of male students enable female students to focus on studies without distraction and worrying about their appearances. Of course, it does not mean that ‘every’ students at women’s school does not care about their appearance. For Hillary, at least, it was good environment for concentrating on studies and not caring about her appearance. Female students also felt freer to take risks, and make mistakes in front of one another. Hillary spend a significant amount of her time in this environment. Wellesley College was excellent environment for her to develop her competence and political interests without any worries about gender norm (Clinton, 2003, p.43-44).

The time at Wellesley College was also an important period for her in terms of her political belief. During this turning point, she shifted her political belief from Republican Party to Democrat Party. Although like her father Hillary was republican at the time she entered Wellesley College, after enrollment, her opinions began to separate from father’s. She identified more with the moderate ideas of John Lindsay and Nelson Rockefeller of New York. They were moderate republicans, and supported the civil rights movement. Hillary was elected President of Wellesley college’s Young Republicans during her freshman year, but her doubts about the party and its policies gradually grew. She especially questioned the Republican Party’s stances on Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War. In order to expand her understanding of the world and examine her own preconceptions, she had begun reading The New York Times, even though it is a liberal newspaper. Before long, she realized that her political beliefs were no longer in sync with the Republican Party and left college’s Young Republicans. In her junior year, she started supporting the anti-war campaign of Eugene McCarthy, a Democratic Senator from Minnesota. Furthermore, after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated on April 4, 1968, she joined in a massive march of protest and mourning at Post Office Square in Boston. She even protested and agonizing about the future of America

faced on the campus. Hillary also applied for the Wellesley Internship program in Washington. It was a nine-week summer program in which students learn “how government works” in agencies and congressional offices. She was assigned to intern at the House Republican Conference. It became another opportunity to rethink her political beliefs. Eventually, departing from her roots, she began to advocate for the Democrat Party. She could no longer agree with Republican Party’s policy in terms of Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement. She believed the Vietnam War was a major mistake and that the Civil Rights Movement should be promoted.

In addition, in her senior year, she began to have one more belief: the system could be changed from “within”. She analyzed the work of a Chicago native people and community organizer named Saul Alinsky for her undergraduate thesis. He regarded grassroots organizing as most efficient, because it teaches people to help themselves by confronting government and corporations to obtain the resource and power to improve their lives. He believed that we can change the system only from “outside”. Hillary, however, did not agree with his idea. Though her research, she came to believe that the system could be changed from “within”. (Clinton, 2003, p.57). The fact, that she became lawyer who can change social systems from within institution or government as policy maker, reflects her belief.

The climax of her career at Wellesley, and her first taste of the national spotlight, came at her commencement in 1969, in which she gave a graduation speech. She expressed how students were feeling about the turbulence that American society was undergoing. “The Challenge now,” she said, “is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible, possible” (Gould, 2001, p.426). This speech was featured in local media, such as *Life*, and it was a conclusion for her rewarding undergraduate experience at Wellesley. After graduating from the Wellesley College, she entered Yale Law School to pursue a political career. At the law school, she developed an interest in children’s right and served as an intern with Marian Wright Edelman. Through the internship, she delved more deeply into the legal aspects of the way children were treated in American society. After graduating from law school, she went to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to work for Marian Edelman at the Children’s Defense Fund.

Hillary’s educational environment is an important element of her upbringing. Her parents’ education policy and leadership experience strongly influenced the formation of her personality. Her parents encouraged her to pursue her career and to be independent in order to survive no matter what happens in her life. They had never limited her because of her gender. This educational belief made it possible for her to grow her political interests and pursue whatever she was interested in. Nobody told her that “girls cannot do this” or “girls shouldn’t do that.”

As a result, she engaged in a lot of activities without thinking about her gender. She had various chances to experience leadership roles since her childhood, such as the vice president of her class at high school and president of the College Government Association at Wellesley College. As a result, she grew up as an assertive woman who has political ambitions and leadership skills. She mentions about her thought about her career in her autobiography,

I simply could not imagine giving up a college education or a career to get married, as some of my girlfriends were planning to do. I was interested in politics from an early age, and I loved to hone my debating skills with my friends. (Clinton, 2003, p.31)

Unlike many girls, she had the opportunity to pursue her ambition and curiosity. It was unusual for a woman receive college education at the time when Hillary enrolled in Wellesley College. Even 10 years later, only 18 percent of women in the U.S. had a university degree in 1975 (Aruga, 2010, p.302). Hillary was blessed environmentally and financially. The fact, that she was born in white middle-class family, made it possible for her to receive a high education and enrolled in Law school. In the United States, the wage gap between white people and black people is big issue. According to Tanaka (1997), the wage of black men in the 1980s was 76 percent of that of white men and it actually decreased to 72 percent in the 1990s. There is also wage gap between men and women, not only between the differences of race. Even though women's wage increased in the 1980s, it did not mean 'every' women's wage. It was relevant to only high educated women. Assuming the white men's wage as 100, white women and black men's wage were 71 and 72. Black women's wage was 62 (cited in Watanabe, p.143). It shows race and class relate to financial gap.

Even it was said that Hillary's life worked as empowerment of American women, it is necessary to remember that her advantage as white middle-class made it possible for her to seek political career. Her blessed environment is not same with non-middle-white-class people, such as black people and minority women. She could have enough support from family and people around her, while it was generally difficult for non-middle-white-class people. The fact that the Hillary's financial and educational environment is not usual and privileged should be noted when we consider her life as women's empowerment.

## **2. Challenge Hillary Clinton faced with as First Lady**

Even though she was a woman, Hillary pursued her political ambitions throughout her adolescence and she did not feel limited because of her gender. However, her high political ambition led her to overstep the boundary of the role as the First Lady.

Hillary met her future husband William Jefferson Bill Clinton at Yale Law School and they married on October 11, 1975. After Bill Clinton served as the governor of Arkansas, he

was nominated as a Democrat candidate for the presidential election in 1991. Hillary actively supported her husband in the campaign. In 1993 Bill Clinton became the 42th American President, and she became American First Lady.

First Ladies who served in the 1960s through 80s, during the second-wave, feminism actively engaged with political issues and at times they were framed as political activists by the media. However, feminist backlash swelled in the 1980s and the 1990s. This backlash led to severe criticism about First Lady's increased influence and power in politics. Journalists questioned First Lady's "proper place" in American politics and culture. The period from 1980 through 2001 was characterized by "postfeminist backlash". There was significant debate about the conflict between the "traditional" domestic ideal and the feminist "superwoman". This debate ignored complexities of gender roles and reduced them to categories of either good or bad: feminine or feminist; submissive or independent; committed to family or committed to career. Therefore, First Ladies were put into only one category, even though they played various roles. This dichotomy related to "double bind". When women enter into politics, women have to shed their "feminine" traits to present themselves as a tough woman and a political leader. As a result, they are viewed as arrogant and cold. A significant example is Margaret Thatcher. She was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1975 to 1990. While she is remembered to be a strong female leader, it was at the expense of her "femininity" and likeability as a woman. These double binds squeezed female leaders into a practically non-existent bandwidth of what is acceptable behavior for them. Because of the double bind, if women embrace 'masculinity' as a survival tactic in the public sphere, women are damned if they do, doomed if they do not (Lim, 2009, p. 256). "Hidden power" was also important element of the debate about First Lady's boundary of role. Hidden power is thought of as First Ladies' private influence and power over husband and politics. If a First Lady has hidden power, she is considered overstepping the boundary of her role and straying too far into the male political sphere. As a result, such First Lady is considered as "political interloper". The "proper" place of First Lady was within the home and she could only engage in issues related to women and children. Thus, First Ladies are required to embody the "Republican Mother".

Yet, Hillary Clinton did not conform to the social norm and did not fit into the "proper place". She tried to pursue her political ambition even during Bill Clinton's presidency. As a result, she struggled with boundaries set for the First Lady and the double binds put on 'career woman'. During the presidential election, Bill Clinton claimed that voters would get "two for the price of one". It was the period when the question of women's "proper" sphere of influence was a hot topic. Their campaign rhetoric raised fears of Hillary as "co-president" and she was portrayed as a political interloper. The New York Times in 1992 noted, "the couple's 'buy-one-

get-one-free' approach soured when voters began viewing Mrs. Clinton as a hardheaded careerist who dominated her mate and seemed contemptuous of ordinary housewives" (Stanley, 2008, cited in Burns, p.140). American citizens suspected the existence of her Hidden power and feared the possibility that Hillary might change womanhood. She was even described as a "tactlessly outspoken, driven woman who is using her husband as a surrogate for her own ambition" (Ifill, 2008, cited in Burns, p.140). Some, voters found Hillary "pushy, strident, too independent" and "tough, aggressive, angry, humorless, power hungry." (Williams, 2008, cited in Burns, p.141) These negative perceptions of her as political interloper continued even after the inauguration.

During the Clinton Administration, Hillary served important roles in politics, such as the head of Task Force on National Health Care Reform from 1993 to 1994. Although issues this task force addressed fit within the framework of Republican Motherhood in terms of the country's commitment to children (Parry, 2002, p.580). This political activity as policy maker was traditionally masculine territory, and not within First Lady's role. Her active engagement in Health Care Reform was considered as overstepping of the "proper" boundary. In particular, serving as the head of Task Force on National Health Care Reform showed the existence of Hillary's Hidden power over Bill Clinton. The head of task force was the most powerful official position ever assigned to a First Lady. Bill Clinton heavily campaigned on Health Care Reform during presidential election. Her position as head made it clear that Bill Clinton put faith in her competence and trusted her not only as a wife, but also as a politician. She had experience in health care and public education reforms in Arkansas. Her achievements in education reform got national honor and an Arkansas newspaper chose Hillary as Woman of the year.

Because Hillary crossed the boundary of "proper First Lady", she was described as "power mad". She was compared to Lady Macbeth who is leading character in William Shakespeare's novel. She is a political wife who sought to use her husband to achieve her own ends. It is a dangerous threat, if woman's ambition is unchecked. Because the woman might step into male domain, such as political realm, and blur the boundary of "women's proper place". By casting Clinton as a modern-day Lady Macbeth, critics portrayed her as an interloper and tried to refuse her any hidden power in the male political reserve (Burns, 2008, p.142).

Her active engagement affected the image of President. A survey, conducted by Siena College Research Institute and C-span in 2014, indicates that she was identified with the image of President. It asked 242 academic experts historians, political scientists and published scholars to rank each First Lady. According to the survey in 2014, Hillary Clinton was the top at the item "Imagine serving as President". The survey was conducted after the presidential election of 2008 and the presidential campaign might have given her a certain

image as future “president”. Therefore, it is difficult to declare that her active engagement as First Lady had given the image of president. Considering the fact that she battled United State presidential primary for the first time as female candidate, however, it could be said that American society viewed Hillary as capable of becoming future female president. Her active engagement in political arena, such as Health Care Reform, brought her the image of new modern woman and people expected her as first female president.

TABLE 1. Imagine Serving as President, 2014.

<b>Imagine Serving as President</b>	
<b>Hillary Clinton</b>	69
<b>Eleanor Roosevelt</b>	31
<b>Michelle Obama</b>	13
<b>Edith Wilson</b>	6
<b>Lady Bird Johnson</b>	4
<b>Barbara Bush</b>	3
<b>Betty Ford</b>	3
<b>Helen Taft</b>	2
<b>Laura Bush</b>	2
<b>Lou Hoover</b>	2
<b>Nancy Reagan</b>	1
<b>Jacqueline Kennedy</b>	1
<b>Mamie Eisenhower</b>	1
<b>Rosalynn Carter</b>	1
<b>Florence Harding</b>	1
<b>Edith Roosevelt</b>	<1
<b>Grace Coolidge</b>	<1

Sienna College Research Institute/C-SPAN. 2014

\*A score of 100 would indicate that 100 % of scholars named that First Lady as their top choice

The second struggle was double-binds. Hillary (2003) mentions in her book that “It seems that people could perceive me only as one thing or the other—either a hardworking professional woman or a conscientious and caring hostess” (p.207). Yet, Hillary was not such a simple woman. She had been a wife, mother, daughter, sister, in-law, student, lawyer, children’s rights activist, law professor, Methodist, political adviser, citizen and so much else (Clinton, 2003, p.208). Hillary had various traits and it was impossible to fit her into one category. Yet, American society still tried to fit her into the tradition of “Republican Mother”, because First Lady should be a model for American women who reflect ideal womanhood. The gap between the ideal of American society and the complexity of Hillary Clinton became a source of her struggles. In order to actively engage in political issues, Hillary did not meet social expectations of the ‘feminine’ ideal and lost likeability as First Lady. She expressed her struggle to find her proper role as First Lady without losing her will. “I would have a “position”

but not a real “job.” How could I use this platform to help my husband and serve my country without losing my own voice?” (Clinton, 2003, p.175). Hillary was unsure how she can act as First Lady.

### **3. How Hillary Clinton has Handled the Social Expectation as First Lady**

After the collapse of Health Care Reform and the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Hillary changed her direction as First Lady. In order to get through these crisis, she tried to present herself as an ideal woman, “Republican mother”.

In the Unites States, there is no universal health care system, people need to pay for private insurance individually. As First Lady, Hillary wanted to provide universal health care for every American citizen. Because of various factors, such as the whitewater scandal and the Republican victories of 1994, she eventually failed to pass the legislation. After the failure, she blamed herself and began to rethink the role of First Lady. The following statements in her autography shows her struggle and search for the cause of the failure.

Defeated and disappointed, I wondered how much I was to blame for the debacle: whether we had lost the election over health care; whether I had gambled on the country’s acceptance of my active role and lost. And I struggled to understand how I had become such a lightning rod for people’s anger. (Clinton, 2003, p.381)

The failure of Health Care Reform “taught” Clinton the limitations of the First Lady. According to Washington post, Clinton retreated from taking the lead in shaping policy and played a less public role (Harden, 2008, cited in Burns, p.141). Through this experience of failure, she learned that she is ‘unelected First Lady’, not ‘elected politician’. Since then, she changed her own role from policy-maker to speech-maker, helpmate, and goodwill ambassador (Bennet, 2008, cited in Burns, p.141). According to Gould (2001), “Her focus was now on the older model of an activist First Lady. As Lady Bird Johnson and Rosalynn Carter had done, she intended to be an advocate for specific causes rather than a legislative manager, as she had been in the health care debate” (p.434).

Since Hillary was raised to be independent, it was difficult for her to understand the subordinate expectations of as a First Lady. In addition, according to her autobiography, she regards the definite actions and consequences as the most important elements to evaluate people. Therefore, it was hard for her to understand the “symbolic” role. Therefore, she initially did not fit into the ideal role as demonstrated in her role in the Health Care Reform. However, Hillary begun to play more subordinate role since the failure of the Health Care Reform. According to Hillary’s autography, Mary Catherine Bateson, who is a cultural anthropologist, and Jean Houston, an American author, advised her that “symbolism can be efficacious”<sup>1</sup>. Bateson believed, for example, that merely by traveling to south Asia as First Lady with

Chelsea would send a message about the importance of daughters. Visiting poor rural women would underscore their significance (Clinton, 2003, pp.393-394). They helped Hillary to understand the symbolic power of her office and tutored her in what would become her most successful ventures as First Lady (The Seattle Times, 2008). Hillary changed her approach to her role as First Lady. She began to advocate for women and children, which is considered as gender-appropriate issues for women. In her first book, *It Takes a Village*, she portrayed herself as mother and protector of the nation's children (Clinton, 2009, cited in Lim, p.259). She also acted internationally as an advocate for women. In March of 1995, she went on a twelve-day trip to Asia. On the tour, she emphasized the crucial role of education as a force for improving the lives of women in Asia (Gould, 2001, p.434). In addition, she traveled to Africa and urged the importance of solidarity among women in the world. By focusing on "advocating" for domestic issues, she tried to fit into the "proper" place as First Lady. Not surprisingly, her approval rating as First Lady turned upwards as she embraced her expected gender role (Cohen, 2009, cited in Lim, p.259).

The second turning point was the "Lewinsky scandal". The Lewinsky scandal came out in full public attention in December 1997 and became a media and congressional preoccupation in 1998 (Cohen, 2000, p.379). The scandal was that Bill Clinton had a sexual relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Initially for Hillary, the scandal seemed like just another vicious scandal manufactured by political opponents. Since Bill had started running for public office, he had been accused of everything from drug-running to fathering a child with a Little Rock prostitute, and Hilary had been called a thief and a murderer (Clinton, 2003, p.656). She believed Bill's words that he had never had relationship with the woman. When she was asked by journalists whether Hillary thinks the charges are false, she answered "Certainly I believe they are false-absolutely" (Clinton, 2003, p.659). In addition, when the journalists asked the reason why Bill Clinton was being attacked, she answered "There has been a concerted effort to undermine his legitimacy as President, to undo much of what he has been able to accomplish, to attack him personally when he could not be defeated politically" (Clinton, 2003, p.660). Hillary insisted that the scandal was a vast right-wing conspiracy (Gould, 2001, p.435). Even after the exposure of Bill's lie, she continued supporting her husband. At the democratic Business Council reception, she introduced Bill as "my husband and our president". (Clinton, 2003, p.708). Hillary felt betrayed, and she was not sure whether she can still be a wife of Bill after his confession. While it was really hard for Hillary to accept the fact of the adultery as wife, she nevertheless tried to forgive and protect Bill from the media.

Throughout the scandal, she played the role as supportive wife. This was eventually accepted as positive by American society. According to the table 2 (Cohen, 2000, p.378), the



approval rate gradually increased throughout the correspondence of the scandal. Immediately after the scandal in January 1998, the “approve” rate was 73 percent. The percentage gradually increased and by February 1999, shortly after the impeachment vote took place and her husband was acquitted perjury and obstruction of justice, her polls hit an all-time high of 80 percent. This result shows that American society evaluated her correspondence positively.

Hillary believes that the positive approval rating shows that “the American people are fundamentally fair and sympathetic” (Clinton, 2003, p.710).

TABLE 2. First Lady Job Approval Poll Results, 1993-99.

Date of Poll	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know/ No Response	Presidential Approval	Polling Firm
1/29-31/93	67	16	17	56	Gallup
12/2-5/93	62	24	14	54	Princeton
1/17-18/94	57	31	11	54	U.S. News
3/7-7/94	58	39	3	50	Gallup
3/25-27/94	60	37	3	52	ABC
4/22-24/94	54	39	8	51	Gallup
4/25/94	57	38	6	51	ABC
8/5-7/94	60	37	3	43	ABC
1/16-18/95	54	40	5	47	Gallup
2/15-16/95	51	41	8	42	CBS
7/24-27/95	56	34	11	48	U.S. News
1/2-3/96	59	26	14	42	CBS
1/9/96	46	42	12	46	ABC
1/10-11/96	49	43	8	46	Yankelovich
1/16-17/96	42	47	11	46	CBS
1/19/96	51	40	9	46	ABC
3/14-17/96	51	46	4	52	ABC
6/27-30/96	47	47	6	52	ABC
12/4-6/96	55	36	9	58	CBS
1/10-13/97	62	33	4	62	Gallup
1/13-15/97	60	36	4	62	ABC
1/14-17/97	65	25	10	62	CBS
10/27-28/97	62	31	7	59	Gallup
11/2-3/97	67	25	8	59	CBS
1/98	73	20	7	61	CBS
5/18-19/98	64	30	6	64	Yankelovich
8/19/98	71	24	5	62	ABC
9/16-17/98	71	26	4	64	U.S. News
2/19-21/99	80	17	3	66	Gallup
5/23-24/99	71	23	6	53	Gallup
11/18-21/99	60	30	4	59	Gallup

Jeffery E. Cohen. 2000.

I argue, however, that it is because she met the expectation of ideal First Lady. The relationship with Lewinsky was Bill's mistake and Hillary tried to support him as First Lady, even though she was eventually betrayed. Therefore, her supportive speeches and actions eventually meet

the role as ideal First Lady and American society highly evaluated Hillary.

The important point through these two turning points is that she met “Republican Motherhood” and fit into the “proper” place as First Lady. At the beginning of the Clinton Administration, she was trying to pursue her political ambitions and did not necessarily fit into the ideal “Republican mother”. Yet, the failure of Health Care Reform taught her the necessity to follow social expectation as First Lady in order to be positively accepted. As a result, she came to follow the “symbolic” role of First Lady who focuses on advocating minority people, instead of actual political engagement, as a policy-maker. In addition, even when Bill made mistake, she tried to forgive and supported him. American society recognized her actions as a reflection of Republican Motherhood’s supportive role. Even though Hillary did not intend to adhere to Republican Motherhood at the beginning of her career, she gradually accepted the subordinate role. It was her strategy in order to get through scandals and criticism. Her change of principle suggests that it is sometimes necessary to follow gendered social expectation as strategy, in order to get through controversies.

Even though she came to follow the model of Republican Motherhood, it did not mean that she lost her passion toward politics. Indeed, she declared her candidacy for senate in New York City in 2000 and she won the race. It was the first time in American history that a First Lady was nominated as a candidate for senate campaign. At the beginning, she was reluctant to run in the election. Yet, she was encouraged by Sofia Totti’s words and recalled her political ambitions. When she joined by a tennis legend Billie Jean King, at an event promoting an HBO special about women in sports, Sofia Totti, the captain of the basketball team at the NYC Lab School for Collaborative Studies, said to Hillary “Dare to compete, Mrs. Clinton, dare to compete.” She explained her feeling at the time in her autobiography,

After years as a political spouse, I had no idea whether I could step from the sidelines into the arena, but I began to think that I might enjoy an independent role in politics. All over the United States and in scores of countries, I had spoken out about the importance of women participating in politics and government, seeking elective office and using the power of their own voices to shape public policy and chart their nation’s futures. How could I pass up an opportunity to do the same? (Clinton, 2003, p.747)

After the failure of Health Care Reform, she questioned how she should act as the spouse of American President. Eventually, she became to accept social expectation as First Lady and turned away from her true political ambition. Yet, her ambition appeared again at this point and she chose to get into political field again.

In order to avoid criticism about her status as First Lady, she tried to separate herself from her husband. She did not have the president speak when she formally announced her

candidacy. Instead, Bill Clinton played the role of a traditional political spouse. In an interview with the Associated Press, candidate Clinton mentioned about Bill, “He has been incredibly supportive, has given me lots of good advice, listening to me practice my speech, he’s just been there for me” (Anderson, 2002, p.114). She tried to portray herself as independent woman, not subordinate wife of President. When campaign banners with the candidate’s name were unveiled, people read, “Hillary For U.S. Senate.” No ‘Rodham’ to remind voters of the image as a controversial First Lady. NO ‘Clinton’ to remind voters of uncomfortable presidential scandals. Just Hillary-an independent woman getting a fresh start in a new town (Anderson, 2002, p.114).

In addition, it was also difficult to run the election and serve as First Lady at the same time. Hillary states that “Balancing the requirements of the campaign with my obligations as First Lady presented a unique challenge” (Clinton, 2003, p.757). Serving as First Lady occasionally affected her senate race. The worst instance came during an official visit to Israel in the fall of 1999, when she attended an event as “First Lady” with Suha Arafat, wife of the Palestinian leader. In the speech, Suha claimed that Israel had used poison gas to control Palestinians. It was a controversial remark. However, Hillary and American staffs listened to an Arabic-to-English translation through headphones, and they could not hear the statement. Therefore, when Mrs. Arafat greeted Hillary with an embrace, she accepted without any doubt. Yet, many Jewish voters were understandably upset with Mrs. Arafat’s comments and criticized why Hillary did not disavow her remarks. Through this event, she says, she learned a hard lesson about the hazards of merging her role in the international diplomatic arena with the complexities of local New York politics (Clinton, 2003, p.759).

Even though it was difficult for Hillary to balance between serving First Lady and running for senate race, she tried to stay focused on getting to know people of New York and letting them get to know her. She ran a grassroots campaign. She also toured key New York cities and it was called “Save America’s Treasures tour”. She believed “Nothing substitutes for face-to-face conversations in which the candidate often learns more than the voters do” (Clinton, 2003, p. 760). She tried to have real conversations about the issues that mattered to citizens. At the beginning of the campaign, the subject of new critiques were about issues of place. Criticism in the media was that Hillary should not be running for the U.S. Senate in New York, because she is not a New Yorker. She was even tagged a “carpetbagger”. Yet, her grassroots campaign gradually bore fruit and people began to care about her “goals” rather than her “hometown”. Eventually, she won the race on 7, November, 2000. It was a significant moment when she achieved one of her political ambitions from adolescence.

Her move from the White House to the U.S. Senate contributed to the First Lady’s progress in

political field. According to Burns (2008), First Ladies are expected now to use their influence to promote social causes, continuing women's legacy of volunteerism. The public and political activities of previous First Ladies over the past century, such as Ford and Carter who lobbied for political and public support of the ERA, played a significant role in expanding the boundaries of their influence and legitimized women's entrance into the political sphere. Hillary's move to U.S. Senate demonstrated that some of the gendered boundaries of containment can be eroded (Burns, 2008, p.162).

## Chapter 4: Conclusion

In this study, I have analyzed Hillary's challenge against gender norm in American society. Republican Motherhood deeply relates to the role of First Lady. First Lady have been required to be the model of ideal American women. Even though women's empowerment was promoted through feminist movements and it gradually became possible for women to access male domain, such as politics, there are still strong gender norms, that limit women's life choices. First Lady cannot escape the norm and criticisms. Her activity was accepted as long as she does not cross over the gender role. Hillary did not conform to the social gender norm and often criticized because of her active engagement in politics. She was criticized the "boundary-violating" aspect. In addition, she was struggled with double-binds.

Hillary handled the conflicts by acting "Republican Mother". After the collapse of Health Care Reform and the Monica Lewinsky scandal, she presented herself as ideal women, "Republican Mother", in order to get through the political crisis. She changed her principle as First Lady and tried to fit into the "proper" place as First Lady. This presentation as ideal First Lady was positively accepted by American society. Meanwhile she came to act as Republican Mother, it did not mean she lost her passion toward politics. She nominated for the Senate race in 2000 and won the elected office.

Her change of principle as First Lady shows the fact that "even passionate woman, such as Hillary Rodham Clinton, needs to adjust herself to social expected womanhood in order to live in society." Historically, there is strong gender norm in society. If the woman crosses the boundary of gender norm, the society criticizes her and force her to go back into the ideal womanhood. Yet, Hillary's nomination and win at U.S. Senate election in 2000 shows hope for women. Although there is still deep-seated gender norms which keep women from perusing their own career goals, women could achieve the goal by keeping trying strategically and patiently, as Hillary's demonstrated in her grassroots campaign. Hillary's life as First Lady teaches women the lesson "it is important to observe social flow and sometimes follow the social expectation in order to shirk criticism, and sometimes stick to own beliefs and ambitions. Act strategically and patiently."

After she served as the First Lady, she challenged the "glass ceiling" twice. She was nominated for presidential campaign in 2008 and 2016. Even though she could not win, her challenge certainly cleared a path for future successors. Furthermore, she served the Secretary of State from 2009 to 2013 during President Obama administration. Her challenge in political field teaches American society that women also have great ability and be able to utilize it. Her life can be an inspiration to many women.

## Notes

Jean Houston is a Hillary's one-time friend and mentor. She advised Hillary about the role of First Lady with her friend, Mary Catherine Bateson (The Seattle times, 2008).

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