First Ladies of the United States-Advocates for Children, Women Leadership and Social Causes: A Historical Examination of Nancy Reagan and Hillary Rodham Clinton

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FIRST LADIES OF THE UNITED STATES-ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN, WOMEN LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CAUSES: A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF NANCY REAGAN AND HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

PROGRAM IN ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

BY

NIMISHA BHATT KUMAR

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MAY 2013
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation represents a major accomplishment in my career as a scholar, a teacher, an administrator, and a leader. My journey has been a long rendezvous with destiny to impact the educational lives of children. So many people have supported me on this journey. I wish to extend my appreciation to all of my family, friends, and colleagues who were so instrumental in providing support and encouragement.

The distinguished members of my dissertation committee. My chair, Dr. Marla Israel, whose has been a role model to so many Loyola University students and through her support, guidance and encouragement, I was able to develop my leadership in education and complete my work on this dissertation. Dr. Fine you have challenged me to develop multiple perspectives and still stay true to my core values. Dr. Sostak, I admire you expertise and leadership and I am honored that you have been a part of my dissertation process.

To my loving children, thank you for encouraging me to finish this process and giving me the time to do. To my nieces and nephews (Jacob, Jenna, Katie, Morgan, Maya, and Sara) you are incredible little individuals, and I hope that I can be an inspiration for you to pursue your fullest potentials.

To my grandmother, you instilled in me the importance of education, resilience and exemplified leadership in the family. Even at 91 your wisdom and words give so much power and influence to everyone around you. I am so grateful that you raised me
and were such a monumental part of my life and the life of all your grandchildren and great grandchildren.

To my sisters, your support and encouragement has helped me to push myself further and beyond any expectations. This doctorate is not only for me but for each of you. I could not have done it without your support and encouragement. I will be eternally grateful to you.

To my editors, Kathy Elifrits and Alefiya Vasi, your support and encouragement has helped me to finish this dissertation. Thank you for proofing my work. To the Raos’, Vasi, and Mariani family, I am forever grateful for your ongoing support and friendships.

And finally to the women in this study, First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Rodham Clinton, thank you for the lessons your legacy leaves for all the future women leaders. You have been a testament of your time and demonstrated an everlasting influence in our country. The support you provided your husband’s is to be commended and shows what women around the world do each and every day for their families.
DEDICATION
I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my daughter, Nandini Kumar and my son, Arjun Kumar, who inspire me.
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ABSTRACT

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the position of First Ladies has evolved from following a traditional role of White House hostess to becoming a more visible public figure with their own political agendas. First Ladies’ greater involvement in presidential administration initiatives has allowed the role to evolve to be more influential in making social change in our country. It is their leadership in social causes that has made our First Ladies garner a celebrity-like attention from the American people. Their desire to choose a cause to advocate during their time in the White House is due in large part to either personal connections or leadership goals that are assumed with a specific social or political cause.

The purpose of this study was to examine how two First Ladies, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Rodham Clinton, have developed, promoted and advanced social change for our nation’s children and families to achieve measurable change. Nancy Reagan’s years as First Lady in the White House spanned from 1981-1989, and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s from 1993-2001. This study used documentary research to analyze their work and determine the leadership characteristics displayed by these two First Ladies of the United States. In addition, the analysis has included how Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton’s backgrounds and upbringings, which provided a foundation for their leadership, are significantly related to their personal backgrounds, experiences and value judgments. These First Ladies have used their positions and leadership styles to assist in moving...
political agendas forward by highlighting specific social awareness or pushing personal political agendas. The impact of these First Ladies on children and educational issues and policy is not just an extension of the Presidents’ agendas but is also derived from the First Ladies’ own systems of value judgments, personal experiences, and career goals. This is an historical analysis completed by using the Bernard Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory as a lens to view the various characteristics exhibited by the selected First Ladies. The findings of the research have then been applied to educational administration generally and used to make recommendations for women administrators specifically.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The American people have made the role of the First Lady one of the most important jobs in the country. ... It is a tribute to American women that, coming from different social and economic backgrounds, from many different geographical regions, and with diverse educational preparation, each First Lady served our country so well. Each left her own mark, and each teaches us something special about our history.\(^1\) Clinton, Hillary

Introduction

In recent years, this researcher has become increasingly interested in the field of female leadership. In particular, this researcher is interested in examining how women use their leadership capacity to influence social change and become change agents in education. As a female educator, a leader, a mother, and a sister, this researcher has reflected deeply on women’s leadership and its influence in the field of education, specifically, and regarding social issues, generally.

The study of women’s leadership continues to be a popular endeavor.\(^2\) Understanding leadership has inspired many to research the variety of different theoretical approaches that assist in explaining the complexities of the leadership process.

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Dr. Musimbi Kanyoro, the World YWCA Secretary General, said that attitudes toward leadership are changing, and what women can offer in this role is essential:

    Domination as a leadership style is becoming less and less popular. There is a new growing appreciation of...those traits that women use to keep families together and to organize volunteers to unite and make change in the shared life of communities. These newly admired leadership qualities of shared leadership; nurturance and doing well for others are today not only sought after but also indeed needed to make a difference in the world....A feminine way of leading includes helping the world to understand and be principled about values that really matter.³

The First Ladies of the United States of America demonstrate and influence women’s leadership by advocating for a cause, acting as the White House hostess, influencing policy and playing a significant role in their husbands’ administration.

    The Office of the First Lady is arguably the most intriguing and demanding 'unpaid job' in the country. The President's wife is in the unique position to wield significant power and influence as she presides over White House social affairs and important social projects, while serving as the President's most trusted confidante and one of the country's most celebrated women.⁴

    As wives to the most powerful men in the world, First Ladies are at the heart of American politics and have become an influential form of government leadership. The First Ladies of the United States of America exert one of the most exclusive types of political power that is present within our government structure and on national and even international fronts. The responsibilities anticipated of and supported by the First Ladies, can assume varying roles reliant upon their personalities, backgrounds, and personal


goals. Customarily, the First Lady has served as the official hostess of the White House.\textsuperscript{5} However, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the feminist movement in the United States has had a direct effect on the opportunities provided to and accepted by the First Ladies. Their role has broken free of gender-based constraints to offer greater opportunities for political influence. The larger incorporation of modern First Ladies in the Executive Branch has been vital to their opportunities to be politically active and powerful effective leaders. With the Presidents’ endorsement and support, prospects for leadership initiatives directed by First Ladies have grown incrementally with modern times. In 1978, Public Law 95-750 gave the First Ladies an allocation for spending for the upkeep of the White House and its services and also linked the funding to the duties of the President.\textsuperscript{6} Predominantly, in the modern era, America's most influential First Ladies have gained a louder political voice and as a result have expanded their responsibilities to include advocacy. In addition, they have paved the way for women and led the crusade for social justice around the world. The role and responsibilities of the First Lady evolves with each presidential administration. Tradition prescribes a public persona, yet the role of the First Lady rests heavily on her own personality, life experiences and relationship to her husband and the public. In a time when women now being accepted in serving at the highest levels of government, the role of the First Lady awaits a spectacular distinction — and none more spectacular than when the first woman President is elected.


Purpose of the Dissertation

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the position of First Lady has evolved from following a traditional role of White House hostess to becoming a more visible public figure with her own political agenda. First Ladies’ greater involvement in presidential administration initiatives has allowed the role to evolve to be more influential in making social change in our country. It is their leadership in social causes that has made our First Ladies garner a celebrity-like attention from the American people. Their desire to choose a cause to advocate during their time in the White House is due in large part to either personal connections or leadership goals that are assumed with a specific social or political cause.

Hence, this dissertation has examined how two First Ladies, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Rodham Clinton, have developed, promoted and advanced social change for our nation’s children and families to achieve measurable change. Nancy Reagan’s years as First Lady in the White House spanned from 1981-1989, and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s from 1993-2001. The purpose of this study was to use documentary research to analyze their work and determine leadership characteristics displayed by these two First Ladies of the United States. In addition, the analysis has included how Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton’s backgrounds and upbringings, which provided a foundation for their leadership, are significantly related to their personal backgrounds, experiences and value judgments. These First Ladies have used their positions and leadership styles to assist in moving political agendas forward by highlighting specific social awareness or pushing personal political agendas. The impact of these First Ladies on children and educational issues and
policy is not just an extension of the Presidents’ agendas but is also derived from the First Ladies’ own systems of value judgments, personal experiences, and career goals. This is an historical analysis completed by using the Bernard Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory as a lens to view the various characteristics exhibited by the selected First Ladies. The findings of the research have then be applied to educational administration generally and used to make recommendations for women administrators specifically.

**Historical Perspective of Leadership Theory**

*The New Oxford American Dictionary* (2008) defines a leader as (a) one that leads or guides, (b) one who is in charge or in command of others.⁷ Northouse (2001) describes a leader as the person who takes responsibility for initiating and maintaining a relationship and communication linkage with a follower.⁸ “Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth.”⁹ Leadership is a complex phenomenon that involves the leader, the followers, and the situation.

Interest in leadership increased during the early part of the twentieth century. Early leadership theories focused on what qualities distinguished leaders from followers, while later theories looked at other variables such as situational factors and skill levels of the leader’s themselves. While many different leadership theories have emerged, the theory applied in this research has been Transformational Leadership Theory.

---


Transformational Leadership

Since the early 1980s transformational leadership has been the focus of a great deal of leadership research. Many researchers are studying transformational leadership and its prominence in the field is well noted. In a content analysis of articles published in *Leadership Quarterly*, Lowe and Gardner found that one-third of the research was about transformational or charismatic leadership.\(^{10}\) Bryman in his research refers to transformational leadership as being a part of the “New Leadership” paradigm, which gives more attention to the charismatic and affective elements of leadership.\(^{11}\) Bass and Riggio suggested that its popularity might be due to its emphasis on intrinsic motivation and follower development.\(^{12}\) “Transformational leadership fits the needs of today’s work groups, who want to be inspired and empowered to succeed in times of uncertainty.”\(^{13}\)

In 1973, Downton first created the term *transformational* leadership and later it emerged as a crucial approach to defining leadership.\(^{14}\) James MacGregor Burns, in his Pulitzer Prize winning book entitled *Leadership* (1978), introduced the concept of transformational leadership style and attempted to link the roles of leadership and followership.\(^{15}\) According to Burns, transformational leadership can be seen when


\(^{13}\) Northouse, *Leadership Theory and Practice*, 176.


\(^{15}\) Burns, *Leadership*, 4.
“leaders and followers make each other advance to a higher level of moralization and motivation.”\textsuperscript{16} He introduced this concept of transformational leadership in his descriptive research on political leaders. He wrote of leaders as people who strike the motives of followers in order to better reach the goals of leaders and followers.\textsuperscript{17} For Burns, leadership is quite different from power because it is inseparable from follower’s needs.\textsuperscript{18} In his book, Burns makes a crucial distinction between two types of leadership orientation: transformational and transactional leadership styles. Burns believed that some leaders “transact” with the followers to get things done, setting expectations and goals and providing recognition and rewards when a task is completed.\textsuperscript{19}

Transformational leadership is a form of leadership style that leads to positive changes in those who follow. Transformational leaders are able to get things done by their energetic nature, enthusiasm and passion. Not only are these leaders concerned and involved in the process; they are also focused on helping every member of the group succeed as well. Through the power of their vision and their ability to articulate the vision, transformational leaders are able to inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals.

\textsuperscript{16} Burns, \textit{Leadership}, 6.

\textsuperscript{17} Burns, \textit{Leadership}, 20.

\textsuperscript{18} Burns, \textit{Leadership}.

\textsuperscript{19} James MacGregor Burns, \textit{Transforming Leadership, the Pursuit of Happiness} (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), 10.
Later, researcher Bernard M. Bass expanded upon Burns’ original ideas to develop what is today referred to as Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory.\textsuperscript{20} According to Bass transformational leadership “occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.”\textsuperscript{21} Hence, transformational leadership can be defined through the impact that it has on followers. Transformational leaders, Bass suggests, garner trust, respect and admiration from their followers. Bass also recommends four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style.\textsuperscript{22}

Table 1. Bass' Four Components of Transformational Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Idealized Influence</td>
<td>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspirational Motivation</td>
<td>Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Stimulation</td>
<td>The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualized Consideration</td>
<td>Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.</td>
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\textsuperscript{22} Bass, \textit{Leadership and Performance}, 5.
Transformational leadership is an approach that is defined as leadership that creates valuable and positive change in the followers with the end goal of developing followers into leaders. A transformational leader focuses on "transforming" others to help each other, to look out for each other, to be encouraging and harmonious, and to look out for the organization as a whole. Through the application of this leadership approach, the leader enhances the motivation, morale and performance of his followers through a variety of mechanisms. These include connecting the follower's sense of identity and self to the mission and the collective identity of the organization; being a role model for followers that inspires them; challenging followers to take greater ownership for their work; and, understanding the strengths and weaknesses of followers in order for the leader to align followers with tasks that optimize their performance. Now, thirty years of research and many meta-analyses have shown that transformational and transactional leadership positively predict a wide variety of performance outcomes including individual, group and organizational level variables.23

Although research studies on Transformational Leadership Theory indicate concept validity, the framework does have limitations as well. Below are stated several criticism of the theory by various researchers:

1. Transformational leadership does not have conceptual clarity. Due to the wide range of activities and characteristics which include creating a vision,

motivating, being a change agent, building trust, giving nurturance, acting as a social architect, etc. make it difficult to outline the factors of the theory.24

2. Some researchers indicate that transformation leadership treats leadership as a personality trait or personal predisposition rather than a behavior that people can learn.25

3. Some researchers have made the claim that the transformational leadership is elitist and antidemocratic.26 The leader is viewed as acting independently because of the direct role the leader plays in the process of creating change. Some have argued that transformational leadership can be viewed as heroic leadership.27

While there are many models of leadership currently available, Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory has be the lens through which this researcher analyzed the leadership demonstrated by the two First Ladies in this study. Bass’ four components provided the framework for analyzing the words and actions of First Lady Reagan and First Lady Clinton.

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Historical Perspective of the Leadership Role of the First Lady

The role of the First Lady, the U.S. President’s spouse, has evolved through the years. Many of them have had an impact on the lives of children, experiences of women, and in the field of education. While there have been many different views on the importance of women in leadership, the First Lady is a role model for American women who unquestionably are in leadership positions. “The First Lady is in the spotlight because her husband holds the highest political office in the land.”28 Although it comes without a formal job description and no paychecks, the position of First Lady has limitless possibilities in the area of leadership. “Having to live up to the expectations of others, having to fulfill their ideal image of the perfect women has been a challenging job, but a job for which the First Lady does not get paid.”29 The First Lady influences the President and achieves a certain level of political power impacting both policy and legislation. First Ladies have achieved this leadership role because of their own interests and the urgency of the times in which they lived. Their position is very public but completely undefined.

Every First Lady has responded to these pressures in her own way. Dolley Madison, Julia Grant, and Eleanor Roosevelt flourished and achieved their own national fame, while other First Ladies like Louisa Adams felt their roles to be a great burden, with an endless stream of duties and a family life that was never out of the spotlight. Some First Ladies saw their role in the White House as a way to continue the supportive role they played in their marriage. Others joined with their husbands in the political issues of their times. Other took on social causes. Whatever decisions they made


about their roles as First Ladies, their stories are as varied and interesting as is the history of our nation.\textsuperscript{30}

In so many ways, the First Ladies have contributed to the social and educational issues of the country with an impact as significant as that of the other government officials. By being married to the President of the United States, the First Ladies are at the heart of American politics and have become an exclusive influential form of governmental leadership. The role of the First Lady is an important leadership role in our country and a tribute to these American women. These women usually reflect the time in which they lived. The First Ladies have set a standard for women’s leadership. Traditionally the First Ladies have championed their own special causes that have covered a wide range of topics. As wives, mothers, and concerned members of society, many of them have supported and championed issues of education and social justice.

Many of the First Ladies had been teachers and therefore were devoted to educating children, especially girls. Abigail Powers Fillmore was a school teacher and helped establish a circulating library near her home, opened a school for girls, and set up the first White House library.\textsuperscript{31} Caroline Scott Harrison was a teacher at an all girls’ school in Ohio. As the First Lady, she taught French classes to cabinet members’ wives and children. She helped Johns Hopkins University raise funds for a medical school only after they agreed that women would have the opportunity to pursue a medical degree.\textsuperscript{32} Grace Goodhue Coolidge taught children lip reading at Clarke School for the Deaf in

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{32} Smithsonian, \textit{The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies Their Lives, Times, and Issues}, 55.
\end{thebibliography}
Northampton, Massachusetts. As First Lady, she and President Coolidge utilized their names to establish an endowment for the school which raised two million dollars.\textsuperscript{33} Dolly Madison was a frequent visitor to a school that taught girls only. She helped create an orphanage that took care of only girls. Mary Lincoln advocated for organizations that provided housing, employment, and education for African American slaves who had been freed.\textsuperscript{34}

Eleanor Roosevelt changed the traditional role of the First Lady by shaping it around her own values and strong commitment to social reforms.\textsuperscript{35} She provided a voice for social issues concerning people who did not have access to power. In addition, Mrs. Roosevelt became the first of many First Ladies to speak in front of a national convention, to write a syndicated column, and to hold regular press conferences.\textsuperscript{36}

First Lady Nancy Reagan had worked as a nurse’s aide in college and visited hospitals and attended drug rehabilitation meetings with recovering teenage drug addicts.\textsuperscript{37} Her goal as First Lady was to educate children and their parents on the adverse effects of drug abuse. Her anti-drug campaign began when she made a remark to a child who asked her, what to say if offered drugs, and she responded, “Just Say No!” She took

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Smithsonian, \textit{The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies Their Lives, Times, and Issues}, 90-99.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 479-502.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Smithsonian, \textit{The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies Their Lives, Times, and Issues}, 201-210.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 641-654.
\end{itemize}
her drug campaign to the international level. In 1986, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton cofounded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. As the First Lady, she played a role in advocating for the establishment of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, the Adoption and Safe Families Act, and The Foster Care Independence Act. Mrs. Clinton shared her experiences as the First Lady and her observations of women, children, and families she had met around the world in her weekly newspaper column entitled “Talking It Over.” In 1996, she published the book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it.

In the book, Clinton shares her dream for the children of America. Stressing the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, she advocated for a society that bands together to meet all of a child’s needs.

Current First Lady Michelle Obama is advocating for a White House Council on Women and Girls. During her husband’s Presidential campaign, her speech addressed the issues of education and inequality. She reaches out to the cities’ poor and neglected in ways that other First Ladies have not. She speaks with medical practitioners about childhood obesity and teen pregnancy and visits social service agencies. In the spring of 2009, the First Lady Obama, with the help of children from the local school, planted a vegetable garden on the south lawn of the White House. Although the food from the


garden will be used in the First Family’s meals, the garden’s importance is to help educate children and their parents that healthy food can be grown locally.

For this research study, modern First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton were selected due to the fact that each woman took a different path, had unique drives in how she determined her social cause, and had an impact at an international level that goes well beyond her years in the White House. Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton were unique in their approaches and in the decisions they made as change agents. In addition, each of these women endured negative press yet persevered to make a lasting, international impact. This research has evaluated how their ways of moving a national agenda were certainly unique and displayed transformational leadership characteristics to bring about change.

Significance of the Study

The study of how modern First Ladies develop, promote and advance their agendas is significant to understanding the traits women leaders bring to leadership and fill a void that their male counterparts may leave. Previous studies conducted about the First Ladies have focused on social reform, feminism, and advancement of women. One study of Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson and Barbara Bush, conducted by Dr. Jennifer K. Naddeo at Loyola University, investigates their leadership style through the lens of Moral Leadership Theory. This study has contributed to the research literature based on the unique role that the First Ladies held but did not address the use of

\[\textit{Dr. Jennifer K. Naddeo, “Twentieth Century First Ladies as Moral Leaders for Education: A Study of Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson and Barbara Bush” (Dissertation submitted to Loyola University Chicago, 2005).}\]
Transformational Leadership style to develop, promote and advance their social causes. There is also a great depth of literature on male leaders’ use of Transformational Leadership styles but not female leaders’ use of Transformational Leadership style. An online resource, Legacee offers a list of transformation leaders that others have written about from the fields of business, politics, military, sports, religion, philosophy and entertainment. On the lists are recognizable names of male leaders such as Ben Franklin, Henry Ford, John F. Kennedy, Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Steve Jobs, etc. There are a few names of women leaders such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Margaret Thatcher and Oprah Winfrey but the study of male leaders are in much greater numbers. Dr. Susan Haddick Sostak has conducted research on female superintendents at Loyola University through the lens of female epistemology. Dr. Sostak research discusses female researchers (Shakeshaft, Grogan, Brunner and Curry) who have studied educational leadership from the female point of view and then applies this research to the ethical leadership and decision making practices of female superintendents. This dissertation has analyzed how each of these First Ladies developed, promoted and

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42 Dr. Susan Haddick, “The ‘Other’ Superintendent: The Ethical Leadership and Decision Making Practices of Women Superintendents” (Dissertation submitted to Loyola University of Chicago, 2009).

advanced social causes that were based on their core values and beliefs about children and families through their political influences.

**Research Questions**

This study contributes to the field of women’s leadership and to educational leadership by women by answering the following research questions:

1. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s backgrounds and upbringings provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families?
2. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s career paths prior to the White House provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote, and advance causes for children and families?
3. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s role as First Lady provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families?
4. How did the words and actions of these two First Ladies exemplify Bass’ *four components of transformational leadership*?
5. What are the implications of this research for women within the field of educational leadership?

**Documentary Research Methodology**

This dissertation has employed a historical analysis approach using documentary research methodology. “Historical research is more than the mere retelling of past facts, but is a fluid and dynamic account of past events that attempts to recapture the complex
nuances, individual personalities, and ideas that influenced the events being investigated.”

Data collected in historical document research methodology comes from documents and records that are used and carefully evaluated in order to prove their worth for the particular study taking place.

Primary sources are those from which historians gather information about what happened in the past. Like the clues at a crime scene for a detective, sources provide the facts that support historical arguments and conclusions. One cannot just write something from one’s own "feelings" or "experience." Instead, the researcher must use sources that record and describe past events and people. Among written sources, historians usually assign three levels of relevance: tertiary, secondary and primary. Tertiary level sources of history are generalized surveys of a specific subject which include things such as textbooks, handbooks, dictionaries and encyclopedias. The content in tertiary sources, written by specialists, may be very accurate but the coverage of the content can be superficial. A tertiary source is a good place to begin research on a topic since they list useful bibliographies. Therefore, a tertiary source may provide information leading to relevant secondary sources. In addition, they often describe some of the basic historical controversies, agreements and gaps in knowledge about the subject. Secondary sources can provide real detail and understanding of a research topic. Secondary sources of history are usually produced by people who, after the historical event has occurred, have examined books, journals, and magazines produced by trained, professional historians.

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who specialize in a particular field of history. Secondary sources have provided evidence for part of this research.

Primary sources are documents that bring the researcher closer to the actual event and in which the information is a first-hand account of the event, idea or situation being described. Many primary sources are actual artifacts such as statues, buildings, or tools. Other examples include official public records (laws, administrative forms, speeches, judgments, treaties), press/journalist articles, eye-witness accounts, letters, diaries, biographies/autobiographies/memoirs, historical writings, literature & philosophy, inscriptions, etc. Common to all primary sources is that they were produced at the time of the event to which they relate. McCulloch, in his text, provides Marwick’s definition of primary sources “to consist of basic, raw, imperfect evidence often fragmented and difficult to use.”

For this research, the leadership behaviors demonstrated by Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton have been identified through primary and secondary source reference materials. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather words and actions of the First Ladies. These words and actions are viewed through the lens of the Transformational Leadership framework in order to conduct the analysis. The established leadership strategies have been examined through the lens of The Leadership Theory of Bernard Bass’ four components of transformational leaders.

The evidence collected in historical research methodology comes from primary and secondary source documents “that are vigilantly evaluated in order to present their

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worth for this particular study taking place." Issues of reliability, bias and authenticity become relevant when analyzing historical documents. Historical criticism must take place in order to prove that a document is credible. As documents are used to tell the story, the researcher must consider these issues. Cohen, Manion and Morrison indicate that historical criticism comes in two parts-internal and external criticisms. Internal is defined as “whether or not the accuracy or worth of the data is evaluated” and external is defined as “whether or not the authenticity of the source is appraised.” In addition, Milligan states that the authenticity of a piece of a source can be assured only when the researcher surveys both external and internal criticisms. Utilizing external criticisms allows the researcher to evaluate when and where was it made (date, time, location etc.); who is the author (eyewitness information or indirect); how did it get from the original recording to the present; and, of what is it made (script/handwritten, type of material, writing style, formalities etc.). Internal criticism allows the researcher to evaluate the words of the document. Internal criticism can be used by evaluating the document’s intended purpose (literal vs. intended meaning); how accurate is the author (author’s competence, reliability, time between event and record etc.); what is the document’s content (analysis for connotation vs. denotation, consistency vs. self-contradictions, fact vs. opinion etc.); how does it compare with what else is known or written by the author and/or with other reliable sources (corroboration, logic, common sense); and what do

modern scholars say about the source (current editions and historiography). Online accounts and newspaper articles can describe particular initiatives implemented by the First Ladies but may not be objective in the reporting of a story. There are many things to consider when selecting and using documents.

For example, some social worlds, cultures, and events are ‘literate’, i.e. documents are plentiful and are a part of the everyday world of the participants, while other cultures maybe less so. This effects the status of documents. Further, while some documents may have been written deliberately for research, most have not. Indeed most have been written for a purpose, agenda and audience other than research, and this raises questions about their reliability and validity.50

For example, an article in the Ladies Home Journal may not accurately reflect unbiased information. On the other hand, drawing on such documents is vital in evaluating the implementations of initiatives and involvement of other constituents in the process.

This research has also compared different kinds of documentary sources to each other in order to make connections. According to Taylor and Bogdon (1998), “triangulation is a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, in order to gain a deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people involved.”51 The researcher has used numerous primary and secondary sources pertaining to the First Ladies, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, to understand their words and actions as transformational leaders. The primary and secondary sources have been gathered from three libraries and include: The National First Ladies’ Library


Education and Research Center in Canton, Ohio; The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library in Simi Valley, California; and The William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum in Little Rock, Arkansas. The primary and secondary sources have been analyzed to determine the applications of Bass’ four components of transformational leadership to the First Ladies’ words and actions.

**Limitations of the Study**

This study is subject to a few limitations. In researching the words and actions of former First Lady Nancy Reagan, and former First Lady Hillary Clinton, the researcher was limited to available documentation that may not always completely illustrate the true feelings of the speaker. An additional limitation of this study was the exclusion of direct interviews of the individuals researched in this study. Even though ample perspective have been provided through various documentations, personal interviews with the subjects would have added value to the research. In addition, the documents researched here focus on the words and actions of the subjects during their time in office and do not account for current perspectives of those individuals.

**Biases of Researcher**

The researcher recognizes personal biases that could possibly influence the presentation and evaluation of the data within this study. The researcher acknowledges that she is an Asian female, a mother, and someone who has worked in the field of education for the last twenty years and currently holds a leadership position in an elementary school. The researcher acknowledges that in order to maintain the integrity of this study, it is vital that her personal opinions regarding these First Ladies, children,
advocacy for children, and female leadership do not affect the evaluation of the research and its presentation in this dissertation. In order to maintain the integrity of this study, the researcher has maintained a personal journal for the purposes of recording opinions and personal reactions expressed throughout the research process and during the presentation of the information.

Chapters

This study has been organized into five chapters. This chapter has provided an introduction including the purpose of the study and research questions. Chapter two provides a review of the literature on feminist epistemology. In addition, Chapter two reviews in detail the historical perspectives of women’s leadership theories, the barriers to women’s leadership journey, and the leadership labyrinth for women, and provides a short historical synopsis of each of the First Ladies’ contributions to advance their political agenda. The researcher has also explained the conceptual framework of transformational leader as conceived by Bass. Chapter three explores the life of Nancy Reagan and her leadership contributions to advance her political agenda to develop, promote, and advance the causes on behalf of children and families as the First Lady. Chapter four explores the life of Hillary Rodham Clinton and her leadership contributions to advance her political agenda to develop, promote, and advance the causes on behalf of children and families as the First Lady. For chapters three and four primary documents have been used to demonstrate how each First Lady took a visionary position and inspired people to follow. In chapter five, the researcher answers each of the research questions and has utilized Bass’ four dimensions of transformational leadership
characteristics to understand how these two First Ladies exemplified transformational leadership. The analysis shows how each First Lady’s visionary position and her ability to inspire people to follow is evidence of a successful transformational leader. The analysis has also illustrated how these leadership qualities can be employed in the field of educational leadership.

**Key Terms**

**Bass’ four components**—Bass recommended four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style and include: *Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation*, and *Individualized Consideration*.52

**Feminist Epistemology**—a critical perspective on the feminine and provides for an understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in a social setting.53

**Glass ceiling**—A phenomenon that claims the existence of an invisible barrier, which prevents qualified individuals, usually females and minorities, from advancing to upper level leadership positions within an organization.54

**Idealized Influence**—a transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behavior inspire others to follow.55

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**Inspirational Motivation**-transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.\(^{56}\)

**Intellectual Stimulation**-The leader encourages followers to explore innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.\(^{57}\)

**Individualized Consideration**-Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.\(^{58}\)

**Leader**-(a) one that leads or guides, (b) one who is in charge or in command of others.\(^{59}\)

**Leadership**- Leadership has been defined as successful influence by the leader that results in the attainment of goals by the influenced followers (Bass, 1990).

**Primary Source**- Refers to basic raw materials (such as government papers, diaries, and newspapers) which were created within the period of time that is studied.\(^{60}\)

**Secondary Source**- The books and articles produced later by historians studying a particular period of time, making use of primary documents within.\(^{61}\)

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\(^{56}\) Bass, *Leadership and Performance*.

\(^{57}\) Bass, *Leadership and Performance*.

\(^{58}\) Bass, *Leadership and Performance*.


Transformational Leadership- transformational leadership can be seen when “leaders’ and followers make each other advance to a higher level of moralization and motivation.”

62 Burns, Leadership, 6.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The review of the literature is organized into four categorical sections.

Section 1, Analysis of Women’s Way of Knowing through Feminist Epistemology, is the review of feminist theory of knowledge. It provides a critical perspective for understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in a social setting. Understanding the principles of feminist epistemology theory is critical to conduct research on women and women’s leadership.

Section 2, Historical Perspectives on Women and Leadership, examines the personal and developmental dynamics that may potentially influence women entering leadership positions. Greater attention has been given to women leadership by researchers. Much of the past and current literature evaluates: 1) whether women lead in a manner different from men; 2) why women are still underrepresented in elite leadership positions; and, 3) what approaches are valuable in promoting women in leadership.

Section 3, Defining the Role of the First Ladies, continues to examine the role of the First Ladies and how it has been transformed through the decades.
There have been forty-three First Ladies and forty-four presidencies, (president Grover Cleveland had two non-consecutive presidential terms). The legacy each of the First Ladies leaves behind is like a quilt with individual quilt blocks that each First Lady weaves, transforms and adds to the role of a First Lady through each presidency and decade. This quilt is a legacy of female leadership that must be explored to be fully appreciated.

Section 4, Why choose these two First Ladies, reflects on why the researcher chose First Ladies, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton for this research. In a historical documentary analysis it is important to identify reasons for selecting particular subjects.

Section 5, Review of the Conceptual Framework and its Application, states how the framework has been used to analyze the words and actions of First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton.

**Analysis of Women’s Way of Knowing through Feminist Epistemology**

One of the strongest contributions to the field of women and leadership has come through Feminist Epistemology or Feminist Theory of Knowledge. Feminist Epistemology provides a critical perspective on the feminine and provides for an understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in a social setting. Understanding the principle of feminist epistemology theory is critical to conducting research on women and women’s leadership. Traditionally, the scientific mode of research has been positivism which is based on the idea that “a social scientist should be value-free and detached from her or
his research subjects.”¹ Feminist epistemologist researchers, consider traditional Western epistemology to be androcentric and male-biased. Western epistemology is thought not to take women's experience and perspectives into account. “Due to the existence of male domination, male norms have become dominant norms and have been regarded as objective and universal standards for all. For that reason, women's ways of thinking and knowing have been considered something inferior and invalid.”²

Feminist researchers conduct their research based on the “importance of attachment” of the researcher to the research process (For some the research and researched are “on the same plane,” which means that they are similarly situated within the knowledge-building process.) and the role of personal experience—more specifically, gathering data on women’s experiences is a central aspect of the research endeavor.”³ Feminist philosophers are interested in how gender situates knowing subjects. The fundamental notion of feminist epistemology is that of a situated knower, and thus of situated knowledge: knowledge that reflects the particular perspectives of the subject. In addition, “research conducted within a feminist framework is attentive to issues of difference, the questioning of social power, resistance to scientific oppression, and a

commitment to political activist and social justice." \(^4\) Hesse-Biber and Yaiser summarize several points regarding feminist research which include:

Mostly feminists conduct research for women. Whether it be by seeking knowledge from and about women in order to record their valuable life experiences, or to change women’s lives through social policy, a feminist methodology aims at creating knowledge that is beneficial to women and other minorities (DeValut 1999, 31). In this vein many feminists are social activists seeking to use their research to better the social position of women. \(^5\)

This research on First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton is grounded in Feminist Epistemology and the understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in a social setting. This research has looked at these two First Ladies’ experiences and analyzed their perspectives. Data that was gathered on these First Ladies’ experiences as women and as national leaders have been the central aspect of this research endeavor. In addition, the way in which the data was gathered is non-traditional in nature in that it has been the analysis of documents which were gathered on these two First Ladies such as articles, letters, and primary source documents. Furthermore, the researcher has gained and constructed knowledge of the First Ladies through these documents paying attention to the issues of differences, the questioning of social power, and their commitment to political activism and social justice. Last, this research has been conducted by a woman, through a woman’s set of eyes, to contribute to the field of women’s leadership and women’s advocacy for education, children and social change.


Historical Perspective on Women and Leadership

In government, in business, and in the professions there may be a day when women will be looked upon as persons. We are, however, far from that day as yet.” – Eleanor Roosevelt, 1940

In order to understand leadership in full, one must consider the effects of gender on leadership. The early 1900’s brought about the Women’s Rights Movement and the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote. Eleanor Roosevelt is considered to have been a significant female political leader and role model for women’s leadership in America. “As a woman, her leadership of the Labor Department through the nation’s most severe economic crisis helped to establish an image of women as competent, trustworthy individuals.”

Even though our society has made great strides in the last 100 years in embracing the role of women in leadership positions, there are still lessons to be learned from female leaders and a long road ahead for women to equal male leaders. The question used to be “Can women lead?” but this question is no longer germane to the conversation. Today, there is an increased presence of women in corporate and political leadership roles, and one can point to highly effective female leaders in a variety of domains, including Nancy Pelosi, former U.S. Speaker of the House, Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, Shirley Franklin, Mayor of Atlanta, Wendy Kopp, founder of Teach for America, Indra K. Nooyi, chairman and CEO of PepsiCo, Ursula M. Burns, CEO of Xerox Corporation, Denise M. Morrison, CEO of Campbell Soup and Irene B. Rosenfeld, CEO of Kraft Foods Inc., to name just a few.

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7 Glenda, Riley. *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History 1865 to the Present*, Edited by Arthur S. Link. no. 2 (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davison, 1986), 105.
few. Hence, the key research questions analyzed by researchers today have changed and now include the following:

- Are there leadership style and effectiveness differences between women and men?
- Why are women underrepresented in elite leadership roles?
- What approaches are valuable in promoting women in leadership?

This section provides a review of the current leadership literature and how this research has analyzed the apparent gaps in women’s leadership.

**Gender and Leadership Styles and Effectiveness**

In the past twenty years, greater attention has been given to female leadership by researchers, and this research shows that style is not a women’s problem. A Business Week article, in 2000 identified that “women rule” as leaders.8 Emerging theories point out that female characteristics are becoming more and more desirable and important for effective leadership. Much of the current literature evaluates whether women lead in a manner different from men and whether or not women are more effective as leaders.

Several researchers on female leadership argue that there are indeed gender differences in leadership styles, and support the thought that effective leadership goes well together with the ways women lead in today’s society.9 For example, Rosener labeled women’s leadership as interactive, involving collaboration and empowerment of employees, while

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men’s leadership is more a function of command-and-control, involving the assertion of authority and the accumulation of power.\textsuperscript{10} Such authors view men and women as quite different in the ways that they lead, with men relying on a somewhat antiquated leadership style that does not fit the needs of most contemporary organizations.

Early research compared women’s and men’s style differences. Gender differences were examined through models exemplifying interpersonally oriented and task-oriented styles verses democratic and autocratic styles. Eagly and Johnson’s research found the following: “Consistent with stereotypic expectations about a different aspect of leadership style, the tendency to lead democratically or autocratically, women tended to adopt a more democratic or participative style and a less autocratic or directive style than did men.”\textsuperscript{11} In the 1990s, research tried to identify certain leadership styles that were suited to certain conditions as well as to the leadership styles of women and men. Barbara Curry’s (2000) research looked at women in education and illustrated leadership studies that tend to tell women “to rise above our own circumstances, to rise above being a women, in order to apply prescriptive behaviors.”\textsuperscript{12}

Curry instead advocated for the following:

> The value in the most demanding of organizational exchanges is a woman’s ability to anticipate and mimic a masculine response. It is therefore reasonable that women ascending to leadership positions find themselves acutely aware of their own revolution, charging psychology,

\textsuperscript{10} Judy B. Rosener, America’s Competitive Secret: Utilizing Women as Management Strategy.


and immersion in old conflicts as the work of becoming is added to the burden of legitimizing their position among their followers.\textsuperscript{13}

Curry implies that women have to keep the transformative processes in their leadership styles as well as the characteristics of their personal identities and their aspirations.

In the 1980s Burns introduced a new style of leadership as transforming leadership\textsuperscript{14} which was later extended by Bass into transformational leadership. Transformational leadership entails establishing oneself as a role model by gaining followers’ trust and confidence.\textsuperscript{15} Transformational leaders’ state future goals, develop plans to achieve those goals, and innovate, even when their organization is generally successful.\textsuperscript{16} By mentoring and empowering followers, such leaders help followers to develop their potential and thus to contribute more effectively to their organization. “Bass’ four components of transformational leadership (idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration) are exemplified by research to be positively related to leadership effectiveness.”\textsuperscript{17}

Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen carried out a meta-analysis of 45 studies that compared male and female managers on measures of transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles. Their analysis revealed that, compared with male leaders, female leaders were more transformational and engaged in more of the

\begin{enumerate}
\item Curry, \textit{Women in Power: Pathways to Leadership in Education}, 3.
\item Burns, \textit{Leadership}.
\item Bass, \textit{Leadership and Performance}.
\item Bass, \textit{Leadership and Performance}.
\end{enumerate}
contingent reward behaviors (i.e. exchanging rewards for followers’ satisfactory performance) which is one component of transactional leadership.\textsuperscript{18} In addition to leadership definitions, theory, and style, a number of studies have assessed the relative effectiveness of male and female leaders.\textsuperscript{19}

In a meta-analysis by Eagly, Karau and Makhijani which compared the effectiveness of female and male leaders, men and women were equally effective leaders, for the most part, but there were gender differences such that women and men were more effective in leadership roles that were fitting with their gender.\textsuperscript{20} Their findings stated, “female leaders and managers are no more or less effective than male leaders and managers” and suggest that “gains should be realized from selecting managers from a pool of candidates that would be substantially enlarged through the inclusion of women, enabling organizations to implement more stringent selection criteria.”\textsuperscript{21} Their analysis found that in settings where the leader’s role was more masculine such as the military, women were less effective than men, and in settings that were less masculine, such as educational organizations and in governmental and social services organizations, women were more effective as leaders.

\textsuperscript{18} Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and M. van Engen. "Transformational, transactional, and laissezfaire: A meta-analysis comparing women and men," 556-591.


\textsuperscript{21} Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani. "Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: A meta-analysis," 126-145.
In 2003, Appelbaum, Audet and Miller examined leadership style differences in men and women. Their research stated the following:

women’s leadership style is different from men’s…. women’s styles are not at all likely to be less effective; in fact, they are more effective within the context of team-based, consensually-driven organizational structures that are more prevalent in today’s world… and that the assessment that a woman’s leadership style is less effective than a man’s is not fact-based but rather driven, by socialization, to a perception that certainly persists. The inescapable reality is that, within the senior ranks of corporate North America (and elsewhere), women remain conspicuous by their absence.22

In addition, their research stated that men can learn from the way women are more effective in their leadership styles and that women’s leadership style is not just for one gender.

To summarize women’s leadership effectiveness, the research shows very little differences in leadership style and effectiveness between men and women. The research does show that women can be at a slight disadvantage in their effectiveness in masculine leadership roles and are at somewhat of an advantage in their effectiveness in leadership roles within a social organizational setting. This means that women have been found to be more successful than men in leadership roles in education, government, and social services organizations. Additionally, “women exceed men in the use of democratic or participatory styles, and they are more likely to use transformational leadership behaviors and contingent reward, styles that are associated with contemporary notions of effective leadership.”23 Therefore, if both men and women have what it takes to be effective

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leaders, why are women lagging so far behind men in the race to the top? What is the gender gap in leadership and what can be done about it?

**Barriers to Women’s Leadership Journey-The Leadership Labyrinth**

Probably the first awareness of male versus female leadership came out of the heightened consciousness of sexism, as the number of women entering the workforce rose. Research questioned why there were not more women entering leadership roles and upper management in organizations. While the role of female leaders has been enhanced drastically since Eleanor Roosevelt’s time, women continue to be “underrepresented in the upper echelons of America’s corporations and political system.”

The chart below shows the percentage of the degrees, conferred in 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 academic years that were earned by women.

**Table 2. Types of Degree Awarded to Women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Degree awarded to women</th>
<th>2007-2008 Percentage of the degrees awarded to women</th>
<th>2008-2009 Percentage of the degrees awarded to women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Associate</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td>62.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Women earn about 58% of all the degrees awarded in the United States in 2008-2009. In addition, for virtually all levels of degrees within different race/ethnic groups, women earned the majority of degrees in 2008–09. Furthermore, according to the 2010 census, among the employed population with a bachelor’s degree, 37% of them were females and 35% males. This is another piece of evidence that women are continuing to advance at a higher rate than men.

In 2010, women represented 46.7 percent of the United States labor force, a slightly larger share than at the start of the recession in 2007. Overall 71.9 million women were employed or looking for work, representing 58.6 percent of all women aged 16 and over. However, on the political front, women currently hold only 90 or 16.8% of the 535 seats in the U.S. Congress (17 or 17% of the 100 seats in the Senate and 73, or 16.8% of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives). As of October 2011, the world average of women’s representation in national legislatures or parliaments is 19.4%, with the United States ranked 69th out of 188 countries. Moreover, women represent only 16% of military officers of the Active Component Officer Accessions and Officer Corps.

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26 "The Condition of Education - Student Effort and Educational Progress - Completions - Degrees Earned - Indicator 26 ."


In 2009, The White House Project published a report, *Benchmarking Women’s Leadership*, which outlined key findings on levels of women’s leadership in ten major sectors (academia, business, film and television entertainment, journalism, law, military, non-profits, politics, religion and sports). The report’s finding on academia indicated that 57 percent of all college students are women but women make up only 23 percent of university presidents and only 30 percent of the board members.\(^{32}\) Women faculty continues to earn 83 percent of what their male counterpart earn which has not changed since 1972.\(^{33}\) The report findings on the business sector indicate that among Fortune 500 companies women form only 3 percent of the CEO s, 6 percent of the top paying positions, 16 percent of the corporate officers, 15 percent of the board members. Furthermore, 13 percent of the Fortune 500 companies have no women on their boards.\(^{34}\) For the past three years, the progress towards the leadership pipeline has been slow with women making up about 48 percent of the labor force, 51 percent of all management/administrative/professional positions, and women earn only 78 percent of what men earn.\(^{35}\) In 1963, when The Equal Pay Act, was signed, African-American women made 64 percent and Hispanic women made 52 percent of what their white male


\(^{34}\) “The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership.”

counterpart was making.\textsuperscript{36} In the field of law, 48 percent of law school graduates are women but they constitute only 18 percent of law partners and only 25 percent are judges.\textsuperscript{37} Men of counsel law earn about $20,000 more than their female counterparts and male partners earn $90,000 more than female partners. In 2009, President Obama’s appointment of Sonia Sotomayour to the United States Supreme Court Justice was monumental; yet two out of nine justices is only 22 percent female representation. In the field of law, women of color represent only two percent of partners in major law firms.\textsuperscript{38} In the political arena, women are about 17 percent of the members of the United States House of Representatives and the Senate. Women of color represent 5 percent in the House of Representative and zero percent in the Senate. In statewide executive offices, women represent only 25 percent of the seats in state legislature and that has increased only 2 percent in the last ten years.\textsuperscript{39} Out of 189 countries worldwide, the United States ranks 71\textsuperscript{st} in terms of the proportion of women in its national legislature.\textsuperscript{40} Out of fifty states there are only six female governors, and women make up only 15 percent of the mayors in United States.\textsuperscript{41} Although women seem to be participating in the workforce equally, and even in some cases in higher numbers, relative to their male peers, they do

\textsuperscript{36} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."

\textsuperscript{37} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."

\textsuperscript{38} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."

\textsuperscript{39} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."

\textsuperscript{40} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."

\textsuperscript{41} "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership."
not have equal representation at the highest levels of leadership. Women seemed to be stalled at obtaining the highest positions in our country.

Headlines in the news and popular press continue to highlight the “glass ceiling” which continues to effect women in the workplace. The term “glass ceiling” was coined in a 1986 *Wall Street Journal* report on corporate women by Hymowitz and Schellhardt. They wrote: “Even those women who rose steadily through the ranks, eventually crashed into an invisible barrier. The executive suite seemed within their grasp, but they just couldn’t break through the glass ceiling.”

“Even in female-dominated occupations, women face the glass ceiling, whereas white men appear to ride a “glass escalator” to the top leadership positions.” Recently the glass ceiling metaphor has been identified as limited by Eagly and Carli, and they state that this metaphor implies that everyone has equal access to lower positions until all women hit this single, invisible, and impassable barrier. They offer a new metaphor, “the labyrinth, that captures the varied challenges confronting women as they travel, often on indirect paths, sometimes through alien territory, on their way to leadership.”

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labyrinth conveys the impression of a journey consumed with challenges all along the way, not just near the top, that must be successfully navigated by women.

Removing the Barriers

Women are certainly making the news and Americans are willing to bring women into the leadership to help build a better nation. “Six years of polling by The White House Project and GfK/Roper Public Affairs have found that both women and men in large numbers—in some cases, as high as 90 percent—are ready to see women in the highest positions of leadership.” Removing the barriers to the leadership gap and seeking opportunities that close the gap which affect the upper echelons of leadership is very important. Based on the research, there is a leadership gap “whereby women are disproportionately concentrated in lower-level and lower-authority leadership positions than men.” Removing the barriers to the leadership gap would provide equal opportunities that allow to all the possibility of taking leadership roles. In addition, increasing the pool of prospective candidates will allow for the most talented candidates for hires, as well as providing more representation of diverse group of individuals.

In addition to being representative group member diversity is associated with greater group productivity. (Forsyth, 2010). Indeed, research has shown a strong connection between gender diversity and organizational financial performance, as the number of women at the top increases, so does financial success.  


49 Crystal L. Hoyt, "Women and Leadership,” 305.
There are three types of explanations for underrepresentation of female leaders in high-level leadership positions. The first is the differences in women’s and men’s investments in human capital. Second are the gender differences between men and women. Third is prejudice and discrimination against women.

Human Capital Differences

One prominent set of explanations for the labyrinth is that women have less human capital investment in education, training, and work experiences than men. The research doesn’t provide enough support to say women receive less education or they are more likely to leave the leadership track for child rearing. “But there is support for the notion that women have less work experience and more career interruptions than men, largely because women assume significant more domestic responsibility. Finally, women receive less formal training and have fewer developmental opportunities at work than men, both of which likely are related to prejudice against female leaders.” Statistics indicate the percent of women with a college education is greater than men and, therefore, women have just as much human capital investment, if not more. In 2008-2009, women obtained undergraduate degrees at a far higher rate than men, earning 57.2% of the bachelor’s degree in the United States, and women are graduating at a rate more than equal to that of men in most professional schools, earning nearly 56.4% of all bachelor’s and master’s degrees, and 52.3% of all doctorates. Although women earn

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50 Eagly and Carli, Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders.
51 Crystal L. Hoyt, "Women and Leadership," 306.
52 The Condition of Education - Student Effort and Educational Progress - Completions - Degrees Earned - Indicator 26 ."
45.9% of all law degrees and make up 45.4% of associates, they constitute only 19.4% of partners.\textsuperscript{53} Eagly & Carli’s research indicates that women, to some extent, have less work experience and employment stability than men. This is due largely to the fact that women tend to assume a greater responsibility for child rearing and domestic duties.\textsuperscript{54}

Research indicates women have less developmental opportunities at work than do men. Many of these gender differences in developmental opportunities may be motivated, at least in part, by prejudice against women’s experience in the realm of leadership. “In addition to having fewer responsibilities in the same jobs as men, women are less likely to receive formal job training than their male counterparts”\textsuperscript{55}

Gender Differences

Gender difference is an argument that attempts to explain the leadership gap which focuses on the notion that women are just different from men. Research illustrates that women are no less successful at leadership, dedication to their jobs, or motivated for leadership roles than men. Bowles and McGinn research showed that women are less


\textsuperscript{54} Eagly and Carli, Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how Women Become Leaders.

prone to self-promote and negotiate than men. Andrews (1992) and Fletcher (2001) indicate women are less likely to take on official, leadership roles, and they refer to themselves as facilitator or organizer instead of leader. Additionally, research verifies a few small sex differences in traits associated with effective leadership, even though these differences advantage women and men in the same way. In summary, the research has shown that women are no less effective at leadership. But one barrier that continues is that women are less likely to self-promote and negotiate than men.

Prejudice

“One prominent explanation for the leadership gap revolves around gender biases stemming from stereotyped expectations that women take care and men take charge.”

As Katie Couric noted after Hillary Clinton stepped down:

One of the great lessons of the campaign is the continued and accepted role of sexism in American life, particularly the media…if Senator Obama had to confront the racist equivalent of an “Iron My Shirt” poster at campaign rallies or a Hillary nutcracker sold at airports.. the outrage would not be a footnote, it would be front page news. 

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58 Eagly and Carli, Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders.


The research evidence also shows that women are considerably underrepresented in key leadership positions. There is now a great increase in the number of women navigating the labyrinth of leadership. “Contemporary approaches to gender and leadership involve questions that directly affect leadership success, such as style and effectiveness differences between men and women, and the varied barriers confronting women.”

Starting in the 1970s, gender differences in leadership began to be evaluated. Research into the leadership styles of men and women has shown that women are more likely to use democratic and transformational styles than are men. Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani observed leadership effectiveness and indicated that women were at a slight disadvantage in masculine domains, and had an advantage in demonstrating effectiveness in feminine domains. In addition, the research by Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and van Engen on women’s styles and effectiveness revealed that women were more proficient in their use of effective transformational and contingent behaviors. Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubraman research also correlates women’s effectiveness for transformation and

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64 Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and van Engen, Transformational, transactional, and laissezfaire: A meta-analysis comparing women and men.
transactional leadership and conclude that transformation leadership might be particularly advantageous to women because of its androgynous qualities.\(^{65}\)

**Women Navigate the Leadership Labyrinth**

There are several factors that have contributed to leadership effectiveness and the rise of female leaders. On the current political front, Hillary Clinton put “18 million cracks” in the presidential glass ceiling before becoming the third female Secretary of State, and Nancy Pelosi also made history becoming the first female Speaker of the House. Although there are only 15 female senators in America, 138 female representatives, 10 Governors, and 26 Lieutenant Governors, since 1971, the number of women serving in state legislatures has more than quintupled.\(^{66}\)

Researchers have identified several approaches to navigating the leadership labyrinth. The research is clear that leadership matters and by choosing leaders from the largest pool of talent, which include women, the best leadership is attained but the path for women is more labyrinthine.\(^{67}\) In her book, *Women Lead the Way*, Linda Tarr-Whelan states, “To achieve sustainable long-term economic growth and well-being, leadership must become more balanced—and that means it must include more women.”\(^{68}\)

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\(^{67}\) Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders*.

One key to navigating the labyrinth is for women to make connections with others in their network and seek the guidance and support of male and female mentors. In addition, women can remind themselves of their work, expect more rewards for their work and learn to negotiate well. The COO of Facebook, Sheryl Sandburg, gives three powerful pieces of advice to aiming for the C-suite on TEDWomen 2010 talk. She shares what women can do as individuals and what we can tell our children and grandchildren. Her messages are simple: sit at the table, make your partner a real partner and don’t leave before you leave.\(^69\) In her message she emphasizes that women need to believe in themselves and reach for the top position. Women need to stay in the workforce as long as possible and not start thinking about leaving work before its even time. And women need to require their spouse to be a partner at home and share in the domestic responsibilities equally.

In addition, female leaders can be developed with the combination of warmth and the use of transformational behaviors. The transformational leadership style encompasses traditionally feminine behaviors such as being considerate and supportive, and the research strongly equates it with leadership effectiveness. Researcher, Esther Wach Book in her book *Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership*, examined the careers of fourteen top female executives to learn what makes them so successful. Book’s research discovers that women are willing to reinvent the rules, they have an ability to sell their visions, the determination to turn

challenges into opportunities, and a focus on 'high touch' in a high tech business world.\textsuperscript{70}

In fact, author Linda Tarr-Whelan considers that the strength of the women to “this country is to be the transformation leaders we need.”\textsuperscript{71}

\textbf{Conclusion on Women’s Leadership}

In order to understand leadership one must consider the effect of the barriers on gender regarding leadership.

Gender is integral to contemporary notions of effective leadership styles that have morphed from a traditional masculine, autocratic style to the more feminine or androgynous styles of democratic and transformational leadership. Developing a more androgynous conception of leadership will enhance leadership effectiveness by giving people the opportunity to engage in the best leadership practices, and not by restricting people to those behaviors that are most appropriate for their gender.\textsuperscript{72}

Understanding the research on gender and leadership is helpful in dismissing the myths about the gender gap and bringing to the forefront the aspect of gender barriers which are not easily recognized and can be overlooked. Understanding the many facets of the leadership labyrinth will help women and organizations in accessing and obtaining the same opportunity in conquering high-ranking leadership positions to both genders. This will provide organizations and constituents access to the best talent pool of individuals in leadership and ensure that there is gender diversity in the ranks of leadership which is known to influence organizational success. Biases can be dealt with by becoming aware of them. Furthermore, for women, adopting leadership styles such as transformational

\textsuperscript{70} Book, \textit{Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership.}


\textsuperscript{72} Crystal L. Hoyt, “Women and Leadership,” 315.
and contingent reward behaviors is a solid approach for women in conquering these biased expectations. The application of effective negotiation methods can support women in obtaining the resources they require at work and at home to develop their leadership advancement. Increase of the presence of women in prominent leadership roles will be greatly enhanced as more changes take place in the organizational cultures, as there is an increase in women’s career development, as additional mentoring opportunities for women are provided, and as the number of women in strategic positions increases. This study has looked at how First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton adopted transformational leadership styles to conquer the barriers to role as First Ladies.

**Defining the Role of the First Ladies and Their Advocacy for Social Change**

**First Ladies-Background**

The United States Constitution does not state any role, title or official duties for the First Lady. Two hundred years ago, women played a limited role in the nation’s public life such that the founders of our nation (all men) did not think that the First Ladies would ever be much of a factor. They were wrong. Historian Carl Sferrazza Anthony stated that over time, the institution of First Lady has become not “a listless decoration orbiting the president” but an “integral part of it.”73 The role of the First Ladies has been transformed through the decades. The legacy of the First Ladies is like a quilt with individual quilt blocks and each block (First Lady) transforms the role through the decades. There are forty-three First Ladies and forty-four presidents, because President Grover Cleveland had two non-consecutive presidential terms and was not

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married at the time of his presidency. The fifteenth First Lady was James Buchanan’s niece, Harriet Lane. She was the first to receive officially the title of First Lady. The title “First Lady” ran in a newspaper in its first issue March 31, 1860. Our first “First Lady” was Martha Washington and was known as “Lady Washington.” Each First Lady has shaped her term based on her own life experiences, education and skills. Each was a leader in her own way whether affecting only her own home life or the home life and welfare of countless others.

Below is a short summary and review of each of the First Ladies and particular aspects of each woman’s tenure. The review focuses on how they filled this role according to their own interests and the times they lived in with a focus on their education, accomplishments and their contribution to the role of First Lady. The summaries vary in length due to the fact that many of the First Ladies lived tragic, grief stricken lives and were not in a frame of mind to serve their country to full capacity, while others set the stage in the political arena and women’s leadership, raising the expectations for future First Ladies to follow. Many of the First Ladies preferred to remain in the background, while others were very dedicated in serving as hostesses and leaders. It is appropriate to look at the Presidents’ wives over more than two centuries and see how the role of First Lady was transformed from being that of a hostess to substantive world figure.

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74 Harris, *The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush*. 
First Lady Martha Washington, wife of President George Washington (1789-1797)

The term First Lady is comparatively new. Martha Washington was referred to as “Lady Washington,” “Mrs. President,” and “Mrs. Presidentress.” The Dictionary of American History affirms that First Lady was first related to Lucy Webb Hayes upon her husband’s inauguration in 1877, and came into general use around 1911. At that time, Charles F. Nirdlinger produced a play about “Dolly Madison, the First Lady of the Land,” and the new designation for the president’s wife was popularized.75

Our first “First Lady,” Martha Washington, set the stage wonderfully. Martha began her public service to the country during the Revolutionary War. Her life experiences taught her to be cheerful or happy no matter what, as she stated in a letter: “I am determined to be cheerful and to be happy, in whatever situation I may be; for I have also learned from experience that the greater part of our happiness or misery depends upon our dispositions, and not upon our circumstances.”76 She lived the above statement whenever she was out visiting soldiers. She provided great morale by socializing with the soldiers, and visiting the wounded. Martha Washington reached out to soldiers by listening to their letters from home, memorizing their children’s names, making stockings for men, mending soldiers’ shirts and uniforms and making blankets. She was a leader to the wives of officers and encouraged them to follow her knitting example. Mrs. Washington was not happy to leave Mount Vernon and didn’t hesitate to say so. She wrote to a nephew, “I am truly sorry to tell that the general is going to New York…


when, or whether he will ever come home again god only knows. I think it was much too late for him to go in to publick life again; but it was not to be avoided, our family will be deranged as I must soon follow him.”

During George Washington’s presidency (1789-1797), Martha Washington was an effective First Lady. They lived in New York City in a three-story mansion on Cherry Street. On New Year’s Day, they had open houses, for all who chose to come. Anyone could come by on the first day of the year. “The open houses, which were held throughout the Washington presidency, were well attended. They were the only time that Lady Washington had an opportunity to see how the other half lived, and they earned her a reputation as a solid supporter of the new democracy – even if it only happened once a year.”

At the end of George Washington’s first term, political parties were starting to form. Martha had critics, but she remained confident. For example, she was criticized by some for her “European-like” balls and receptions. However, Martha “knew that approval abroad was vital to the country’s place in the world, and she was passionate about projecting an image of dignity.”

It was customary during this time to burn all private correspondences and therefore there is very little insight into her mind or personality.

First Lady Abigail Adams, wife of President John Adams (1797-1801)

Abigail Adams, the second “First Lady,” was born in Massachusetts, loved to read, but was denied a formal education and yet was a lifelong advocate for education. In

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addition, she was a strong advocate for women and had a strong influence on her husband, John Adams.\textsuperscript{80} John Adams depended on his wife for news from home and her insight into American politics. On March 13, 1776, she wrote to her husband to counsel him to include women’s rights in the Declaration of Independence:

I long to hear that you have declared an independency and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would remember the Ladies, and be more favourable and generous to them than your ancestors. Do not up unlimited powers into the hands of their Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.\textsuperscript{81}

More than a thousand letters have survived from John Adams to his wife which offer proof of their enduring relationship.\textsuperscript{82} Edith B. Gelles’ double biography, Abigail and John: A Portrait of a Marriage examines Abigail and John’s marriage during the revolutionary and federal periods, through the lens of their family.\textsuperscript{83} Gelles book is based on the thousands of letters of Abigail Adams that have survived and are considered the best record of women’s experiences during the revolutionary era. Arriving in November, 1800, Abigail Adams is the first First Lady to live in the White House, where


\textsuperscript{81} Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 25.

\textsuperscript{82} Dwight Young, and Margaret Johnson, Dear First Lady: Letters to the White House (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2008), 29.

she resided for four months. Her main task was to make the presidential mansion livable. During that time she famously hung her family's laundry in the unfinished East Room to dry.

First Lady Martha Jefferson, wife of President Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809)

When Jefferson became the third president, his wife had already died and therefore, his daughter, Patsy Jefferson served as his White House hostess when he became president.

First Lady Dolley Madison, wife of President James Madison (1809-1817)

First Lady Dolley Madison was well versed in politics through her husband, President James Madison’s experiences. During Jefferson’s presidency she also entertained for political gatherings since he was a widower. Dolley’s strongest leadership asset was her wide open heart that provided her the ability to relate and converse to all classes of people. She had an incredible knack for remembering faces and names. “Dolley took the opportunity to transform the president’s wife into a figure of national importance, expanding the role in an office.” In 1814, when the British attacked Washington D.C. there was a fire in the White House. Dolley’s quick instinct resulted in saving important Washington papers. Dolley stated in a letter to her sister, written August 23, 1814,

that she had loaded a carriage with important documents and is “ready at a moment’s warning to…” “Two messengers covered with dust, come to bid me fly….” In a courageous and justly celebrated act that puts her escort

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“in a very bad humor,” she insists on rescuing a portrait of Washington—and then she is gone, telling her sister, “..where I shall be tomorrow, I cannot tell!”

In the East Room at the White House hangs the portrait that Dolley Madison saved. On the 150th anniversary of Dolley Madison’s death, a commemorative silver dollar with Dolley’s image created by Tiffany & Co. was issued by the Treasury Department in 1999. It was the first time such an honor was given to a First Lady.

First Lady Elizabeth Monroe, wife of President James Monroe (1817-1825)

Relatively little is known about First Lady Elizabeth Monroe since only a few of her personal papers remain in existence. “As First Lady, she is probably best remembered for reinstating a more formal style of entertaining in the White House and for adopting the etiquette of European courts.” First Lady Elizabeth Monroe was in poor health during Monroe’s presidency due to her epilepsy. Her daughter, Eliza, was in charge of White House entertaining but not with success. Elizabeth contributed to the White House interior décor through the purchase of French furniture. President Monroe presented in a special report to Congress every furniture purchase that focused on what


87 Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 82.


was appropriate for presidents to come.\textsuperscript{90} Many of the pieces selected by the Monroes are still in the White House today.

First Lady Louisa Adams, wife of President John Quincy Adams (1825-1829)

First Lady Louisa Adams was charming, witty, beautiful and well educated. She was the only First Lady born outside of the United States.\textsuperscript{91} She was well educated in music and sang and accompanied herself with the harp and piano. When her husband served in the House of Representatives, Louisa’s religious devotion strengthened her passion for the rights of women.\textsuperscript{92} Through her husband, she was a voice for the rights of women. Louisa believed in the abolitionist movement. When her husband was Secretary of State for President Monroe, she made calls on congressional wives and received them in her home. During John Quincy Adams’ presidency, Louisa’s health suffered greatly from the climate. She was also grief stricken from several miscarriages. She was one of many First Ladies who disliked the White House. She stated in a letter, “There is something in this great unsocial house which depresses my spirits beyond expression and makes it impossible for me to feel at home or to fancy that I have a home anywhere.”\textsuperscript{93}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[90] Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 91.
\item[92] Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 120.
\item[93] Adler, \textit{America's First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 25.
\end{footnotes}
First Lady Rachel Donelson Jackson, wife of President Andrew Jackson (1829-1837)

Rachel Donelson grew up on the frontier, but received an education. Andrew Jackson was Rachel Donelson second husband. In 1834, most of Rachel Jackson’s letters were destroyed in a fire of her Hermitage mansion in Nashville, Tennessee. A few letters that remain indicate an affectionate woman who cared deeply about her friends and family. When she had separated from her first husband she had assumed he would have filed for a divorce. This was not the case and even though it was an honest mistake, the press and Mr. Jackson’s political opponents attacked them both relentlessly.\textsuperscript{94} First Lady Rachel Jackson died from a heart attack right after the election but before the inauguration, and she was even buried in her inaugural gown.\textsuperscript{95} For part of the President Jackson’s presidency, a niece of Mrs. Jackson, Emily Donelson, who was also in weak health served as the First Lady. When Mrs. Donelson died, President Jackson’s daughter-in-law, Sarah Yorke Jackson served as the White House hostess until the end of his second term.

Hannah Van Buren, wife of President Martin Van Buren (1837-1841)

Lady Hannah Van Buren was very ill and died many years before Martin Van Buren became president. In her absence, former First Lady, Dolley Madison came back to Washington D.C. and took over the role of White House hostess. When Martin Van


\textsuperscript{95} Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 28.
Buren’s oldest son Abraham got married, his wife, Angelica Singleton, became a surrogate First Lady.

First Lady Anna Harrison, wife of William Henry Harrison (1841)

President William Henry Harrison had been in office only a month he died, in April, 1841. Anna Harrison was the first First Lady to have received a public education. At the age of 65, she was the oldest First Lady. When her husband, William Henry Harrison, became President, First Lady Harrison was very ill, and did not arrive to Washington in time for the inauguration. Therefore, her daughter and daughter-in-law represented her for the one month William Harrison was president. Mrs. Harrison did not care for the White House, and when she visited the White House after the election of 1841, she stated the following:

We are here for four years, I do not look beyond that, as many things may occur in that time, but I am very anxious to see the family of the President provided for properly, and while I am here I hope to be able to get the present building put into good condition. Very few people understand to what straits the President’s family has been put at times for lack of accommodations. Really there are only five sleeping apartments and there is no feeling of privacy.

President William Henry Harrison had been in office only a month when before he caught a cold that developed into pneumonia and he died on April 4, 1841. First Lady Anna Harrison was the first presidential wife widowed while her husband was in office.

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Congress awarded her a $25,000 award because of her status as a presidential widow.\(^9\)

She was not happy with John Tyler assuming leadership of the Whig party. Nonetheless, Anna Harrison used her position as presidential widow to persuade Tyler to appoint her family members for political appointments. Little is known about First Lady Anna Harrison, but she did not allow her husband to campaign on Sundays and was familiar with politics. She was a survivor of the rigors of military life on the frontier, opposed slavery, and had used her political contacts to benefit her family. She continued to live in Ohio with her son until she died in 1864 at the age of 88.

First Ladies Letitia and Julia Tyler, wives of President John Tyler (1841-1845)

First Lady Letitia was partially paralyzed from a stroke when John Tyler suddenly became President after President William Henry Harrison died. Her daughter-in-law, Priscilla Cooper Tyler, with the help of former First Lady Dolley Madison, took the role of hostess at White House functions. At the age of twenty-four, Priscilla did a great deal of entertaining at the White House for the President. In 1842, First Lady Letitia died from a stroke and John Tyler, while President, married Julia Gardiner Tyler.\(^\) Julia grew up very wealthy and was well educated at the Institute for Young Ladies in New York.

“I have commenced my auspicious reign,’ Mrs. Tyler wrote sarcastically, “and am in quiet possession of the Presidential Mansion. This winter I intend to do something in the

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way of entertaining that shall be the admiration and talk of all the Washington world.’

She was very social and also contributed to the fashion of the times by introducing bright colors into women’s wardrobes. At the social gatherings, Julia taught others the Waltz and the Polka at the White House.

During her short reign as White House hostess, First Lady Julia Tyler enthusiastically joined her husband’s lobbying team on behalf of the Texas Annexation by entertaining at lavish receptions and dinners for congressional leaders and other officials. First Lady Julia worked with the President for the annexation of Texas and he gave her the gold pen he used to sign the legislation. She wore the pen around her neck as a sentiment for her helpful role in the lobbying campaign. The Tylers moved to Virginia after the end of the Presidential term. Even before the civil war, Mrs. Tyler remained supportive of her husband views and supported slavery and states’ rights. Former President Tyler passed away in 1862. When she became a widow she lobbied Congress to create a law to allow a pension for the widows of the Presidents. The pension law that Mrs. Tyler helped passed impacted the financial needs of many First Ladies to come. She died in Richmond, Virginia, in 1889.

100 Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 35.


102 Crapol, John Tyler, The Accidental President, 220.

First Lady Sarah Polk, wife of President James Polk (1845-1849)

First Lady Sarah Polk was quite the opposite of Julia Tyler. Sarah was a Presbyterian who did not advocate drinking and dancing and made President James Polk into a churchgoer as well.  

Sarah was raised in a wealthy family and was well educated and ambitious. She was schooled at private academies in Tennessee and at Moravian Female Academy in North Carolina. She watched legislative sessions and congressional debates and was considered President Polk’s private secretary. She was able to converse about politics and was respected by other politicians. The public opinion mattered to First Lady Sarah Polk and she opened White House receptions to ordinary people. Others described Sarah Polk as:

   extremely affable,” “perfectly self-possessed,” endowed with real stateliness,” and “a most auspicious domestic influence.” More significantly, she was her husband’s only intimate advisor and his unofficial secretary and helpmate. “None but Sarah, “the president once wrote, “knows so intimately young private affairs.  

Her image as a First Lady was that of integrity and honesty, as well as frugality. As First Lady, she had gaslights installed throughout the White House.  

“Sarah’s long involvement with her husband’s political campaigns, her in-depth knowledge of the issues and personalities of Washington, and her unrivaled role as presidential confidante

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all made her a powerful and influential first lady."\(^{108}\) After President Polk’s death Sarah lived as a widow for forty-two years at Polk Place, Tennessee and was visited by many legislators from Tennessee, as well as Presidents Hayes and Cleveland. Polk Place was considered to be neutral ground during the Civil War.

First Lady Margaret Taylor, wife of President Zachary Taylor (1849-1850)

Zachary Taylor served briefly as president, only sixteen months in office, dying on July 9, 1850, from stomach sickness. First Lady Margaret Taylor spent most of her life on army posts on the American frontiers. She was skilled in the use of a pistol and made sure her children were well educated in reading and writing as well as business management.\(^{109}\) When her husband, Zachary Taylor was a soldier in the Mexican War, she made a promise to God that if he survived she would completely remove herself from social activities. Hence, when Zachary Taylor, became President, First Lady Margaret Taylor was never seen and therefore a false impression about her developed in the public eye. The role of official hostess of the White House was given to her daughter, Betty Bliss, while Margaret remained the head of the household.\(^{110}\) President Taylor had been President for only 16 months when he died in the White House. First Lady Margaret

\(^{108}\) Borneman, Polk: The Man Who Transformed the Presidency, 358.


Taylor, was so grief stricken that she wasn’t able to attend her husband’s funeral in the East Room. She left the White House immediately and never spoke of it again. Mrs. Taylor lived more comfortably as a widow than the decades she spent on the frontier. During the Civil War, the last home was burned by the Union troops and all of the Taylor family’s stored personal correspondences were burned.111

First Lady Abigail Fillmore, wife of President Millard Fillmore (1850-1853)

Abigail Powers Fillmore was the first First Lady to work as a school teacher and the first to grow up in poverty. Mrs. Fillmore helped establish a circulating library near her home and opened a school for girls.112 When her husband, Millard Fillmore, became President, there were no books nor a Bible in the White House. She petitioned Congress to grant her request for a library, but it was denied. She hosted a special dinner party with library committee members and a famous educator, Horace Mann. “The amendment sailed through both houses of Congress, and Abigail Fillmore had scored one of the greatest political victories of any First Lady up until her time.”113 Finally, when President Fillmore signed the bill, Abigail received books and set up the first library in the White House. In addition, the library was used as a music room. Abigail and her daughter were accomplished pianists and vocalists. She invited writers and musicians to the White House, adding to the culture of the Presidential home. When Abigail was ill, her


daughter, Abby, was the White House hostess. Mrs. Fillmore to fulfill her duty as First Lady and attended all official dinners and events. “Her sense of duty led Mrs. Fillmore continued to insist on standing at her place by her husband’s side at Franklin Pierce’s inaugural ceremony in inclement weather. As a result, she caught pneumonia and died a few weeks later in 1853.”

First Lady Jane Pierce, wife of President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857)

First Lady Jane Pierce was deeply religious and grief stricken by the loss of her three children. “A few days before they were to journey to Washington for the Inauguration, the Pierces were passengers in a railroad car that jumped the track and tumbled down an embankment. The President-elect and his wife were unhurt, but 11-year-old Benny was killed before their eyes.” She was not able to go with her husband to Washington D.C. and the Inaugural Ball was cancelled. Although, she was a political advisor to her husband, President Franklin Pierce, she lived in seclusion at the White House. One thing she enjoyed was going to the Capitol Building for Congressional debates. In the beginning of the presidency the duties of the White House hostess were given to Abigail Kent Means. During the last two years of Franklin Pierce Presidency, Jane did serve as the hostess and assumed the duties of the White House. She was

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115 Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 43.

116 Young and Johnson, Dear First Lady: Letters to the White House, 33.

against slavery and advised her husband not to sign the Kansas-Nebraska Act.\textsuperscript{118} The Kansas-Nebraska act allowed the states in new territories to determine whether they would allow slavery there, and Jane believed this would only encourage slavery. President Pierce went ahead and signed the bill against her wishes.

\textbf{First Lady Harriet Lane, niece of President James Buchanan (1857-1861)}

First Lady Harriett Lane was President James Buchanan’s niece. President Buchanan had no wife, and he had trained Harriett in all the social skills that she would need for the job. She was the first First Lady to be given the official title of “First Lady” in a newspaper in its first issue in March 31, 1860.\textsuperscript{119} Harriett was an avid reader and attended Visitation Convent School in Washington D.C. She became a politician when she was sent to campaign for the previous President, Franklin Pierce. When her Uncle, James Buchanan, became minister to Great Britain, she went with him and was adored by the British and referred to as an “ambassador’s wife.”\textsuperscript{120} President’s Buchanan Inaugural Ball was very grand and Harriet was the main attraction. She and the President held large dinner parties each week. During Harriett’s reign as First Lady, Congress appropriated funds to update the White House and she transformed it into a showplace. As First Lady, she was interested in advocating for minorities, in particular the Native Americans. She presented to lawmakers reforms regarding the medical and educational needs of Native Americans. She was regarded as “Great Mother” by the Native American tribe.

\\textsuperscript{118} Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 206-207.

\textsuperscript{119} Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 211.

\textsuperscript{120} Young and Johnson, Dear First Lady: Letters to the White House, 37.
the Chippewa.\textsuperscript{121} Harriet and her husband, Henry Elliot Johnston, desired a special hospital for children. Hence, The Harriet Lane Home for Invalid Children was established and became the center of the children’s wing of the Johns Hopkins Medical Center in Baltimore.\textsuperscript{122} Harriett was also a collector of art. She loved Native American art and lobbied for a national art gallery. When Harriett died, her huge art collection was acquired by the Smithsonian Institution and became part of the present-day National Gallery of Art, a dream of hers for fifty years.\textsuperscript{123}

First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of President Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865)

First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln was well educated and attended a finishing school called Mentelle’s Academy. At the academy, she emphasized English and French literature and spoken French. In addition, she was an accomplished dancer. She was a well-read person and was fascinated with human nature and her opinioned personality added to every conversation.\textsuperscript{124} She was an avid campaigner during her husband, Abraham Lincoln’s bid for the presidency.

As the First Lady, she refurbished the White House with an emphasis on the family quarters. Due to her good taste in clothing, she had a dressmaker. Mrs. Lincoln’s role as First Lady fulfilled her high social ambitions, but her years in the White House

\textsuperscript{121} Young and Johnson, \textit{Dear First Lady: Letters to the White House}, 37.

\textsuperscript{122} Milton Stern, \textit{Harriett Lane: America’s First Lady} (Milton Stern, 2005), 75, 92.

\textsuperscript{123} Stern, \textit{Harriett Lane: America’s First Lady}, 94-95.

\textsuperscript{124} Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 223-247.
were combined with misery and triumph. Her excessive spending brought about resentful comments from the public. While the Civil War dragged on, Southerners considered her as a traitor to her birthplace, and Union members suspected her of treason. During the war, she conversed with the wounded at the military hospitals.

In 1862, Mrs. Lincoln’s son died in the White House. President Lincoln worried greatly about his wife’s extensive mourning and he bought her a New York ‘s Tiffany and Company seed of pearl bracelet and necklace. Due to multiple family tragedies, she suffered severe grief in her lifetime. After her husband was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, she was grieving so severely that she did not attend the funeral at the Capitol when he lay in State. Due to her Congressional connections, she received a lifetime annual pension of $3,000.00 which later became $5,000.00 annually. This was a legacy that Mary Todd Lincoln left to future First Ladies.

Her husband's assassination in 1865 shattered Mary Todd Lincoln and she did not know what she was to do. She was in great debt and worried about her financial state. She spent the next 17 years enduring a great deal of sorrow. With her son "Tad" she traveled through Europe in search of health, tortured by distorted ideas of her financial situation. After Tad died in 1871, she returned to Illinois. Mrs. Lincoln’s fears increased

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128 Clinton, Mrs. Lincoln: A Life, 329-330.
greatly and she slipped into a world of illusion which caused her to behave strangely. In May of 1875, her son Robert Lincoln arranged for a trial and Mrs. Lincoln was found guilty of insanity and sent to a mental hospital.\(^{129}\) In 1876, the jury found her sane and she was set free. She once again traveled through Europe in order to escape her sorrow. In 1880, she returned to Springfield to live with her sister.

Mrs. Lincoln was misunderstood and lived a tragic life, she passed away in 1882 at her sister's home in Springfield--the same house from which she had walked as the bride of Abraham Lincoln. Until 1975, it was believed that the families’ primary papers had been burned. James T. Hickey, then curator of the Lincoln Collection at the Illinois State Historical Library, searched through the place for anything of scholarly value.\(^{130}\) He found a handwritten book and a file labeled “MTL Insanity File.” Subsequently, in the book, \textit{The Trials of Mrs. Lincoln}, Samuel A. Schreiner Jr. tells a story of Mrs. Lincoln and her insanity trials in Illinois.\(^{131}\)

First Lady Eliza Johnson, wife of President Andrew Johnson (1865-1869)

First Lady Eliza Johnson had a talent for mathematics and, as a result, managed her husband’s investments, which included real estate and finances.\(^{132}\) Eliza Johnson was from Tennessee and came to the White House four months after her husband, Andrew Johnson, became President. Her upbringing in Tennessee gave her a down to

\(^{129}\) Samuel A. Schreiner Jr., \textit{The Trials of Mrs. Lincoln} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 222.

\(^{130}\) Schreiner Jr., \textit{The Trials of Mrs. Lincoln} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), x.

\(^{131}\) Schreiner Jr., \textit{The Trials of Mrs. Lincoln} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), x.

earth type of personality. Due to her suffering from many years with tuberculosis, she informed the press that she was an invalid. As a result, Eliza “gave the job of official White House hostess to her oldest daughter Martha Patterson who had been a frequent White House guest when her fellow Tennessean, Sarah Polk, was First Lady.”133 “During President Johnson’s impeachment trial, his wife insisted that all White House entertaining would continue without interruption. She maintained that her husband was not at fault. After hearing Congress’s verdict, she said, “I knew he’d be acquitted; I knew it.”134

First Lady Julia Grant, wife of President Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877)

First Lady Julia Grant was in the White House as First Lady for eight years. She was born in St. Louis on a farm and came from a prosperous family. Consequently, she both loved the outdoors and was well educated after attending a boarding school in St. Louis.135 Julia was often with Ulysses on the Civil War battlefields, and she helped care for wounded soldiers in the field hospitals.136 She also had elegant taste, which was demonstrated with the White House renovation that she directed. For example, “she added cut-glass chandeliers, gilded wallpaper and woodwork, Grecian columns and

134 Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 53.
135 McMurtry, From Classroom to White House, 76-77.
elegant ebony furniture.” First Lady Julia Grant was very happy with her years in the White House and said in an interview:

My life at the White House was like a bright and beautiful dream, and we were immeasurably happy. It was quite the happiest period of my life...I am a woman and the life at the White House was a garden spot of orchids, and I wish it might have continued forever, except that it would have deterred others from enjoying the same privilege.

After President Grant’s death, Julia lived a wealthy life. Her husband’s book, Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant became a best-seller and supported her with $450,000 in total royalties. In 1975 her own memoirs were published as The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant.

First Lady Lucy Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881)

First Lady Lucy Hayes was the first “First Lady” to have a college degree, having been a student at the all-girls Wesleyan College in Cincinnati, Ohio. She was extremely versatile and had multiple leadership skills and roles. She raised eight children. She developed a high interest in politics when her “sister-in-law Fanny Platt began taking her to women’s rights rallies and lectures.” In addition, she had a

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138 Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 57.


140 Grant, The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant).

141 McMurtry, From Classroom to White House, 80.

cheerful disposition and skills as a seamstress, keeping the troop’s ragged uniforms in good repair. When her husband, Rutherford Hayes, served as the governor of Ohio, she gave a large amount of her time to working with young and handicapped people and worked to improve the conditions for orphans of the Civil War veterans.\footnote{McMurtry, From Classroom to White House, 80; Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 280-282.} In addition, she volunteered as a teacher at a school for “deaf and dumb” children. As the First Lady, she updated the White House by adding a greenhouse, adding running water into all parts of the White House, made space for typewriters, and had telephones installed, although she could not call anyone outside the home yet.\footnote{Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 284-287.} As First Lady, she demonstrated concern for women as to equal pay and higher education, and sent food into the poor neighborhoods in Washington. Lucy Hayes lobbied with Congress to finish the Washington Monument. She was the first President’s wife to travel around the country. She was President of the Women’s Home Missionary Society and gave a few speeches. Under her leadership, the society grew to 40,000 and supported 40 missionaries.\footnote{National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, “First Lady Biography: Lucy Hayes.” National First Ladies’ Libraries. 2009. http://www.firstladies.org/biographies/firstladies.aspx?biography=20 (accessed July 5, 2012); Bill Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush (The Easton Press, 2005), 295.} Her influence with the Women’s Home Missionary Society extended to the west, establishing schools for Native American children and to the south, where the Missionary Society ran industrial schools and added home economics to the curricula of existing schools. Lucy
discouraged the use of alcohol in the White House, and she was nicknamed "Lemonade Lucy".  

First Lady Lucretia Garfield, wife of President James Garfield (1881)

First Lady Lucretia Garfield was educated at a boarding school called Geauga Seminary. She then went to Eclectic College which admitted men and women. She started the school’s Ladies’ Literacy Society. She became a teacher at Eclectic. She also taught at a school near Ravenna, Ohio. Later, she accepted a new teaching position at the Brownell Street Elementary School in Cleveland. She stated in a letter, “I love my little school very much, I try to teach the children only a few things, but try to make those few thoroughly understood and leave them firmly impressed.”

Lucretia loved teaching and studying, taking courses in art and music. President James Garfield was the principal at Eclectic and then went to Columbus to serve in the State Senate. He became President in 1881. Neither Lucretia nor James supported the women’s rights movement and they saw it as a threat to the peace and quiet of the household. In a letter, she wrote to her husband reminding him that equality was her right:

You have been king of your work so long that maybe you will laugh at me for having lived so long without my crown, but I am too glad to have

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148 Henrichs, Encyclopedia of First Ladies Lucretia Rudolph Garfield, 32.

149 McMurtry, From Classroom to White House, 83.

150 Henrichs, Encyclopedia of First Ladies Lucretia Rudolph Garfield, 34.
found it at all to be entirely disconcerted even by your merriment. Now, I wonder if right here does not lie that ‘terrible wrong,’ or at least some of it, of which the woman suffragists complain. The wrongly educated woman thinks her duties a disgrace, and frets under them or shirks them if she can. She sees man triumphantly pursuing his vocations, and thinks it is the kind of work the does which makes him grand and regnant; whereas it is not the kind of work at all, but the way in which and the spirit with which he does.  

As First Lady, Lucretia Garfield impressed the people with her intelligence and charm as hostess. Her first White House project was that of renovation but she became ill with malaria. On July 2, 1881 her husband was shot and she was by his side to take care of him. President Garfield died two months later. The public raised $360,000 for Lucretia Garfield to relieve her financial needs, and Congress finally gave all the living First Ladies a lifetime pension of $5,000 annually. Lucretia returned to Ohio, where she spent the rest of her life. She preserved the enormous collection of James’ papers, including letters, in a fireproof library added to the Lawnfield home. The Garfield personal letters, written between 1853 and 1881, are among the documents in the James A. Garfield Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Author John Shaw has compiled thousands of these letters in his book, Crete & James: Personal Letters of

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154 Shaw, Crete & James Personal Letters of Lucretia and James Garfield, 290.
Lucretia and James Garfield.\textsuperscript{155} Lucretia Garfield lived until 1918 and is buried in Lakeview Cemetery in Cleveland.

First Lady Ellen Arthur, wife of President Chester A. Arthur (1881-1885)

Chester A. Arthur became president when President Garfield was assassinated. Ellen Arthur (nicknamed Nell, by her husband) died a year and a half before she would become First Lady. Ellen’s life had been shaped by many family connections in Virginia. She was born an only child. Her family moved to Washington, D.C., when her father was assigned to help Lt. Matthew Fontaine Maury establish the Naval Observatory. As a young girl, Ellen joined the choir at St. John’s Episcopal Church on Lafayette Square. She had an outgoing cheerful disposition and was trained to become an opera singer.\textsuperscript{156} Later her father was assigned to a mail steamer that operated in New York. Ellen was introduced to Chester A. Arthur in New York by her cousin and she married him in 1859.\textsuperscript{157} The Arthurs had a son who died when he was two.\textsuperscript{158} Ellen Arthur later gave birth to another boy in 1864 and a girl in 1871. Arthur became a successful lawyer and the couple frequently entertained prominent friends. Ellen Arthur died of pneumonia on January 12, 1880 just a few days before Chester Arthur became Vice President.\textsuperscript{159} Ellen Arthur received a funeral of a public figure, and her coffin was met by the Governor of

\textsuperscript{155} Shaw, Crete & James Personal Letters of Lucretia and James Garfield.


\textsuperscript{157} George Frederick Howe, Chester A. Arthur (Norwalk: Easton Press, 1987), 18.

\textsuperscript{158} George Frederick Howe, Chester A. Arthur (Norwalk: Easton Press, 1987), 29.

\textsuperscript{159} George Frederick Howe, Chester A. Arthur (Norwalk: Easton Press, 1987), 18.
New York and delegates from each branch of government. Chester Arthur became President when President Garfield died in office. He did not want anyone to take the place of his wife as the White House hostess. President Arthur allowed his sister, Mary EcElroy, to assume certain social duties and help care for his daughter. St. John’s Church received a stained-glass window from President Arthur in his wife’s memory; “it depicted angels of the Resurrection, and at his special request it was placed in the south transept so that he could see it at night from the White House with the lights of the church shining through.”

First Lady Frances Cleveland, wife of President Grover Cleveland (1885-1889 and 1893-1897)

During President Cleveland’s first term in office, his sister, Rose Cleveland was the White House hostess. Rose did not like the role although she was an educator and intellectual. First Lady Frances Cleveland, at the age of twenty-two, married forty-nine year old President Grover Cleveland at the White House during his second term. Frances had attended the best public and private schools in Buffalo and was fluent in both French and German. She graduated from Wells College in Aurora, New York, one of the first liberal arts colleges for women in America. Her father was a friend and law partner of

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163 McMurtry, *From Classroom to White House*, 93.
Grover Cleveland. She was a role model for fashion and other women followed her fashion sense. Frances Cleveland, as a First Lady, became a trustee of her alma mater and an influential advocate of higher education for women.164

Cleveland’s second term was considered to be a failure, and Frances’s desire to stay out of the public eye caused many of her contributions to fade from the public eye. After President Cleveland’s death, Frances continued to keep busy with educational causes for women and served as a trustee for Wells College and as a member of Princeton University Women’s Club. In addition, she helped found the New Jersey College for Women by successfully lobbying New Jersey’s leaders to open up educational opportunities for girls. Her lasting impact on American education is due to her promotion of free kindergartens, her work to establish a college for women and her efforts as a trustee of the Wells College.165 Frances Cleveland, from her first days in the White House until her death 60 years later, conducted her life with a sense of purpose and focused her efforts on behalf of educational and economic needs of the poor women and their children.166

First Lady Caroline Scott Harrison, wife of President Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893)

Caroline Scott Harrison was a teacher at an all girls’ school in Ohio. As the First Lady, she taught French classes to cabinet members’ wives and children. “During her time as First Lady, Mrs. Harrison managed to have the White House renovated to help

164 McMurtry, From Classroom to White House, 93.


166 Dunlap, Frank, The Story of Frances Folsom Cleveland, America’s Youngest First Lady, 167.
accommodate her extended family that lived in the mansion. She began the White House china collection and worked for many charities. She helped John Hopkins University raise funds for a medical school only after they agreed that women would have the opportunity to pursue a medical degree. As the First Lady, Caroline’s goal was to make the White House presentable in order to make a better impression on foreign dignitaries. She created the design for the White House China and conducted classes of the arts for Washington wives. Caroline served as the first president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and she was the first First Lady to write and deliver a public speech to address the Daughters of the American Revolution. In her address, she stated:

We have within ourselves the only element of destruction; our foes are from within, not without. It has been said that the men to make a country are made by self-denial, and is it not true, that for the society to live and grow and become what we desire it to be it must be composed of self-denying women? Since this society has been organized and so much thought and reading directed to the early struggles of this country, it has been made plain that much of its success was due to the women of that era. The unselfish part they acted constantly commands itself to our admiration and example. If there is no abatement in this element of success in our ranks, I feel sure that their daughters can perpetuate a society worthy of the cause and worthy themselves.

She had electric lights installed in the White House and brought dancing back into the White House. First Lady Caroline Harrison died in 1892 and left behind her legacy.

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for supporting women’s rights. Before President Harrison’s term ended, however, Caroline Harrison contracted tuberculosis and died. Following her death, the President’s married daughter, Mary Scott Harrison McKee, handled the duties of First Lady. Mary was already living at the White House with her family, and so she took up the responsibilities of First Lady for the remainder of Harrison’s term.

First Lady Ida McKinley, wife of President William McKinley (1897-1901)

Ida McKinley grew up in a privileged and wealthy Presbyterian home. She attended finishing school at Brook Academy in Media, Pennsylvania. Her father was a banker and she was talented in financial matters and managed the bank. She was thought of as being strong willed and opinioned by some, and by others, sweet and gentle. The second half of her life was filled with tragedy, illnesses and despair. Ida suffered from convulsions and seizures which was possibly epilepsy. She lost both of her girls while they were infants and therefore, suffered from depression and confusion. She always had a silk sewing bag and crocheted thousands of pairs of bedroom slippers, which were sold to raise money for children’s charities.\(^{170}\) Ida was the first First Lady to have an image appear on a campaign pin.\(^{171}\) She did not receive sympathy from the public for her medical condition, but instead, during the campaign, rumors spread that she was an English spy. Ida was the first First Lady to have a biography written about the Presidential candidate’s wife in order to dispel the rumors about her during the


campaign. William McKinley had been the governor of Ohio and, in 1897, because United States President. Ida did not like the color yellow and therefore, she banned it from the White House. She was not an activist but she showed an interest in women’s independence. Due to her health, President McKinley spent a lot of time with Ida and was always by her side. President William McKinley was assassinated in 1901. Ida died in 1907 and, after President McKinley’s death, there’s no record of Ida ever having a seizure again.

First Lady Edith Roosevelt, wife of President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909)

Edith Roosevelt was a First Lady born in a privileged New York society. She developed concerns over money at an early age due to her father’s drinking problems and unsuccessful shipping business. She received her education at Miss Comstock’s School and her favorite subject was English literature. She enjoyed concerts and operas. President Theodore’s first wife was Alice Hathaway Lee, who died a few years after being married. After Alice’s death, Theodore was very much against being married again, but in 1885 he married Edith. Edith was already accepted by the Roosevelt family


173 Scott Miller, McKinley, Terror, And Empire at the Dawn of the American Century The President and the Assassin (New York: Random House, 2011), 45.


175 Sylvia Jukes Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady (Toronto: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1980), 34-35
due to her friendship with Theodore’s sister. Edith and Theodore had shared a friendship and socialized in the same New York aristocracy. Theodore was governor of New York prior to becoming President in 1901, when President McKinley was shot. When Edith came to the White House, she brought with her their six children. Due to the needs of the family and Edith’s vision of a home for her family, she orchestrated the addition of the West Wing, a larger State Dining Room and renovations to several rooms in the White House. She was the first to have a full-time social secretary in the White House. Edith established the tradition of hanging the portraits of First Ladies in the White House. She was the first wife to leave the country, when she traveled with the President to view the construction on the Panama Canal. During Edith’s reign as First Lady, the White House receptions were lively affairs, for which she purchased the White English Wedgwood China. Edith managed the family finances due to Theodore’s lack of money sense, and he was given an allowance of $20 per month. She was a close consultant to her husband and utilized a room near Roosevelt’s office to be her sitting room in order to be close to him, in case he needed her.

First Lady Helen Herron Taft, wife of President William Howard Taft (1909-1913)

Helen Herron Taft is one of America's most fascinating presidential spouses. This was a First Lady who was a gracious hostess and a political advisor who drank, smoked,

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played cards, and even enjoyed politics. Helen Taft was a First Lady with an education in history, languages and literature. She was particularly interested in music, and daily practiced the piano. She went to Cincinnati College of Music, which is now part of the Ohio University of Cincinnati. As a child she had visited the White House as a guest of her parents’ friends, President and Mrs. Hayes. She was interested in Women’s Rights and passionate about literature. She was the head of the Cincinnati Orchestra Association board and also its president. Mrs. Taft was involved in every phase of the Cincinnati Orchestra Association from raising funds to negotiating contracts with the musicians to attract many high-grade performing artists. Her organizational and entertaining abilities proved assets during Will Taft’s four years as colonial administrator in the Philippines. In the Philippines she took a great interest in learning about the people and the country. She started a program to make sure the Pilipino children had enough milk to keep them healthy. In 1908, she was the first First Lady to ride in the Presidential carriage. She helped many women get government jobs. First Lady Helen was an advocate for immigrants and her concerns about the working conditions for young immigrant girls in factories across the United States prompted a congressional investigation. She also hired many African Americans to the White House staff positions. When a woman wrote to Helen asking for help to start a kindergarten for African American children, Helen invited her to the White House and helped her get her


She was more formal in running the White House and established programs to beautify the capital city.

First Lady Helen Taft is credited for bringing Cherry Trees to Washington D.C. in 1909. She first fell in love with the Cherry Blossoms during her visit to Japan. The Mayor of Tokyo sent 3,000 trees as a gift to the United States of America. Mrs. Taft brought together Department of Agriculture Specialists, Japanese diplomats, and landscapers to secure and plant the tress.

Mrs. Taft was such a perfectionist as a First Lady, she earned the nickname “Nervous Nellie,” a term still used today for an anxious person. In 1914, she published her memoirs in the book, Recollections of Full Years, recounting her experiences as First Lady. She was the first First Lady to have her memoirs published.

First Lady Ellen and Edith Wilson, wife of President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)

Ellen Wilson was a graduate of the Arts Students League in New York City and she taught at the Spring Street Mission School for African American students. While her husband, Woodrow Wilson, was a professor at Princeton, she formed an organization of students to create and work for an honor system for their classmates. She helped establish the first code of honor at Princeton. In 1902, Woodrow became the President

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of Princeton University, and Ellen would entertain the faculty at formal dinner parties handling every detail. She joined the Ladies’ Auxiliary and helped with the fund-raising activities at Princeton. She upgraded the University’s infirmary, raising money to pay for nurses and maids. In the White House, she hung wall coverings which were hand crafted by women in the Appalachian Mountains. It created national enthusiasm for their work, and as the President of the Southern Industrial Association, she encouraged the production and sale of American crafts. Her personal agenda was to improve the living conditions in Washington slums and she lobbied for legislation and got the Alley bill passed. “A generation later, Eleanor Roosevelt did the same thing—the first bill she supported was another effort to clean up the D. C. slums.” She found time to campaign for better working conditions for government employees and for better restrooms for females. She supervised the planting of the White House rose garden. She suffered from advanced stages of a fatal kidney condition and, on her final day, August 6, 1914, the Senate passed the slum clearance bill that she had proposed. In 2003, historian, Sina Dubovoy, in his book, Ellen A. Wilson, The Woman Who Made a President, credits Ellen Wilson for Woodrow Wilson being elected president. Woodrow Wilson was married to Ellen for 29 years, compared to his second wife Edith to whom he was married for eight years.


186 Kristie Miller, Ellen and Edith: Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 266.


188 Dubovoy, Ellen A. Wilson-The Woman who Made a President, xi.
Edith Wilson became President Woodrow Wilson’s second wife. At President Wilson’s second inauguration address, Edith was the first First Lady in history to sit behind the President. The public knew Edith as knitting pajamas for the soldiers. She had a flock of sheep on the White House lawn so their wool could be used for the war efforts. In private, she worked by her husband’s side in all aspects of the Presidential business. When President Wilson suffered a stroke and was incapacitated, Edith assumed the duties of her husband in secret. Her assumption of power was well-known to politicians, and hence, the Twenty-fifth Amendment was ratified in 1967, which guarantees the vice president will become “acting president” if the president is “unable to discharge his power and duties.” As President Wilson was dying, “he turned to his daughter Eleanor and said, “I owe everything to your mother (referring to Ellen Wilson)” Wilson was married to Edith for only eight years, but she is well-remembered. After Woodrow’s death in 1924, Edith researched material for his biography and wrote her own memoirs. She was present at the inauguration of John F. Kennedy and lived to be eighty-nine years old.

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First Lady Florence Harding, wife of President Warren G. Harding (1921-1923)

First Lady Florence Harding was very ambitious and skillful in mapping out her husband Warren Harding’s presidency. She had learned from her father, a successful businessman, every aspect of running a business. When Florence married Warren Harding, she took over every detail of his newspaper business. She mapped out delivery routes and used school boys to deliver the paper. She hired the newspaper’s first female reporter, which eventually helped increase circulation. She utilized her contacts from running the paper to help her husband get elected to several political offices. Harding’s presidential election was the first time women would vote in a Presidential election, and Mrs. Harding was the first to use Hollywood movie actors for a presidential campaign. On her husband’s inauguration day, she said to him, “Well, Warren Harding, I have got you the presidency. What are you going to do with it?” Florence remained loyal to her husband through scandals and his extramarital affairs. Historian Carl Sferrazza Anthony recounts many of Florence Harding’s “firsts” in his book Florence Harding: The First Lady, the Jazz Age, and the Death of America’s Most Scandalous President (1989).

He has been particularly assiduous in recounting all the Florence Harding “firsts”: she was the “first First Lady to entertain guests regularly with after-dinner movies,” the first to invite an actor for a meal at the White House, the first to "act" for the newsreels, the "first to send original responses" to inquiries received in the mail, the first to hold "noon parties and sunset dinners" on the Presidential yacht, the first to entertain...

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journalists privately at the White House, the first to give regular press conferences and public speeches, the first to be assigned her own Secret Service agent and probably the first -- though certainly not the last -- to summon her fortuneteller-astrologer to the White House. If this were not enough "firsts" for one book, Anthony informs us as well that the Harding dog was the "first Chief Executive's pet to receive and respond to mail.  

First Lady Florence Harding was not only a politician for her husband but worked for women’s equality and animal rights. President Harding became ill while in office and died on August 2, 1923. Florence Harding burned all the old letters as well as documents of her own early life. As it turned out, much of President Harding’s official White House papers had remained and were actually preserved. In 1949, during a renovation of the White House, President Harding’s official White House papers and his private material were discovered.

First Lady Grace Coolidge, wife of President Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929)

Grace Coolidge was a teacher at the Clarke School for the Deaf in Northampton, Massachusetts. She later became the principal of Clarke School and served as a trustee until the end of her life. She was a graduate of the University of Vermont and established the Phi Beta Phi chapter at the school. Her lifelong interest was teaching the deaf and advocating on the behalf of the deaf community. Calvin and Grace Coolidge


brought the “White House back to New England values as an example of ethics, morality, and good behavior.”

First Lady Grace Coolidge was a pet lover and very fond of birds, and there were cages full of canaries around the White House. As First Lady, she regularly invited the disabled, including Helen Keller, to visit the White House. While at the White House, she raised $2 million for the Clarke School. Even after she left the White House, Mrs. Coolidge was active in the war efforts and raised funds to bring refugee children from Germany to the United States.

First Lady Louise Hoover, wife of President Herbert Hoover (1929-1933)

First Lady Louise Hoover grew up in Iowa and developed a love for the outdoors and physical exercise. She fished, hunted, and camped with her father. As a child, Lou (her nickname) attended Quaker Church services and developed an appreciation for the teachings of simple living and tolerance of others. Due to this influence she had a strong sense of duty to serve others. She studied to be a teacher but also went to Stanford to study geology. She was the first female in the United States to receive a bachelor’s degree in geology. Louisa was the only woman in her classes at Stanford, and that is also where she met her husband, Herbert Hoover. After getting married, Herbert


accepted a mining position in China and together they went to Tientsin. Louise enjoyed the Chinese culture and learned to speak fluent Chinese. During the Boxer Rebellion, Lou served as a cook, nurse, and organizer. As the mining jobs of her husband took them to many countries, Mrs. Hoover continued to serve as her husband’s geological assistant and studied local cultures, often adapting the dress of the native populations. In 1909, she helped her husband publish the book *The Principles of Mining* and together, they translated a 16th century Latin book called *De Re Metallica* which was considered the Bible of mining information.\(^{205}\) In 1914, the Hoovers received “Distinguished Contributions to the Literature of Mining” award by the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America.\(^{206}\) During World War I, Lou, as the head of the society of American women, found housing or gave money to thousands of individuals, particularly to those with children. In addition, she helped establish American Women’s Hospitals for soldiers returning from European battlefields. Herbert Hoover led the Belgian Relief Commission, and Lou worked at his side to get food, shelter and clothing to the Belgians. In 1917, the Hoovers returned to California and Herbert became the head of the United States Food Administration. Lou organized the first National Conference on Athletics and Physical Education for Women and Girls and also supported the Girl Scouts. In 1928, Herbert Hoover became President. Lou was the first First Lady to make radio


messages asking Americans to help each other during the Great Depression.\textsuperscript{207} She answered every piece of mail and made huge charitable contributions to individuals who she felt she could make a difference. President Hoover served only one term in the White House, and they returned to California. In 1935, Lou was elected as the President of the National Council of Girl Scouts.\textsuperscript{208}

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933 1945)

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City and at a very young age developed empathy and determination that would help ultimately spur her political efforts to fix social injustice.\textsuperscript{209} Due to the loss of both of her parents and an unstable childhood, Eleanor sought to establish stability where she saw it was deficient, both in her personal life and in the country. After marrying Franklin D. Roosevelt, they began to expand their family and brought six children into the world. Eleanor began to utilize her political knowledge when her husband became New York State Senator. She became active in the women’s division of the State Democratic Committee. Eleanor Roosevelt is the most influential women in United States history and a significant contributor to the changes made during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidency. During her time as First Lady, the country went through many crises including the Great Depression and World War II. In addition, Eleanor faced many challenges in family disappointments and her husband’s marital affairs. She found fulfillment in serving others through public advocacy and

\textsuperscript{207} Young, \textit{Lou Henry Hoover: Activist First Lady}, xi.


policymaking. Mrs. Roosevelt was referred to as the “eyes and ears of the President,” and she boldly interjected her political and social beliefs into a valid political agenda, capable of massive social progress.\textsuperscript{210} She brought new meaning and purpose to the role of First Lady through the use of media, establishing a political role and an ability to effect political and social change. Mrs. Roosevelt stated how the White House affected her capabilities as First Lady: “I am in a position where I can do the most good to help the most people.” (Wertheimer, 2004, p. 182). Eleanor utilized the media in a multi-faceted approach to communicate her lessons to the American women, breaking new ground with published books, news columns, and radio addresses.

In 1949, she published a book, \textit{This I Remember} in which she states, “By and large, I think my weekly meetings with the women of the press were one of the most rewarding experiences of my White House life. Out of them I gained some friends whom I value very highly.”\textsuperscript{211} Franklin Roosevelt was elected to the office of the President of the United States four times and Mrs. Roosevelt described the years as, “on the whole, however, I think I lived those years very impersonally. It was almost as though I had erected someone a little outside of myself who was the president’s wife.”\textsuperscript{212} President Truman made her a U. S. delegate to the United Nations, where she was the head of the Human Rights Commission.\textsuperscript{213} As a delegate, she aided in the drafting of the Universal

\textsuperscript{210}Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 486-501.

\textsuperscript{211}Eleanor Roosevelt, \textit{This I Remember} (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), 106.

\textsuperscript{212}Roosevelt, \textit{This I Remember}, 350.

Declaration of Human Rights. Eleanor Roosevelt died in 1962 at the age of 78 in New York City. Adlai Stevenson, U. N. Ambassador stated, “The United States, the United Nations, the world, has lost one of its great citizens; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is dead, and a cherished friend of all mankind is gone.”

First Lady Bess Truman, wife of President Harry S. Truman (1945-1953)

First Lady Bess Truman was born into wealth in Independence, Missouri and she was a talented ice skater, swimmer and a gifted horsewoman. When Bess was eighteen she provided care for her mother and younger siblings due to the loss of her father. She attended the Barstow Prep School in Kansas City, Missouri. Bess’s husband Harry S. Truman became President when Franklin Roosevelt died in office. Bess was devastated that her husband had become President because she greatly valued her role as wife and mother first. First Lady Bess did not like sharing her opinions in public and did not hold press conferences like Eleanor Roosevelt. Her views were that, “A woman’s place in public is to sit beside her husband, be silent, and be sure her hat is on straight.” She stopped formal receptions at the White House during bad economic times but had a number of events for wounded soldiers. “Possibly one of the more revealing statements

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217 Adler, America’s First Ladies: Their Uncommon Wisdom, from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 67.
written about Bess Wallace Truman was published in *McCall's* magazine (April 1949). The magazine quoted Jonathan Daniels, former Press Secretary to President Roosevelt, as saying "Bess Truman is a lady unchanged by the White House and determined to remain always what she is." Margaret Truman Daniel in her book *Souvenir* stated,

> My mother, whose public facade has been unvaryingly sedate and whose public utterances have been unfailingly courteous but cryptic, is perhaps the least understood member of our family. She is a woman of tremendous character, which the public may sense, but in addition she is a warmhearted, kind lady, with a robust sense of humor, a merry, twinkling wit, and a tremendous capacity for enjoying life.

The information on Bess Truman is limited due to her reluctance to grant interviews or hold press conferences. She even destroyed many of the letters that were written between her and President Truman. In 1982, Truman collection was opened and over twelve hundred letters were discovered in storages boxes in the Truman Library. Historian Robert H. Ferrell published half their letters in the book, *Dear Bess-The Letters from Harry to Bess Truman 1910-1950*. The letters are not just a glimpse of their relationship, but also, an indication of the deep concerns the Truman’s had for people.

First Lady Mamie Eisenhower, wife of President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961)

First Lady Mamie Eisenhower was born in Iowa and was a graduate of Miss Wolcott’s School for Girls. Mrs. Eisenhower made a home for her family in various army posts across the United States and abroad from 1916 to the start of WWII. Through

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it all, Mamie's determination to create a comfortable refuge for her family matched her husband's own devotion to duty. When Mamie came to the White House, she had already been a military wife for 37 years.

When Eisenhower had campaigned for President, his wife cheerfully shared his travels; when he was inaugurated in 1953, the American people warmly welcomed her as First Lady. Diplomacy—and air travel—in the postwar world brought changes in their official hospitality. The Eisenhowers entertained an unprecedented number of heads of state and leaders of foreign governments, and Mamie's evident enjoyment of her role endeared her to her guests and to the public.221

Her goal as First Lady was to run the White House. Each morning, she would hold meetings with her White House staff, and she made her views known in subtle ways. Her major project was to catalogue the White House china.222 First Lady Eisenhower campaigned for Ellen Harris, a Republican who sought a seat in Congress from a district in the First Lady’s home city of Denver. ‘‘I hope you’ll all vote for her,’ Mrs. Eisenhower told female gatherings. ‘We women have to have a voice in things.’ ”223 She also invited African American singer Mamie to sing at the inaugural ceremony and accepted an honorary membership in the National Council of Negro Women. And when she revived the White House Easter Egg Roll, which had not taken place since Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidency, she made sure that for the first time African American


children could also join in the fun. Mrs. Eisenhower considered her role as the First Lady to be nonpolitical, but in a time when the country were divided by racial segregation, her actions carried symbolic significance. During her time as a First Lady, “Mamie Eisenhower was seen as a colorful lady with a quick wit and tireless commitment to making the White House ‘everyone’s house.’” 224 She only held one press conference in all the years in the White House but she wrote over 11,000 letters to the Americans who had written to her while the First Lady.225

First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy, wife of President John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)

First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy was well educated and earned a bachelor’s degree in French literature from George Washington University.226 As First Lady, she preferred to be called Mrs. Kennedy and not the First Lady. Her fashion sense and elegance made her a cultural icon around the world. Before Mrs. Kennedy, the First Ladies were mostly loyal partners and confidantes with a little role in the public, Mrs. Kennedy set the stage for each First Lady to adopt a cause and gave them the potential of a public role during their tenure in the White House. She made her cause to be that of the restoration of the White House. She wanted the American people to take pride in the country’s cultural traditions. Her televised tour of the White House, broadcasted by CBS


on February 14, 1962 A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy made the White House a national showcase. She established committees such as the White House Historical Association and the Fine Arts Committee and she worked on the creation of the National Cultural Center which later became the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

On November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. The president’s state funeral Mrs. Kennedy planned was watched by millions of people around the world, who shared her grief and admired her courage and dignity. Soon after President Kennedy's death, she began the work to build the John F. Kennedy Library, which is located overlooking Boston Harbor. The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum published in September 2011, Mrs. Kennedy's 1964 oral history interview which was sealed for 47 years. It is a series of wide-ranging conversations with historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in which Mrs. Kennedy reveals her thoughts and impressions on topics spanning John F. Kennedy's early campaigns to the Cuban Missile Crisis. The conversations in the recordings cover Mrs. Kennedy’s personal impressions of events and world leaders, her role as First Lady, and her life as a wife and mother living inside the White House.

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First Lady Claudia Taylor (Lady Bird) Johnson, wife of President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969)

First Lady Lady Bird Johnson, lost her mother as an infant and was cared for by her Aunt. She earned the nickname “Lady Bird” from her nurse, Alice Tittle, who thought she was as pretty as a bird. Lady Bird earned degrees in journalism and history from the University of Texas-Austin graduating with Cum Laude honors. She desired to be a newspaper reporter. She also earned a teacher’s certificate and learned typing and shorthand, so that she might be able to get a job as a secretary as an opening into the business world, even though in those days, well-raised young Texas women were not expected to do such things. She was raised in Eastern Texas and Alabama and never quite gave up her southern drawl and gracious manner, hence the public developed misconceptions of her capability as First Lady. “In many accounts of LBJ, Lady Bird gets written off as invisible background to her powerful husband. But she rewrote the book for modern First Ladies by getting involved in her husband’s causes and campaigns and taking up some of her own. All subsequent spouses followed her lead,” says Betty Boyd Caroli, author of First Ladies: From Martha Washington to Michelle Obama (2010). She purchased a radio station in Austin and managed it into a multimillion-dollar enterprise. She was a believer of her husband’s initiatives and worked hard to support

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them. As the First Lady, she was the honorary chairman of the Head Start program for low-income preschoolers. Due to the racial volatility of the South, after Civil Rights laws, Lady Bird Johnson volunteered to represent her husband in the election tour in the South. She rode with local politicians and in four days and 47 towns, she delivered 47 speeches to gain her own political voice with the American people.\textsuperscript{232} She also advocated for the beautification program and was the drive behind the 1965 Highway Beautification Act. Lady Bird Johnson’s motto stated: “Keep America beautiful. Plant a tree, a shrub, or a bush.-Lady Bird Johnson’s call to beautify America.”\textsuperscript{233} Lady Bird also influenced her husband to not seek another term in the White House. She is credited for inserting the famous line into President Johnson’s March, 1968, televised speech where he announced, “I will not seek, nor will I accept, the nomination of my party.”\textsuperscript{234} President Johnson “depended on Lady Bird’s strength and her candor when his steps took him out of bounds with the public and the press. That may have been the toughest job of all, but it came with the territory and she had plenty of experience.”\textsuperscript{235} When the Presidential term ended, the Johnsons returned to Texas, where he died in 1973. Mrs.


\textsuperscript{233} Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book-The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush , 585.


\textsuperscript{235} Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 582.

First Lady Pat Nixon, wife of President Richard M. Nixon (1969-1974)

Future First Lady Thelma Catherine “Pat” Ryan was born in Nevada and grew up on a farm outside of Los Angeles. She was given the nickname “Pat” by her father due to her Irish heritage and because she was born a day before St. Patrick’s Day.²³⁷ Both of Pat’s parents died while she was a teenager. She learned to run the household and earn high grades in school. She attended Fullerton Junior College and worked as a cleaning lady to pay her way. She spent some time in New York studying radiology and working as an X-ray technician. She completed her education at the University of Southern California, and graduated with honors earning a teaching certificate.²³⁸ In Whittier, California she taught typing at a local high school. She met Richard Milhous Nixon while auditioning for a role in the local acting troupe and she married him in 1940. “Nixon had always been an extremely self-confident and ambitious man who believed he was destined for the White House, one of the qualities that endeared him to Pat in the first place but she wanted a private life without controversy. However, she was his most


As Vice President, Nixon went on a tour of the world as America’s goodwill ambassador and Pat joined him. She made a habit of traveling to places for local women, and worked effectively to spread the voice of feminism. In 1968, Richard Nixon was elected to the presidency. Pat Nixon, “in her first year alone as a First Lady, she shook the hands of something like a quarter of a million Americans, logging hundreds of miles as an emissary of the President and promoting her “pet project” which was volunteerism.” Furthermore, she publicly advocated for a woman for the Supreme Court, endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment for women, and even wore trousers for a magazine photo shoot. During the Watergate Scandal in 1972, Richard Nixon kept his wife in the dark about his political business. When Nixon resigned on August 8, 1974, “Pat Nixon knew nothing of the details of the Watergate break-in” and “she, along with every other American, shared the sense of national shame that defined that troubled era.”


First Lady Elizabeth Ann Bloomer Warren Ford was born in Chicago and raised in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Her father passed away when she was only sixteen but left the family with financial comfort. Betty loved to dance and even taught modern dance classes as a young girl. She spent time studying at the Bennington College School of

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Dance in Vermont while supporting herself by modeling for the John Roberts Powers agency. When she returned to Grand Rapids, Betty taught modern dance, choreographed her own dance troupe and worked as a fashion coordinator. Betty’s first marriage failed and then she married Gerald Ford in 1948. She had no idea that he was running for a seat in the House of Representatives which he won. Betty learned quickly about government by listening to debates and reading up on Congressional issues. She was a mother of four children but suffered from depression and anxiety, as well as pancreatitis, arthritis and a pinched nerve. She was treated with therapy and a huge amount of painkillers. Gerald Ford was President Nixon’s Vice President for eight months when Nixon resigned. Ford became President on August 9, 1974. In her instant role as First Lady, Betty Ford was diagnosed with breast cancer and underwent a mastectomy. The White House was candor in reporting of Mrs. Ford’s surgery and recovery. For the first time, women in America were talking openly about breast cancer. Hence, she became spokespersons for the fight against cancer. Betty Ford received a special award from the American Cancer Society for her November 7, 1975 speech in New York.

It isn’t vanity to worry about disfigurement. It is an honest concern. I started wearing low cut dresses as soon as the scar healed, and my worries

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244 John Robert Green, Betty Ford: Candor & Courage in the White House (Lawrence: University Press, 2004), 51
about my appearance are now just the normal ones of staying slim and keeping my hair kempt and my make-up in order. When I asked myself whether I would rather lose a right arm or a breast, I decided I would rather have lost a breast.\textsuperscript{245}

Betty raised funds for the handicapped children, promoted better care for the elderly, and championed the National Endowment for the Arts. Betty was a great public speaker and fought for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Due to her influence on her husband, Ford appointed more women to government positions, publicly came out in favor of legalizing abortion, marked 1975 as International Women’s Year and asked the Americans to embrace feminism.\textsuperscript{246} After leaving the White House, Betty turned to drugs and alcohol. Her family intervened and she sought treatment. As a result, in 1982, she founded the very famous Betty Ford Center for drug and alcohol rehabilitation in Rancho Mirage, California.\textsuperscript{247}


Rosalynn Carter was raised in Georgia and attended Georgia State College for Women. After marrying James Carter she moved to six different naval bases and she


\textsuperscript{246}Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, 616-618.

greatly enjoyed her experiences and giving birth to three sons. They moved back to Georgia and in 1970 Jimmy Carter became governor of Georgia. Mrs. Carter was well prepared for the role of the First Lady due to her experience as the wife of the governor. Historian Santly Godbold stated, “He (President Carter) elevated Rosalyn to equal partner, and she was always up to the job.” First Lady Rosalynn Carter kept a full agenda advocating for mental health reform, becoming honorary chairperson of the President’s Commission on Mental Health, actively supporting legislation to reform Social Security, hosting discussions about the problems of the aging, and urging approval of the Equal Rights Amendment. On the day of Reagan’s inauguration, the Carters flew to Germany to welcome home the American hostages that had been freed. In her autobiography, Mrs. Carter wrote, “the hostages were safe and free-the best presents we could give back to the country that had given us so much.” After the presidency, the Carters retired to Georgia. In addition to writing several books, the Carters started the Carter Center, housing the Carter Presidential Library.

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251 Carter, First Lady from the Plains, 20-25.


Nancy was an actress when she first met President Ronald Reagan. For the first two years of the Reagan presidency, Nancy didn’t have a policy agenda. She mainly focused on operating behind the scenes. First Lady Nancy Reagan had worked as a nurse’s aide in college and visited hospitals and attended drug rehabilitation meetings with recovering teenage drug addicts. Her goal as First Lady was to educate children and their parents on the adverse effects of drug abuse. During a 1980 campaign stop in Daytop Village, New York, Mrs. Reagan became aware of the need to educate young people about the effect of drugs. Her anti-drug campaign began when she made a remark to a child who asked her what to say if offered drugs, and she responded, “Just Say No!” She took her drug campaign to the international level. In 1986, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. “The catch-phrase "just say no" soon proliferated through the popular culture of the 1980's, eventually adopted as the name of a loose organization of clubs formed in grammar, middle and high schools in which young people pledged not to experiment with the harmful drugs.” In an interview with Good Morning America in November 1981, Mrs. Reagan, said her "

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best role is to try to bring public awareness, particularly parental awareness, to the problems of drug abuse" because "understanding what drugs can do to your children, understanding peer pressure and understanding why they turn to drugs is...the first step in solving the problem."\(^{257}\)

First Lady Nancy Reagan made appearances on television talk shows, recorded public service announcements, and wrote guest articles.\(^{258}\) She appeared in an episode of the hit television drama *Dynasty* to accentuate support for the anti-drug campaign. As she continued to promote *Just Say No*, she appeared in an episode of the popular 1980s sitcom *Diff'rent Strokes*\(^{259}\) and in a 1985 rock music video, "Stop the Madness."\(^{260}\) When asked about her campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it."\(^{261}\) In April 1985, Nancy invited the First Ladies of various nations to the White House for a conference on drug abuse, which extended the campaign to an international level.\(^{262}\)

\(^{257}\) Nancy Reagan, interview by “Good Morning America” 1981.


In 1985, Nancy became concerned that her husband’s image as the President was suffering and therefore she encouraged him to meet with the new Soviet general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev. First Lady Nancy wrote, in her autobiography, “At the top of my list of duties as First Lady was taking care of Ronnie.”

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law, which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even though, the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan. She made a joint address to the nation, with President Reagan, on the problem of drug abuse. In October 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug addiction and trafficking laws.


First Lady Barbara Bush was born in New York City in an affluent family but never finished her degree at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. By the time George Bush became President, Mrs. Bush had become familiar with capital social life and politics. George Bush had already served as U.S. Ambassador to the United

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Nations in China, and she had accompanied him. She established her cause to be that of promoting literacy. She wrote a book, *C. Fred’s Story: A Dog’s Life*, about a cocker spaniel that lived in the vice-presidential residence with the Bushes, and she donated her proceeds to national literacy organizations.\(^{267}\) This put literacy on the national agenda.

As First Lady, she left the details of formal entertaining to the White House staff but she organized the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy. She wrote another book called *Millie’s Book*, whose profits also were donated to literacy. Millie became the first White House dog to make the best-seller lists, earning more royalties than the President’s salary.\(^{268}\) Mrs. Bush become the second President’s spouse (after Abigail Adams) to claim the role of first mom when her son, George W. Bush, became president in 2001.

Since leaving the White House, several schools have been named in her honor in Texas and Arizona, as well as the Barbara Bush Library in Harris County, Texas. In 1994, she wrote *Barbara Bush: A Memoir*.\(^{269}\) Her best-selling autobiography emphasizes the importance of family, faith and friends.

Following her time in the White House, Barbara Bush has been committed to children’s issues in the state of Maine. In 1995, The Barbara Bush Children's Hospital at Maine Medical Center was named in her honor. “Mrs. Bush graciously accepted the honor, and reminded those in attendance that "children are our future" and providing "a


\(^{268}\) Young and Johnson, Dear First Lady: Letters to the White House, 179.

great start to life for all children” is the most basic of needs and priorities.”

She also serves on the Boards of AmeriCares and the Mayo Clinic and heads the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy.

First Lady Hillary Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton (1993-2001)

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was born in Chicago and grew up in Park Ridge, Illinois. She made a decision to work in public service after hearing a speech in 1964 by the Reverend Martin Luther King.271 She worked at different jobs in the summer, once at a canning factory in Alaska. She worked on Senator Walter Mondale’s subcommittee on migrant workers. She attended and graduated from Wellesley College and Yale Law School. While at Yale, she volunteered at Yale’s Child Study Center, learning about early childhood brain development. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton cofounded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. As the First Lady, she played a role in advocating the establishment of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, the Adoption and Safe Families Act and The Foster Care Independence Act. Hillary Clinton had encountered controversy from the start of her tenure. She was an easy target for the political opposition, taking a more overtly political role than any of her predecessors. Much as Nancy Reagan had served as a target for her husband's opponents, so too did Hillary Clinton become a target for those who disagreed with the Administration. Hillary shared her experiences as the First Lady and her observations of


women, children, and families she had met around the world in her weekly newspaper column entitled “Talking It Over.” In her memoirs, Hillary shares the purpose of her political role,

A political life, I’ve often said, is a continuing education in human nature, including one’s own. My involvement on the ground floor of two presidential campaigns and my duties as First Lady took me to every state in our union and to seventy-eight nations. In each place, I met someone or saw someone that caused me to open my mind and my heart and deepen my understanding of the universal concerns that most of humanity shares.\(^\text{272}\)

In 1996, Hillary published the book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.\(^\text{273}\) The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it. In the book Clinton, shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs. Hillary Clinton’s memoirs *Living History*, sold over 3 million copies.\(^\text{274}\) In her memoirs, she wrote about being born in a time period of possibilities:

I wasn’t born a First Lady or a Senator. I wasn’t born a Democrat. I wasn’t born a lawyer or an advocate for women’s rights and human rights. I wasn’t born a wife or mother. I was born an American in the middle of the twentieth century, a fortunate time and place. I was free to make choices unavailable to past generations of women in my country and inconceivable to many women in the world today. I came of age on the crest of tumultuous social change and took part in the political battle fought over the meaning of America and its role in the world. My mother and my grandmothers could never have lived my life; my father and my

\(^{272}\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, x.


\(^{274}\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*. 
grandfathers could never have imagined it. But they bestowed on me the promise of America, which made my life and my choices possible.\textsuperscript{275}

In 1999, Hillary Clinton officially declared herself a candidate for to run for the position of U. S. Senate. On November 7, 2000, Hillary Clinton became the first First Lady ever elected to public office, winning the U.S. Senate seat from New York State. As an advocate for her state, Senator Clinton led a bipartisan effort to bring broadband access to rural communities; co-sponsored the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act; included language in the Energy Bill to provide tax exempt bonding authority for environmentally conscious construction projects; and introduced an amendment calling for funding of new job creation to repair, renovate and modernize public schools.

‘I am in, and I’m in to Win’ With that supremely confident pronunciation, Hillary Rodham Clinton took the first bold step toward becoming America’s first female president. Her declaration came in an email message that landed in millions of Americans’ in-boxes at 10:00 a.m. sharp on Saturday, January 20, 2007.\textsuperscript{276}

Hillary Rodham Clinton was the only wife of a President to enter any type of electoral race on a national level. This also set an unusual precedent for a First Lady to been elected to the United States Senate; since no other woman who had been First Lady had stood for public office.

On June 3, 2008, Hillary Clinton delivered a stirring concession speech in Washington, D.C. to her supporters, emphasizing that she was not interested in having a

\textsuperscript{275} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham}, 1.

cult personality following achieving in her party dramatic change in the executive branch. She addressed the National Democratic Convention and endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama. Throughout the fall, she campaigned vigorously on Obama’s behalf and after he won the 2008 election, he named her as his Secretary of State. In January of 2009, Hillary Clinton became the 67th Secretary of State. Hillary is the third woman and the only former First Lady to serve in this capacity. The position’s duties are to serve as the primary advisor on foreign affairs to the President and enact presidential policy decisions through her department, which also includes the U.S. Foreign Service. A great part of Secretary Clinton’s public role is leading or joining global conferences and other international meetings on a variety of issues. As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton has focused special attention beyond her required duties to focus on the international rights of women, economic empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world, and “town hall” type meetings with direct questioning from the public, whether in the United States or other countries.

First Lady Laura Bush, wife of President George W. Bush (2001-2009)

Mrs. Laura Bush was born and raised in Texas and she earned degrees in education and library science. She worked for several years as an elementary school teacher and children’s librarian. In fact, Laura is the second First Lady, after Hillary Clinton, to have earned an advanced degree, a masters in library science. Prior to

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becoming First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Bush served as the First Lady of Texas. During a visit to a school, in 2003, Mrs. Bush had this to say:

I worked as a teacher and librarian and I learned how important reading is in school and in life. But I didn’t just learn this in the classroom – I learned it at home from my mother. When I was a little girl, my mother would read stories to me. I have loved books and going to the library ever since. In the summer, I liked to spend afternoons reading in the library. I enjoyed the Little House on the Prairie books and Little Women, and many others. I know that with this money, you’ll be able to read lots of new books and find favorites of your own.  

In addition, Mrs. Bush advocates for the President’s educational reform, the No Child Left Behind Act, was a strong supporter of NCLB’s Reading First program and launched the “Ready to Read, Ready to Learn,” education initiative to promote best practices in early childhood education and to raise awareness of teacher training programs. During her eight years in the White House she had dedicated herself to advancing her interest of education and literacy by establishing the semi-annual National Book Festival and encouraging education on a national scale to introduce Americans to their favorite authors each year.

In 2003, Mrs. Bush answered the call to take her education agenda global, as honorary ambassador for the United Nations Literacy Decade. In this role, she has worked with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization to promote global literacy programs with measurable outcomes. She convened world leaders for annual summits that inspired successful practices, beginning with the first-ever White House Conference on Global Literacy in 2006. Mrs. Bush has visited schools and met with students in nations from Afghanistan to Zambia.


with a particular focus on encouraging girls and women to pursue their education.\textsuperscript{281}

Since the attacks of September 11, Mrs. Bush has been an outspoken supporter of the women of Afghanistan. In November 2001, she became the first First Lady to give the President’s weekly radio address, speaking out against the Taliban’s oppression of women and children. She has traveled to Afghanistan three times and served as honorary chair of the U.S.-Afghan Women’s Council.\textsuperscript{282}

In May 2010, Bush released her memoirs, \textit{Spoken from the Heart}, in conjunction with a national tour. \textsuperscript{283} Through 2012, Mrs. Bush is serving as the Honorary Ambassador for the United Nations Literacy Decade (UNLD), as an international spokesperson for the education of people in every nation, especially women and girls.

First Lady Michelle Obama, wife of President Barack Obama (2009-present)

Michelle Obama was born in Chicago and was such an excellent student that she skipped the second grade. Due to Michelle’s excellence in academics she was chosen to attend the first magnet high school in Chicago, Whitney Young Magnet High School.\textsuperscript{284} She graduated cum laude from Princeton University and earned a law degree from Harvard Law School. Michelle returned to Chicago to work for the Sidley & Austin law firm where she met her husband, Barack Obama. She married him in 1991.\textsuperscript{285} She eventually took a position in community service to work in Mayor Richard Daley’s office. At first, Michelle was leery about her husband entering politics. When he won

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{281} White House, "Laura Bush, First Lady." \textit{White House}.
\item \textsuperscript{282} White House, "Laura Bush, First Lady." \textit{White House}.
\item \textsuperscript{283} Laura Bush, \textit{Spoken from the Heart} (New York: Scribner, 2010).
\item \textsuperscript{284} Liza Mundy, \textit{Michelle} (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 47-54.
\item \textsuperscript{285} Mundy, \textit{Michelle}.
\end{itemize}
the U.S. Senate seat in 2004, she stayed in Chicago to work and raise the couple’s two daughters. During the Presidential campaign Michelle’s speeches took on the issues of education and inequality, which she wrote herself. First Lady Michelle Obama is advocating for a White House Council on Women and Girls. She reaches out to the city’s poor and neglected in ways that other First Ladies have not. In the spring of 2009, First Lady Obama, with the help of children from the local school, planted a vegetable garden on the south lawn of the White House. Although the food from the garden will be used in the first family’s meals, the garden’s importance is to help educate children and their parents that healthy food can be grown locally.

Promoting service and working with young people has remained a staple of her career and her interest. As First Lady, her efforts continue by launching Let’s Move, “a campaign to bring together community leaders, teachers, doctors, nurses, moms and dads in a nationwide effort to tackle the challenge of childhood obesity. Let’s Move has an ambitious but important goal: to solve the epidemic of childhood obesity within a generation.”

Michelle speaks with practitioners about childhood obesity and teen pregnancy and visits social service agencies.

As part of this effort, President Barack Obama established the first-ever Task Force on Childhood Obesity to develop and implement an inter-agency plan that details a coordinated strategy, identifies key benchmarks, and outlines an action plan to end the problem of childhood obesity within a generation. The goal of the action plan is to reduce the childhood obesity rate to just five percent by 2030 – the same rate before childhood obesity first began to rise in the late 1970s. In total, the report presents a series of

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70 specific recommendations, many of which can be implemented right away. 287

As the current First Lady, Michelle Obama looks forward to continuing her work “on the issues close to her heart — supporting military families, helping working women balance career and family, encouraging national service, promoting the arts and arts education, and fostering healthy eating and healthy living for children and families across the country.” 288 “I want to leave something behind that we can say, ‘Because of this time that this person spent here, this thing has changed.’ And my hope is that that’s going to be in the area of childhood obesity.” 289

Why Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton?

In a historical documentary analysis it is important to identify reasons for selecting a particular subject in order to gain a better understanding of the issues pertaining to women leadership and the reflection behind the research on the First Ladies that have been selected. From the beginning of United States history, First Ladies “rallied people at times of national hardship, and they were determined, patriotic, and sympathetic to the needs of the country.” 290 “They were courageous enough to do what was right rather than what was popular. All were confident in their husbands’ leadership,


unfailing in their loyalty to them, and served as a safe harbor and trusted partner to their President.” 291 In addition, “First Ladies find their voice can be heard in the elevated position they share with their husbands. They listen and empathize with the problems throughout our country and the entire world-and then rise to the occasion.” 292

Organizations in America and across the world have sought to have the First Lady support their cause or efforts they were making for charity or to establish institutions to help others.

First Ladies since Jackie Kennedy have all focused on specific causes - many of them have involved some form of federal government involvement or lobbying for legal change: Jackie Kennedy and historic preservation, Lady Bird Johnson and environmental protection, Pat Nixon and volunteerism, Betty Ford and expanded equal rights for women, Rosalynn Carter and care for the mentally ill, Nancy Reagan and drug prevention among young people, Barbara Bush and the problems of illiteracy, Hillary Clinton and health care and adoption, Laura Bush and education and libraries. 293

Each First Lady in the United States in some form has advocated for children and families. The role each of them played was based on a broad range of factors from her personal health, needs of her husband and children, the time period that she served as a First Lady, her educational background, her geographical upbringing, the President’s vision, the state of the economy, engagement in war, etc. Many of the First Ladies leave lasting legacies and continue to advocate for social causes well beyond their role as First Ladies. For this research, modern First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton have


been selected for the following reasons: 1) each had a different education and background 2) each took a different path, 3) each had a different drive in how she determined her social cause 4) each did what was right versus what was popular; and, 5) each had an impact at an international level that has gone well beyond her years in the White House. Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton were unique and diverse in their approaches and the decisions they made in being change agents at the national and even international levels. In addition, each one of these First Ladies endured negative press; yet each woman persevered to make a lasting impact. This research has evaluated how each woman’s way of moving a national agenda was certainly unique and each displayed transformational leadership characteristics in bringing about change.

**Review of Conceptual Framework and its Application**

The leadership behaviors demonstrated by Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton have been identified through primary and secondary source reference materials. Primary and secondary sources have been used to gather words and actions of the First Ladies. These words and actions have been viewed through the lens of Bass’ Transformational Leadership framework in order to conduct the analysis. The established leadership behaviors have been examined through the lens of The Leadership Theory of Bernard Bass’ four components of transformational leaders.

This research has also compared different kinds of documentary sources to each other in order to make connections. According to Taylor and Bogdon (1998), “triangulation is a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, and in order to gain a deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people
involved. The research has used numerous primary and secondary sources pertaining to the First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton to understand their demonstration of being transformational leaders. The primary and secondary sources were analyzed to determine the applications of Bass’ four components of transformational leadership to the First Ladies words and actions. Bass’ four components provided the conceptual framework for analyzing the work of the First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton.

While there are many models of leadership currently available, Bass’ Leadership Theory has been the lens through which this researcher has analyzed the leadership demonstrated by the subjects in this study. Bass’ four components has provided for specific criteria for an analysis of work of the First Ladies.

**Conclusion**

The definition of leadership has experienced many changes during the 20th century. The increasing roles of women as leaders have triggered many researchers to study the impact that women have on society as leaders. In general, studies have indicated that over the last 200 years, female leaders have become more transformational than male leaders. Women have become more involved in positions where a leadership role is needed to move an organization to the forefront.

America’s First Ladies have played many roles such as the wife of the President, hostess of the White House and a voice for various issues in America. From Martha Washington, who was America’s First Lady, to Michelle Obama who is America’s

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294 Taylor, and Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*, 80.
current First Lady, changes in their roles have contributed to the development of women’s leadership in America.

There has been a great deal of biographical information about Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton but research does not exist as to their role as transformational leaders to move social change agenda forward. There has been some research conducted on the words used in their speeches to the degree they used transformational leadership language in their words. This research has not only analyzed the words of Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton but also their actions to move their agenda forward.
CHAPTER III

NANCY REAGAN

Introduction

At the age of 91, Nancy Reagan continues to utilize her leadership capacity to impact social change at national and international levels and her most important work of preserving her husband President Ronald Reagan’s legacy. Nancy Davis Reagan was married to former President Ronald Reagan for over fifty years before he died in 2004. Her affection for and commitment to her husband is well recognized, matched only by the unwavering devotion Ronald Reagan had for Nancy. In her lifetime, Nancy Reagan has held three distinctive careers, all flourishing under the glare of the spotlight. Her first was as an actress, the second was a political wife, and the third was wife and First Lady to the fortieth President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

Nancy Reagan was a creation of her time, and much of her orthodox viewpoint was reminiscent of the principles of the generation that endorsed a traditional 1950s housewife. Even though she may not be categorized among the liberated feminist leaders of the twentieth century, she does share commonalities with their historical trailblazing, due to her use of the First Lady’s platform to effectively advocate on behalf of families, children and health issues. Even though Nancy Reagan’s notable work is focused on her husband, President Reagan, she has validated a political competency and drive that is
essential for every successful national leader. James Benze, Jr. notes her political influence as follows:

She was also criticized for her unwillingness to address issues of significance—particularly women’s issues…The irony, of course, is that Mrs. Reagan was proving to be a very powerful political wife—though her power was not grounded in causes, constituencies, or office, but rather in her unwavering commitment to her husband.¹

The work she began as the First Lady of the United States continues to give evidence of her influence. In a very famous speech, that launched Ronald Reagan’s career, he said,

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.²

This speech not only launched President Ronald Reagan’s political career but also Nancy Reagan’s career as a politician’s wife, advocate and the First Lady of the United States. Not only did President Reagan have a rendezvous with destiny to become the 40th President of the United States and to serve the American people for eight years, but Nancy Reagan embarked on her own transformational rendezvous with the American people and a destiny of her own that continues today in preserving her husband’s legacy.

Nancy Reagan's detractors were vocal, but so were her supporters. For each of the eight years of Reagan's presidency, she was voted one of the ten most admired


women in both *Good Housekeeping* and the Annual Gallup Poll.\(^3\) When thinking about the most influential and progressive First Ladies of the 20\(^{th}\) Century, Nancy Reagan would not be the primary one to appear to the minds of many. But as soon as you capture a closer glance and analyze Nancy Reagan, her life, her political efforts and the leadership impact that the 40\(^{th}\) First Lady of the United States has had, one realizes how misjudged she was as one of the most influential First Ladies in history of the United States.

**Nancy Is Born in New York City 1921**

On July 6, 1921, in Queens, New York, Nancy Davis Reagan was born as Anne Frances Robbins to Edith Luckette Robbins and Kenneth Robbins.\(^4\) At an early age, her mother nicknamed her “Nancy.” Nancy’s mother, Edith (Edie) started acting at the age of three, playing roles with stock companies along the Atlantic coast.\(^5\) When Edie married Kenneth Seymour Robbins, in 1916, she gave up acting for a little while to live in Vermont. She performed in her first Broadway play in 1917 and went on tour while her husband, Kenneth, enlisted in the service. Kenneth returned from the army in 1919

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and Edith was pregnant in late 1920.\textsuperscript{6} Kenneth wished to move the family back to Vermont but Edith refused and gave birth to her daughter without her husband.\textsuperscript{7} In an effort to make her marriage work, Edith quit acting for a year but that lasted for only a short while, and the two separated in 1922.

\textbf{Nancy’s Early Years (1923-1928)}

Edith Robbins continued to work as an actress to support herself and her daughter. For two years, Edith took Nancy with her on shows but realized that it was a difficult life for a child to travel from show to show. In 1923, Edith left Nancy with her sister and brother-in-law, Virginia and C. Audley Galbraith in Bethesda, Maryland.\textsuperscript{8} Edith continued to live in New York and traveled with theater companies throughout the East. Nancy got along well with her cousin Charlotte, Galbraith’s daughter, and in 1925, she joined her cousin in school at Sidwell Friends School.\textsuperscript{9} Sidwell Friends School was a private Quaker institution in Washington, D.C. Although the Galbraiths were a middle class family, many of the students at Sidwell Friends School were wealthy and were children of high government officials and from prosperous Washington D.C. neighborhoods. Nancy missed her mother and looked forward to the opportunities to see her. Aunt Virgie would take Nancy to New York whenever possible, for Nancy to see her mom. Edith would visit Nancy in Maryland whenever she could and share with

\textsuperscript{6} Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, "Nancy is Born in New York City."

\textsuperscript{7} For accounts of Nancy Reagan’s early life see Deaver, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan, 19; Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, "Nancy is Born in New York City."

\textsuperscript{8} Michael K Deaver, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan (New York: Harper Collins Publisher Inc. 2004), 20.

\textsuperscript{9} Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, "Nancy is Born in New York City."
Nancy the stories of her travels and shows. She would even teach Nancy and Charlotte the latest dance steps. Nancy was in awe of her mother’s exciting life in the theater and later she chose a career of acting.  

Nancy lived with her aunt in Maryland for five years. Ken Robbins her father, was mostly absent from her life in Maryland. Ken would officially divorce from Edith in 1928. 

In the summer of 1927, Nancy’s mother joined a group of English actors to sail to England on the SS New York. During her sail, she met Dr. Loyal Davis, an associate professor of surgery at Northwestern University, who was a pioneer in the new field of neurosurgery. Dr. Davis and his colleague were traveling to England to speak at a conference of American and British neurologists. During the summer of 1928, Edith was performing in George M. Cohan plays in Chicago where Dr. Davis came to see her performance. Soon the two were seeing each other regularly and Dr. Davis proposed to Edith. Edith came to Maryland for her daughter’s approval of the marriage and Nancy eagerly agreed. Edith also decided she would give up acting and she and Nancy would move to Chicago.

Nancy moves to Chicago May 21, 1929

On May 21, 1929, Edith Robbins and Loyal Davis were married in Chicago. Although Edith and Loyal were opposites, they were very happy together. Edith even contributed to the family income by working on a radio soap opera called, Betty and

12 Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, "Nancy is Born in New York City."
As they became more and more financially secure, the Davis family moved several times within Chicago’s best neighborhoods and gained greater social status. Edith became involved in several charity organizations such as the Art Institute and the Passavant Hospital gift shop, volunteering with the Red Cross and the Seeing Eye organizations. In addition, she worked with women’s division of the Chicago Community Fund, and would serve as its chairperson for twenty-five years. Before attending the well-known Girl’s Latin School in Chicago, Nancy first attended the University School for Girls. In 1931, Nancy began attending the Girl’s Latin School as a fifth grader. The school was a conservative school but was considered one of the best, academically and socially. Nancy was a good student and became popular very quickly.

At first, Nancy was very distant and formal with her stepfather, resenting his closeness to her mother. Dr. Davis allowed Nancy to get acclimated to him at her own pace. He was considered strict but fair and expected Nancy always to give her best effort; she made every effort to live up to his expectations. Nancy discusses her visit to the hospitals with her father, Loyal Davis:

I was thrilled when he finally allowed me to watch him perform an operation. I usually sat up in the gallery, and when he allowed me into the operating room, I felt I had passed the ultimate test. I’m not sure I could have watched any other kind of operation, but brain surgery is so precise,

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16 Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy moves to Chicago.”

and everything is covered up expect for one small area. He would work
with tiny nerves that you could barely see. I was so proud of him. Here
was this wonderful, handsome, accomplished man—and he was my
father.18

Nancy saw her biological father, Ken Robbins only sporadically. He visited her
in Chicago in the summer of 1929 and Nancy went to see him and his wife, Patsy, in
1931, at which time they vacationed in Niagara Falls.19 Nancy’s relationship with
Robbins was not on good terms and a few years later, on a trip to her father’s home, a
traumatic incident occurred that ultimately led to Nancy’s decision to ask Loyal Davis to
adopt her legally. In her memoirs, Nancy Reagan wrote,

He made a disparaging remark about her mother, which angered the young
Nancy. She declared that she was going to call her mother and return
home. Ken got upset and locked Nancy in the bathroom. It was a
traumatizing experience for Nancy, and her relationship with Ken was
irreparably damaged.20

Soon afterwards, she approached a neighbor in their Chicago apartment building, Orville
Taylor, a retired judge.21 She asked him how to go about becoming adopted, and, with
her mother’s permission, Taylor helped her complete the necessary paperwork. Nancy
Davis met with her father, Ken, and her grandmother to explain what she wanted to do,
and he reluctantly signed an agreement to allow Nancy to be adopted by Loyal Davis.
On April 19, 1938, at the age of 16, Nancy filed a petition of adoption, and she also

18 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 76.

19 Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy moves to Chicago.”


21 For accounts of Nancy Reagan’s early life see Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan,
78; Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy moves to Chicago.”
requested that her name be changed. Anne Francis Robbins legally became Nancy Davis.\textsuperscript{22}

**Nancy at Smith College (September, 1939- June, 1943)**

In June of 1939, Nancy Davis graduated from Girls Latin School and in September entered Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{23} Loyal Davis’ first wife, Pearl, died of tuberculosis and their son, Richard, came to live with Edith and Loyal in Chicago. Four years younger than Nancy, Richard entered ninth grade at the Boys Latin School. Nancy had spent many summers with Richard since her mother married Loyal Davis, and they had gotten along well. After Richard moved to Chicago, Nancy became very close to him.

While on Christmas vacation in December of 1939, Nancy made her debut at the Casino Club, where her parents were members. Although the economic hardships of the Great Depression were lingering, coming-out parties for the daughters of high society families were very popular, and the social scene in Chicago was filled with activities. Mrs. Patrick A. Valentine, a prominent Chicago socialite and heiress, gave a dinner party in Nancy’s honor at Gold Coast mansion.\textsuperscript{24} Nancy also met Frank Birney, Jr. at a debutante season’s tea and he became her first college boyfriend. The two dated for about eighteen months and were talking of a future together when tragedy struck. On


\textsuperscript{23} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan.”

December 15, 1941, Frank was running across train tracks to catch a train when he was struck and killed. Some have theorized that Frank, despondent over school problems and disturbed by the recent attack on Pearl Harbor, committed suicide.\footnote{Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy at Smith College.”} Nancy has always maintained that it was an accident, and, in either case, it was a terrible blow for her.

At a young age, Nancy had made the decision to pursue acting and follow in her mother’s footsteps. She was part of several plays at Girls Latin School. In her senior year she was cast and played the role of the future First Lady as the wife of a presidential candidate, and her character helped her husband win.\footnote{Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy at Smith College.”} She made a promise to her father to complete at least one year of college before pursuing an acting career. She enjoyed Smith College so much that she stayed on, majoring in drama. She completed summer unpaid apprenticeships in the summer stock theaters, and she helped form a theater group at college.\footnote{For accounts of Nancy Reagan’s early life see The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies Their Lives, Times, and Issues, 261; Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 83.} The theater group produced a musical comedy about college life called *Ladies on the Loose*.\footnote{Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy at Smith College.”}

During World War II, Nancy’s father, Loyal Davis, was sent to Europe as a consultant in neurological surgery for the United States Army. Nancy graduated from Smith College on May 23, 1943, and returned to Chicago to stay with her mother until
her father returned from the war. Nancy worked as a sales clerk in the Marshall Fields Department store and, later, as a nurse's aide in Chicago. In 1944, through her mother's friends in the acting profession, Nancy was offered a role in the touring company starring ZaSu Pitts in the play *Ramshackle Inn*. When the play ended in New York, Nancy decided to remain and pursue her dream to be an actress.

**Nancy in New York (1944-1947)**

New York City was a grand place to be for a young actress in 1944. World War II was coming to an end and Broadway had a record number of plays and hits which included Rogers and Hammerstein’s *Carousel* and their long-running *Oklahoma!*, Tennessee Williams’ *The Glass Menagerie*, and Jerome Robbins’ *On the Town*. The Davises permitted Nancy to be alone in New York due to numerous family friends and theater colleagues to look after her. She spent her first year auditioning and working on several modeling jobs to get by, until her first role. In December of 1945, Nancy Davis landed a minor role in the musical *Lute Song*, starring Yul Brynner and Mary Martin. The musical ran for six months and afterwards Nancy received a larger role in the traveling production, *That Late Christopher Bean*, which starred Zasu Pitts. She was

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with the production tour until December, 1947. One of Nancy’s fond memories of New York is a week she spent escorted around New York by Clark Gable.33 She received a great deal of attention during that week, and the gossip magazines even speculated that Gable might give up his bachelor life for Nancy. While in New York, Nancy also tried new avenues and acted on the newest entertainment medium, television. Even though Nancy did not establish a successful stage career in New York, she was about to begin a completely new acting career in Hollywood.

Nancy moves to Hollywood (1949)

Nancy appeared in the television version of Ramshackle Inn on January 2, 1949.34 Shortly after that, she was invited to Hollywood for a screen test with Metro Goldwyn Mayer Studios (MGM). The arrangement for the screen test was made on Nancy’s behalf by Nancy’s mother and longtime family friend, Spencer Tracy. The screen test was arranged to include one of the best directors in Hollywood, George Cukor, and also one of film’s best cinematographers, George Folsey. On March 2, 1949, Nancy Davis accepted a seven-year contract with Metro Goldwyn Mayer, and she was on her way to Hollywood, California.35

From 1949 to 1957, Nancy appeared in eleven films. Her first role was in Death in the Doll’s House, with Ann Sothern. Nancy worked with some of the biggest names in Hollywood, including Ava Gardner, James Whitmore, Gary Cooper, Gene Kelly, Van

33 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 86.


Johnson, Janet Leigh and George Murphy. Nancy was most proud of her work on *Night into Morning* and *The Next Voice You Hear*.

**Nancy meets Ronald Reagan-The Love Story- October 1949**

“Charlton Heston, referring to Nancy and Ronald Reagan, once said theirs was ‘probably the greatest love affair in the history of the American Presidency’.” From the beginning, their relationship was played out on a very public stage, due to their Hollywood stardom. What started as a meeting between two movie stars became a lifelong love story that thrived from the beginning. As Ronald Reagan entered the public arena the couple became the subject of much scrutiny and examination. What the public saw in the Reagan couple who were always holding hands, was their intense devotion to each other.

On November 15, 1949, Nancy Davis met Ronald Reagan, who at the time was an actor and the president of the Screen Actors Guild. Nancy was concerned when she noticed that her name had appeared in a Hollywood paper as a communist supporter; she wanted to clarify her position, and she approached Mervyn LeRoy with her concerns. He suggested Ronald Reagan's assistance in having her name removed from the list. Nancy wrote,

> One evening in the fall of 1949, I was in my apartment, reading one of the Hollywood papers, when I noticed a name—*my* name—in a list of Communist sympathizers in Hollywood. In those days I didn’t know much about politics, but I knew that my name did not belong on that list.

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In New York I had also been mistaken for another Nancy Davis and had received her mail and even some of her phone calls. But it’s not exactly an uncommon name. When I came to Mervyn LeRoy with my problem, he had the studio arrange for an item to appear in Louella Parson’s widely read gossip column in the Examiner, pointing out that the Nancy Davis who was listed in the paper was not the actress who was under contract to Metro. ‘Feeling any better?’ he asked me the next day. ‘A little,’ I said. “But my parents would die if they heard about this. What else can I do?’ ‘Maybe I should call Ronald Reagan,’ he said. ‘This might be something the Guild should look into.’

Ronald Reagan realized that her name had been confused with another actress with the same name. Nancy wanted personal reassurance from Mr. Reagan that her name was not associated with communism, and arrangements were made so that Nancy received a call from Ronald Reagan. Nancy wrote about the first time she spoke to Ronald Reagan:

Later that afternoon, the phone rang. “Nancy Davis? This is Ronald Reagan from the Screen Actors Guild. Mervyn LeRoy asked me to look into your problem, and I have some answers for you. If you’re free for dinner tonight, perhaps we could talk about it then.” ‘Well,’ I stammered, ‘I think I could manage it.’ ‘How about seven-thirty?’ he said. ‘It can’t be a late night, because I have an early call in the morning’.

Nancy and Ronald Reagan’s first date was at LaRue’s, a restaurant on Sunset Strip. After dinner they went to a nightclub to see a show. Nancy described their conversation that evening,

One of the things I liked about Ronnie right away was that he didn’t talk only about himself. …His world was not limited to himself or his career. He told me about the Guild, and why the actors’ union meant so much to him. He talked about his small ranch in the San Fernando Valley, about horses and their bloodlines; he was a Civil War buff, and he knew a lot about wine. …He had a wonderful sense of humor.

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38 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 93.
39 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 94.
The two began dating and their relationship was the subject of many gossip columns. Ronald Reagan was skeptical about marriage, due to his painful 1948 divorce from Jane Wyman. After several years of dating, he eventually proposed to Nancy Davis in the couple’s favorite booth at the Beverly Hills restaurant Chasen’s.\textsuperscript{41}

In their relationship, Ronald Reagan wrote numerous letters to his wife Nancy. And, when Nancy was away she would leave cards and notes for her husband to discover during their time apart. In 2004, Nancy Reagan published these letters in a book. On their thirty-first wedding anniversary, President Reagan wrote, “I more than love you, I’m not whole without you. You are life itself to me. When you are gone I’m waiting for you to return so I can start living again.”\textsuperscript{42} She wrote, “If either of us ever left the room, we both felt lonely. People don’t always believe this, but it’s true. Filling the loneliness, completing each other—that’s what it still meant to us to be husband and wife.”\textsuperscript{43} Douglas Brinkley, editor of the \textit{Reagan Diaries}, wrote in his introduction,

And rarely can one turn a page without realizing that Ronald Reagan’s marriage to Nancy was the cornerstone of his life. Nothing was more important to Ronald Reagan than his marriage. His deep and enduring love for her was a foundation for him. In the George Washington University Hospital after being shot, he wrote, ‘I opened my eyes once to find Nancy there. I pray I’ll never face a day when she isn’t there. Of all the ways God has blessed me giving her to me is the greatest and beyond anything I can ever hope to deserve.’ He felt a real sense of loss whenever his wife was


away. On one occasion, when she left for a ship christening, he asked himself, ‘Why am I so scared when she leaves like that?’ Later, when she went on a trip to New York, he contracted one of his typical bouts of White House loneliness. ‘I don’t like it here by myself, he wrote.’

**Nancy Davis becomes Mrs. Nancy Davis Reagan**

At the age of 30, Nancy Davis married Ronald Reagan at the Little Brown Church in the Valley, in California, on March 4, 1952. It was a simple ceremony designed to avoid the press and the only people in attendance were actor William Holden (Ronald Reagan’s best friend) as the best man, and Holden’s wife, the matron of honor. The Reagans honeymooned at the Arizona Biltmore Hotel. They purchased their first home together in Pacific Palisades. Although Nancy intended to give up her movie career to be a housewife and a mother, she continued to support the family financially. “I learned a lot about how to be a wife, and about many other things, from my mother, Edith Luckett Davis. She had a profound influence on the woman I turned out to be, as did her second husband, Dr. Loyal Davis, whom I have always considered my true father.”

Ronald Reagan had two children from his first marriage he supported financially. Nancy wrote about being a wife and a mother,

> We were so happy on our honeymoon, but the first year of our marriage was difficult. During that year we had our first child, Patti, who was born—go ahead and count—a bit precipitously but very joyfully, on October 22, 1952. I didn’t know much about being a parent, and I was an insecure mother. Then too, Ronnie’s career in Hollywood had trickled to a

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standstill; he just wasn’t offered any good parts. I had said I wouldn’t be a working wife and mother, but I went back to work and made some films because we needed the money. ...Although the course of our lives together hasn’t always been smooth, I have never doubted for one single instant that Ronnie and I belong together.\(^{47}\)

Ronald Reagan was not getting roles in movies but was making guest appearances on various television shows. A few months after the birth of their first child, Patricia, Nancy took part in the film Donovan’s Brian. Nancy’s wish was to be a mother and a wife, and she said,

> Oh, I wanted to give up my career, It’s the best decision I ever made. I’d seen too many marriages fail because both were in the business. Every day, you know, you’re told how dear and darling you are in the studio, and you come home and you want to be treated that way at home. And that’s not the way it is. But Ronnie never asked me to give up my career, I wanted to give up my career.\(^{48}\)

In 1954, Ronald Reagan received an offer from General Electric (GE) to host a weekly dramatic program. Ronald Reagan served as host of a popular Sunday evening television program called General Electric Theater, from 1954 to 1962.\(^{49}\) He introduced each live episode and appeared in four programs each year. Nancy also, at times, appeared on the show. During that time, as part of his contract, he also spent time each year traveling the country as GE’s “corporate ambassador.” He traveled by train to 139 plants in forty states.

By the time the show concluded its eight-year run, Ronald Reagan, by his own account, had visited 139 GE research and manufacturing facilities. He


\(^{49}\) General Electric Company, “Ronald Reagan and GE."
walked the plant floors, toured offices and met over 250,000 individual employees, honing his renowned communications skills and leaving a unique legacy that continues to inspire our company today.\textsuperscript{50} The relationship between the Reagan family and the GE company still continues and has spanned more than half a century. In 2010, General Electric was the presenting sponsor of the Ronald Reagan Centennial Celebration.\textsuperscript{51} In the 2010, letter below, Nancy Reagan thanked GE and its employees for their support through the years to continue his legacy:

This is just the latest chapter in our wonderful involvement with General Electric. And to think that it’s a relationship that began more than a half-century ago on GE Theater, with Ronnie’s role hosting and acting, and my own appearances in a few episodes. I know he also loved his travels to GE plants & factories. He was a dedicated letter writer and I still have some of the letters he sent to me from cities and towns across America as he visited with the working men and women of GE.\textsuperscript{52}

\textbf{Ronald Reagan begins his Political Career}

Ronald Reagan was out of work in 1962 when General Electric Theater was cancelled. The last film Reagan made was \textit{Killers} in which he stared as a villain. The film was not a success and there were no further movie offers for him. Ronald had become a popular public speaker in his eight years of travels with General Electric. After his film career ended, he continued to be paid as a public speaker. In the 1964, Presidential race, Mr. Reagan volunteered for the Goldwater campaign. During a Goldwater fundraising event, he delivered a speech that caught the attention of many


Republicans. The event raised enough money to buy a television spot on NBC Television. Ronald Reagan’s speech, titled “A Time for Choosing,” aired on October 27, 1964. This speech launched Reagan’s political career. Below is an excerpt from the speech:

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.  

Although Goldwater did not win the 1964 election, the speech Reagan gave on national television was the start to Mr. Reagan’s political career. On the anniversary of Ronald Reagan’s historic “A Time for Choosing” speech, GE presented a short documentary that tells the story of how Reagan’s time at GE laid the groundwork for his political career and he rose from the GE brand ambassador to the 40th President of the United States.  

The Reagans were reluctant at first to consider the governor’s race but a group of wealthy Republicans were persistent. On January 4, 1966, Ronald Reagan declared his candidacy for the Republican nomination for the Governor of California. Nancy was involved in her husband’s race and even traveled around the state giving speeches to seek voters’ support. “Despite her acting background, Nancy was somewhat shy, and was not

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53 General Electric Company, “Ronald Reagan and GE.”

54 General Electric Company, “Ronald Reagan and GE.”
enthusiastic about making speeches at first. She began by taking questions from an audience, and eventually came to enjoy campaigning on her own.”

First Lady of California (1967-1975)

On January 3, 1967, Ronald Reagan was sworn in as the governor of California. The public inauguration took place on January 5, 1967. Nancy’s first priority as the First Lady of California was to get her family settled in Sacramento. Her fourteen year old daughter was going to school in Arizona and her eight year old son, Ron, was finishing the school year in Los Angeles. Nancy commuted between the two cities until her son finished the school year. At first the Reagans moved into the governor’s mansion that was located on a busy street with much traffic. Nancy had concerns about her family’s safety and, after a false fire alarm, the Reagans decided to move into a home in the suburbs. The Reagans leased the new governor’s mansion from friends and paid their own rent. The Reagans’ move brought a great deal of disapproval from the media. The Reagans were used to the public eye as Hollywood celebrities, but this type of inquiry Mrs. Reagan was not ready for. In a newspaper interview that took place in her leased home, she stated that “she didn’t feel safe in the old house. Besides, there was no place for her eight-year-old son, Skipper (Ronald Jr.) to play around the executive mansion’s motels and service stations.”

The Speaker of the California House of Representative, Jesse Unruh, judged Mrs. Reagan when she asked for donations of antique furniture for


the governor’s executive residence. Unruh suggested that Nancy was accumulating the furniture for the Reagan’s personal use, and the media used the accusations to criticize Nancy. An article in the Los Angeles Times, dated January 29, 1970, stated, “Democratic gubernatorial candidate Jess Unruh continued to challenge the propriety of the Reagans living in a fashionable two-story East Sacramento home rented from a group of 17 wealthy backers.”\(^{57}\) Nancy was able to address the issue in a press conference for the media. She answered questions about the furniture, the new governor’s residence and the amount of rent they paid for their home. Nancy’s direct and honest approach diffused the situation and the issue was dropped.

As the first Lady of California, Mrs. Reagan sought out worthwhile projects and causes to champion and adopt. She had always been interested in helping the sick due to her experiences being a doctor’s daughter.\(^{58}\) As First Lady of California, she began visiting hospitals, and talking and listening to patients. She made regular visits to state institutions that cared for the elderly and physically and emotionally handicapped children. During one of these hospital visits in 1967, she observed participants in the Foster Grandparent Program, a program that brings groups together as a form of therapy for senior citizens and handicapped children, and she soon became its champion.\(^{59}\) She promoted the Foster Grandparent Program in California and, later, throughout the nation.

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\(^{59}\) Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 138-139.
as a First Lady. In a March 1, 1982 article, in the Saturday Evening Post, Nancy Reagan wrote about how she came about championing the Foster Grandparent Program during her time as First Lady of California:

I give a lot of my time to the Foster Grandparent Program because I really believe in it. Ever since I first observed it at work in the Pacific State Hospital in Pomona, California, in 1967, when my husband was governor, I have worked to expand this beautiful program. On that first day, I met a boy named George. It was instant love. He held my hand and followed me everywhere throughout the day. When it was time to leave, neither one of us wanted to let go, and we both cried. That was my introduction to the Foster Grandparent Program.60

When Mrs. Reagan first became interested in the Foster Grandparents Program there were 63 projects in existence. She continues, in her article, to speak about her efforts in supporting the program as First Lady of California:

For 15 years, I have tried to focus public attention on the Foster Grandparent Program. When my husband was governor of California and I was out traveling with him, I would visit any Foster Grandparent Program that happened to be around to see how they were working. I even interested the Australian government with the idea on one trip to that country with my husband. One of my last official luncheons in Sacramento was to honor these Grandparents.61

She went to her husband, Governor Reagan, for help in extending the program to all state hospitals. Mrs. Reagan’s efforts led the program to be expanded into other states as well.

By the end of 1968, Nancy had become confident in her role as the First Lady of California. The Los Angeles Times recognized Nancy Reagan as “Woman of the Year”

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in the December 13, 1968 issue of the paper.\textsuperscript{62} The paper article was entitled “A Model First Lady.” The article commended her on doing an exemplary job, and navigating the position successfully and with dignity and poise.

Mrs. Reagan was described as “model First Lady in a job few women would envy for long if they understood the day in, day out grind that ceremonial duties can become. She was poised, friendly, informed, interested and beautifully turned out day after day, not just when she felt like it.’ The paper praised her as being ‘informed, interested and beautifully turned out day after day.’\textsuperscript{63}

In addition, that year and for the first time, Nancy was also named to the International Best Dressed List. She made the list continuously for several years and then was elevated to the Hall of Fame. In September of 1969, President Nixon asked Governor and Mrs. Reagan to represent the United States at the opening of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. It was a trip that was considered a great success and President Nixon congratulated and thanked them for being ‘superb Ambassadors of Goodwill.’\textsuperscript{64}

Governor Reagan easily won a second gubernatorial election in California in 1970. Mr. Reagan continued to be called upon by President Nixon to represent the United States in foreign matters. In October of 1971, the Reagans were sent to several countries (Japan, Thailand, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) to provide reassurance to the American allies that their relationship with the United States would not be affected by President Nixon’s visit to China. In July, 1972, Mr. and Mrs. Reagan were sent to


\textsuperscript{63} Lilliston, “Times Women of the Year: Nancy Reagan: A Model First Lady,”\textsuperscript{1}.

Europe, to meet with the Prime Ministers of Britain, France, Italy, and Denmark. During
the 1974 presidential race, Governor Reagan campaigned on Nixon’s behalf and attended
the Presidential Inauguration in 1973, and even hosted one of the four inaugural balls.

The cause most important to Mrs. Reagan as First Lady of California was that of
Vietnam War veterans, prisoners of war (POWs) and soldiers missing in action (MIAs).
She visited wounded Vietnam veterans and became active in projects concerning POWs
and servicemen missing in action. She wrote,

I soon became involved in the issue of prisoners of war, and I
corresponded and talked on the phone with many of the mothers, wives,
and children of these men. The women I came to know were just
amazing. In many cases they didn’t even know whether their husbands
and sons were dead or alive. But they never gave up hope. When the
POW’s started coming home, Ronnie, Ron and I watched on television
with tears streaming down our faces. ‘I can’t stand it,’ I said, ‘I’ve got to
get my arms around those boys. We’ve got to do something for them.’

She was deeply grateful to those who had fought on behalf of the country, and dismayed
that they were not welcomed home by the public as the heroes they were. Immediately
after the Paris Peace Accords were signed on January 27, 1973, Operation Homecoming
returned 591 prisoners of war who had been captured in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia
(two POWs from Vietnam and a Cold War POW were released from China). When the
first plane landed in California returning POWs, Governor and Mrs. Reagan were waiting
to honor their return. To welcome the soldiers home, Nancy organized several dinners in
their homes in Sacramento and Los Angeles. Soldiers brought whoever they wanted to
the dinner including their wives, parents, and children. “To this day, Nancy believes that

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the Reagans’ involvement with the POWs & MIAs was the high point of their years in Sacramento.” 66 The compensation she received from her weekly newspaper column about military families was sent directly to the National League of Families of American Prisoners of War & Missing in Action.

A prominent Vietnam War POW was John McCain, presidential nominee for the 2008 race. Nancy got to know and was friends with John McCain for 30 years. In the 2008 Presidential Race Mrs. Reagan endorsed his candidacy with the following statement:

My husband and I first came to know him as a returning Vietnam War POW, and were impressed by the courage he had shown through his terrible ordeal. I believe John's record and experience have prepared him well to be our next president. 67

By the end of Reagan’s second term as Governor of California in 1974, Ronald Reagan had accomplished a great deal, and so had Nancy. Thanks to her efforts the old Victorian Governor’s Mansion would be preserved as a State Historic Site, and a new one had been built. The Foster Grandparents Program was expanding nationwide, and Governor and Mrs. Reagan had hosted four dinners for returning war Veterans. The Reagans retreated to private life in Los Angeles. They purchased a ranch in the Santa Ynez Mountains calling it “Rancho del Cielo” meaning “Ranch in the Sky.” The Ranch


became their personal retreat and the Reagans spent many weekends fixing it up. They still had their home in Pacific Palisades as well.

1974 Presidential Election

After her tenure as First Lady of California, Nancy continued her involvement with *Foster Grandparents Program* and also returned to her role as wife and mother. Former Governor Reagan was in demand as a speaker, and he had a syndicated newspaper column and radio program. In the 1976 presidential election, he was urged by many Republicans to run for President. Nancy Reagan was enjoying a normal life but backed her husband’s decision to run. She campaigned hard for her husband’s candidacy traveling to many towns and visiting hospitals, women’s groups, colleges and nursing homes. It was a tough campaign the Reagan’s supporters fought hard, but the Governor did not receive enough votes for the nomination. President Ford became the Republican nominee, but was defeated in the general election by Jimmy Carter. By 1979, Reagan was the top contender for the Republican Party and, on November 4, 1980, Ronald Wilson Reagan was elected the fortieth President of the United States.

1980 and 1984 Presidential Campaign and Inauguration

During President Ronald Reagan’s 1980 campaign, Mrs. Nancy Reagan preferred to campaign with her husband rather than on her own. During the 1980 primaries, presidential candidates’ spouses took on an increasing role in their husbands’ candidacy. Mrs. Reagan began to make her own appearances and made remarks that reflected her husband's views on issues. In the 1984 presidential campaign, Nancy Reagan was particularly helpful through the last of a several televised debates. President Reagan had
performed poorly in a previous debate, and Nancy asked his advisors to not ask him to remember endless statistics. The advisors took Nancy’s suggestions and President Reagan demonstrated greater effectiveness in the ensuing debate.

Inauguration day, 1981, was the first one held on the west front of the Capitol Building, a decision favored by the Reagans, since it meant the ceremony was facing the rest of the nation, as opposed to those of the past which faced towards the Atlantic Ocean. Media attention focused on the high cost of tickets to attend the 1981 Inauguration Ball and other invitation-only events, contrasting it with the 1977 Carter Inaugural which had more public events than any in previous history and Inaugural Ball tickets selling for $25 to guests. However, tickets to the 1981 Reagan Inaugural Ball were of comparative cost to those before the 1977 Carter Inaugural Ball. Inauguration day 1984 marked two swearing-in ceremonies, neither of which was held on the Capitol Building steps; the first, traditionally considered "private" since it fell on a Sunday, was held in the Grand Foyer of the White House, and the "public" one held the following day was forced inside the Capitol Building Rotunda the first ever held at that site, due to extremely cold temperatures. Although the Reagans did not follow the Carter precedent of walking down Pennsylvania Avenue in 1981 or 1985, it was a tradition that was resumed by their successors.

**First Lady of United States (1981-1989)**

From the beginning, First Lady Nancy Davis Reagan recognized the special privilege of the First Lady, and she worked to ensure the success and legacy of her husband's presidency.
She believed that the wife of a President ‘genuinely has the power to make a difference’ and advised her successors to remember that they would ‘never again be in this unique position to make such a contribution.’ She urged them to make their opinions known either to the President or to his staff. ‘In spite of a White House full of people taking care of various aspects of a President's life,’ she said, ‘you're the one who knows him best. You don't give up your right to an opinion just because you're married to the President.’

Hence, Nancy Reagan's hard work and role as First Lady became that of an advisor, protector and a partner to her husband and President of the United States Ronald Reagan.

Mrs. Reagan’s first year in the White House was marked by an assassination attempt on the President, while battling her image in the public eye and activism in the *Just Say No* Campaign.

As he survived an assassin's bullet and then colon and prostate surgeries, Reagan acknowledged the importance of First Ladies in general and his First Lady in particular: "First Ladies aren't elected, and they don't receive a salary. They have mostly been private persons forced to live public lives, and in my book they've all been heroes. Abigail Adams helped invent America. Dolley Madison helped protect it. Eleanor Roosevelt was FDR's eyes and ears. Nancy Reagan is my everything."  

Even though she was everything to the President, Nancy Reagan was over and over again a target in the media. At times, she created her own problems. The Reagans brought to the White House a great deal of glamour and this came with a price. In the press Nancy Reagan was perceived as a snob. Starting with the first Inaugural Ball, some considered her “Queen Nancy.” When President Reagan took office in 1981, the country was hit

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69 Miller Center University of Virginia, Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia, “American President: A Reference Resource-Nancy Reagan.”
with a recession. During that year, Nancy Reagan was criticized for wearing designer
dresses, undertaking an expensive renovation of the White House, and ordering lavish
new china for dinnerware. In the later years, she openly shared her intentions to act as the
President’s sounding board but her influence in the Reagan administration was more than
simply being a ready listener who offered an occasional opinion. She was later heavily
criticized for supervising the President’s schedule, accused of playing a major role in
selecting of key presidential staff and even replacement of aides. The most notable
situation was that of her possible help in forcing out White House Chief of Staff Donald
Regan in 1987. Donald Regan, in his 1988 memoir, exposed the secret that Mrs. Reagan
consulted with an astrologist to guide presidential scheduling. In addition, Donald Regan
also in his memoir retaliated against Mrs. Reagan for his firing.70

Although she was heavily criticized for her influence on her husband and her role
as First Lady, she is also greatly credited for supporting the President with his efforts to
improve relations with the Soviet Union. In addition, Nancy Reagan’s most important
policy assistance was in convincing her husband to concede publicly that he had made a
mistake in secretly approving arms sales to Iran.71 At first, President Reagan refused to
give in to this pressure, but on March 4, 1987, he made a public speech apologizing for
the arms sale. His public approval rating rose greatly after the speech. Nancy was
diagnosed with breast cancer in October of 1987. Unbelievably, even her decision to have

70 Donald Regan, For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington (Boston: Harcourt Brace
Jovanovich, 1988).

71 Miller Center University of Virginia, Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia, “American President: A Reference Resource-Nancy Reagan.”
a mastectomy instead of a lumpectomy was criticized. In her 1989 memoir, *My Turn*, Nancy Reagan wrote openly about her years as First Lady to protect her husband from physical harm, the ambition of those around him, and negative publicity.

Her most famous cause was that of drug and alcohol abuse in teenagers. Her *Just Say No* campaign helped fuel the United States' awareness of the ever-growing drug problem among adolescents. She spent time at rehabilitation centers and wrote special articles on the subject, making herself the top soldier in the war on drugs. In 1985, Mrs. Reagan held a two-day briefing for 17 international first ladies, which focused on the international problem of drug and alcohol dependency.

Nancy Reagan's detractors were vocal, but so were her supporters. For each of the eight years (1981-1989) of Reagan's presidency, she was voted one of the ten most admired women in both *Good Housekeeping* and the Annual Gallup Poll. In the latter, she was voted number one in 1981, 1985, and 1987. Every year since 1981, she has been named one of the ten most admired women in the world by readers of *Good Housekeeping* magazine, and in 1984, 1985, and 1986 she ranked number one in that poll. As soon as you capture a closer glance and analyze Nancy Reagan by looking at her political efforts and leadership impact while the 40th First Lady of the United States, you realize how ignored she is when thinking about the most influential advocate First Ladies in United States history.

**Nancy Reagan, Lady of the White House**

On her first visit to the White House, Mrs. Reagan’s impression had been that it was cold and uninviting. In her memoires she described her overall feeling as “dreary
She was already thinking of ways to make it more inviting and magnificent. When Nancy Reagan entered the White House as the First Lady, the home was in need of great repair. The last major renovation of the White House had taken place in the early 1960s when Jacqueline Kennedy had been the First Lady. The Reagans believed the nation needed a more suitable First Family home, and she began redecorating on day one. Even though the White House was in need of great repair, the First Lady was condemned and criticized for spending frivolously while the country was in the midst of a recession. Just in her First Year as First Lady, Nancy directed a major renovation of several White House rooms, including all of the second and third floor quarters of the White House and rooms adjacent to the Oval Office, including the Press Briefing room. To assist her with the renovation project she hired Letitia Baldrige, a former staff member from the Kennedy administration. But, instead of using government funds to renovate and redecorate, Nancy Reagan sought private donations. The renovation integrated replacing antique pipes, windows, and wires; repainting walls; repairing fireplaces; and refinishing floors. The closet in the master bedroom was transformed into a dressing room and beauty parlor and the west bedroom was made into a small gymnasium. She facilitated private donations, in excess of $800,000. New china was purchased for the White House in excess of $200,000. Mrs. Reagan also put arts on display by bringing performers to the White House for the PBS television series In Performance at the White House.

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72 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 125.

When President Reagan took office, Washington was exclusively a man’s world. However, Katherine Graham, publisher of the Washington Post and a Democrat was one woman who was considered very powerful. The Grahams hosted the first dinner party for the President and the First Lady. Kay Graham’s association with Nancy caused a great stir in the press and made Nancy a chosen target. Mrs. Reagan wrote about Kay Graham and the dinner party in her memoirs:

We had known Kay for years, and when we drove up to her house, she was there to greet us. …Although Kay owns the Washington Post, Ronnie and I never allowed politics to stand in the way of our friendship with her.

Although Jackie Kennedy was more extravagant than Nancy Reagan, the press used this as a weapon in their coverage. Mrs. Kennedy had also raised private funds to redecorate the State Floor of the White House and to purchase new china, but the press did not chastise her for it. In 1993, the White House Historical Association paid for three hundred twelve-piece place settings from Lenox, which First Lady Clinton ordered. Mrs. Clinton’s actions in purchasing the china went unnoticed; in fact it set a precedent that no future First Lady would need to solicit private funds to pay for White House china.

In March of 1982, Mrs. Reagan’s drug campaign was slowly improving her image with a small percentage of the public, but her relationship with the Washington peers and

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press remained strained. Sheila Tate, First Lady’s press secretary approached her with a bold plan to have Mrs. Reagan make an unscheduled appearance as a performer during the show at the annual Washington white-tie Gridiron Dinner.\(^{78}\) The Gridiron Club, that sponsors the dinner, is a social group composed of about sixty journalists who comprise the White House press corps.\(^{79}\) Their White-tie event is attended by the members of the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, top White House aids, and members of Congress, including the Speaker of the House. Nancy wrote about how the plan to appear in a performance at the show came about:

A few weeks before the 1982 dinner, Sheila Tate realized that after the year I had just gone through, it was inevitable that the evening would include a skit about me. She thought it would be terrific if I appeared in that skit, in a surprise cameo role.\(^{80}\)

Sheila Tate was able to find out that a Gridiron journalist was planning to have a song sung about First Lady. A suggestion was made that Mrs. Reagan could respond with a song of her own that would attack the press. Mrs. Reagan was not willing to attack the press but instead she told Sheila Tate,

I’m not willing to attack the press. If I’m going to do this at all, I think I should make fun of myself.” “Are you willing to sing?” she asked. “Sure.” “Dance?” “Absolutely.” “Would you be willing to smash a plate that was painted to look like the new White House china?” “Of course! But only if it’s a surprise. I don’t want anybody to know in advance-not even my husband!”\(^{81}\)

\(^{78}\) Edwards, *The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage*, 265.


Mrs. Reagan’s staff was able to work with the Gridiron office to receive the lyrics to their song. In the Gridiron song a singer, pretending to be Nancy Reagan, sang new words to “Second-Hand Rose,” an old Fanny Brice hit song from the 1920s that had recently gained popularity by vocalist Barbara Streisand.82

Responding to stories about her clothes and high style that depicted her as "Queen Nancy" during the recession, Nancy Reagan and her aides worked to deflate her critics and improve her image through humor.83 Sheila Tate had been informed that Maureen Ribble would sing the parody dressed and coiffed outrageously as a “Nancy clone’

Secondhand clothes.
I give my secondhand clothes
To museum collections and traveling shows.
They were oh-so-happy that they got 'en.
Won't notice they were ragged at the bottom.
Good-by, you old, worn-out mess,
I never wear a frock more than once.
Calvin Klein. Adolfo. Ralph Lauren
And Bill Blass.
Ronald Reagan's nuima's going strictly
First class.
Rodeo Drive. I sure miss Rodeo Drive
Infrumpy Washington.
Secondhand rings.
Donate those old used-up things.
Designers deduct 'em..
We're living like kings.
So what if Ronnie's cutting back on welfare?
I'll still wear a tiara in my coiffed hair.84

82 Edwards, The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage, 266.

83 Miller Center University of Virginia, Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia, “American President: A Reference Resource-Nancy Reagan.”

When Ribble finished singing the song, everyone in the audience waited to see Nancy’s expression. Anne Edwards describes Nancy’s expression:

Her face was expressionless; her wide brown eyes two vacant circles. The president was flushed. No one knew quite what to expect. Nancy pushed her chair back, got up, and walked quickly and unsmilingly from the room. A murmur spread from table to table. The first lady had taken offense. The press corps looked to Reagan, who, uneasy but unmoving, sat through the next number with an impenetrable expression.  

Nancy Reagan had already excused herself from the table and had gone back stage to change into her costume. When Mrs. Reagan walked out on stage there was only silence. Everyone was shocked to see Nancy standing on stage looking even more outrageous than Ribble. Sheila had one of the speech writers, Landon Parvin work on the lyrics for Mrs. Reagan’s response. Mrs. Reagan wrote about her costume,

With the enthusiastic help of my staff, we put together a really ridiculous costume—it made me look like a bag lady on Halloween. I wore white pantaloons with blue butterflies, yellow rubber rainboots, a blue blouse with white dots, and over that a really ugly skirt pinned up on the side with sequined butterfly, a long strand of fake pearls, a mangy boa, and a red straw hat with feathers and flowers. I was gorgeous!  

With the piano backing her, Nancy sang,

\begin{quote}
\textit{I'm wearing secondhand clothes.}
\textit{Secondhand clothes.}
\textit{They're quite the style}
\textit{In spring fashion shows.}
\textit{Even my new trench coat with fur collar}
\textit{Ronnie bought for ten cents, on the dollar.}
\textit{Secondhand gowns}
\textit{And old hand-me-downs.}
\end{quote}

85 Edwards, \textit{The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage}, 266.
86 Edwards, \textit{The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage}, 266.
The china is the only thing that’s new.
Even though they tell me that I’m no longer Queen.
Did Ronnie have to buy me that new Sewing machine?
I sure hope Ed Meese sews.\textsuperscript{88}

When Nancy Reagan finished everyone except the President jumped up and applauded passionately and screamed for an encore, to which Nancy was only too happy to give them one. She won the appreciation of the audience at the Gridiron Dinner on March 29, 1982, dressed as a bag lady singing “Second Hand Rose.” The audience gave the First Lady a standing ovation for her performance and her great sense of humor. The Reagans attended each of the next seven Gridiron Dinners. Nancy recollects her feelings after the performance and the change in her image,

I never dreamed that my appearance that night would be so influential. It was talked about for the rest of our years in Washington, almost as though it were an important political event—which in a way it was. This one song, together with my willingness to sing it, served as a signal to opinion-makers that maybe I wasn’t the terrible, humorless women they thought I was-regal, distant, disdainful. From that night on, my image began to change in Washington.\textsuperscript{89}

The Saturday Evening Post wrote about the event and the song,

One reporter had the pluck to imitate Nancy Reagan in song, substituting "secondhand clothes’ for "Secondhand Rose.” When Nancy abruptly left her place on the dais, it was thought that the reporter had gone too far and that she was upset. Within a few minutes, however, a bizarre-looking figure sauntered onto the stage wearing a white feather boa, an aqua skirt fastened with safety pins, white pantaloons graced with blue butterflies, a feathered hat and yellow rubber boots. To a standing ovation Nancy Reagan then sang her own hilarious version of "Secondhand Rose."\textsuperscript{90} She

\textsuperscript{88} Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 42.

\textsuperscript{89} Edwards, The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage, 240.

ended the skit by ceremoniously smashing a red dish representing the Reagan’s new White House china.\textsuperscript{91}

The press had been ruthless to Mrs. Reagan before the Gridiron dinner. Mrs. Reagan’s performance broke the ice and the press began to tone down their criticism and snide remarks. It had been a difficult year and a half for Nancy and it had been a long time since she had received any favorable press. The New York Daily News, said, “First Lady floors ‘em with song and dance.” The Los Angeles Herald Examiner, “She Sings, She Jokes, She’s a Hit.” According to the \textit{Washington Post}, “the sophisticated audience of journalists, politicians and their friends responded to her performance as though she had undergone a major change. A number of those image-makers left the ballroom saying that Nancy Reagan’s song-and-dance number had transformed her image.” And the \textit{New York Times} said: “President Nixon once played the piano and Betty Ford once danced, but the consensus was that no other First Lady had ever come so well prepared 

….Socko!”

After two years, into her role as First Lady, Nancy Reagan was being viewed in quite a different ways. It became known in Washington that the First Lady had her eyes and ears everywhere and no one got to the president without having an ally in Nancy.

Writer Anne Edwards wrote,

\begin{quote}
By the press and by the public, Nancy was perceived as powerful-the woman behind the man in the Oval Office-and what American woman in the twentieth century could be more powerful than that? Nancy could disclaim her influence as often and as loudly as she wished-and she did so frequently-but no one was closer to him than Nancy, and there was no one that respected him more or listened to him more closely than Nancy. Her
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{91} Harris, \textit{The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha Washington to Laura Bush}, 646.
belief in him validated everything he did, and there was no way he was ever going to chance losing it. He never dismissed her opinions and only on the rare occasion cut her out of a discussion in which she cared to be part. He had no private life that did not involve her. Both gossipmongers and legitimate reporters were known to have used their sharpest tools to ferret out information that Reagan had strayed away from his connubial ties. Nothing. Nowhere. No one. Not even a hint of a mild flirtation in the nearly thirty years since he and Nancy were married.92

By the end of Nancy’s eight years in the White House she had become very accustomed to press coverage of the First Lady and also hurt by what she read about herself in the papers. She wrote,

No matter what I said or did, the stories never stopped. Some of them were amusing, others were maddening, and a few are still deeply offensive. Over eight years, I never stopped being hurt, although eventually I stopped being surprised…nothing prepares you for the job of first lady. The experience of having not only your public appearances but your private life scrutinized and examined by the entire country, by the entire world, is almost too intense to describe. Although I lived with it for eight years, I still have trouble believing it. .. Part of the problem is that while the president’s job is clearly defined, nobody really knows exactly what the first lady is supposed to do. The Constitution doesn’t mention the president’s wife, and she has no official duties. As a result, each incoming first lady has had to define the job for herself.93

During her time in the White House, Mrs. Reagan hosted close to a hundred Christmas parties, dozens of official dinners, lunches, meetings with wives of foreign dignitaries, receptions, arrival ceremonies, awards, speaking engagements, political dinners, fund-raisers and dozens of trips as part of her ceremonial role. Nancy describes her feeling about planning the dinners and said,

I loved having state dinners. I loved it. They were fun. You could ask anybody you wanted to. And they would come. So it was a wonderful way

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92 Edwards, The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage, 240.

to meet other people and a lot of business can get done at those dinners too.\textsuperscript{94}

Mrs. Reagan truly enjoyed planning for the events at the White House and took part in planning all the details including the menu, table settings, flowers, and entertainment.

**The President’s Protector**

President Reagan had been in office for only sixty-nine days when he survived an assassination attempt. Mrs. Reagan describes that day in her book of letters, *I Love You, Ronnie, The Letters of Ronald Regan to Nancy Reagan.*

March 30, 1981, began like a perfectly normal day. Around noon, I went to a luncheon in an art gallery in Washington. When it came time for dessert, I suddenly had a strong feeling that I wanted to get back to the White House. I’d never felt anything like that before-and I haven’t since-so I made my excuses and left. When I got back to the White House, I went up to the third floor, where we were in the midst of renovations. I was talking in the solarium with Rex Scouten, the chief usher, and Ted Graber, our decorator, when I saw George Opfer, the head of my Secret Service detail, standing at the bottom of a ramp that had been installed for President Roosevelt. He gestured for me to come down. That’s funny, I thought, Why doesn’t he come up? I went down. “There’s been a shooting,” he said. “But the president’s all right.” I was already headed for the elevator. “He wasn’t hit,” he kept saying, “He’s all right.”\textsuperscript{95}

President Reagan had been shot by John Hinckley, a crazed fan of actress Jodie Foster. The bullet ricocheted off the president’s car and entered his body under his left armpit. Nancy immediately went to the hospital but was not allowed to be at his side. In her memoir, *My Turn,* she recalled begging assistant Mike Deaver to get her in to see President Reagan.


The Secret Service had radioed ahead that I was coming, and Mike Deaver met me at the door. Mike was Ronnie’s deputy chief of staff, and a close family friend. “He’s been hit,” Mike said. The emergency entrance was crowded, but all I remember is Mike standing there, staring at me. “But they told me he wasn’t hit,” I stammered. “Well”, Mike said, “he was. But they say it’s not serious.” “Where? Where was he hit?” “They don’t know, they’re looking for the bullet.” Looking for the bullet! “I’ve got to see him!” I said. “You can’t. Not yet.” “Wait a minute,” I said, my voice rising. “If it’s not serious, then why can’t I see him?” “Wait. They’re working on him.” “Mike,” I pleaded, “they don’t know how it is with us. He has to know I’m here!” Mike explained that the doctors were searching for the bullet, and that Jim Brady, Ronnie’s press secretary, had been shot in the head, and it looked bad.⁹⁶

Mrs. Reagan was finally able to see her husband in the emergency room where he laid with an oxygen mask over his face. When he saw Nancy, he lifted his mask and said, “Honey, I forgot to duck.”⁹⁷ Nancy described him as, “he was the color of paper-just as white as a sheet, with dried blood around his mouth. I held back my tears and said, “Please don’t try to talk. I love you.” I wasn’t allowed to stay for long, and I couldn’t hold Ronnie’s hand or get very close.”⁹⁸

The initial reports had indicated that the President had been unharmed by the assassination attempt. The White House issued a statement at 3:37 p.m. on March 30, 1981 to reporters assembled in the Briefing Room at the White House given by Assistant to the President David R. Gergen regarding the attempted assassination of the President and included the following:

This is to confirm the statements made at George Washington Hospital that the President was shot once in the left side, this afternoon, as he left

⁹⁶ Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 4-5.


the hotel. His condition is stable. A decision is now being made whether or not to operate to remove the bullet. The White House and the Vice President are in communication, and the Vice President is now en route to Washington. He is expected to arrive in the city this afternoon. Mrs. Reagan is currently with the President at the hospital. I'd like to add two notes. We have been informed by [Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President] Jim Baker that the President walked into the hospital. I would also like to inform you that in the building [the White House] as of the moment are the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, and the Attorney General, as well as other Assistants to the President. The President was shot at 2:25 p.m. outside the Washington Hilton Hotel, after addressing the national conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO. Immediately following the shooting, the President was taken to George Washington University Hospital in his limousine. Secret Service agents at the scene apprehended John W. Hinckley, Jr., 25, of Evergreen, Colo. He was initially charged with attempting to assassinate the President and assaulting a special agent and an employee of the Secret Service.99

While President Reagan was in surgery, Mrs. Reagan went to the chapel and prayed with Sarah Brady (wife of the secret service agent who had been shot in the head). As the surgery progressed, the nurses kept Nancy aware of President Reagan’s progress.

At first, the doctors were having trouble finding the bullet, which was a devastator bullet, the kind that explodes inside. One time, the nurse came and said, “We just can’t seem to get it out. We may just have to leave it in.” Well, that didn’t sound so good to me. And then another time, she said, “They’ve found it, but the doctor is having a hard time removing it—it keeps slipping from his fingers.” Finally, she came back and told me that the doctor had gotten it out, but I almost lost him then, the bullet had been lodged an inch from Ronnie’s heart.100


The White House sent a military plane to pick up President Reagan’s children. Their son Ron and his wife Doria arrived when President Reagan was brought into the recovery room. Mrs. Reagan became frightened while in the recovery room.

When we walked into the recovery room, Ronnie had a tube down his throat. He felt like he couldn’t breathe. He gestured to us, and wrote a note saying, “I can’t breathe.” I panicked and ran over to the doctors and nurses, saying, “He can’t breathe!” But Ron just went over to him and calmly said, “Dad, it’s okay. It’s like when I went scuba diving. A machine takes over for you and does the breathing for you. It’s okay.”

Nancy wanted to stay in the hospital the entire night but it was decided that it was best for the country if she returned to the White House. If she had remained the people might assume the worst and panic.

The assassination attempt was really a much closer call than people were led to believe at the time. Everyone was trying not to frighten the people in the country, but the fact was, Ronnie almost died. It was a miracle that he didn’t. And I knew all along how serious things really were. Looking back, I realize that when I went back to the White House, I was in shock. You never think your husband might be shot—you think that he might get sick, maybe, but not shot. And to me, even after it happened, it simply seemed unimaginable.

It is evident that Mrs. Reagan’s concern and protective instinct greatly increased after President Reagan was shot. When President Reagan’s aides wanted him to talk to the American people Nancy kept saying, “he should be treated like any other patient and given time to recover.”

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In Ronald Reagan’s autobiography, the President recounted the assassination and more importantly, his bond with Nancy: “Seeing Nancy in the hospital gave me an enormous lift. As long as I live I will never forget the thought that rushed in my head as I looked into her face.” President Reagan recovered from the shooting and his overall fitness and good health played a key role in his survival and quick return to duties. Nancy worked diligently to nurse her husband through his recovery and present an ongoing image of vitality and competence. Both handled the assassination attempt with strength and dignity. President Reagan was released from the hospital on April 11, 1981 and he returned to the White House. That night the President wrote in his diary, “Whatever happens now I owe my life to God and will try to serve him in every way I can.” Mrs. Reagan had received a letter from Lady Bird Johnson in which Mrs. Johnson shared how her husband President Johnson had needed three weeks to recover from his gallbladder operation. Mrs. Reagan insisted with the staff that the President follow the doctor’s orders by doing as little work as possible and also having his schedule shortened. Nancy had the President attend meetings in his pajamas and bathrobes and making sure he rested most of the day.

The shooting of President Reagan made Mrs. Reagan think about her attitudes towards gun control. She wrote,

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106 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 16.
The shooting also made me question my attitude toward gun control. Ronnie’s position didn’t change: he just doesn’t believe this is where the problem lies—a point he repeated more than once while he was still in the hospital. He favors the California system, with a waiting period for anyone who wants to buy a gun. After what I saw in the hospital, I’m not sure I agree with him.  

She also became more grateful to have the Secret Service around. “As for the Secret Service, I differ from some occupants of the White House, who have felt hemmed in by the agents and have resented the loss of privacy. No, I’m grateful to have the Secret Service around. If it weren’t for them, I wouldn’t have a husband.”  

Mrs. Reagan had known an astrologer, Joan Quigley, in California. She had turned to her for guidance after her husband was shot, fearing that he might again become a target of a would-be assassin. In a book published by Donald Regan, *For the Record*, Regan discloses that the First Lady regularly dictated the President’s schedule after consulting her personal astrologer. In Mrs. Reagan’s memoirs, she acknowledged she had influence on her husband—and how could she not? “For eight years I was sleeping with the President, and if that does not give you special access I don’t’ know what does.” In her memoirs she wrote why she turned to an astrologer for guidance after her husband was shot, fearing that he might again become a target of a would-be assassin. She wrote,  

I was devastated after the shooting, as I’ve already explained. Ronnie recovered, but I’m a worrier, and now I really had something to worry about: that it might happen again, and that this time I would lose him forever. Astrology was simply one of the ways I coped with the fear I felt.

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after my husband almost died. For a long time after the shooting, the world seemed to be inundated with violence. Six weeks after Ronnie was almost killed, the pope was shot and wounded-right in St. Peter’s Square. Four months after that, President Sadat was shot and killed during a military parade in Cairo. Within nine months of my husband’s inauguration, three world leaders had been shot./router10/router

It is understandable the fear and the worries that Mrs. Reagan faced with during the eight years in the White House. She reached out for comfort and help from many friends. She spoke with religious leaders such as Billy Graham and Donn Moomaw and many old friends who offered her support. Mrs. Reagan wrote candidly about her affiliations with Joan Quigley, the astrologer she used after President Reagan was shot. She even discusses how she would call Joan to discuss the President’s schedule and based on the astrologer’s advice determine when the President could travel. She also wrote about how Joan was a good listener and even a sort of therapist.

Joan was a good listener, and she responded with the warmth and compassion I needed. I was having, including problems with two of our children, Patti and Michael, and concerns over my aging parents, both of whom were sick. On all these matters, Joan was helpful and comforting. We had a professional relationship, but I came to view her as a friend. I now she that she was also a kind of therapist… “While astrology was a factor in determining Ronnie’s schedule, it was never the only one, and no political decision was ever based on it…I want to state one thing again, and unequivocally: Joan’s recommendations had nothing to do with policy or politics—ever. Her advice was confined to timing—to Ronnie’s schedule, and to what days were good or bad, especially with regard to his out-of-town trips.”

First Lady, Nancy Reagan, didn’t meet Joan Quigley until 1985, when she came to attend a state dinner. President Reagan didn’t know about Joan for a while but when he found

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10 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 44.
out he had said to the First Lady, “If it makes you feel better, go ahead and do it. But be careful. It might look a little odd if it ever came out.” When the press heard about the consulting of an astrologer by the First Lady, regarding the President’s schedule, Nancy was very regretful.

Normally, I’m the one who sees a potential trouble spot. This time it was Ronnie who foresaw that my involvement with Joan could have serious consequences for us. Boy, was he right. Politically, I made a terrible mistake when I started calling Joan, and what I regret most is the enormous embarrassment I caused Ronnie. And now, of course, I realize that I was foolish to think it was possible to have any secrets in the White House.\textsuperscript{112}

The May 1988, New York Post headline read, “ASTROLOGER RUNS THE WHITE HOUSE”. Mrs. Reagan, First Lady was extremely devastated by the headline and the continued talk of her use of astrology for ongoing weeks of time. She wrote,

I felt shocked and humiliated that my relationship with Joan was portrayed as a great and terrible secret. I had always considered it a private project, something I did to hedge our bets, to try to keep Ronnie from getting shot again—and to keep me from going mad with worry. At least by consulting with Joan I was doing something. I knew it might not be effective or the smartest thing to do, but given my temperament, it was a lot better than just sitting there. If I hadn’t taken every step I could think of to protect my husband, and Ronnie had been shot again, I would never have been able to forgive myself. What it boils down to is that each person has his own ways of coping with trauma and grief, with the pain of life, and astrology was one of mine. \textit{Don’t criticize me, I wanted to say, until you have stood in my place. This helped me. Nobody was hurt by it—except possibly, me.”} In the midst of the furor, what I felt worst about was Ronnie, and I apologized to him. “I felt terrible about this,” I said. “I’ve put you in an awful position.” “No, honey,” he kept saying, “it’s all right. I could see what you were going through. It’s all right.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{112} Novak, \textit{My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan}, 52.

\textsuperscript{113} Novak, \textit{My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan}, 52.
Mrs. Reagan had become used to the criticism of her but she felt that the issue of astrology made her the laughingstock and she was made into countless jokes on television, radio, and in the press. During the time the story ran its course Mrs. Reagan made no public comments, she didn’t want to bring any more attention to the book that Don Regan had written. Joan Quigley, the astrologer stated to *Time* magazine in 1985, “I don’t make decisions for them, an astrologer just picks the best possible time to do something that someone else has already planned to do. It’s like being in the ocean: You should go with the waves, not against them.” At first, Mrs. Reagan was upset at Joan for speaking with the press but later acknowledged that she admired the way Joan handled it and agreed with her statements.

In 1999, biographer and former Reagan Administration speechwriter, Peggy Noonan spoke with Nancy Reagan about her life and her husband, President Ronald Reagan. Noonan in her book, *When Character was King*, describes how Nancy believed strongly in her husband and had seen his struggles more than anyone else; she knew he would be a good President. At the end of Noonan and Mrs. Reagan’s meeting in 1999, this is what Noonan wrote about what Nancy will never say or give herself credit for,

We had talked of her life and her husband and later, as we all walked outside and said good-bye, I thought suddenly that there is a thing she never says—an unspoken plea. There are words that she will never say about something that may never be understood. These are the words: *Do*

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Noonan in her book, continues to talk about how "Nancy wanted to be with social somebodies and have fun, in part because it made up for all the things she didn’t want to do but did—all the staff recommendations and personnel decisions she kept her eye on, all the passing on of ideas and directives."\textsuperscript{117} Nancy also used her connections and chose the somebodies in Washington to help her husband. Looking behind the scenes of the administration, Tate elaborated on the role that the former First Lady Nancy Reagan played in caring for her husband. According to Tate,

\begin{quote}
she worked diligently to maximize Reagan’s potential, whether by monitoring his schedule to prevent it from becoming overwhelming or by helping him navigate his political relationships.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

\textbf{The President’s Advisor}

What First Lady, Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being the advisor to the President. Those who knew Nancy and remember the Reagan Administration clearly say that Nancy Reagan’s primary goal was her husband’s success. While the public saw the First Lady focused on style and design, behind the scenes she took part in selecting her husband’s key advisors. The President wanted Ed Meese as the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[116]\text{Noonan,} When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan, 138.
\item[117]\text{Noonan,} When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan, 143.
\end{footnotes}
Chief of Staff but Nancy Reagan advocated for the more moderate James Baker.\textsuperscript{119} James Baker spoke about his position in the White House, “She was in all of the major personnel decisions. I would never have been in the Reagan White House had it not been for Nancy Reagan. I’m quite confident of that.”\textsuperscript{120} Baker also chooses for his deputy Nancy Reagan’s friend Mike Deaver and Deaver became Nancy’s channel to the West Wing. Lou Cannon, historian analyzes the selection of Reagan’s advisors and states, Baker had a perfect understanding that being on the good side of Nancy was important to him getting his job done and he used Mike Deaver for that purpose. The most important thing Nancy Reagan did as first lady was see to it that her husband was surrounded by people who would bring out the best in him. For the most part she tended to favor people that were more moderate. She also realized her husband had to deal with a democratic congress and moderates would be better able to push his programs through.\textsuperscript{121}

Mike Deaver was open about his alliance with the First Lady and his advocacy to help the President. In his book he states, As for me, I never made a secret about Nancy’s and my alliance or my advocacy on her behalf. You would think that other staff might have resented my closeness with Nancy, but to my knowledge, it was never a problem. Bill Clark and Ed Meese, then the legal-affairs counsel, were happy to have me working closely with Nancy because that freed them up


\textsuperscript{120}PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

\textsuperscript{121} PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”
to concentrate on policy and appointments. Often, too they would use me as back door to the first lady, to get her input…

Beginning in 1985, Mrs. Reagan encouraged her husband to forge a friendly relationship with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. President Reagan, all his life, had been a devoted anti-communist and outspoken against communism, socialism and other systems that denied people their basic human rights. “A devoted anti-communist, he was not afraid to say what needed to be said or do what needed to be done to bring freedom to people who were living under repressive regimes.”

The most important policy achievements of the Reagan Presidency, is the fundamental change in U.S.-Soviet relations that had a lasting impact on the world. It was not due to luck or accident. Speaking of U.S.-Soviet relations and his steadfast determination to reduce arms, President Reagan would often say: ‘We don’t mistrust each other because we’re armed; we’re armed because we mistrust each other.’ He believed that if the mistrust was eliminated, then so, too, could the dangerous, destabilizing weapons.

The First Lady had her vision of forging peace. Bob Colacello, Historian recognizes Mrs. Reagan’s view and states,

Nancy’s feeling was that Ronald Reagan’s motto was peace through strength and that sometimes the right wing forgot about the peace part. And she wanted to make sure that he went down in history as a peacemaker, not someone who started another war.

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122 Deaver, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan, 48.
Originally, only a few advisors on Reagan’s Administration saw negotiating with the Soviets as a way to a peaceful solution. While James Baker and Secretary of State George Schultz wanted to open a dialogue with the Russians, National Security Advisor William Clark was against it. Nancy was very much opposed to William Clark for being against negotiating with the Soviets and saw him as interfering with Reagan’s efforts to open up better relations with the Soviet Union. James Baker thoughts on Nancy’s influence, “She was always in favor of a more centrist approach to governing. For one thing she thought we should deal with the Soviet Union not just refuse to talk to them.”

Nancy communicates with George Shultz and arranges for him to meet with the President in private.

In 1981, six weeks after President Reagan took the office of the Presidency and while recovering from his assassination attempt, he replied to a belligerent letter written by Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev. President Reagan handwrote a letter to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. In his reply, President Reagan sought to find common ground and to establish a better tone to relations between the White House and the Kremlin. Unfortunately, as things turned out, the President would have to wait a few years to forge a relationship and arms talk with the Soviets. Soviet leader, Brezhnev died in November

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128 For accounts of Soviet negotiations see Deaver, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan, 114. George P. Shultz, Turmoil and Triumph, p275: I returned to Washington on February 10…blizzard continued for days…My telephone rang. It was Nancy Reagan inviting O’Brien and me to the White House for dinner.” Shultz used this private dinner arranged by Mrs. Reagan to propose that President Reagan meet secretly with Ambassador Dobrynin. Shultz wrote on p166-167: “And Benze, Nancy Reagan: On the White House Stage, p70: “The first lady and Shultz even arranged for the Soviet ambassador to the United St private meeting with the president, one not announced to the media, in 1983.”
1982. Two other leaders followed in ruling the Soviet Union, Yuri Andropov. (died two years after taking office), and Konstantin Chernenko (died 13 months after taking office). In 1985 Reagan was awakened to be told that Konstantin Chernenko had died. Mr. Reagan wrote, "How am I supposed to get any place with the Russians, I asked Nancy, if they keep dying on me?"

To replace him, the Soviet union choose Mikhail Gorbachev, the new man in the Kremlin was not about to die on anyone. He was 54 years old, vital, alert, intelligent and a reformer. He would try to make the Communist economy more productive and the political system more open. Margaret Thatcher had met Gorbachev and had been impressed. Just before Reagan’s second term and before elections, The Reagan’s invited Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to pay a visit to the United States. Nancy was delighted and she wrote,

For years," she wrote "it had troubled me that my husband was always portrayed as a warmonger." Andrei Gromyko came up to me and said "Does your husband believe in peace?" And I said, "Well of course." And he said, "Well then will you whisper that in his ear every night?" And I said, "Yes I will, and I'll whisper it in your ear too."

In an interview with Nora Woodruff, Nancy shared how she was an advisor during the Reagan administration,

Ronnie thought, as did I, that there had to be a break through. These two countries had to understand each other. I wanted to be sure that he really

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130 “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

131 Deaver, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy Reagan, 154.
could accomplish this. Well, I didn’t just sit back you know. I was talking to people.\textsuperscript{132}

James Benze gives Nancy Reagan credit for winning over the trust of the National Security Advisor. He said,

What Nancy Reagan accomplished was really very unusual. I can’t think of any other first ladies being able to do the same thing. This is a National Security Advisor – that’s one of the most prominent positions in any administration.\textsuperscript{133}

Allida Black reflected on Nancy’s tactics and influence on the Reagan advisors,

She had one on ones with the major power players in and outside the White House. She was a de facto chief of staff. And that meant that when she called people, people not only took the call, they listened. Nancy Reagan not only had a unique level of power, but used that power in unique ways. She didn’t have to sit in a cabinet meeting to do it.\textsuperscript{134}

By President Reagan’s second term his White House advisors who had opposed dealing with the Soviets had either left or been eased out by Nancy Reagan as she maneuvered behind the scene. Also, Nancy’s longtime friend Mike Deaver departed to start a consulting firm. James Baker left his position as Chief of Staff, swapping jobs with Treasury Secretary, Donald Regan.

There would be five meetings between President Gorbachev and President Reagan. The first meeting, in November of 1985, in Geneva, Switzerland took place in a small boat house. With only interpreters present, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev sat down in front of a roaring fireplace, in two comfortable chairs,

\textsuperscript{132} PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

\textsuperscript{133} PBS, Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

\textsuperscript{134} PBS, Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”
and began to forge a relationship that would not only improve U.S.-Soviet relations, but would turn out to be the beginning of the end of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and ultimately, of the Soviet Union itself.\footnote{Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “President Reagan’s Domestic Policy: A More Perfect Union.”}

About a year later, the two leaders got together again for a second summit, meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland. They met at Hofdi House, a picturesque waterfront structure that was once the French consulate. Both leaders came close to an agreement but Gorbachev insisted that the United States abandon plans for a space-based missile defense system. When the summit was over, the anger and sadness was fixed in President Reagan’s face as he came out of Hofdi House. At the time it was believed that it was the end of the Reagan-Gorbachev relationship, and that there would be no more summits; however that was just not to be the case. President Reagan thought better. Partly because of his natural optimism, and partly because he believed that Gorbachev shared his desire to make the world safer, he was certain that eventually talks would resume. The President directed his team to keep the dialogue going and to see whether the progress made in Reykjavik could be the basis for successful negotiations going forward. That’s exactly what happened.

In December, 1987, President and Mrs. Reagan welcomed the Gorbachevs to Washington for the third summit. In the East Room, in the White House on December 8th, the two leaders signed the historic INF Treaty, eliminating all nuclear-armed ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,000 kilometers. For
the first time ever, the amount of nuclear arms was actually being reduced rather than merely limited.

The Reagans traveled to Moscow in May of 1988, for the fourth summit and the Cold War was ending. The highlight of that trip was the Kremlin ceremony at which President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev signed the now-ratified INF Treaty, but the Reagans also found time to enjoy some cultural treats including the Bolshoi Ballet and a visit to a monastery. A month after the Reagan’s visit to Moscow, Gorbachev began withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The next year, in June 1989, Lech Walensa was elected president of Poland. Gorbachev refused to intervene. As Reagan had foreseen, the rest of Eastern Europe followed. In November 1989, the Berlin Wall came down. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet system’s best response to the challenge of Ronald Reagan, could not control the reforms he had begun. On Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev dissolved the Soviet Union. What Reagan had predicted before Parliament came true. The Soviet Union was consigned to the ash heap of history. Some observers believe that President Reagan’s close relationship with Gorbachev eventually contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the removal of the Berlin Wall.

The fifth and the final summit during the Reagan Presidency was in December, 1988. George Bush and President Reagan traveled to New York to meet Gorbachev. This meeting was for President Reagan to hand off the official relationship with Mr. Gorbachev, to the President-elect (Vice President) George Bush. First Lady Nancy Reagan wrote,

In most good marriages that I know of, the woman is her husband’s closest friend and adviser. There are limits to that role, of course. But when the
president returns each afternoon from the West Wing, it’s only natural that he’ll talk things over with the person he’s closest to, and that he’ll take her viewpoint into consideration.\textsuperscript{136}

Iran Contra Affair

The American people would remember President Reagan’s second term by two events, the relationship with Soviet Union and the Iran-Contra Affair. President Reagan’s oldest advisors, (Mike Deaver, Edwin Meese, and James Baker) the triumvirate were burned out and left the President’s administration after the first term. The new advisors and the advisors that were left did not have a history with President Ronald Reagan. Reagan advisors from his first term had taken care of the President and had developed strong relationships with the First Lady. And although they were still in government around Washington they weren't in the White House day in and day out controlling the flow of information President Reagan had. Lyn Nofziger, a Reagan Advisor, gave Don Regan, (President Reagan’s chief of staff during the second term) the following advice,

Don, go out and get your own Mike Deaver. Somebody who will listen to Nancy and take care of her needs and so forth because if you don't then she will call you all the time and it's hard to get your work done when you're talking to Nancy all the time." And so he said, ‘fine’ but he didn't do it. He thought that he could separate the two of them, and he couldn't.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{136} Novak, \textit{My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan}.

\textsuperscript{137} For accounts of Reagan Administration see PBS, “Reagan”, PBS documentary Prod. WGBH Educational Foundation, 1988, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reagan/ (accessed October 27, 2012). Documentary: Reagan was produced with unprecedented access to the Reagan family. Nancy Reagan agreed to be interviewed on camera for the first time since leaving the White House, as did three of Reagan's four children, and the family also provided home movies. Also for the first time, Edmund Morris revealed insights gleaned from his twelve years spent working on Reagan's official biography. Among the forty-two people interviewed were members of Reagan's inner political circle -- his "California Cabinet" -- and his counterparts on the world stage, including former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who negotiated historic arms agreements with Reagan.
Don Regan as the Chief of Staff to President Reagan would try to do the job that three advisors had done in the first term. Ronald Reagan’s Campaign Manager described Don Regan:

I mean Don Regan was a tyrant. And he was miscast as a chief of staff and never thought of himself as staff. He thought of himself as Deputy President. Said to me one day, ‘I can make 85 percent of the decisions the President makes.’ And I said to him, ‘Don, I just ran a campaign in 50 states. I didn’t see your name on the ballot anywhere.’

Nancy wrote in her memoirs,

If, by some miracle, I could take back one decision in Ronnie’s presidency, it would be his agreement in January 1985 that Jim Baker and Donald Regan should swap jobs. It seemed like a good idea at the time—a little unusual, perhaps, but reasonable. Jim, who had served Ronnie well as chief of staff, was worn out, and Donald Regan was more than willing to come to the White House after four years as Secretary of the Treasury. When Baker and Regan suggested the switch, there was no reason to expect that this new arrangement would lead to a political disaster.

As Secretary of Treasury, Don Regan had helped the President put through the administration’s new economic program. Don Regan was not the First Lady’s favorite person, although they got along fine the first few months. The First Lady came in conflict with Don Regan after President Ronald Reagan’s cancer operation. While the President was still in the hospital, Don wanted to resume the scheduling of meetings with the President. In addition, Don wanted to make the trip by helicopter to Bethesda hospital. Nancy greatly disapproved. She wrote,

Don came out to Bethesda every day, and he wanted to make the trip by helicopter. That seemed wrong to me. I thought it was inappropriate for

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138 PBS, “Reagan.”

139 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 312.
anyone other than the president to use the helicopter except in an emergency. The drive to the hospital took about forty-five minutes, and everybody else who came traveled by car. I must have had some inkling, even then, of what increasingly bothered me about Don Regan, which was that he often acted as if he were the president.  

When President Reagan returned from the hospital Nancy worked to get along with Don Regan. Don Regan made a statement in the press that was offensive towards women. Nancy wrote,

On the subject of economic sanctions against South Africa, Don said that American women might not be eager to give up their diamonds, platinum, and gold. I thought that remark was insensitive and demeaning to women, and I resented it. Then, just before the Geneva summit, he told the Washington Post that women were not ‘going to understand [missile] throw-weights or what is happening in Afghanistan or what is happening in human rights.’ That sounded like a man who didn’t think women had any brains. I don’t usually agree with Eleanor Smeal from the National Organization for Women, but I could certainly understand when she said she was glad to learn that the president took Bonzo with him to Geneva. It was bad enough that with these two comments Don Regan had offended more than half of the American people.  

Nancy was even more furious when Don Regan insulted the President and the whole administration after the Reykjavik summit in October of 1986, by saying to the New York Times, “Some of us are like a shovel brigade that follows a parade down Main Street.” Nancy did not care for the chief of staff making a mockery of the President and the purpose of the chief of staff was that to clarify or explain the president’s position. Hence, the First Lady began to questions the Donald Regan’s loyalty and the example he was setting for the other advisers. Nancy stated in her memoirs,

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Don Regan didn’t see himself as one of the president’s advisers. He didn’t consider himself to be part of the White House staff. He saw himself as a kind of deputy president.\textsuperscript{143}

Nancy was also approached by government officials and congressional leaders who came to see her in the White House or called her regarding their concerns about Donald Regan. Nancy described their plea:

They told me he had poor relations with both Congress and the media. That he was restricting their access to the president. That he was explosive and difficult to deal with. That he was intimidating his subordinates in the office. And that good, experienced people were starting to leave the West Wing because they couldn’t work with him. Some of these people were calling me and saying, “We’re scared of this guy. The tensions over here are incredible. Morale is low. Can’t you do something? I gave the same answer to everybody: “What are you telling me for? You ought to be telling my husband!”\textsuperscript{144}

Only a few complained to the President directly and for some it was impossible to have access to the President under Donald Regan. Nancy wrote about Vice President, George Bush’s visit to her residence,

Even George Bush came to see me in the residence about Don. As he got off the elevator and we walked into the West Hall, he said, ‘I didn’t want to say this on the phone, but I think Don should resign.’ ‘I agree with you,’ I said, and I wish you’d tell my husband. I can’t be the only one who’s saying this to him.’ ‘Nancy,’ he said, ‘that’s not my role.’ ‘That’s exactly your role,’ I replied.\textsuperscript{145}

First Lady, Nancy Reagan discussed at length about Don being in the wrong job. She wrote,


Although I believed for a long time that Donald Regan was in the wrong job, my “power” in getting him to leave has been greatly exaggerated. Believe me, if I really were the dragon lady that he described in his book, he would have been out the door many months earlier. Later, when Don did leave, I took a lot of heat for protecting Ronnie, and for allegedly interfering in the affairs of the state. But I had to get in there because nobody else would tell Ronnie what was going on.146

Nancy openly admitted that she shared with the President what she is hearing from White House officials and congressional leaders but that President Reagan did not listen.

The Iran-Contra affair was revealed in 1986 and became a political scandal for the Reagan Administration. The Iran-Contra affair stemmed from the U.S. government’s policies toward two countries, Nicaragua and Iran. It began in 1985, when President Reagan's administration supplied weapons to Iran in hopes of securing the release of American hostages held in Lebanon by Hezbollah. In spite of stated and repeated denials to Congress and to the public, Reagan Administration officials supported the militant contra rebels in Nicaragua and sold arms to a hostile Iranian government.147 If President Reagan knew of the diversion of funds to the Contras, he would be in trouble. If he did not, he was not in control of his White House staff. President Reagan accepted the resignation of his National Security Advisor John Poindexter who presided over the operation and fired Oliver North who ran it. He resisted Nancy who wanted to fire George Shultz for not supporting him in public. But his oldest advisors pressured him to


147 Brown University, “Understanding the Iran-Contra Affair,” http://www.brown.edu/Research/Understanding_the_Iran_Contra_Affair/index.php (accessed October 23, 2012). This project was supported by an Undergraduate Teaching and Research Award (UTRA) from the Dean of the College and by the Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions. The project was supervised by Professor Ross Cheit. The students who conducted the research and created the content were: Sara Chimene-Weiss, Sol Eppel, Jeremy Feigenbaum, Seth Motel, and Ingrid Pangandoyon. The site was designed by Ingrid Pangandoyon.
fire Don Regan. Nancy led the battle to get rid of Don Regan after the Iran-Contra affair.

Stuart Spencer, Senior Political Advisor to the White House, also told President Reagan to get Don Regan out. President Reagan responded that, “he wasn’t going to sacrifice anybody, for any of his problems.” Michael Deaver also advised President Reagan to remove Don Regan from the chief of staff position and stated,

I finally said, "You know I think this has come to the point where you've got to get rid of somebody because you've got to do something that says this is an action I'm taking and I'm getting it behind me and I'm going to go on and do other things and unless you make a bold move like that. The media is not going to let you go on -- so I think you got to get rid of somebody. And, he got very angry and said that you know, I'll be damned if I'm going to throw somebody's ass overboard to save my own." And, for the life of me, I don't know why I said, "Ron," but I said "Ron it's not your ass I'm talking about, it's the country's ass." And, he looked at me very quietly, and he said, "You know what I think about this country." And that was the end of the conversation.

In early 1987, the White House tackled with how to rescue Reagan from the worst crisis of his presidency. The chief of Staff, Don Regan’s plan was to get the President on the road and to work his charm on the public. Unfortunately, Reagan was recovering from another serious operation on his prostate. First Lady Nancy Reagan was very protecting of her husband’s condition and wanted him to recover and be on complete bed rest.

Nancy Reagan frequently called Don during this time, pleading him to take some action in favor of the President. Donald stated,

And in the middle of all this turmoil she was incessantly calling me. One day I got home late from the office. No dinner. It was after nine o'clock. I was just starting to eat when she called and was on the phone 15 or 20 minutes and we were getting nowhere, but she telling me that I had to do something, and I was saying, ‘Nancy I got to either get the President out or

148 PBS, “Reagan.”

149 PBS, “Reagan.”
something of that nature. He's gonna have to be the key here. None of us can solve this for him.’ We went back and forth and back and forth and finally I was just so disgusted I hung up.150

On the evening of December 4, 1986 Nancy participated in a meeting with her husband that took place at the White House residence. Michael Deaver had arranged for the Reagans to meet with William Rogers, former Secretary of State to President Nixon, and Robert Strauss, former national chairman to the Democrat party. The purpose of the meeting was for President Reagan to receive fresh advice from two respected outsiders. Normally Nancy did not attend such meetings; however she wanted to at this one. The meeting was held at the residence and not the West Wing. Nancy wrote about the meeting and what Strauss advised the President,

Now, I have no quarrel with Don Regan,” Strauss went on. “But you’ve got two serious problems right now, and he’s not helping you with either one. First, you’ve got a political problem on the Hill, and Don Regan has no constituency and no allies there. Second, you’ve got two serious media problems, and Regan has no friends there, either. It makes no difference how earnest he is, or how much you like him, or how well the two of you get along. He’s not the man you need. You’re in a hell of a mess, Mr. President, and you need a chief of staff who can help get you out of it.151

Nancy admitted that no one had talked to her husband that strongly and she called Bob Strauss to thank him for having the courage to tell the President. President Reagan didn’t respond to the message in the meeting and believed that the problems with Don Regan would work themselves out.

When Ronald Reagan ran for President, the public still saw Nancy as a traditional housewife. But away from the cameras, she was deeply involved in the hiring and firing

150 PBS, “Reagan.”

of campaign staff. James Benze, biographer, gave Nancy great credit for knowing her husband and the fact that he was very hesitant to fire people. Benze, stated, “He didn't like conflict. He was intensely loyal to people around him, but sometimes some of those people weren't serving him well.”

Nancy Reagan stated, “I don't know whether it's just blocking things out or he just doesn't see things. He knew the overall picture, but he didn't know of all my meetings in the back halls and things like that.”

Stuart Spencer, political consultant to the President saw Nancy as the President’s personnel director. He gave her credit and stated,

She was the human resources department. She made decisions on who was going to be around him. From the campaign to the governor's office to the White House, that was her role.

In January of 1987, President Regan went into the hospital for the prostate operation. Nancy had a very heated argument with Don Regan on the phone regarding a press conference held when the President had not yet recovered from the surgery. Don again hung up on Nancy. Stuart Spencer, Senior Political Adviser stated,

It goes with the turf if you're dealing with the Reagans. I mean I knew that back in '65, '66. And Don Regan for some reason, took the point of view that Nancy Reagan wasn't important. That was wrong. And I guess when he hung up on her on the phone that was the end of it. Then we all had to go to work.

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155 PBS, “Reagan.”
CNN reported later that the President had chosen former Senator Howard Baker to replace Don Regan. Donald Regan left the Reagan Administration very angry and responded,

And I blew my top. I said the hell with it. If that's the way they're gonna leak about me in the like I don't want to stay around anymore. I was so whizzed off at that point that I dashed off a very terse letter to the President. "I hereby resign." He called me. Very soft tones. That he didn't mean for this to happen. He wished it hadn't happened. And I said, "It's too late. I'm outta here."

Official Biographer for President Reagan, Edmund Morris, believed that Reagan should have personally told Don Regan to leave the administration and Morris stated the following:

The President should have done it. The President should have spoken to him personally and said "Don, I think the time for your long planned retirement has come." But Reagan who was not good at that kind of human touch when a man's career is coming to an end and simply let the phone lie in its cradle and let other circumstances force Don Regan out -- was derelict in his duty.

Howard Baker was selected as the Chief of Staff and Jim Cannon and Tom Griscom were part of Baker’s transition team. Reagan had appointed a commission to investigate the Iran-Contra affair and he was shocked by the findings of a commission It held him responsible for a lax management style and for trading arms for hostages, something he still refused to admit. One of Howard Baker's first tasks in rescuing the presidency was to get Reagan to admit his mistake. He found an ally in Nancy Reagan. Lou Cannon, a White House biographer said,

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156 PBS, “Reagan.”

157 PBS, “Reagan.”
That's where Nancy Reagan really shines. She understood that he needed this public credibility. That's her great role, not getting rid of Regan. She went beyond protecting him to really leading him to this bitter cup that of apology that he had to drink from.  

Nancy convinced her husband to apologize to the American people. On March 4, 1987 in a National speech Ronald Reagan explained the original plan to the American people.

I undertook the original Iran initiative in order to develop relations with those who might assume leadership in a post-Khomeini government. It's clear from the Board's report, however, that I let my personal concern for the hostages spill over into the geo-political strategy of reaching out to Iran. I asked so many questions about the hostages' welfare that I didn't ask enough about the specifics of the total Iran plan.

President Reagan heard how William Buckley, his CIA station chief in Beirut, had been beaten by his captors. As he personalized the plight of the hostages, the importance of his policy tended to fade. Columnist George F. Will described President Reagan’s soft and emotional side regarding the hostages,

This is the soft side of Ronald Reagan. He was really bothered by the hostages. It would take a harder man than Ronald Reagan to say what a President ought to say which is, "Sorry this is a big country and big countries have casualties if you will and we just have to regard those people as for the moment casualties. Put them out of your mind." Ronald Reagan had a hard time being hard.

President Reagan continued in the speech to take responsibility for the situation as well as apologize to the country for it.

First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken

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158 PBS, “Reagan.”


160 PBS, “Reagan.”
without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I'm still the one who must answer to the American people for this behavior. And as personally distasteful as I find secret bank accounts and diverted funds - well, as the Navy would say, this happened on my watch.

Let's start with the part that is the most controversial. A few months ago I told the American people I did not trade arms for hostages. My heart and my best intentions still tell me that's true, but the facts and the evidence tell me it is not. As the Tower board reported, what began as a strategic opening to Iran deteriorated, in its implementation, into trading arms for hostages. This runs counter to my own beliefs, to administration policy, and to the original strategy we had in mind. There are reasons why it happened, but no excuses. It was a mistake.

Let me say to the hostage families: We have not given up. We never will. And I promise you we'll use every legitimate means to free your loved ones from captivity. But I must also caution that those Americans who freely remain in such dangerous areas must know that they're responsible for their own safety.”

Nancy wrote several letters to Don Regan but none of her letters were answered. She stated in her memoirs,

Despite everything that had happened between us, I was sorry that Don Regan left the White House in such a disagreeable way. But the relief was palpable, and the change from Don to Howard was applauded by both Democrats and Republicans. Morale soared in the White House, and people felt as if a great weight had been removed. A lot of calls came in supporting the move, including one from Margaret Thatcher. I even had calls from Democrats and from members of the press, thanking me.

Judy Mann of the Washington Post wrote in support of the First Lady’s efforts and gives her great credit,

First Lady Nancy Reagan managed to do what nobody else was able to do—namely, rid the administration of someone who was literally crippling the

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presidency. White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan hung on and on in an unprecedented display of supreme arrogance, placing his own self-interest above that President Reagan and, certainly, above the welfare of the country. Calls, pleas, messages through the media, and personal visits from Republican leaders could not move the president to replace him. The gentlemen who could exercise the greatest influence on the president couldn’t do the job. Mrs. Reagan did the dirty work for them, and now they are out to get her. The Republican and conservative power brokers ought to be sending her bouquets of long-stemmed red roses. Instead, she’s being depicted as a power-hungry dragon lady...The President didn’t look like a wimp. He had a wife who understood what had to be done and was willing to do the dirty work. That makes him a pretty lucky man.  

Peggy Noonan gave Mrs. Reagan credit in her book, *When Character was King*, for the support she provided the President,

It should also probably be said that it was during this crisis that Nancy Reagan once again came to the fore, helping to raise her husband’s spirits, getting people in to support him and make him laugh, taking hold of the White House mess—Don Regan didn’t leave and Colin Powell didn’t come in without her urging—and reaching out to her friends in the media for understanding. She quietly helped get things back on an even keel, and helped turn her husband’s concentration and concern away from the scandal and on to a new and simmering crisis that both Reagans saw as rich with opportunity.

Edmund Morris, in President Reagan’s memoir, *Dutch: A memoir of Ronald Reagan*, addressed Nancy Reagan’s psychological power over the President and states,

Her power inside the Reagan White House has been exaggerated politically and underestimated psychologically. And her much-celebrated “humanization” of Dutch’s prejudice against the Soviet Union is hard to prove. She certainly managed to make Andrei Gromyko smile—a major diplomatic achievement—when he visited the Oval Office in 1984, and promised that she would whisper “peace” in her husband’s ear every night.

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If so, it was his deaf right ear, because he made clear at Reykjavik that he still believed Moscow was bent on world domination.\textsuperscript{165}

In reviewing Edmund Morris’ 874 pages of Ronald Reagan’s memoirs, though he acknowledges and credits Nancy Ragan’s ability to influence the Reagan Presidency, it is disappointing that he devotes only a few paragraphs to Nancy Reagan’s efforts. From Morris’ statement above it is evident that he did not see Nancy’s role to be significant in influencing President Reagan. A year later, Don Regan would get his revenge on Nancy Reagan by writing a book.

\textbf{Activism}

\textit{Just Say No Campaign}

When thinking about how First Ladies have expanded their role in the American presidency through independent activism First Lady Nancy Reagan may not be the first woman to come to mind. However, when one takes a closer look at her life, her experiences and her political efforts, it is clear that Nancy Reagan has been overlooked as one of the most empowering activist First Ladies in American history. When First Lady, Nancy Reagan came to Washington she began by focusing on the problem of drug abuse among young people. She took what Helen Thomas said to her on the campaign trail to heart. Nancy wrote,

\begin{quote}
Helen Thomas had told me during our talk on the campaign plane. ‘If your husband is elected,’ she said, ‘you will have a platform that is given to very few people. You should think about what you want to do with it. You’ll never be given this kind of opportunity again.’\textsuperscript{166}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{166} Novak, \textit{My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan}, 56.
Her concern about drug abuse was not just for show. As First Lady of California, Nancy Reagan had been involved in anti-drug issues, as well as with the *Foster Grandparent Program* and efforts to locate missing servicemen. Nancy wrote, “I never worked harder in my life-and I liked doing most of it. Mostly, I liked being useful—to Ronnie, to individual people, and country, in helping address the drug problem.”

On the whole, her efforts were admirable. Her press secretary, Sheila Tate, recalled,

> She got on an airplane and hardly ever came back to the White House. She was on the road month after month…She invited the press to come with her. She took the camera that you were shining on her, and turned it around and focused it on a cause – one she could do something about.”

She used her position to lobby against teen drug abuse, appearing at many school events to promote the issue. She traveled almost 250,000 miles throughout the nation, and oversees, to work with young people and their families. She appeared on television shows, taped public service announcements, and wrote articles. She concerned herself with both prevention and rehabilitation, and focused international attention on the topic when she spoke to an audience of first ladies from countries throughout the world at the United Nations. She also used the media and popular culture to her advantage, appearing on a popular sitcom and at a Super Bowl halftime show to discuss drug abuse. She also scheduled a celebrity White House tennis tournament to raise funds for drug rehabilitation centers. Myra, Gutin, in her book, *President’s Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century*, described Mrs. Reagan’s efforts and stated, “She brought the

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question of drug abuse to the forefront. Her star power and stage presence were key to the campaign.  

How it all Begin…

During a 1980 campaign stop in Daytop Village, New York, Mrs. Reagan became aware of the need to educate young people about the effect of drugs. In 1982, Nancy Reagan began drug awareness campaign, her primary project and major initiative as First Lady was launching the "Just Say No" campaign. The main purpose of her initiative was to focus on drug education and informing youths about the dangers of drug abuse. In 1982, at Longfellow Elementary School in Oakland, Mrs. Reagan was asked by a young girl “what she and her friends should say when someone offered them drugs. Nancy said, "Just Say No." And within a few months, thousands of "Just Say No" clubs had sprung up in schools around the country." The catch-phrase “Just Say No” soon proliferated through the popular culture of the 1980s, eventually adopted as the name of a loose organization of clubs formed in grammar, middle and high schools in which young people pledged not to experiment with the harmful drugs.  

Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting Nancy Reagan with her


172 National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
executive staff decided that “Just Say No.” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program. James Rosebush was her chief of staff and James and Sheila Tate were to be part of Mrs. Reagan’s staff for five years. The other personnel were changed frequently. Anne Edwards wrote about the plan and purpose of the campaign,

Her staff agreed that her new endeavor should bring her in contact with the people with drug-related problems, not just the agencies. Above all her staff wanted to humanize her and her program.

The executive staff’s idea was to have Mrs. Reagan visit schools, hospitals, and drug centers. During the visit she would give a short speech and interact with the children and the adults. A camera crew accompanied Mrs. Reagan to capture the encounters and the most moving were then circulated to the news agencies. At the end of Mrs. Reagan’s first year as First Lady, her “Just Say No” campaign was effectively structured. She would consistently visit schools, treatment centers and give interviews to the press stating her views on young people and drugs. Mrs. Reagan’s aides felt that she needed a substantial and meaningful project and drug abuse was one that was Mrs. Reagan’s own personal choice. Although at first, her aides were not sure that the program was the right one, they saw the “Just Say No” Campaign to be more relevant than the Foster Grandparent Program. Anne Edwards wrote about the conviction in the staff in moving the program forward,

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175 Edwards, The Reagans: Portrait of a Marriage, 249.
From the moment that she appeared at the first school to ask the kids to “just say no” to drugs no matter who offered them or how much peer pressure was exerted, her team knew she had been right. This was the program for her.\textsuperscript{177}

Sheila Tate, her press secretary recalled,

When she could sit with a child...those big eyes focus on a kid and the kid finds himself telling his whole life story to her, and they both sit there and cry, but when she leaves, the kid can say, “You know, here’s someone so important, and she cares about me. And that’s the feeling they got from that. That started building….And she was taking that camera, that media spotlight, and turning it around and focusing it on the issue, which is something she cared about.\textsuperscript{178}

In an interview with Good Morning America in November 1981, Mrs. Reagan said,

her best role is to try to bring public awareness, particularly parental awareness, to the problems of drug abuse" because "understanding what drugs can do to your children, understanding peer pressure and understanding why they turn to drugs is...the first step in solving the problem.\textsuperscript{179}

In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there (to combat the use of drugs by minors). Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”\textsuperscript{180} Nancy Reagan used her innate grace, her Hollywood charm and acting prowess and her childhood experiences in her efforts to personalize the war on drugs, and sought to stamp out drug abuse in America. Reagan wrote about his support of Nancy’s efforts on the

\textsuperscript{177} Edwards, \textit{The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage}, 254.


\textsuperscript{179} Nancy Reagan, \textit{Good Morning America}, November 1981.

\textsuperscript{180} Edwards, \textit{The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage}, 254. Author’s citation: Often used by Nancy Reagan in appearances promoting “Just Say No.”
“Just Say No” Campaign in a letter on July 14, 1986 to Mr. Richard G. Capen, Jr. In the letter, President Reagan states,

> It’s apparent that Nancy has been on the right track. We must concentrate on taking the customer away from the drugs. The other way won’t solve the problem. We are studying now how a nationwide effort can be mobilized. Whatever we come up with I know the news media will play an important role and I’m happy to know of your own interest and concerns.¹⁸¹

In another letter, responding to Paul Newman doubting Nancy and her commitment to the antidrug campaign, Ronald Reagan wrote:

> Nancy has traveled tens of thousands of miles to virtually every part of this country and to Europe and Asia motivated by her deeply felt devotion to the antidrug crusade. I believe she has done more and continues doing more than another single individual, particularly with regard to young people to whom she is totally dedicated.¹⁸²

President Reagan continues in the letter to Mr. Newman to say,

> I’m sorry you removed yourself from the proposed antidrug film. It was a very worthwhile effort and should not be sacrificed on the altar of partisan politics. I assure you our administration and my wife are dedicated to the nationwide crusade against drug and alcohol abuse.¹⁸³

**Television appearances**

Former First Lady Nancy Reagan took her “Just Say No” crusade primetime, made appearances on television talk shows, recorded public service announcements, and wrote guest articles.¹⁸⁴ In 1983, she cohosted a two-hour program with host David


Hartman on Good Morning America. The $701 she collected for the program was given to charity.

Nancy Reagan's real reward is the opportunity to promote her favorite cause—the fight against drug and alcohol abuse among the young. The timing of the broadcast, which had been planned for months, turns out to be advantageous. Washington has been buzzing about Nancy Reagan's health, tying rumors of illness and low morale to her husband's re-election plans. There is no better antidote for the speculation than 26 hours in the New York media glare. The guests are a mix of experts, worried parents and addicts who have gone straight. Though Nancy has been pursuing this cause for two years, she does not pretend to be a scientific expert. Her role is to draw attention to the dangers, to persuade parents and teen-agers to get professional help quickly. Her questions this morning are simple. "When was it," she asks a former N.F.L. player who finally conquered the habit, "that you realized that you had to do something?" Over and over again she gets youngsters to acknowledge that peer pressure started them on the road to addiction.

She also attended a promotion session for a new public service ad campaign against drugs. Meanwhile, the visit allowed Nancy's press secretary, Sheila Tate, to remind reporters that the First Lady would soon tape a promotional piece for the Public Broadcasting Service's upcoming program *The Chemical People*, which also dealt with the drug problem and for which Nancy had already provided the narration.

In 1983, First Lady, Nancy Reagan appeared in an episode of the hit television drama *Dynasty* to accentuate support for the anti-drug campaign, as well as a Super Bowl commercial. As she continued to promote "*Just Say No*," she appeared in an episode of

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the popular 1980s sitcom *Diff'rent Strokes*, Season 5, Episode 22. In the episode, a reporter for the school newspaper, Arnold, learns that drugs are being sold on school grounds. This attracts the concern of First Lady Nancy Reagan, who comes to the school to talk about her anti-drug campaign. Mrs. Reagan appeared in a rock music video, "*Stop the Madness*." The song was written by Michael Stokes and was anti-drug music video that was uniquely endorsed and supported by the United States President Ronald Reagan and the Reagan Administration. The main star of the video was First Lady Nancy Reagan. Mrs. Reagan appeared twice in *Stop the Madness* Video which appeared on January 16, 1986. The video aired regularly for over six months on the popular NBC's *Friday Night Videos* television show. The Executive Producer of the video was Brian Dyak, who was the CEO and the founding President of EIC. Later, CBS television network worked with Brian Dyak and used the song’s name “*Stop the Madness*” for a series of public service announcements speaking to various forms of drug abuse, addictions, alcoholism, and other social issues that concern to the general public. MCA Records also released the video as a record. The dance version of the song was well received in Europe and played in dance clubs internationally, sparking anti-drug campaigns in several other countries.

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187 "Stop the Madness, Produced by B. L. Dyak, and W. N. Utz, Motion Picture Association, 2005."
When asked about her campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just
one child, it's worth it".

International Conference on Drug Abuse

In April, 1985, Nancy invited the First Ladies of various nations to the White
House for a conference on drug abuse extending the campaign to an international level.

Anti-drug Abuse bill

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the, "National Crusade for a Drug
Free America” law. This was anti-drug abuse bill which granted $1.7 billion in funding to
fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even
though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she
made a joint address, with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse.

President Reagan gave the speech with Nancy joining him in the West Hall of the White
House (usually the President gives speeches from his office in the West Wing).

Good evening. Usually, I talk with you from my office in the West Wing
of the White House. But tonight there's something special to talk about,
and I've asked someone very special to join me. Nancy and I are here in
the West Hall of the White House, and around us are the rooms in which
we live. It's the home you've provided for us, of which we merely have
temporary custody.

Nancy's joining me because the message this evening is not my message
but ours. And we speak to you not simply as fellow citizens but as fellow
parents and grandparents and as concerned neighbors. It's back-to-school
time for America's children. And while drug and alcohol abuse cuts across

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZM0ioS1g58 (accessed October 25, 2011).

189 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

190 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
all generations, it's especially damaging to the young people on whom our future depends. So tonight, from our family to yours, from our home to yours, thank you for joining us.

America has accomplished so much in these last few years, whether it's been rebuilding our economy or serving the cause of freedom in the world. What we've been able to achieve has been done with your help -- with us working together as a nation united. Now, we need your support again. Drugs are menacing our society. They're threatening our values and undercutting our institutions. They're killing our children.

From the beginning of our administration, we've taken strong steps to do something about this horror. Tonight I can report to you that we've made much progress. Thirty-seven federal agencies are working together in a vigorous national effort, and by next year our spending for drug law enforcement will have more than tripled from its 1981 levels. We have increased seizures of illegal drugs. Shortages of marijuana are now being reported. Last year alone over 10,000 drug criminals were convicted and nearly $250 million of their assets were seized by the DEA, the Drug Enforcement Administration.

And in the most important area, individual use, we see progress. In 4 years the number of high school seniors using marijuana on a daily basis has dropped from 1 in 14 to 1 in 20. The U.S. military has cut the use of illegal drugs among its personnel by 67 percent since 1980. These are a measure of our commitment and emerging signs that we can defeat this enemy. But we still have much to do.

Despite our best efforts, illegal cocaine is coming into our country at alarming levels, and 4 to 5 million people regularly use it. Five hundred thousand Americans are hooked on heroin. One in twelve persons smokes marijuana regularly. Regular drug use is even higher among the age group 18 to 25—most likely just entering the workforce. Today there's a new epidemic: smokable cocaine, otherwise known as crack. It is an explosively destructive and often lethal substance which is crushing its users. It is an uncontrolled fire.

And drug abuse is not a so-called victimless crime. Everyone's safety is at stake when drugs and excessive alcohol are used by people on the highways or by those transporting our citizens or operating industrial equipment. Drug abuse costs you and your fellow Americans at least $60 billion a year.
From the early days of our administration, Nancy has been intensely involved in the effort to fight drug abuse. She has since traveled over 100,000 miles to 55 cities in 28 States and 6 foreign countries to fight school-age drug and alcohol abuse. She's given dozens of speeches and scores of interviews and has participated in 24 special radio and TV tapings to create greater awareness of this crisis. Her personal observations and efforts have given her such dramatic insights that I wanted her to share them with you this evening.

Nancy.

_Mrs. Reagan:_ Thank you. As a mother, I've always thought of September as a special month, a time when we bundled our children off to school, to the warmth of an environment in which they could fulfill the promise and hope in those restless minds. But so much has happened over these last years, so much to shake the foundations of all that we know and all that we believe in. Today there's a drug and alcohol abuse epidemic in this country, and no one is safe from it—not you, not me, and certainly not our children, because this epidemic has their names written on it. Many of you may be thinking: "Well, drugs don't concern me." But it does concern you. It concerns us all because of the way it tears at our lives and because it's aimed at destroying the brightness and life of the sons and daughters of the United States.

For 5 years I've been traveling across the country—learning and listening. And one of the most hopeful signs I've seen is the building of an essential, new awareness of how terrible and threatening drug abuse is to our society. This was one of the main purposes when I started, so of course it makes me happy that that's been accomplished. But each time I meet with someone new or receive another letter from a troubled person on drugs, I yearn to find a way to help share the message that cries out from them. As a parent, I'm especially concerned about what drugs are doing to young mothers and their newborn children. Listen to this news account from a hospital in Florida of a child born to a mother with a cocaine habit: "Nearby, a baby named Paul lies motionless in an incubator, feeding tubes riddling his tiny body. He needs a respirator to breathe and a daily spinal tap to relieve fluid buildup on his brain. Only 1 month old, he's already suffered 2 strokes."

Now you can see why drug abuse concerns every one of us—all the American family. Drugs steal away so much. They take and take, until finally every time a drug goes into a child, something else is forced out—like love and hope and trust and confidence. Drugs take away the dream from every child's heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it's time we in America stand up and replace those dreams. Each of us has to put our
principles and consciences on the line, whether in social settings or in the workplace, to set forth solid standards and stick to them. There's no moral middle ground. Indifference is not an option. We want you to help us create an outspoken intolerance for drug use. For the sake of our children, I implore each of you to be unyielding and inflexible in your opposition to drugs.

Our young people are helping us lead the way. Not long ago, in Oakland, California, I was asked by a group of children what to do if they were offered drugs, and I answered, "Just say no." Soon after that, those children in Oakland formed a *Just Say No* club, and now there are over 10,000 such clubs all over the country. Well, their participation and their courage in saying no needs our encouragement. We can help by using every opportunity to force the issue of not using drugs to the point of making others uncomfortable, even if it means making ourselves unpopular.

Our job is never easy because drug criminals are ingenious. They work everyday to plot a new and better way to steal our children's lives, just as they've done by developing this new drug, crack. For every door that we close, they open a new door to death. They prosper on our unwillingness to act. So, we must be smarter and stronger and tougher than they are. It's up to us to change attitudes and just simply dry up their markets.

And finally, to young people watching or listening, I have a very personal message for you: There's a big, wonderful world out there for you. It belongs to you. It's exciting and stimulating and rewarding. Don't cheat yourselves out of this promise. Our country needs you, but it needs you to be clear-eyed and clear-minded. I recently read one teenager's story. She's now determined to stay clean but was once strung out on several drugs. What she remembered most clearly about her recovery was that during the time she was on drugs everything appeared to her in shades of black and gray and after her treatment she was able to see colors again.

So, to my young friends out there: Life can be great, but not when you can't see it. So, open your eyes to life: to see it in the vivid colors that God gave us as a precious gift to His children, to enjoy life to the fullest, and to make it count. Say yes to your life. And when it comes to drugs and alcohol just say no.

*The President:* I think you can see why Nancy has been such a positive influence on all that we're trying to do. The job ahead of us is very clear. Nancy's personal crusade, like that of so many other wonderful individuals, should become our national crusade. It must include a
combination of government and private efforts which complement one another. Last month I announced six initiatives which we believe will do just that.

First, we seek a drug-free workplace at all levels of government and in the private sector. Second, we'll work toward drug-free schools. Third, we want to ensure that the public is protected and that treatment is available to substance abusers and the chemically dependent. Our fourth goal is to expand international cooperation while treating drug trafficking as a threat to our national security. In October I will be meeting with key U.S. Ambassadors to discuss what can be done to support our friends abroad. Fifth, we must move to strengthen law enforcement activities such as those initiated by Vice President Bush and Attorney General Meese. And finally, we seek to expand public awareness and prevention.

In order to further implement these six goals, I will announce tomorrow a series of new proposals for a drug-free America. Taken as a whole, these proposals will toughen our laws against drug criminals, encourage more research and treatment, and ensure that illegal drugs will not be tolerated in our schools or in our workplaces. Together with our ongoing efforts, these proposals will bring the Federal commitment to fighting drugs to $3 billion. As much financing as we commit, however, we would be fooling ourselves if we thought that massive new amounts of money alone will provide the solution. Let us not forget that in America people solve problems and no national crusade has ever succeeded without human investment. Winning the crusade against drugs will not be achieved by just throwing money at the problem.

Your government will continue to act aggressively, but nothing would be more effective than for Americans simply to quit using illegal drugs. We seek to create a massive change in national attitudes which ultimately will separate the drugs from the customer, to take the user away from the supply. I believe, quite simply, that we can help them quit, and that's where you come in.

My generation will remember how America swung into action when we were attacked in World War II. The war was not just fought by the fellows flying the planes or driving the tanks. It was fought at home by a mobilized nation—men and women alike—building planes and ships, clothing sailors and soldiers, feeding marines and airmen; and it was fought by children planting victory gardens and collecting cans. Well, now we're in another war for our freedom, and it's time for all of us to pull together again. So, for example, if your friend or neighbor or a family member has a drug or alcohol problem, don't turn the other way. Go to his
help or to hers. Get others involved with you—clubs, service groups, and community organizations—and provide support and strength. And, of course, many of you've been cured through treatment and self-help. Well, you're the combat veterans, and you have a critical role to play. You can help others by telling your story and providing a willing hand to those in need. Being friends to others is the best way of being friends to ourselves. It's time, as Nancy said, for America to "just say no" to drugs.

Those of you in union halls and workplaces everywhere: Please make this challenge a part of your job every day. Help us preserve the health and dignity of all workers. To businesses large and small: We need the creativity of your enterprise applied directly to this national problem. Help us. And those of you who are educators: Your wisdom and leadership are indispensable to this cause. From the pulpits of this spirit-filled land: We would welcome your reassuring message of redemption and forgiveness and of helping one another. On the athletic fields: You men and women are among the most beloved citizens of our country. A child's eyes fill with your heroic achievements. Few of us can give youngsters something as special and strong to look up to as you. Please don't let them down.

And this camera in front of us: It's a reminder that in Nancy's and my former profession and in the newsrooms and production rooms of our media centers—you have a special opportunity with your enormous influence to send alarm signals across the Nation. To our friends in foreign countries: We know many of you are involved in this battle with us. We need your success as well as ours. When we all come together, united, striving for this cause, then those who are killing America and terrorizing it with slow but sure chemical destruction will see that they are up against the mightiest force for good that we know. Then they will have no dark alleyways to hide in.

In this crusade, let us not forget who we are. Drug abuse is a repudiation of everything America is. The destructiveness and human wreckage mock our heritage. Think for a moment how special it is to be an American. Can we doubt that only a divine providence placed this land, this island of freedom, here as a refuge for all those people on the world who yearn to breathe free?

The revolution out of which our liberty was conceived signaled an historical call to an entire world seeking hope. Each new arrival of immigrants rode the crest of that hope. They came, millions seeking a safe harbor from the oppression of cruel regimes. They came, to escape starvation and disease. They came, those surviving the Holocaust and the Soviet gulags. They came, the boat people, chancing death for even a
glimmer of hope that they could have a new life. They all came to taste the air redolent and rich with the freedom that is ours. What an insult it will be to what we are and whence we came if we do not rise up together in defiance against this cancer of drugs.

And there's one more thing. The freedom that so many seek in our land has not been preserved without a price. Nancy and I shared that remembrance 2 years ago at the Normandy American Cemetery in France. In the still of that June afternoon, we walked together among the soldiers of freedom, past the hundreds of white markers which are monuments to courage and memorials to sacrifice. Too many of these and other such graves are the final resting places of teenagers who became men in the roar of battle.

Look what they gave to us who live. Never would they see another sunlit day glistening off a lake or river back home or miles of corn pushing up against the open sky of our plains. The pristine air of our mountains and the driving energy of our cities are theirs no more. Nor would they ever again be a son to their parents or a father to their own children. They did this for you, for me, for a new generation to carry our democratic experiment proudly forward. Well, that's something I think we're obliged to honor, because what they did for us means that we owe as a simple act of civic stewardship to use our freedom wisely for the common good.

As we mobilize for this national crusade, I'm mindful that drugs are a constant temptation for millions. Please remember this when your courage is tested: You are Americans. You're the product of the freest society mankind has ever known. No one, ever, has the right to destroy your dreams and shatter your life.

Right down the end of this hall is the Lincoln Bedroom. But in the Civil War that room was the one President Lincoln used as his office. Memory fills that room, and more than anything that memory drives us to see vividly what President Lincoln sought to save. Above all, it is that America must stand for something and that our heritage lets us stand with a strength of character made more steely by each layer of challenge pressed upon the Nation. We Americans have never been morally neutral against any form of tyranny. Tonight we're asking no more than that we honor what we have been and what we are by standing together.

Mrs. Reagan: Now we go on to the next stop: making a final commitment not to tolerate drugs by anyone, anytime, anyplace. So, won't you join us in this great, new national crusade?
The President: God bless you, and good night.  

This joint address by the Reagans marked the start of the Administration’s campaign against illegal narcotics which included legislative proposals and recommendations for increased Federal spending. The Reagans’ involvement in speaking with the American people signaled recognition that public and political interest in anti-drug abuse was growing.

Addressing the United Nation General Assembly

In October 1988, Nancy Reagan became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws. She also led the United States delegation to the Third Committee debate. The committee deals with social, humanitarian and cultural matters. In her speech, Nancy Reagan told the United Nations,

The United States must do more to solve its drug problem itself through stricter law enforcement and education. The United States should stop blaming developing countries that produce most of the illegal drugs consumed by Americans… We need to educate a generation to ‘just say no’ to drugs,…If we lack the will to fully mobilize the forces of law in our own country to arrest and punish drug users, if we cannot stem the American demand for drugs, then there will be little hope of preventing foreign drug producers from fulfilling that demand...We will not get anywhere if we place a heavier burden of action on foreign governments than on America's own mayors, judges and legislators. You see, the cocaine cartel does not begin in Medellin, Colombia. It begins in the

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streets of New York, Miami, Los Angeles and every American city where crack is bought and sold.\textsuperscript{193}

She emphasized that the United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received. Delegates lined up to shake her hands with her and to congratulate her. “State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America's own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”\textsuperscript{194} The New York times reported that the diplomats from Latin American and Asia have long stated that the American authorities should place more emphasis on curbing drug demand in the United States rather than pressing them to eradicate drug producers and traffickers and they appeared pleased with Mrs. Reagan’s speech.\textsuperscript{195}

Meeting with Pope John Paul II

On May 5, 1985, Nancy Reagan discussed her campaign against drug abuse with Pope John Paul II and the Pope called for international cooperation to end the


\textsuperscript{194} Lewis, “Nancy Reagan, at U.N., Says U.S. Must Do More to Combat Drugs.”

"enslavement which results from this dependency." Mrs. Reagan described the 25-minute meeting as "moving and wonderful," and John Paul gave his blessings to Mrs. Reagan's efforts against drug abuse. During the same visit Mrs. Reagan visited a drug rehabilitation center in Italy where she received an award for her efforts against narcotics abuse.

Foster Grandparent Program

The Foster Grandparent Program began on August 28, 1965, as a pilot program designed to engage people over 60 with some income limitations in community service. The program quickly revealed the positive impact these thriving older Americans have on children with either exceptional or special needs, and it grew in scope. Nancy continued her advocacy for the program as the First Lady of the United States. She wrote a column in the Saturday Evening Post and stated,

I hope as First Lady to be able to bring this program to the attention of every community across the country. The Foster Grandparent Program is an idea that combines older Americans who have love to give with children of special needs who thrive on that love. These children may be mentally or physically handicapped, from broken homes or they may be juvenile delinquents. I think it's the greatest program ever. It's a wonderful two way street. So many programs benefit only one side. This one benefits both sides. On the one side, there are the children whose needs are obvious. I'm talking about severely retarded children. These special children need a tremendous amount of attention and all the love they can get—more than any hospital can possibly provide. They are hospitalized because they are emotionally, physically and/or mentally


197 Dionne. “Nancy Reagan and Pope discuss war on Narcotics.”

198 Dionne. “Nancy Reagan and Pope discuss war on Narcotics.”
handicapped sometimes from birth. On the other side, you have the elderly, who are at a point in their lives where their children are grown and have left home. They sometimes feel lonely and unneeded after leading active lives with families and jobs. They have so much to give somebody—a great deal of love and a great deal of experience. Plus, they usually have those wonderful traits that only come as one gets older. They are more patient, more tolerant, more aware of little changes in their grandchild. Children always sense this warmth and immediately respond to it. Bring these two groups together and each gives what the other needs.199

There were less than 75 Foster Grandparent Programs in the country when Nancy Reagan began her advocacy. Under Nancy Reagan’s work the program spread to every state, and when she was First Lady there were 233 projects. In the article, she also wrote about a song that was produced,

I was extremely touched when a song was written by composer Joe Raposo and lyricist Hal David, dedicated to me to benefit the Foster Grandparent Program. The lyrics sing a beautifully simple message: "To love a child you start with a smile and after a while a hug and a kiss; it takes no more than this to love a child." The song's title, "To Love a Child," is the same as a book I am writing about Foster Grandparents that will be published by Bobbs-Merrill this year...It's one of the best programs I've ever seen because it benefits both sides: children, who need love, and grandparents, elderly people, who need to feel wanted. – Nancy Reagan

As a measure of the power of a First Lady’s attention, in the program’s first year of operation, 782 foster grandparents carried out thirty-three projects in twenty-seven states.

By 1985, some 19,000 foster grandparents served some 65,000 children through 245 projects in all fifty states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the District of Columbia.

Brest Cancer

Two years after President Reagan was diagnosed and operated on for colon cancer, Nancy Reagan also received frightening news during her annual mammogram check-up. The doctor told Mrs. Reagan she had a suspicious growth in her left breast. Mrs. Reagan was quoted as saying, “I guess it’s my turn now.” The doctors gave her two choices; a mastectomy or a lumpectomy as they suspected that it was cancerous. She did not hesitate to choose the mastectomy. “I couldn’t possibly lead the kind of life I led and keep the schedule I do, having radiation or chemotherapy. “Mrs. Reagan's reaction to the news was ‘just total relief,’ said her spokeswoman, Elaine Crispen, who had been at the hospital with the First Lady. ‘Just fine. I feel great,’ the spokeswoman quoted her as saying. The Reagans received the news about the final tests at midmorning, then spent time looking at flowers and the get-well cards.” Her recovery from the mastectomy was complicated by the death of her mother Edith Davis, just days after her surgery.

As soon as Nancy Reagan returned to good health she became a campaigner for early detection of breast cancer. She later explained in an interview with Barbara Walters, “Maybe if I’d been 20 years old, hadn’t been married, hadn’t had children, I

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202 Altman, “Nancy Reagan’s Prognosis: Excellent.”
would feel completely different. But for me it was right.” Nancy Reagan's openness when she was stricken with breast cancer increased attention on importance of annual examinations that could detect cancer in its early stages.

Breast cancer was surrounded by secrecy until the 1980s, when brave individuals such as former First Ladies Betty Ford and Nancy Reagan, and founder of the Susan G. Komen Foundation, Nancy Brinker (Susan Komen’s sister), began speaking publicly about the personal impact of the disease, which increased awareness of breast cancer and made it more acceptable to talk about it openly.  

On October 17, Mrs. Reagan underwent an open biopsy of the lesion, followed by a modified radical mastectomy during the same operation.

The treatment choice First Lady Nancy Reagan choice sparked a controversy that was highly reported by the press. Articles critical of Mrs. Reagan's choice of surgery appeared in major news media under headlines such as "Mastectomy Seen as Extreme Treatment" and "Was This Operation Necessary?" One authority on breast cancer was quoted in the New York Times as stating that Mrs. Reagan's decision "set us back 10 years."  

Time magazine quoted a prominent breast cancer specialist as stating "it's my

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206 Kolata, “Mastectomy seen as extreme treatment.”
opinion that she was probably overtreated." The negative press in turn inspired a number of articles defending the right of Mrs. Reagan and all women with breast cancer to make whatever choice of therapy seems best for them. A study conducted by the Journal of the American Medical Association showed about a twenty-five percent decrease in the use of breast conserving surgery (BCS) right after Mrs. Reagan underwent a mastectomy and recognized the influence Mrs. Reagan’s publicity and choice to undergo a mastectomy. The article stated,

we have demonstrated a 25% reduction in the use of BCS as opposed to mastectomy among women with local or regional breast cancer diagnosed during the last quarter of 1987 or first quarter of 1988. The observed decrease in use of BCS was not associated temporally with any medical literature or lay print media reports questioning the technique, but was associated with a great deal of publicity in the lay press regarding the choice of the president's wife to undergo mastectomy for her own breast cancer.

**Post-Presidential Life**

After leaving the White House on January 20, 1989, Mrs. Reagan continued her work and leaving a legacy. In 1989, Nancy Reagan wrote her memoirs entitled *My Turn*, published by Random House. To continue to support educational drug prevention

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207 Wallis, and Wymelenberg, “Was this operation Necessary? Doctors question the First Lady’s mastectomy decision.”


programs, she created the Nancy Reagan Foundation to continue her campaign to educate people about the serious dangers of substance abuse.\(^{210}\)

In 1994, the Nancy Reagan Foundation joined efforts with the BEST Foundation For A Drug-Free Tomorrow and developed the Nancy Reagan Afterschool Program, a drug prevention and life-skills program for youth. She continued to travel domestically and internationally, speaking out on the harmful effects of drugs and alcohol. In 1994, former President Ronald Reagan was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease and the Reagans funded the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois, for research into the illness, an affiliate of the National Alzheimer’s Association.\(^{211}\) Mrs. Reagan is still actively involved with the national Alzheimer’s Association and its affiliate, the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois. When President Ronald Reagan died in June 2004, Nancy accompanied his casket from the Reagan Presidential Library and Museum in California to his state funeral in Washington, D.C. The eighty-two-year-old widow then returned to the grounds of the presidential library, where her husband was buried. After former President Reagan's death Mrs. Reagan became an outspoken public advocate for stem cell research.\(^{212}\)

In recent years, Mrs. Reagan has devoted her time, serving on the board and working on the projects of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California. The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan

\(^{210}\) National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\(^{211}\) National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\(^{212}\) National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
organization dedicated to developing and fostering President Reagan’s Four Pillars of Freedom: preserving individual liberty, promoting economic opportunity, advancing democracy around the world, and instilling pride in our national heritage. On June 2, 2009, Nancy Reagan joined President Obama as he signed the Ronald Reagan Centennial Commission honoring Ronald Reagan’s memory. Throughout her long and celebrated marriage to Ronald Reagan, she was a guide and trusted friend. Her closest aide Michael Deaver, said, “Without Nancy Reagan, there would have been neither a Governor Reagan nor a President Reagan.”

First Lady Nancy Reagan’s son Ron Reagan said,

I hope that history remembers her as somebody who was dedicated to the person she loved more than anybody else on earth. That’s what her life has been about. And she did her very best to make sure that he could do his very best.

Review of Conceptual Framework and its Application

The leadership demonstrated by Nancy Reagan was identified through primary and secondary source reference materials. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather words and actions of Nancy Reagan. These words and actions will be viewed through the lens of Bass’ Transformational Leadership framework in order to conduct the analysis. The established leadership strategies will be examined through the lens of The Leadership Theory of Bernard Bass’ four components of transformational leaders.

This research also compared different kinds of documentary sources to each other in order to make connections. According to Taylor and Bogdon (1998), “triangulation is a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, and in order to gain a

213 PBS, “Reagan.”

214 PBS, “Reagan.”
deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people involved.” The researcher used numerous primary and secondary sources pertaining to Nancy Reagan to understand how she demonstrated transformational leadership. The primary and secondary sources were analyzed to determine the applications of Bass’ four components of transformational leadership to Nancy Reagan’s words and actions. Bass’ four components provided the conceptual framework for analyzing the work of the First Lady Nancy Reagan.

Analysis

Bass defines transformational leadership traits through the four components. Transformational leadership is a form of leadership style that leads to positive changes in those who follow. Transformational leaders are able to get things done by their energetic nature, enthusiasm and passion. Not only are these leaders concerned and involved in the process; they are also focused on helping every member of the group succeed as well. According to Bass transformational leadership “occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.” Hence, transformational leadership can be defined through the impact that it has on followers. Transformational leaders, Bass suggests, garner trust, respect and admiration from their followers. Bass also recommends

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215 Taylor, and Bogdan. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*, 80.

four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style. Through the power of their vision and personality, transformational leaders are able to inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals.

**Transformational Components Evidence: Nancy Reagan-President’s Protector**

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Nancy Reagan demonstrated when looking after the President to ensure his success in the White House. After President Reagan was shot on March 30, 1981, Nancy Reagan’s protective instincts greatly increased and she took on a role of being the President’s protector. Her concern was that President Reagan would be shot again and she did everything to ensure that he was safe in and out of the White House. She was involved in every aspect of the President’s schedule and travel plans and collaborated with his advisors who listened to Mrs. Reagan. Nancy consulted an astrologer to determine the President’s schedule. Her main role in protecting the President was to monitor his schedule for safe travels, to prevent him from being overwhelmed, and to help the President navigate his political relationships.

Table 3. Nancy Reagan's Components of Transformational Leadership--President's Protector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence</th>
<th>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
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**Words**

“Mike,” I pleaded, “they don’t know how it is with us. He has to know I’m here!” 217

When President Reagan’s aides wanted him to talk to the American people Mrs. Reagan kept saying,

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“he should be treated like any other patient and given time to recover.”  

Nancy believed strongly in her husband and had seen his struggles more than anyone else; she knew he would be a good president.  

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| Nancy believed strongly in her husband and had seen his struggles more than anyone else; she knew he would be a good president.  
Nancy wanted to stay in the hospital the entire night but it was decided that it was best for the country if she returned to the White House. If she had remained, the people might assume the worst and panic.  
Nancy worked diligently to nurse her husband through his recovery and present an ongoing image of vitality and competence. Both handled the assassination attempt with strength and dignity. |

How is the component established through the words and actions?  

Mrs. Reagan had the strongest confidence in her husband, Ronald Reagan’s ability to lead the United States of America as the President. Nancy Reagan knew the President the best and worked with his staff to ensure his success. When President Reagan was shot, Nancy Reagan became a role model by showing strength to the people of the United States. Nancy Reagan helped the country move forward by giving the people a positive image of her husband’s strength and competence. Mrs. Reagan’s protective instincts for her husband were on high alert and she worked with the President advisors to ensure a healthy recovery for the president.  

Inspirational Motivation-Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.  

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| Mrs. Reagan acknowledged she had influence on her husband-and how could she not? “For eight years I was sleeping with the president, and if that doesn’t give you special access I do not know what does.”  
Mrs. Reagan insisted with the staff that the President follow the doctors’ orders by doing as little work as possible and having his schedule shortened. |

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| Mrs. Reagan was insistent with the staff on the President following doctors’ orders by doing as little work as possible and having his schedule shortened.  
Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 60.  
Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 16.  
She had him attend meetings in his pajamas and bathrobe, making sure he rested most of the day.

How is the component established through the words and actions?

First Lady Nancy Reagan acknowledged in her memoir that she had influence on her husband. She worked with the President’s advisors to ensure that the doctors’ orders were followed, so that the President recovered fully.

**Intellectual Stimulation** - The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

**Words**

“The shooting also made me question my attitude toward gun control. Ronnie’s position didn’t change...”\(^{224}\) “No, I’m grateful to have the Secret Service around. If it weren’t for them, I wouldn’t have a husband.”\(^{225}\)

Joan Quigley, the astrologer, stated to *Time* magazine in 1985, “I don’t make decisions for them, an astrologer just picks the best possible time to do something that someone else has already planned to do. It’s like being in the ocean: You should go with the waves, not against them.”\(^{226}\)

**Actions**

She turned to an astrologist for guidance after her husband was shot, fearing that he might again become a target of a would-be assassin.

She reached out for comfort and help from many friends.

Mrs. Reagan felt that the issue of astrology made her the laughingstock, and she was the subject of countless jokes on television, radio, and in the press. Mrs. Reagan made no public comments; she did not want to bring any more attention to the book that Don Regan had written.

How is the component established through the words and actions?

First Lady Nancy Reagan utilized innovative ways to accomplish her goal of ensuring the President’s safety. She was grateful for the role of the Secret Service, questioned her own attitude towards gun control even though President Reagan did not change his position. It is understandable the fear and the worry that Mrs. Reagan was faced with during the eight years in the White House. She reached out for comfort and help from many friends. She had become used to criticism even when the public learned that she had consulted an astrologer to determine the President’s travel schedule.


\(^{226}\) Zuckerman, Laurence, Svoboda, and Wyss, “The First Lady's Astrologer Nancy's "Friend" proves to be Nob Hill Socialite Joan Quigley.”
**Individualized Consideration**—Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

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<td>“Nancy wanted to be with social somebodies and have fun, in part because it made up for all the things she didn’t want to do but did—all the staff recommendations and personnel decisions she kept her eye on, all the passing on of ideas and directives.”²²⁷</td>
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<td>“Astrology was simply one of the ways I coped with the fear I felt after my husband almost died. For a long time after the shooting, the world seemed to be inundated with violence.”²²⁸</td>
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<td>“Seeing Nancy in the hospital gave me an enormous lift. As long as I live I will never forget the thought that rushed in my head as I looked into her face.”²²⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“She worked diligently to maximize Reagan’s potential, whether by monitoring his schedule to prevent it from becoming overwhelming or by helping him navigate his political relationships.”²³⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She wrote why she turned to an astrologer for guidance after her husband was shot, fearing that he might again become a target of a would-be assassin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy also used her connections and chose the somebodies in Washington to help her husband.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

Mrs. Reagan’s main priority as a First Lady was to protect her husband. She was always by his side and knew how much he needed her. She kept her eye on all the staff recommendations and personnel decisions. She passed on ideas and directives to the President and helped him steer his political relationships.

**Discussion of Leadership Transformational—Nancy Reagan’s Protector Role**

Examining First Lady Nancy Reagan’s use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Nancy Reagan accessed each of the components in


²²⁹ Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library "White House Diary, Friday, April 3, 1981."

²³⁰“Panel Remembers Reagans Legacy’s Fondly, Monica M. Dodge Crimson Staff Writer Published: Friday, March 11, 2011.”
her leadership when looking after President Reagan to protect him from being
overwhelmed and navigating his political relationships, all of which ensured his success
in the White House. Nancy believed strongly in her husband and had seen his struggles
more than anyone else, she knew he would be a good president. President Reagan had
been in office for only sixty-nine days when he survived an assassination attempt. Mrs.
Reagan was the strength for the President and the country. The way she handled the
assassination gave the image of a vitality and competence. It helped the country move
forward instead of staying in fear. After President Reagan was shot on March 30, 1981,
Nancy Reagan’s protective instincts greatly increased, and she increased her role of being
the President’s protector. Her concern was that President Reagan would be shot again, so
she did everything to ensure that he was safe in and out of the White House. First Lady
Nancy Reagan acknowledged in her memoir that she had influence on her husband. She
worked with the President’s advisory staff to ensure that the doctors’ orders were
followed, so that the President recovered fully. She was involved in every aspect of the
President’s schedule and travel plans and collaborated with his advisors, who listened to
Mrs. Reagan. Nancy consulted an astrologer to influence the Presidents’ schedule. Her
main role in protecting the President was to monitor his schedule for safe travels and to
prevent him from being overwhelmed and also to help the President navigate his political
relationships. First Lady Nancy Reagan utilized innovative ways to accomplish her goal
of ensuring the President’s safety. She was grateful for the role of the Secret Service, and
she questioned her own attitude towards gun control even though President Reagan did

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not change his position and continued to resist public pressure. Nancy Reagan became accustomed to criticism when the public learned that she had consulted an astrologer to determine the President’s travel schedule.

Mrs. Reagan’s main priority as First Lady was to protect her husband. She was always by his side and knew how much he needed her. She kept her eye on all the staff recommendations and personnel decisions. She conveyed ideas and directives to the President. Looking behind the scenes of the administration, Tate elaborated on the role that the former First Lady played in caring for her husband. According to Tate, “she worked diligently to maximize Reagan’s potential, whether by monitoring his schedule to prevent it from becoming overwhelming or by helping him navigate his political relationships.”

Transformational Components Evidence: Nancy Reagan-President’s Advisor

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Nancy Reagan demonstrated when working with the advisors in the Reagan Administration. She felt it necessary to work back stage to ensure her husband’s success as the President of the United States. She was involved in every aspect of his Presidency and collaborated with his advisors who listened to her. Allida Black describes First Lady Nancy Reagan’s advisory role in the Reagan administration the best and she stated,

She had one on ones with the major power players in and outside the White House. She was a de facto chief of staff. And that meant that when she called people, people not only took the call, they listened. Nancy

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232 Dodge, “Panel Remembers Reagans Legacy’s Fondly.”
Reagan not only had a unique level of power, but used that power in
unique ways. She didn’t have to sit in a cabinet meeting to do it. 233

What First Lady Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being
the advisor to the President. Those who knew Nancy and remember the Reagan
Administration clearly say that Nancy Reagan’s primary goal was her husband’s success.
While the public saw the First Lady focused on style and design, behind the scenes she
took part in selecting her husband’s key advisors.

Table 4. Nancy Reagan’s Transformational Leadership-Presidential Advisor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence</th>
<th>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Words</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Andrei Gromyko came up to me and said ‘Does your husband believe in peace?’ And I said, Well of course.&quot; And he said, ‘Well then will you whisper that in his ear every night?’ And I said, &quot;Yes I will, and I'll whisper it in your ear too.&quot; 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Benze, biographer, gives Nancy great credit for knowing her husband and the fact that he was very hesitant to fire people. Benze, states, “He didn't like conflict. He was intensely loyal to people around him, but sometimes some of those people weren't serving him well.” 235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Reagan states, “I don't know whether it's just blocking things out or he just doesn't see things. He knew the overall picture, but he didn't know of all my meetings in the back halls and things like that.” 236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The most important thing Nancy Reagan did as First Lady was see to it that her husband was surrounded by people who would bring out the best in him. For the most part she tended to favor people that were more moderate. She also realized her husband had to deal with a democratic congress and moderates would be better able to push his programs through.” 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


236 PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

237 PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”
Stuart Spencer, political consultant to the president saw Nancy as the President’s personnel director. He gives her credit and stated, “She was the human resources department. She made decisions on who was going to be around him. From the campaign to the governor’s office to the White House, that was her role.”

How is the component established through the words and actions?

What First Lady Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being the advisor to the President. Those who knew Nancy and remember the Reagan Administration clearly say that Nancy Reagan’s primary goal was her husband’s success. While the public saw the First Lady focused on style and design, behind the scenes she takes part in selecting her husband’s key advisors. Mrs. Reagan sets the vision on creating a team for the Reagan Administration that was more moderate and one that she could also work closely with.

Inspirational Motivation - Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

Words

Bob Colacello, Historian, recognizes Mrs. Reagan’s view and states, “Nancy’s feeling was that Ronald Reagan’s motto was ‘peace through strength’ and that sometimes the right wing forgot about the peace part. And she wanted to make sure that he went down in history as a peacemaker, not someone who started another war.”

“That's where Nancy Reagan really shines. She understood that he needed this public credibility. That's her great role, not getting rid of Regan. She went beyond protecting him to really leading him to this bitter cup, that of apology, that he had to drink from.”

Actions

What First Lady Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being the advisor to the President. Those who knew Nancy and remember the Reagan Administration clearly say that Nancy Reagan’s primary goal was her husband’s success.

On the evening of December 4, 1986 Nancy participated in a meeting with husband that took place at the White House residence… The purpose of the meeting was for President Reagan to receive fresh advice from two respected outsiders. Nancy did not normally attend meetings but she especially wanted to be at this one and it was held in the residence and not the West Wing.

“What Nancy Reagan accomplished was really very unusual. I can’t think of any other first ladies being able to do the same thing. This is a National Security Advisor – that’s one of the most prominent positions in any

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240 PBS, “Reagan.”
“She had one on ones with the major power players in and outside the White House. She was a de facto chief of staff. And that meant that when she called people, people not only took the call, they listened. Nancy Reagan not only had a unique level of power, but used that power in unique ways. She didn’t have to sit in a cabinet meeting to do it.”

“In most good marriages that I know of, the woman is her husband’s closest friend and advisor. There are limits to that role, of course. But when the president returns each afternoon from the West Wing, it’s only natural that he’ll talk things over with the person he’s closest to, and that he’ll take her viewpoint into consideration.”

Mrs. Reagan, inspired Reagan Advisors to forge for peace with the Soviet Union. She worked to remove those who thought differently. She orchestrated meeting with key advisors to consult her husband during the Iran-Contra affair. She utilized her unique power to make connections and influenced other to forge peace talks with the Soviet Union, hence securing her husband’s legacy as a peacemaker.

Intellectual Stimulation-The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

Words

James Baker’s thoughts on Nancy’s influence, “She was always in favor of a more centrist approach to governing. For one thing she thought we should deal with the Soviet Union not just refuse to talk to them.”

“If, by some miracle, I could take back one decision in Ronnie’s presidency, it would be his agreement in January, 1985, that Jim Baker and Donald Regan should swap jobs. It seemed like a good idea at the time-a little unusual, perhaps, but reasonable. Jim, who had served Ronnie well as chief of staff, was worn out, and Donald Regan was more than willing to come to the White House after four years as Secretary of the Treasury. When Baker and Regan suggested the switch, there was no reason to expect that this new arrangement would lead to a political disaster.”

Nancy convinces her husband to apologize to the American people. Ronald Reagan explained the original

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241 PBS, Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

242 PBS, Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

243 Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 64.

244 PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

plan to the American people in a national speech, on March 4, 1987.

President Reagan continues in the speech to take responsibility for the situation as well as apologize to the country for it.

“First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I'm still the one who must answer to the American people for this behavior. And as personally distasteful as I find secret bank accounts and diverted funds - well, as the Navy would say, this happened on my watch.”

How is the component established through the words and actions?

Mrs. Reagan encouraged her husband to forge a friendly relationship with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Nancy believed that the United States needed to deal with the Soviet Union. There would be five meetings between President Gorbachev and President Reagan. In December, 1987, President and Mrs. Reagan welcomed the Gorbachevs to Washington for the third summit. In the East Room, the two leaders signed the historic INF Treaty. For the first time ever, the amount of nuclear arms was actually being reduced rather than merely limited.

The Iran-Contra affair was revealed in 1986 and became a political scandal for the Reagan Administration.

Nancy convinces her husband to apologize to the American people. Ronald Reagan to the American people in a national speech, on March 4, 1987, he explained the original plan. President Reagan continues in the speech to take responsibility for the situation as well as apologize to the country for it.

Individualized Consideration - Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

Words

Nancy was also approached by government officials and congressional leaders who came to see her in the White House or called her regarding their concerns about Donald Regan. Nancy described their plea: “They told me he had poor relations with both Congress and the media. That he was restricting their access to the president. That he was explosive and difficult to deal with. That he was intimidating his subordinates in the office. And that good, experienced people were starting to leave the West Wing because they couldn’t work with him. Some of these people were calling me and saying, “We’re scared of this guy. The tensions over here are incredible. Morale is low. Can’t you do something? I gave the same answer to everybody: “What are you telling me for? You ought to be telling my husband!”


Behind the scenes she takes part in selecting her husband’s key advisors.

“She was in all of the major personnel decisions. I would never have been in the Reagan White House had it not been for Nancy Reagan. I’m quite confident of that.”

Peggy Noonan gives Mrs. Reagan credit in her book, *When Character was King,* for the support she provided the President, “It should also probably be said that it was during this crisis that Nancy Reagan once again came to the fore, helping to raise her husband’s spirits, getting people in to support him and make him laugh, taking hold of the White House mess—Don Regan didn’t leave and Colin Powell didn’t come in without her urging—and reaching out to her friends in the media for understanding. She quietly helped get things back on an even keel, and helped turn her husband’s concentration and concern away from the scandal and on to a new and simmering crisis that both Reagans saw as rich with opportunity.”

Nancy was also approached by government officials and congressional leaders who came to see her in the White House or called her regarding their concerns about Donald Regan. Nancy worked behind the scenes to inform her husband about the concerns. She also coached the advisors to have the courage to speak to the President directly regarding their concerns. Peggy Noonan gives Mrs. Reagan credit in her book, *When Character was King,* for the support she provided the President.

“It should also probably be said that it was during this crisis that Nancy Reagan once again came to the fore, helping to raise her husband’s spirits, getting people in to support him and make him laugh, taking hold of the White House mess—Don Regan didn’t leave and Colin Powell didn’t come in without her urging—and reaching out to her friends in the media for understanding. She quietly helped get things back on an even keel, and helped turn her husband’s concentration and concern away from the scandal and on to a new and simmering crisis that both Reagans saw as rich with opportunity.”

**Discussion of Leadership Transformational Evidence -- Nancy Reagan’s Advisory Role**

Examining First Lady Nancy Reagan’s use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Reagan accessed each of the components in her leadership in the context of her efforts to establish an Advisory Role to the President.

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What First Lady Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being the advisor to the President. Those who knew Nancy and remember the Reagan Administration clearly say that Nancy Reagan’s primary goal was her husband’s success. While the public saw the First Lady focused on style and design, behind the scenes she took part in selecting her husband’s key advisors. Mrs. Reagan set the vision on creating a team for the Reagan Administration that was more moderate and one that she could work closely with. She also developed relationships with key democratic members. Stuart Spencer, political consultant to the President, saw Nancy as the President’s personnel director. He gave her credit and stated, “She was the human resources department. She made decisions on who was going to be around him. From the campaign to the governor's office to the White House, that was her role.”

Mrs. Reagan provided motivation and stimulation by working with President Reagan’s advisors to look at creative ways to forge peace with the Soviet Union. When Nancy’s husband faced the worst crisis of his Presidency, Nancy worked relentlessly to remove the Chief of Staff. The Iran-Contra affair was revealed in 1986 and became a political scandal for the Reagan Administration. Mrs. Reagan coached others to get her husband to apologize to the nation for his involvement in the Iran-Contra affair. Nancy convinced her husband to apologize to the American people. President Ronald Reagan, in a national speech on March 4, 1987, explained the original plan to the American people. President Reagan continued in the speech to take responsibility for the situation as well as apologize to the country for it.

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251 PBS, “Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”
First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I'm still the one who must answer to the American people for this behavior. And as personally distasteful as I find secret bank accounts and diverted funds - well, as the Navy would say, this happened on my watch.\(^{252}\)

Allida Black describes First Lady, Nancy Reagan’s advisory role in the Reagan administration the best:

She had one on ones with the major power players in and outside the White House. She was a de facto chief of staff. And that meant that when she called people, people not only took the call, they listened. Nancy Reagan not only had a unique level of power, but used that power in unique ways. She didn’t have to sit in a cabinet meeting to do it.\(^{253}\)

What First Lady Nancy Reagan will be most remembered for is her influence on being the advisor to the President. Peggy Noonan gives Mrs. Reagan credit in her book, *When Character was King*, for the support she provided the President,

It should also probably be said that it was during this crisis that Nancy Reagan once again came to the fore, helping to raise her husband’s spirits, getting people in to support him and make him laugh, taking hold of the White House mess—Don Regan didn’t leave and Colin Powell didn’t come in without her urging-and reaching out to her friends in the media for understanding. She quietly helped get things back on an even keel, and helped turn her husband’s concentration and concern away from the scandal and on to a new and simmering crisis that both Reagans saw as rich with opportunity.\(^{254}\)


\(^{253}\) Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.”

\(^{254}\) Noonan, *When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan*, 278.
Transformational Leadership Components Evidence: Nancy Reagan-Activism

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Nancy Reagan demonstrated when championing for drug abuse education and starting the “Just Say No” Campaign, 1981-1986. She elevated the interest of a nation and the use of drugs among youth dropped considerably. She gave 14 speeches to generate awareness and making her vision known. This researcher has classified Nancy Reagan’s words and actions into one of the four components of Transformational Leadership.

Table 5. Nancy Reagan’s Transformational Leadership-Activism-Just Say No Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence</th>
<th>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Words**           | “A little girl raised her hand,” and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you *just say no.*’ And there it was born.”
|                     | “Her staff agreed that her new endeavor should bring her in contact with the people with drug-related problems, not just the agencies. Above all her staff wanted to humanize her and her program.”

| **Actions**         | Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday, morning meeting, Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “Just Say No,” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.
|                     | James Rosebush was her chief of staff and James and Sheila Tate would be part of Mrs. Reagan’s staff for five years.

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256 Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."


A name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School.

Slogan for the Campaign is established.

The executive staff idea was to have Mrs. Reagan visit schools, hospitals, and drug centers. During the visit she would give a short speech and interact with the children and the adults.  

### How is the component established through the words and actions?

Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “Just Say No,” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.  

A name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School. “A little girl raised her hand,” and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you just say no.’ And there it was born.  

Mrs. Reagan’s phrase articulated the vision and the inspiration for the drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but even 30 years later the slogan is used across the country.

### Inspirational Motivation - Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

#### Words

“Drugs take away the dream from every child’s heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it’s time we in America stand up and replace those dreams.” - Nancy Reagan  

#### Actions

Anne Edwards wrote about the conviction in the staff in moving the program forward,

“From the moment that she appeared at the first school to ask the kids to “just say no” to drugs no matter who offered them or how much peer pressure was exerted, her team knew she had been right. This was the program for her.”  

Sheila Tate, recalled, “When she could sit with a child...those big eyes focus on a kid and the kid finds himself telling his whole life story to her, and they both sit there and cry, but when she leaves, the kid can say, ‘You know, here’s someone so important, and she cares about me.’ And that’s the feeling they got.

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259 Edwards, The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage, 250.

260 Edwards, The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage, 249.


from that. That started building….And she was taking that camera, that media spotlight, and turning it around and focusing it on the issue, which is something she cared about.”

She asked Americans to join in the national crusade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How is the component established through the words and actions?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Reagan words and actions motivated her followers (the people of America) to hear her vision and to motivate them to take part in joining the crusade against drugs.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Intellectual Stimulation**-The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

**Words**

When asked about her campaign, the first lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it”

“In 1986, when the president signed a proclamation creating the first official "Just Say No to Drugs Week,“ Nancy Reagan spoke from the heart when she said, "Someone asked me if I wanted to make a New Year’s wish, and I said yes- and it was that I’d like to see every young person in the world join the 'Just Say No’ to drugs club. Well, just the fact that Congress has proclaimed ‘Just Say No Week’ and in light of all the activities taking place, it seems that my wish is well on its way to coming true.”

**Actions**

By 1988 more than 12,000 "Just Say No" clubs had been formed across the country and around the world. The results were encouraging: cocaine use by high-school seniors dropped by one-third, the lowest rate in a decade.

“In 1986, when the president signed a proclamation creating the first official "Just Say No to Drugs Week,“ Nancy Reagan spoke from the heart when she said, "Someone asked me if I wanted to make a New Year’s wish, and I said yes- and it was that I’d like to see every young person in the world join the 'Just Say No’ to drugs club. Well, just the fact that Congress has proclaimed ‘Just Say No Week’ and in light of all the activities taking place, it seems that my wish is well on its way to coming true.”

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Reagan’s vision encouraged her followers to set up 12,000 “Just Say No” clubs and in turn the use of drugs decreased by one-third, being the lowest in a decade. Her influence was noted in the progress the country had made in increasing drug awareness and decreasing its use.</td>
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</tbody>
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266 Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."

267 Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."
When asked about her campaign, the first lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it."

**Individualized Consideration** - Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

**Words**

14 anti-drug speeches were given in 1984 by First Lady Nancy Reagan.

"Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there [to combat the use of drugs by minors]. Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents."

“Many of you may be thinking: "Well, drugs don't concern me.” But it does concern you. It concerns us all because of the way it tears at our lives and because it's aimed at destroying the brightness and life of the sons and daughters of the United States. Now you can see why drug abuse concerns every one of us—all the American family. Drugs steal away so much. They take and take, until finally every time a drug goes into a child, something else is forced out—like love and hope and trust and confidence. Drugs take away the dream from every child’s heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it's time we in America stand up and replace those dreams. Each of us has to put our principles and consciences on the line, whether in social settings or in the workplace, to set forth solid standards and stick to them. There’s no moral middle ground. Indifference is not an option. We want you to help us create an outspoken intolerance for drug use. For the sake of our children, I implore each of you to be unyielding and inflexible in your opposition to drugs… So, to my young friends out there: Life can be great, but not when you can't see it. So, open your eyes to life: to see it in the vivid colors that God gave us as a precious gift to His children, to enjoy life to the fullest, and to make it count. Say yes to your life. And when it comes to drugs and alcohol just say no.”

In 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.

She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received and afterwards delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations from the delegates.

“State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America's own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”

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268 You Tube, “Tribute to Nancy Reagan.”


270 National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

### Actions

“The crusade made serious demands on her time: 110 appearances and fourteen anti-drug speeches in 1984 alone. Her intense effort to fight school-age drug and alcohol abuse took her to sixty-five cities in thirty-three states and nine foreign countries. She also invited the spouses of two dozen heads of state to a three-day anti-drug forum in Washington and Atlanta.”

In April, 1985, Nancy invited the First Ladies of various nations to the White House for a conference on drug abuse extending the campaign to an international level.

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the, "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law, which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address, with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse.

In October, 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.

### How is the component established through the words and actions?

Mrs. Reagan’s involvement in the drug campaign led her to make over 100 appearances and fourteen speeches in which she supported and encouraged her followers through her words, offering encouraging phrases and sharing their stories. In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there [to combat the use of drugs by minors]. Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”

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Mrs. Reagan, in her address, talked about how drugs concern all of us and that we must set solid standards.

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272 Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."


274 National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

275 National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."


277 National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
against drugs and “Just Say No”.

In October, 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.\textsuperscript{278}

She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received, and afterwards, delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations. “State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America’s own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”\textsuperscript{279}

**Discussion of Leadership Transformational Evidence-- Nancy Reagan’s *Just Say No* Campaign Analysis**

Examining First Lady Nancy Reagan’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Reagan accessed each of the components in her leadership in the context of the *Just Say No* campaign. Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting, Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “*Just Say No*,” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.\textsuperscript{280} This name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School. “A little girl raised her hand," and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you just say no.’ And there it was born.”\textsuperscript{281} When asked about her

\textsuperscript{278} National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, “First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan.”
\textsuperscript{279} Lewis, “Nancy Reagan, at U.N., Says U.S. Must Do More to Combat Drugs.”

\textsuperscript{280} Edwards, The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage, 249.

\textsuperscript{281} Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."
campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it" Mrs. Reagan’s involvement in the drug campaign led her to make over 100 appearances and fourteen speeches in which she supported and encouraged her followers through her words, offering encouraging phrases and sharing their stories. In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there (to combat the use of drugs by minors). Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”

Mrs. Reagan’s phrase articulated the vision and the inspiration for drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but, even 30 years later, the slogan is used across the country. Through her many appearances and anti-drug speeches she captured the attention of youths and, in fact, the entire nation. During her campaign 12,000 Just Say No clubs were established and Congress established Just Say No Week. On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law, which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse. Mrs. Reagan in her address, talked about how drugs concern all of us and to set solid standards against drug and to “Just Say No.”


284 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
Many of you may be thinking: "Well, drugs don't concern me." But it does concern you. It concerns us all because of the way it tears at our lives and because it's aimed at destroying the brightness and life of the sons and daughters of the United States. Now you can see why drug abuse concerns every one of us—all the American family. Drugs steal away so much. They take and take, until finally every time a drug goes into a child, something else is forced out—like love and hope and trust and confidence. Drugs take away the dream from every child's heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it's time we in America stand up and replace those dreams. Each of us has to put our principles and consciences on the line, whether in social settings or in the workplace, to set forth solid standards and stick to them. There's no moral middle ground. Indifference is not an option. We want you to help us create an outspoken intolerance for drug use. For the sake of our children, I implore each of you to be unyielding and inflexible in your opposition to drugs… So, to my young friends out there: Life can be great, but not when you can't see it. So, open your eyes to life: to see it in the vivid colors that God gave us as a precious gift to His children, to enjoy life to the fullest, and to make it count. Say yes to your life. And when it comes to drugs and alcohol, just say no.  

In October 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws. She also led the United States delegation to the Third Committee debate. The committee deals with social, humanitarian and cultural matters. In her speech, Nancy Reagan told the United Nations,

The United States must do more to solve its drug problem itself, through stricter law enforcement and education. She said the United States should stop blaming developing countries that produce most of the illegal drugs consumed by Americans… We need to educate a generation to 'just say no' to drugs,…If we lack the will to fully mobilize the forces of law in our own country to arrest and punish drug users, if we cannot stem the American demand for drugs, then there will be little hope of preventing foreign drug producers from fulfilling that demand…We will not get anywhere if we place a heavier burden of action on foreign governments than on America's own mayors, judges and legislators," she continued.


286 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
‘You see, the cocaine cartel does not begin in Medellin, Colombia. It begins in the streets of New York, Miami, Los Angeles and every American city where crack is bought and sold.’

She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received and afterwards delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations. “State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America’s own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”

The New York Times reported that the diplomats from Latin America and Asia have long stated that the American authorities should place more emphasis on curbing drug demand in the United States rather than pressing them to eradicate drug producers and traffickers, and they appeared pleased with Mrs. Reagan’s speech.

Through the power of her vision and personality, it is clear that First Lady Nancy Reagan inspired followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals of her anti-drug campaign.

**Conclusion**

This chapter provided the narrative for Nancy Reagan and analyzed her words and actions through Bass’ Transformational Leadership attributes. Chapter 4 will provide the

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narrative of Hillary Clinton and analyze her words and actions through Bass’ Transformational Leadership attributes.
CHAPTER IV

HILLARY CLINTON

Introduction

Hillary Clinton continues to shatter all glass ceilings at national and international levels. Hillary Rodham Clinton is a name and a face recognized in the United States as well as Europe and Asia. While some may agree with Mrs. Clinton and others disagree, she is recognized as a global leader who is now serving in the most important leadership role of her lifetime. After leaving the White House, she was the first First Lady to serve in the Senate, run for the Presidency and become the Secretary of State. Hillary Rodham Clinton assumed office as the 67th Secretary of State in January, 2009. Prior to serving as Secretary of State, Clinton served as the First Lady of Arkansas from 1983 until 1992, First Lady of 42nd United States President Bill Clinton from 1993 until 2001, and United States New York Senator from 2001 until 2009. Her public service journey has been long, difficult, and weary at times, yet she has evolved into one of the most powerful and influential positions in the United States and around the world.

Hillary was raised in the 1950s in the middle of America in a middle-class family. From a suburban childhood in Park Ridge, Illinois, Hillary went on to become an attorney twice voted one of the most influential in America; one of America's notable advocates for children and families; a First Lady of Arkansas
who facilitated the transformation of education through state standards; a bestselling author; and a First Lady for the United States of America who helped enhance the role of the First Lady, becoming a champion for health care and families at home, and a champion of women's rights and human rights around the world.

Hillary Rodham Clinton never embraced the role of the First Lady in quite the same way as her predecessors. Even though other First Ladies had been involved in policy planning and being a major government player, Mrs. Clinton took her participation and activism to an extensive depth and breadth. She broke new ground as the First Lady, but she was faced with criticism by those who expected her to pursue more traditional duties and obligations associated with being the President’s wife.

**Hillary Rodham is Born**

Hillary Diana Rodham was born on October 26, 1947, at Edgewater Hospital in Chicago.\(^1\) Hillary’s childhood in Park Ridge was typical of the 1950s. Her family moved to Park Ridge, Illinois, when she was three years old. She would be the eldest and big sister to two younger brothers, Hugh and Tony. World War II had ended in 1945 and the United States of America had a large spike in the population growth which came to be known as the baby boomer generation.

Hillary’s father, Hugh Rodham, grew up in a middle class family in Pennsylvania. He had a degree in physical education from Penn State. Hugh Rodham came to Chicago in search of work and found a job as a traveling salesman peddling drapery fabric around

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\(^1\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 2.
the Midwest. Hugh was a good salesman and worked hard to become a successful entrepreneur. Hillary’s parents inspired her to study hard and set her objectives high. Her mother, Dorothy Rodham, was a great influence on Hillary and taught her not to hesitate to speak her mind and pursue her goals. Dorothy was born in Chicago. She had experienced an unstable childhood and lived away from her mother. For a brief period during her early childhood days, she lived in California. As a young girl, Dorothy returned to Chicago in hopes of going to college but was not able to do so. Dorothy was working as a typist in the drapery fabric company. Hugh Rodham began working for the drapery fabric company as well and met his future wife there. Hugh and Dorothy were married during World War II. During the war, Hugh joined the navy and used his college education at the Great Lakes Naval Station in Illinois.

Hillary’s Rodham’s Childhood in Park Ridge

Dorothy Rodham was an inspiration and a guide to her children. She talked to her children and told them to maintain their emotional equilibrium, even under stress. "Imagine having this carpenter’s level inside you," she said. "You try to keep that bubble in the center…" Hillary described her parents:

My parents were typical of a generation who believed in the endless possibilities of America and whose values were rooted in the experience of living through the Great Depression. They believed in hard work, not entitlement; self-reliance not self-indulgence. This is the world and the family I was born into on October 26, 1947. We were middle-class,

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Midwestern and very much a product of our place and time. My mother, Dorothy Howell Rodham, was a homemaker whose days revolved around me and my two younger brothers, and my father, Hugh E. Rodham, owned a small business. The challenges of their lives made me appreciate the opportunities of my own life even more.³

A girl named Suzy, in the neighborhood where Hillary grew up, would fight both boys and girls. Hillary, herself had a run in with Suzy that caused Hillary to run home crying. Hillary’s mom responded by declaring to Hillary, “There is no room in this house for cowards. You’re going to have to stand up to her. The next time she hits you, I want you to hit her back.” Hillary took her mother’s advice and was victorious when she knocked the neighborhood girl Suzy to the ground. Hillary ran home and exclaimed to her proud mother: “I can play with the boys now!”⁶

Hugh Rodham was a conservative in his political views as well as in his approach in raising children. Hillary’s parents had lived through the Great Depression and they believed in self-reliance and the rewards of hard work. The family outings consisted of Hillary’s father driving her brother and her past Chicago’s skid row, where Hillary’s father would point out what happens to people who lack self-discipline and adequate motivation.⁷ Hugh Rodham was extremely strict and frequently found his children lacking in their endeavors. When Hillary received a report card with all As, her father’s only response was that the school must not be very difficult if she was doing so well.⁸

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Fortunately, Hillary’s response to her father’s apparent criticism was to view it as a challenge to do even better in the next assignment. As an adult, looking back to her childhood, she appreciated what she viewed as her father encouraging her to see the world as being a tough place, one where success required hard work. In relating to what she had in common with her father, Hugh Rodham, Hillary wrote: “I inherited his laugh, the same big rolling guffaw that can turn heads in a restaurant and send cats running from the room.”

Hillary describes taking off her thick glasses in order to be more popular in school; she wrote: “My friend starting in sixth grade, Betsy Johnson, led me around town like a Seeing Eye dog.” In addition to these humorous descriptions of herself, Hillary Rodham speaks lovingly of her parents and provides short narratives as evidence of her parents’ engagement with their children. Dorothy Rodham helped her young daughter to “create a fantasy world in a large cardboard box,” where the two of them wrote stories and let Rodham’s dolls act them out. Hillary’s mother also helped her brother, Tony, when he wanted to dig a tunnel to China: “She started reading to him about China and every day he spent time digging his hole next to our house. Occasionally, he found a chopstick or fortune cookie my mother had hidden there.” And Hillary’s parents passed along their frugality to their daughter. “To this day, I put uneaten olives back in the jar,

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wrap up the tiniest pieces of cheese and feel guilty when I throw anything away,”

Hillary wrote. The feeling Hillary experienced prior to her father’s death reveals her love for her father and the bond the two shared. Her affection for him suggests how much she loved him in spite of the flaws he might have had.

Mostly, we took turns sitting next to Dad’s bed, watching the mysterious green blips on the monitors rise and fall, succumbing to the hypnotic whir and click of the respirator. The center of my turbulent universe of obligations and meetings contracted to that small hospital room in Little Rock until it became a world unto itself, removed from all concerns except the things that matter most.

As a child, Hillary Rodham was a teacher’s favorite at her public schools. She participated in swimming, baseball, and other sports. She also earned numerous awards as a Brownie and Girl Scout. As a child and an adolescent, Hillary Clinton already was motivated to achieve, and in her memories of her early years, she conveys both self-awareness about her motives and wisdom about gender inequality. For example, she wrote that she was involved in numerous activities only because they “would earn a merit badge or adult approval.” Hillary’s childhood dream was to become an astronaut. At the age of fourteen she wrote to NASA to volunteer. She recollects writing to NASA to “volunteer for astronaut training” and receiving a letter saying it was not accepting females: “It was the first time I had hit an obstacle I couldn’t overcome with hard work and determination, and I was outraged.”

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In her youth, Hillary often went with her friends from her Sunday school class to visit the migrant workers in her community. “She realized early in her life how difficult the conditions were for the young children of these hard working families. They lacked proper healthcare and education, and yet they all had a sense of hope in their lives. This was just one of the many experiences that inspired Hillary and gave her life a sense of purpose.”\textsuperscript{16} Even as a child Hillary thought in terms of organizing constituents for her causes, establishing neighborhood carnivals or clothing drives for migrant workers. Her brother Hughie stated, “She would think things through to see what would be appealing to the group. We would just follow along as little brothers. She liked running things.”\textsuperscript{17}

**Hillary Rodham Attends Maine East High School**

Hillary Rodham attended Maine East High School, where she participated in student council, the school newspaper, and the National Honor Society. In eighth grade Hillary met Art Curtis and their friendship developed over conversations about Barry Goldwater. Hillary at the time was reading Goldwater’s exigesis *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Rodham’s early political development was shaped most by her high school history teacher, Paul Carlson, who introduced her to Goldwater’s classic.\textsuperscript{18} Curtis described Hillary,

> We were the two biggest overachievers in the class. Hillary was very competitive at everything. Even pugnacious. She was very ambitious…Even I found it impossible to upstage her… I was


\textsuperscript{17} Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 26; Authors interview with Hugh Rodham, 1992.

\textsuperscript{18} Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 21.
immediately taken with her. Most girls in Park Ridge talked about boys or about nothing or just worried about straightening their teeth and padding their bras. Hillary was absolutely political. She was very, very interested in politics early, and politics wasn’t cool then.

In the 1960s Presidential Election, Illinois was a key battle state. Richard Nixon lost the rally to John Kennedy. Hillary’s father was outraged that John F. Kennedy beat Richard Nixon, and so was Hillary. Hillary’s eighth grade teacher was also furious and showed his students bruises he claimed he had gotten when he tried to question the activities of the Democratic machine’s poll watchers. Hillary and her friend, Betsy Johnson, were outraged and joined a Republican group asking for volunteers to check voter lists against addresses, to uncover voter fraud. Hillary and her friend, Betsy, took a bus downtown to participate in checking addresses. Hillary wrote,

> We went up to an information table and told the people we were there to help. The turnout must have been less than expected. We were each handed a stack of voter registration lists and assigned to different teams who, we were told, would drive us to our destinations, drop us off and pick us up a few hours later. Betsy and I separated and went off with total strangers. I ended up with a couple who drove me to the South Side, dropped me off in a poor neighborhood and told me to knock on doors and ask people their names so I could compare them with registration lists to find evidence to overturn the election. Off I went, fearless and stupid. I did find a vacant lot that was listed as the address for about a dozen alleged voters. I woke up a lot of people who stumbled to the door or yelled at me to go away. And I walked into a bar, where men were drinking, to ask if certain people on my list actually lived there. The men were so shocked to see me they stood in silence while I asked my few questions, until the bartender told me I would have to come back later because the owner wasn’t there. When I finished, I stood on the corner

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21 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 16.
waiting to be picked up, happy that I’d ferreted out proof of my father’s contention that “Daley stole the election for Kennedy.”

In 1964, Hillary Rodham volunteered to campaign for Republican candidate Barry Goldwater in the United Stated Presidential election. Hillary wrote in her memoirs her thoughts about Goldwater,

I liked Senator Goldwater because he was a rugged individualist who swam against the political tide. Years later, I admired his outspoken support of individual rights, which he considered consistent with his old fashioned conservative principles: “Don’t raise hell about the gays, the blacks and the Mexicans. Free people have a right to do as they damn please.”

Later, as First Lady, Hillary Clinton was invited by the Goldwaters to their home in Phoenix.

While growing up in Park Ridge, Hillary was actively involved in the First United Methodist Church of Park Ridge. She credits her church affiliations, saying they “opened my eyes and heart to the needs of others and helped instill a sense of social responsibility rooted in my faith.” Her youth minister, Donald Jones, was concerned about social justice. In 1962, Hillary’s youth minister took the group to hear Dr. Martin Luther King speak at the Orchestra Hall. Hillary wrote about the experience and stated,

Dr. King’s speech was entitled, “Remaining Awake Through a Revolution.” Until then, 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 indifferences: ‘We now stand on the border of Promise Land of integration. The old order is passing away and

22 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 16-17.

23 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 21.

24 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 21.
a new one is coming in. We should all accept this order and learn to live
together as brothers in a world society, or we will all perish together. 25

So Hillary Rodham’s early political development was shaped in large part by her father’s
political beliefs, her high school history teacher and her Methodist youth minister. She
wrote,

Though my eyes were opening, I still mostly parroted the conventional
wisdom of Park Ridge’s and my father’s politics. While Don Jones threw
me into “liberalizing” experiences, Paul Carlson introduced me to refugees
from the Soviet Union who told haunting tales of cruelty under the
Communists, which reinforced my already strong anti-Communist views.
Don once remarked that he and Mr. Carlson were locked in a battle for my
mind and soul. 26

Hillary kept in contact with Don Jones, who later was a frequent visitor to the White
House.

Since Hillary’s school district was redistricted, she went to Maine South High
School in her senior year. She was a National Merit Finalist and graduated in the top five
percent of her class of 1965. 27 She was involved in almost all school activities including
student government and school newspaper. She rewrote the student assembly constitution
and, in eleventh grade, became a class vice president. Even in these years she was an
impressive debater.

Her mother wanted her to have an independent, professional career, and her
father, otherwise a traditionalist, was of the opinion that his daughter's abilities and

25 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 23.

26 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 23.

27 Harris, The First Ladies Fact Book: The Stories of the Women of the White House from Martha
Washington to Laura Bush, 674.
opportunities should not be limited by gender. She made a decision to work in public service after hearing the speech in 1964 by the Reverend Martin Luther King. At the time when seventeen-year-old Hillary Rodham left Park Ridge, Illinois, for Wellesley College, her character had been already formed: a combination of intelligence and an inquiring mind, ambition and idealism, reliance on financial independence and belief in the public service.

**Hillary goes to Wellesley College**

Hillary Rodham attended and graduated from Wellesley College, and later attended and graduated from Yale Law School. Wellesley became Hillary’s entrance into a world in which women were powerful and self-actualized. She wrote in her memoirs,

> Classmates of mine have said that Wellesley was a girls’ school when we started and a women’s college when we left. That sentiment probably said as much about us as it did the college. I arrived at Wellesley carrying my father’s political beliefs and my mother’s dreams and left with the beginnings of my own. But on that first day, as my parents drove away, I felt lonely, overwhelmed and out of place. I met girls who had gone to private boarding schools, lived abroad, spoke other languages fluently and placed out of freshman courses because of the Advanced Placement test scores.

Hillary found Wellesley to be challenging, and it took awhile for her to feel comfortable in its expectations. She even called her parents after a month telling them that she did not think she was smart enough to be there. Hillary’s father told her to come home but her

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29 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 27.
mother told her she was not a quitter.  

Hillary describes a tour by the president of the college on a snowy night, that finally made her feel at home:

> We walked from tree to tree through knee-high snow under a clear sky filled with stars, led by a strong, intelligent woman alert to the surprises and vulnerabilities of nature. She guided and challenged both her students and her faculty with the same care. I decided that night that I had found the place where I belonged.

Hillary also wrote about her Wellesley experience,

> What I valued most about Wellesley were the lifelong friends I made and the opportunity that a women’s college offered us to stretch our wings and minds in the ongoing journey toward self--definition and identity….Our all-female college guaranteed a focus on academic achievement and extracurricular leadership we might have missed at a coed college. Women not only ran all the student activities—from student government to newspaper to clubs—but we also felt freer to take risks, make mistakes and even fail in front of one another. It was a given that the president of the class, the editor of the paper and top student in every field would be woman. And it could be any of us. 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.

Hillary Rodham drew people to her due to her warmth, humor, and abilities to appreciate others and get the job done. It was natural for her to take on leadership roles at Wellesley.

Her ability to be direct in everything she did and said, made her truly a noticeable figure.

During the 1960s even serene and privileged student campuses were not immune from the shock of the events in the world including the Civil Rights movement and the Vietnam War. During Hillary’s freshman year at Wellesley, she was elected President of

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the college’s Young Republicans. Later, Hillary stepped down as the President of the Young Republicans, as her political beliefs began to change, particularly when it came to civil rights and the Vietnam War. At the end of the first year at Wellesley College, Hillary applied for and received the Wellesley Internship Program in Washington D.C. The program placed students in agencies and congressional offices to gain experience at “how government works.” Hillary was assigned to the House Republican Conference interning with a group of leaders including Minority Leader and Future President Gerald Ford, Congressmen Melvin Laird of Wisconsin and Charles Goodell of New York. At the end of her internship Hillary worked at the Republican Convention in Florida to work on Governor Rockefeller’s efforts for the Republican Presidential nomination for the Presidency. Hillary described her experience on the campaign and her feelings about the party,

The Republican Convention was my first inside look at the big-time politics, and I found the week unreal and unsettling. The Fontainebleau Hotel on Miami Beach was the first real hotel I had ever stayed in, since my family favored either sleeping in the car on the way to Lake Winola or staying in small roadside motels. Its size, opulence and service were a surprise. It was there that I placed my first-ever room service order. I can still see the giant fresh peach that came wrapped in a napkin on a plate when I asked for peaches with cereal one morning. I had a roll away bed shoehorned into a room with four other women, but I don’t think any of us slept much. We staffed the Rockefeller for President suite, taking phone calls and delivering messages to and from Rockefeller’s political emissaries and delegates. Late one night, a Rockefeller campaign staffer asked everybody in the office if we wanted to meet Frank Sinatra and got back the predictably enthusiastic screams of delight at the prospect. I went with the group to a penthouse to shake hands with Sinatra, who courteously feigned interest in meeting us. I took the elevator down with

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34 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 34.
John Wayne, who appeared under the weather and complained all the way down about the lousy food upstairs. Although I enjoyed all my new experiences, from room service to celebrities, I knew Rockefeller would not be nominated. The nomination of Richard Nixon cemented the ascendance of a conservative over a moderate ideology within the Republican Party, a dominance that has only grown more pronounced over the years as the party has continued its move to the right, and moderates have dwindled in numbers and influence. I sometimes think that I didn’t leave the Republican Party as much as it left me.35

Hillary Rodham graduated, with a bachelor’s degree in political science and departmental honors, from Wellesley College. At her 1969 college graduation, Hillary was the first student to be a commencement speaker at Wellesley College, catching national attention. Wellesley had never had a student speaker, and the President of the college, Ruth Adams, was not in favor of changing their policy. Eleanor “Eldie” Acheson, a friend of Hillary and the granddaughter of President Truman’s Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was determined that their graduating class needed their own speaker. Hillary had become President of Wellesley College government and held weekly meetings with President Ruth Adams. Hillary Rodham in her memoirs wrote,

When Eldie announced to President Adams that she represented a group of students who wanted a student speaker, the initial negative response was expected. Then Eldie upped the pressure by declaring that if the request was denied, she would personally lead an effort to state a counter commencement. And, she added, she was confident her grandfather would attend. When Eldie reported that both sides were dug in, I went to see President Adams in her little house down on the shore of Lake Waban. When I asked her, “What is the real objection?” she said, ‘It’s never been done.’ I said, ‘Well, we could give it a try.’ She said, ‘We don’t know whom they are going to ask to speak.’ I said, ‘Well, they asked me to speak,’ She said, ‘I’ll think about it.’ President Adams finally approved.36

35 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 36.
36 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 39.
On May 31, 1969, Hillary Rodham became the first student to speak at a Wellesley commencement ceremony. In her speech to her graduating class of 400 women, Hillary reflected on the experiences of her classmates and shared,

So I took a deep breath and began by defending the ‘indispensable task of criticizing and constructive protest.’ Paraphrasing Anne Scheibner’s poem, which I quoted at the end, I stated that ‘the challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible, possible.’ I spoke about the awareness of the gap between the expectations my class brought to college and the reality we experienced. Most of us had come from sheltered backgrounds, the authenticity, even the reality, of our pre-college lives. Our four years had been a rite of passage different from the experiences of our parents’ generation, which had faced greater external challenges like the Depression and World War II. So we started asking questions, first about Wellesley’s policies, then about the meaning of a liberal arts education, then about civil rights, women’s roles, Vietnam. I defended protest as ‘an attempt to forge an identity in this particular age’ and as a way of ‘coming to terms with our humanness.’ It was part of the unique American experience and ‘if the experiment in human living doesn’t work in this country, in this age, it’s not going to work anywhere.’ When I had asked the class at our graduation rehearsal what they wanted me to say for them, everyone answered, ‘Talk about trust, talk about the lack of trust both for us and the way we feel about others. Talk about the trust bust.’ I acknowledged how hard it was to convey a feeling that permeates a generation. And, finally, I spoke of the struggle to establish a ‘mutuality of respect between people.’ Running throughout my words, however, was an acknowledgment of the fears many of us felt about the future. I referred to a conversation from the previous day with a classmate’s mother ‘who said that she wouldn’t want to be me for anything in the world. She wouldn’t want to live today and look ahead to what it is she sees because she’s afraid.’ I said, ‘Fear is always with us, but we just don’t have time for it. Not now.’

Hillary Rodham received a seven minute standing ovation for her speech. Her speech also received national attention. She appeared on a television Chicago program in an interview. Life magazine also featured Hillary and her speech. Hillary’s

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37 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 40-41.
commencement speech brought on many opinions including ‘overly effusive--she spoke for a generation--to the exceedingly negative;’ ‘who does she think she is?’”

Hillary took the admission test for law school and was accepted by Harvard and Yale. Later, deciding between law school at Harvard or Yale, Hillary Rodham visited Harvard. When a friend introduced her to a well-known professor, the professor gave Hillary a “cool, dismissive look” and told her, “We don’t need any more women at Harvard.”

Hillary spent the summer of 1969, working in Alaska washing dishes and sliming fish in a salmon factory.

**Hillary goes to Yale Law School**

Rodham continued on to Yale Law School, graduating in 1973. In the fall of 1969, Hillary arrived at Yale Law School as one of twenty-seven women out of 235 students. While at Yale, she volunteered at Yale’s Child Study Center learning about early childhood brain development. At the time, Yale Law School attracted students interested in public service, and students’ conversations inside and outside the classroom reflected a deep concern about the events enveloping the country.

Hillary credits Marian Wright Edeleman for directing her to a lifelong advocacy for children. During Hillary’s first year at Yale, she met Marian and began working for her on the Washington Research Project. Hillary was assigned to conduct research on the

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38 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 42.
40 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 44.
41 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 45.
education and health of migrant children. During her second year at Yale, Hillary decided to concentrate on how the law affected children.\textsuperscript{43} In addition, she began learning about child development through a course study at the Yale Child Study Center wherein she attended case discussions and observed clinical sessions. Furthermore, she consulted with medical staff at Yale New Haven Hospital about the “newly acknowledged problem of child abuse and helping to draft the legal procedures for the hospital to use when dealing with suspected child abuse cases.”\textsuperscript{44} Hillary’s first scholarly article, titled “Children Under the Law,” was published in 1974 in the \textit{Harvard Educational Review}.\textsuperscript{45} She wrote about the difficult decisions the judiciary and society face when children are abused or neglected by their families. In her memoirs she discusses her advocacy for children:

My views were shaped by what I had observed as a volunteer for Legal Services representing children in foster care and by my experiences at the Child Study Center in Yale-New Haven Hospital; I advised doctors on their rounds as they tried to ascertain whether a child’s injuries were the result of abuse and, if so, whether a child should be removed from his or her family and put into the uncertain care of the child welfare system. These were terrible decisions to make. I come from a strong family and believe in a parent’s natural presumptive right to raise his or her child as he or she sees fit. But my experiences in Yale-New Haven Hospital were a long way from my sheltered suburban upbringing. There may have been child abuse and domestic violence in Park Ridge, but I didn’t see it. In New Haven, by contrast, I saw children whose parents beat and burned them; who left them alone for days in squalid apartments; who failed and refused to seek necessary medical care. The sad truth, I learned, was that

\textsuperscript{43} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 45-46.

\textsuperscript{44} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 49.

certain parents abdicated their rights as parents, and someone—preferably another family member, but ultimately the state—had to step in to give a child the chance for a permanent and loving home. I thought often of my own mother’s neglect and mistreatment at the hands of her parents and grandparents, and how other caring adults filled the emotional void to help her. My mother tried to repay the favor by taking in girls from a local group home to assist her around our house. She wanted to give them the same chance she had been given to see an intact supportive family in action.46

Hillary Rodham Meets her Future Husband, Bill Clinton

Hillary met her future husband and future President of the United States at the Yale Law Library. In her memoirs she describes their first encounter,

I noticed that he kept looking over at me. He had been doing a lot of that. So I stood up from the desk, walked over to him and said, ‘If you are going to keep looking at me, and I’m going to keep looking back, we might as well be introduced. I’m Hillary Rodham.’ That was it. The way Bill tells the story, he couldn’t remember his own name.47

On their first date, Hillary and Bill went for a walk through the Yale Art Gallery. Bill Clinton wrote about their date in his memoirs, My Life,

so I asked her to take a walk with me to the Yale Art Gallery to see the Mark Rothko exhibit. I was so eager and nervous that I forgot the university workforce was on strike and so I offered to clean up the branches and other litter in the museum’s garden if he’d let me in. The guard took a look at us, figured it out, and let us in. We had the whole exhibit to ourselves. It was wonderful, and I’ve liked Rothko ever since. When we were done, we went out to the garden, and I picked up the sticks. I supposed I was being a scab for the first and only time in my life, but the union didn’t have a picket line outside the museum and, besides, politics was the last thing on my mind. After I paid my cleaning up dues, Hillary and I stayed in the garden for another hour or so. There was a large, beautiful Henry Moore sculpture of a seated woman. Hillary sat in the

46 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 50.

47 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 52.
woman’s lap, and I sat beside her talking. Before long, I leaned over and put my head on her shoulder. It was our first date.\textsuperscript{48}

In the summer of 1971, Hillary’s summer plans were to clerk at Treuhaft, Walker and Burnstein, a law firm in Oakland, California. Bill Clinton escorted Hillary to California, giving up the opportunity to work in Senator George McGovern’s presidential campaign. Hillary and Bill returned to New Haven in the fall of 1971 and shared an apartment together. In the spring of 1972, Hillary returned to Washington to work again for Marian Wright Edelman while Bill Clinton took a position in the McGovern campaign. Hillary’s primary assignment in the summer of 1972 was to gather information about the Nixon Administration’s failure to enforce the legal ban on granting tax-exempt status to the private segregated academies that had started in the South to avoid integrated public schools. As part of her investigation, Hillary met with lawyers and civil rights workers to compile evidence that the academies were created for the purpose of avoiding the constitutional mandate of the Supreme Court’s decisions, starting with Brown v. Board of Education.\textsuperscript{49}

After completing law school in the spring of 1973, Bill and Hillary took their first trip together to Europe. On that trip, Bill Clinton asked Hillary to marry him on the shores of Lake Ennerdale. Hillary responded with,

I was desperately in love with him but utterly confused about my life and future. So I said, “No, not now.” What I meant was, “Give me time.” My mother had suffered from her parents’ divorce, and her sad and lonely childhood was imprinted on my heart. I knew that when I decided to marry, I wanted it to be for life. Looking back to that time and to the person I was, I realize how scared I was

\textsuperscript{48} Bill Clinton, \textit{My Life} (New York: Alfred A Knopf 2004), 182.

\textsuperscript{49} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 57.
of commitment in general and of Bill’s intensity in particular. I thought of him as a force of nature and wondered whether I’d be up to the task of living through his seasons. Bill Clinton is nothing if not persistent. He sets goals, and I was one of them. He asked me to marry him again, and again, and I always said no. Eventually he said, “Well I’m not going to ask you to marry me anymore, and if you ever decide you want to marry me then you have to tell me.” He would wait me out.  

Hillary works on the Children’s Defense Fund

After graduating from Yale Law School Hillary also visited Bill Clinton’s hometown of Hope, Arkansas, for the first time. While in Arkansas, Hillary took the Arkansas Bar exam. Bill had taken a teaching job at the University of Arkansas School of Law and Hillary was moving to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to work on the Children’s Defense Fund. Bill Clinton describes how Hillary had greater potential to succeed in politics and how he wanted her to have the opportunity in Massachusetts to work for Marian Edelman’s Children’s Defense Fund.

I was happy to be going home to the prospect of interesting work, but I still didn’t know what to do about Hillary, or what was best for her. I had always believed she had as much (or more) potential to succeed in politics as I did, and I wanted her to have her chance. Back then, I wanted it for her more than she did, and I thought coming to Arkansas with me would end the prospect of a political career for her. I didn’t want to do that, but working for a big firm or clerking for a judge in favor of a position with Marian Edelman’s Children’s Defense Fund in its new office in Cambridge, Massachusetts, so we were going to be a long way away from each other.  

Hillary’s work on the Children’s Defense Fund exposed her to the problems affecting children and teenagers around the country. She investigated the conditions under which juveniles were incarcerated in adult jails. The Children’s Defense Fund also worked to

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51 Clinton, *My Life*, 201.
ensure that children with disabilities received a public education. Hillary wrote, “I found children who weren’t in school because of physical disabilities like blindness and deafness. I also found school-age siblings at home, baby-sitting their younger brothers and sisters while their parents worked.” Due to the findings of the Children’s Defense Fund and their urging, Congress passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, mandating that children with physical, emotional and learning disabilities be educated in the public school system.

**Hillary working with Judiciary Committee on Possible Nixon’s Impeachment**

During the Christmas of 1973, Hillary visited Bill in Arkansas. Bill Clinton had started to put together his campaign to run for Congress. In January of 1974, Hillary took a staff position in Washington and joined the impeachment inquiry staff advising the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. Hillary Clinton was twenty-six years old when she worked on the impeachment inquiry with forty-four attorneys. She worked on the procedures and researched the legal grounds for a presidential impeachment. She wrote a memo summarizing her conclusions about what did-and did not-constitute an impeachable offense. Nixon resigned from the Presidency on August 9, 1974. Hillary describes her feelings,

> The Nixon impeachment process of 1974 forced a corrupt President from office and was a victory for the Constitution and our system of laws. Even so, some of us on the committee staff came away from the experience sobered by the gravity of the process. The tremendous power of

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52 Clinton, *Living History, Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 64.

congressional committees and special prosecutors were only as fair and just and constitutional as the men and women who wielded them.\textsuperscript{54}

When the impeachment committee met for the last time Bert Jenner asked Hillary what she wanted to do. Her response was,

I said I wanted to be a trial lawyer, like him. He told me that would be impossible. “Why?” I asked. “Because you won’t have a wife.” “What on earth does that mean?” Bert explained that without a wife at home to take care of all my personal needs, I would never be able to manage the demands of everyday life, like making sure I had clean socks for court. I’ve since wondered whether Jenner was pulling my leg or making a serious point about how tough the law still could be for women. Ultimately it didn’t matter; I choose to follow my heart instead of my head. I was moving to Arkansas.\textsuperscript{55}

**Hillary Moves to Arkansas and Marries Bill Clinton**

Hillary had secured a position at the University of Arkansas School of Law teaching criminal law and trial advocacy and running the legal aid clinic and the prison project. Hillary Rodham and Bill Clinton were married in their living room on October 11, 1975. The wedding and the reception were very simple ceremonies held with their families and close friends. Hillary described her feelings for her husband, Bill Clinton, and what they have shared in their thirty years,

After all that has happened since, I’m often asked why Bill and I have stayed together. It’s not a question I welcome, but given the public nature of our lives, it’s one I know will be asked again and again. What can I say to explain a love that has persisted for decades and has grown through our shared experiences of parenting a daughter, burying our parents and tending our extended families, a lifetime’s worth of friends, a common faith and an abiding commitment to our country? All I know is that no one understands me better and no one can make me laugh the way Bill does. Even after all these years, he is still the most interesting, energizing

\textsuperscript{54} Clinton, *Living History, Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 69.

\textsuperscript{55} Clinton, *Living History, Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 69.
and fully alive person I have ever met. Bill Clinton and I started a conversation in the spring of 1971, and more than thirty years later we’re still talking.\textsuperscript{56}

In 1976, Bill Clinton was elected as the attorney General of Arkansas and the Clintons moved to Little Rock. Although Hillary had resisted working in private practice, she could not work in public law due to her husband being the attorney general. She could not continue to teach, either, due to the distance between Little Rock and Fayetteville. Vince Foster of the Rose Law Firm offered Hillary Rodham Clinton a job in the litigation section of the firm. Hillary was the first women associate hired by the firm. She continued her advocacy for children through her law practice. Hillary Rodham Clinton co-founded the Arkansas Advocate for Children and Families in 1977. President Jimmy Carter also appointed Hillary Rodham Clinton to serve on the board of the Legal Service Corporation in 1977 which she later chaired. \textit{Time} magazine twice named Hillary Rodham Clinton as one of the top 100 lawyers, nationally.

Hillary became comfortable to the life in Arkansas easily. She made good friends and made a good name for herself in local academic and legal communities. She even mastered the Arkansas accent.

While Bill Clinton was attorney general, Hillary was not recognized much in public. She states, “While being a politician’s wife as well as a trial lawyer occasionally got people talking when I stepped out in public, I was not usually recognized.”\textsuperscript{57} In 1978, Bill Clinton was elected as the Governor of Arkansas. Hillary Rodham Clinton was

\textsuperscript{56} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 75.

\textsuperscript{57} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 82.
made law partner in 1979 with the Rose Law Firm, the first female partner of the firm.

Hillary described her start in Arkansas:

The years 1978 through 1980 were among the most difficult, exhilarating, glorious and heartbreaking in my life. After so many years of talking about the ways Bill could improve conditions in Arkansas, he finally had a chance to act when he was elected Governor in 1978. Bill started his two-year term with the energy of a racehorse exploding from the gate.58


During her 12 years as First Lady of the State of Arkansas Hillary Rodham Clinton was Chairwoman of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, co-founder of the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and she served on the boards of the Arkansas Children's Hospital and the Children's Defense Fund. As the First Lady, she played a role in advocating the establishment of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, the Adoption and Safe Families Act and the Foster Care Independence Act.

Often I hosted social events at the Governor’s Mansion or presided over meetings of the Rural Health Advisory Committee, which Bill had asked me to chair as part of his effort to improve access to quality health care in rural Arkansas. I continued my involvement with Marian Wright Edelman and the Children’s Defense Fund and commuted to Washington, D.C., every few months to chair board meetings. And based on my experience and my work on his campaign, President Carter had appointed me to the board of the Legal Services Corporation, a position for which I had to be confirmed by the United States Senate. The Corporation was the nonprofit federal program created by Congress and President Nixon that funded legal assistance for the poor. I served with Mickey Kantor, a former legal services lawyer who had represented migrant workers in Florida.59

As First Lady of Arkansas, Hillary became accustomed to being criticized – for not taking her husband’s name, for being too tough, for combining her duties as

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58 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 83.
59 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 83.
Arkansas’s First Lady with her legal work, public service and family. When questioned about keeping her maiden name, Hillary told *The Arkansas Times*, “it seemed like a sensible way of keeping my professional life separate from [Bill’s] political life. I sensed that this was territory I needed to walk through pretty carefully. I did not want to be perceived as a conduit to him.” Hillary commented on this public perception:

> The work that I’ve done as a professional, as a public advocate, has been aimed in part to assure that women can make the choices that they should make – whether it’s full-time career, full-time motherhood, some combination, depending on what stage of life they are at – and I think that is still difficult for people to understand right now, that it is a generational change.”

During the summer of 1979, Hillary and Bill journeyed to England. Hillary told Eleanor Cliff of *Newsweek*,

> We were trying to have a child, something we were working on. And it was this glorious morning. We were going to brunch and we were walking through Chelsea, you know, the flowerpots were out and everything. And Bill started singing ‘It’s a Chelsea morning.’

The connotation of that later became apparent when a daughter was born to them on February 29, 1980 and the Clintons named their baby Chelsea Victoria. When Hillary arrived at Little Rock’s Baptist Medical Center, doctors had to decide to perform a cesarean section. Bill had been taking Lamaze classes with Hillary and he was adamant that he be present during the delivery and the Baptist Hospital allowed then Governor Bill Clinton to be present at the birth of his daughter. Hillary wrote about the time she took off from the law firm,

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61 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 84.
I was able to take four months off from full-time work to stay home with our new daughter, though with less income. As a partner, I continued to receive a base salary, but my income depended on the fees I generated, which naturally decreased during the time I wasn’t working. I never forgot how much more fortunate I was than many women to be given this time with my child. Bill and I both recognized the need for parental leave, preferably paid. We emerged from our experience committed to ensuring that all parents have the option to stay home with their newborn children and to have reliable child care when they return to work. That’s why I was so thrilled when the first bill he signed as President was the Family and Medical Leave Act.\(^\text{62}\)

In 1980, Bill Clinton lost the reelection for the Governor of Arkansas and joined the Wright, Lindsey and Jennings Law firm in Little Rock. Hillary also realized that she had to work on her public image and she began using her married name. “I decided it was more important for Bill to be Governor again than for me to keep my maiden name. So when Bill announced his run for another term on Chelsea’s second birthday, I began to call myself Hillary Rodham Clinton.”\(^\text{63}\)

In 1982, Bill Clinton was again elected the Governor of Arkansas. Bill appointed Hillary Clinton to chair its Education Standards Committee to recommend sweeping educational reform to the state’s education system.

Bill Clinton had been right. The single most important thing the two of them ever did for Arkansas was to modernize an antiquated public school system. For all her earlier misgivings about whether it was her kind of place, after Hillary marshaled the support Bill needed in 1983 to put through his education-reform package there was no longer any doubt that she and Arkansas were meant for each other. Virginia Kelley said her son’s choice of Hillary to chair the state’s new Education Standards

\(^{62}\) Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 85.

\(^{63}\) Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 93.
Committee was one of the smartest moves he ever made. “It gave Arkansas an opportunity to know her.”

Hillary told, *The New York Times’* Burros,

It was a risk, people said, ‘Well, if she does something, she’ll make people mad. And if she doesn’t do anything, she’ll make people mad.’ It was a no-win situation. But our perspective was different than that. We thought that if you were committed to trying to make change in public life—it was what I cared about and it was his agenda—then we ought to put ourselves into it and do everything we could to make those changes.

In order to sell the need for a change in the Arkansas education system, the Clintons turned to their favorite format of political campaigning. “Hillary with her fourteen committee members, went on the stump to each of Arkansas’s 371 school districts to solicit feedback from citizens and to explain why new standards were essential to stem a “rising tide of mediocrity,” which recent studies showed was becoming a national blight on education.” The Clintons had been concerned about the state of education in Arkansas for a long time. In Bill Clinton’s first year as Governor, he had initiated annual High School Day inviting students from around the state to the Governor’s Mansion. Hillary spent days conducting hearings, traveling with her committee to each of the state’s seventy-five counties and listening to many hours of testimony. Her work was described as,

Hillary and her committee traveled the state for four months listening, fostering discussions and synthesizing ideas from parents, students, teachers, administrators and anybody else with a vested interest in a

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literate citizenry. From the consensus they came to, they drafted proposals and Hillary became their advocate across the state. Put as much emphasis on the quality of academics as you do on athletics, Hillary would urge audiences. What education needed was ‘discipline, teamwork and standards,’ she told the Pulaski County PTA. Give teachers ‘the same support and praise for teaching children to read and write as we do those who teach them to throw a ball through a hoop.’ The emphasis on athletics being what it was, ‘That was kind of radical,’ said Little Rock columnist Ernest Dumas.67

Chair of the committee Clinton fought for teacher raises and mandatory competency tests for new and working teachers. She was instrumental in developing the state’s first set of statewide curricular standards in the 1980s. On July 28, 1983, she made her first speech before a committee of the Arkansas Legislature.68 She spoke to the legislature about education being in crisis. “The crisis, however, can become a great opportunity if the state addresses it boldly and intelligently,” said Hillary.69 The Arkansas Performance Review Committee was complimentary of the committee’s work and of Hillary Clinton. Representative Bill Stephens said, “If the State does what Mrs. Clinton described as the thinking of the Standards committee, we won’t be last in education anymore; we might be the first.”70 Reporter Paul Greenberg in his newspaper column also praised Hillary’s ideas, stating, “Hillary Clinton continues to do an outstanding job at chairing the state committee on Standards in Education. The other day, she suggested that Arkansas teachers be required to take the National Teacher Examination in the subject they teach

67 Radcliffe, Hillary Rodham Clinton-A First Lady for Our Time, 205.


69 “First Lady Says Education Crisis can be Opportunity” Blytheville Courier News.

70 “First Lady Says Education Crisis can be Opportunity” Blytheville Courier News.
and administer.” Hillary Clinton went on to say to the parents in the audience, “The educational requirements prevent an uneducated person from teaching in school” The audience burst into applause. The Education Standards Committee made their final recommendations to the Arkansas Legislatures in November of 1983. Mrs. Clinton presented the committee’s proposal to the Arkansas Legislature. During the presentation she stated that,

if the proposed standards of her committee were adopted, then Arkansas schools would have some of the highest in the nation. Such high standards are to be desired, provided our taxpayers, with one of the lowest per-capita incomes in the nation, can pay for them. We know that many changes need to be made in our schools and most of the proposed standards are needed if Arkansas is to progress.

Mrs. Clinton’s critics say that some of her achievements on the committee were merely cosmetic and teacher standards were artificially lowered when a great number of teachers failed. Author Joyce Milton describes the critics and the work of the supporters,

Especially Arkansas teachers were just about ready to strangle Hillary Clinton over the testing issue, and state legislator Pat Flanagan complained that she was too ready to accuse anyone who challenged any aspect of her plan of being ‘against education.’ Most legislators, however, were won over by her presentation of the committee’s report. ‘I think we’ve elected the wrong Clinton,’ commented one. These compliments came more easily since Bill Clinton was the one pressing the lawmakers for their votes on the tax increases. The governor tried every tactic he could bring to bear, from late-night sessions and old fashioned deal making in the corridors…

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72 Greenberg, “Hillary’s Ideas Praised” Blytheville Courier News.


However, even her critics will admit that she is a strong supporter of education and children's welfare. Mrs. Clinton championed Arkansas’ Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youth (HIPPY). The HIPPY program sent teachers into the homes of underprivileged families to train parents in school preparedness and literacy. HIPPY became a model for other states to follow. According to Hillary Clinton,

HIPPY was designed to bring families, organizations and communities together regardless of limited financial resources or educational barriers. Through the program, parents learned the importance of talking to and reading to their children. Today, there are currently 146 HIPPY sites in 25 states and Washington D.C., serving nearly 16,000 children.75

While Hillary Clinton was the First Lady of Arkansas, she was elected the first woman board member of Wal-Mart and served from 1986 to 1992. She received criticism later in her political career for serving on the board of the retail giant. While serving on the board, Hillary Clinton actually pushed for nondiscriminatory hiring practices, especially for women. The main criticism is that she did not push against anti-union sentiment and other questionable practices.

**Presidential Campaign of 1992**

Even before Bill Clinton began his campaign for the presidency in 1992, Hillary Clinton had become an accomplished attorney and was commonly known in Democratic policymaking groups as a successful children's advocate. Hillary Clinton was not only a Yale-trained lawyer but had also been the first woman to be made partner in one of Arkansas's most prestigious law firms.

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75 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 105.
Almost six months before Bill Clinton would be elected the 42\textsuperscript{nd} President of the United States, Hillary Clinton was already being asked about her role as First Lady. In an April, 1992, interview, with Katie Couric of the \textit{Today Show}. Couric asked Mrs. Clinton about her possible role as First Lady. Below is the transcript of the 1992 interview in which Mrs. Clinton envisions her possible role to continue advocating for causes that have been important to her.

Couric: As we just heard your husband says, he does envision you having a high level role, area of responsibility if he's elected .. What kind of role do you envision for yourself?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I’m not interested in any kind of paid position, or cabinet position, or anything formal, or official. What I would like to do is work on the issues that I’ve been involved in for more than 20 years. Primarily children and families issues, and public education. And the model, I guess I have is what I’ve tried to do in Arkansas. My husband asked me to chair two commissions: one on health care access, and one on public education. And I worked with terrific people and we came up with recommendations and drafted legislation. Then I worked on behalf of the passage and then the implementation. That’s what I would like to do.

Couric: He said he would consider you for a cabinet position?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I’m proud of him and he’s proud of me. And I think that was a very flattering thing to say, but I don’t think that was realistic and you know, he was trying, I think, to convey the level of commitment we both feel to the kind of issues that got us into this campaign and that I’m going to try to work on.

Couric: Even if you choose to take a role that’s a non-paying role—one that you just described to me—do you think the American people are ready for a First Lady who is that involved at a policy making level, in the White House?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I hope so. Because I think what I represent is generational change. It’s not just about me and I think that the kind of opportunities that women are coming into their own in this country are really so broad and deep that we should all be willing to take responsibility and to do what we can to further the causes we believe in. And what I find, traveling around the country, is that there are some people who are concerned because it
seems a little bit different from the traditional sense. But what I like about all of the women who have been in the position of being with the president in the White House is that they’ve all tried to do what was best for themselves, for their families, for the country as they defined it. And that’s what I would try to do, and I feel very strongly about these issues and I would feel negligent if I didn’t try to make something happen for the better of the people that I think need it.

Couric: As we just heard, some people say some not so flattering things about you. They say you are the power behind the thrown, overly ambitious. What’s your reaction to comments such as those?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I regret them because I think they come out of a sense of stereotypes about women’s roles. You know, a woman that does have opinions and who expresses them is somehow still off base. I hope that’s not the case, because you know, there are many, many women in this country who are doing a terrific job fulfilling all of their various responsibilities and they also think about the issues that affect them and their families. Anyone who knows my husband and knows me, knows that we’ve been having this conversation about what should be done in this country for more than 20 years. He’s the one who’s elected. He’s the one who has to make the final decision, but I care about what he does and I care about what happens. And I want to participate.

Couric: Do you think those kinds of reactions, Ms. Clinton, are the result of good old fashioned sexism?

Mrs. Clinton: Oh, I think there’s some of that. Because I think it is different. You know, this country is undergoing tremendous change and certainly what has happened in women’s lives over the last generation has been a seat change. And all of us, we’re trying to find our way. Those who are full time mothers and homemakers, those who are full time career, and those who are the majority of us, trying to balance both. And I think that we’re all trying to come to grips with it.

Couric: You certainly did, however, touch more than a few nerves out on the campaign trail with the now infamous line, ‘I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas.’ I know you have since said that was not meant as a slight to homemakers or women who choose to stay home and work. But it did sound like a put down.

Mrs. Clinton: You’ know, I'm really sorry about that because the only person I was trying to put down was Jerry Brown. I wasn't trying to put anybody else down.
Couric: Do you regret having said that?

Mrs. Clinton: I regret having had it taken out of context and misconstrued. Because what I was trying to say is that in response to some of the charges that he had leveled, there was an underlyng message to what he had said. In fact, in response to a question about his father's law firm doing business with the state when he was governor, he said, ‘Well, I don't control my father.’ And you know that wasn't very subtle and I was trying to point out that his attitude seemed to be that I should have only confined myself to the ceremonial role of a First Lady. And I've enjoyed that role, but I've also enjoyed very much doing the rest of my life, so I regret that anybody would have thought I was putting any other woman down. Women need to have some sense of solidarity to respect the choices that each of us make and then try to put into effect policies that would support those choices.

Couric: But you probably wish you hadn't said it in the first place?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, what I had said before and what I've said after had all been part of the sound bite. But I'm learning that that's not always what you could expect.

Couric: In fact, in a recent article in The Washington Post, you're quoted as saying, ‘I'm a little confused about what the rules are.’ What did you mean by that, exactly?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, you know we are charting new terrain. And I think that any of us, who is trying to make sense out of our lives, has all kinds of different feelings. I mean my friends who are full time in the work world, often regret not having a family. My friends who are full time at home get that tingle of anger when somebody says, ‘Well what do you do?’ And then, many of us who are trying at different stages of our lives to balance both roles are afflicted by guilt, and insecurity, and anxiety about all the things we're trying to do. And I'm really hoping that because of maybe my being out there--and I'd never have thought of this as really any kind of effect of this campaign--the conversation that needs to go on in this country about what women are trying to do with their lives and how difficult we make it in America for women to make those choices. You know, we don't respect full time homemakers. We don't give the kind of support. We don't provide the kind of income support families need so that more women could make that choice if they chose to do so. We don’t respect the sacrifices and difficulties of women in the work force. We don’t have family leave like many of the countries we compete with. We just need to take a deep breath and say, ‘Look women are trying in many respects to hold down two full time jobs. And we’re not making it easy for them to do. And they need to have more support and respect for that.’
So I hope that maybe some of what I’m going through will get that conversation going and get it resolved.

Couric: You’ve learned a lot, undoubtedly.

Mrs. Clinton: Oh, I’m learning a whole lot.

Couric: What have the two of you learned about presidential politics?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, we’ve learned both positive and negative lessons, I suppose. On the positive side, we’ve learned a lot about how people in this country want change. And that’s what they talk to us about. They give us their suggestions. The negative side, we’ve learned how hard it is to talk about what really will matter the day after the election, and instead to avoid getting diverted and have the process kind of twisted around so that at the end of the day, people are still saying, ‘Oh gosh, what’s going to happen to my job?’ or ‘How am I going to educate my children?’ or ‘provide health care?’ The struggle’s to try to get the country focused on what will make a difference to our long term growth and to provide opportunity and bring this country together again. It is hard to do, but we’re intent on trying to do it.76

Hillary Rodham Clinton became known to the American people in 1992 as she defended her husband’s, Democratic presidential candidacy on the television show 60 Minutes, in an interview with Steve Kroft. Hillary accompanied her husband and announced to the nation that she was "not sitting here because I'm some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette. I'm sitting here because I love him and I respect him, and I honor what he's been through and what we've been through together."

She further declared, "If that's not enough for people, then heck, don't vote for him."

Even though Hillary’s performance on 60 Minutes saved her husband's candidacy, it placed her at the focus of a national debate. Supporters praised her strength and frankness, while critics condemned her harshness and insensitivity to women who had "stood by their men." But Americans did vote for him, and in turn, they voted for her as well. In his campaign, Bill Clinton had assured the nation that if they elected him, they would essentially get "two for the price of one." Public opinion of Hillary Clinton was further divided during the 1992 campaign when she remarked, "I've done the best I can to lead my life. I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." Americans were not as tolerant of such an explanation, though Hillary's explanations are evocative of Sarah Polk's 1845 declaration that she would "neither keep house, nor make butter," some 150 years earlier. Indeed, the press and Republicans accused her of belittling those women who had decided to stay home to bake cookies and have teas. Despite the best efforts of political opponents, Hillary's comments did not sink her husband's candidacy. Instead, they resonated with many women who, like Hillary, were trying to balance their own careers, that of their husbands, and family life. To these women, Hillary was not a radical feminist who should be condemned but a visible and vocal representative of the new American woman who was emerging in the financial and political worlds as a potent force.

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77 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 109.

Days before election day, the Clintons had campaigned in many states making
final campaign stops. They day of the election they returned to Little Rock to cast their
own votes. Hillary described the day as:

We saw the sun rise in Denver, Colorado, and landed back in Little Rock, where Chelsea met us at the airport at around 10:30 a.m. After a quick stop to change clothes, the three of us went to our polling site, where I proudly cast my vote for Bill to be my President. We spent the day at the Governor’s Mansion with family and friends, making calls to supporters around the country.  

The television networks declared Bill Clinton had won the presidency at 10:47 p.m.

Hillary wrote about their emotions hearing the announcement,

Though I had expected a victory, I was overwhelmed. After President Bush called Bill to concede, Bill and I went into our bedroom, closed the door and prayed together for God’s help as he took on this awesome honor and responsibility. Then we gathered everyone up for the drive to the Old State House, where the campaign had begun thirteen months before. We joined the Gores in front of a huge crowd of ecstatic Arkansans and ardent supporters from every corner of America.

Immediately Hillary Clinton began planning for the transition to the White House and thinking about her important role as First Lady to the President and the country.

Hillary Clinton had taken a leave of absence from Rose Law Firm during the campaign.

After Bill Clinton won the election she resigned from the firm.

I resigned from my law practice and started putting together a staff for the office of First Lady, while helping Bill in any way I could. We were both grappling with what my role should be. I would have a ‘position’ but not

79 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 117.

80 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 117.
a real ‘job.’ How could I use this platform to help my husband and serve my country without losing my own voice?\textsuperscript{81}

Hillary began to read and learn about her predecessors. She saw her new role as an opportunity and a responsibility to her country. She reflected on the possibilities.

There is no training manual for First Ladies. You get the job because the man you married becomes President. Each of my predecessors brought to the White House her own attitudes and expectations, likes and dislikes, dreams and doubts. Each carved out a role that reflected her own interests and style and that balanced the needs of her husband, family and country. So would I. Like all First Ladies before me, I had to decide what I wanted to do with the opportunities and responsibilities I had inherited.\textsuperscript{82}

Hillary further looked at the marriages of the previous Presidents and love and respect she shares with her husband, Bill Clinton.

As I studied the marriages of previous Presidents, I recognized that Bill and I were not the first couple who relied on each other as partners in life and politics. Because of research done by the Smithsonian and historians such as Carl Sferrazza Anthony and David McCullough, we now know about the political advice Abigail Adams provided her husband, which earned her the derogatory nickname “Mrs. President”; the behind-the-scenes role Helen Taft played in pushing Theodore Roosevelt to choose her husband as his successor; the “unofficial Presidency” run by Edith Wilson after her husband’s stroke; the political firestorms ignited by Eleanor Roosevelt; and the painstaking review by Bess of Harry Truman’s speeches and letters. Like those of many previous White House inhabitants, the relationship that Bill Clinton and I had built was rooted in love and respect, shared aspirations and accomplishments, victories and defeats. That wasn’t about to change with an election. After seventeen years of marriage we were each other’s biggest cheerleaders, toughest critics and best friends.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{81} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 118-119.

\textsuperscript{82} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 119.

\textsuperscript{83} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 120-121.
The Clintons were not clear on how their partnership would fit into the Clinton Administration. After President John F. Kennedy had appointed his own brother to be the Attorney General, the government had adopted anti-nepotism laws. Hillary could continue her role as First Lady as an unpaid advisor and in some cases, representative. While Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas, he had appointed Hillary to lead committees on rural health care and public education. Towards the latter part of transition Bill asked Hillary to oversee his health care initiative. Hillary wrote about their plan always to work together,

We had worked together for so long, and Bill knew he could trust me. We always understood that I would contribute in my husband’s administration. But we didn’t know precisely what my role would be until late in the transition, when Bill asked me to oversee his health care initiative.

Bill Clinton appointed Ira Magaziner to coordinate the health care process and Hillary Clinton to head up the initiative to make it law. The Clintons were determined to make the announcement after the Inauguration and neither one of them thought about the reaction Hillary’s involvement would provoke.

Inauguration, 1993

The Inauguration of the 42\textsuperscript{nd} President of the United States took place on January 20, 1993, at the United States Capitol. President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore took over from outgoing President George H. W. Bush and outgoing Vice President Dan Quayle. Bill Clinton was the first Democrat elected in 12 years. The 1993 Presidential

\begin{itemize}
\item[84] Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 121.
\item[85] Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 120.
\item[86] Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 120.
\end{itemize}
Inaugural Celebration was held on two days with festivals and programs on the mall. On January 17th, Bill and Hillary Clinton, led a procession across the Memorial Bridge from Washington D.C. to Arlington, Virginia. During the ceremony the crew of the space shuttle Endeavor provided statements and videotape. At the NASA Mission Control stations across the nation, crowds had gathered to take part in a national bell ringing ceremony to show the unity of the nation. At 6:00 p.m., Clinton and Gore and their children grasped the red rope attached to the bell and led the nation in the bell ringing ceremony. The public event was ended with fireworks. Hillary Clinton wrote about the welcome President Bush and First Lady Barbara Bush provide them,

They were very welcoming and put us at ease. Although the campaign had been bruising for both our families, Barbara Bush had been gracious to me when we had met in the past and had given me a walking tour of the family quarters of the White House after the election. George Bush had always been friendly when we had seen him at the annual National Governors Association conference, and I had sat next to him at NGA dinners at the White House and at the Education Summit in Charlottesville at Monticello in 1989. When the summer Governors Conference was held in Maine in 1983, the Bushes opened their property at Kennebunkport for a big clambake. Chelsea, only three at the time, came along, and when she had to go to the bathroom, then Vice President Bush took her by the hand and showed her the way.

“"We first walked into the White House as its new residents in the early evening after the last float passed by. I remember looking around in wonder at this house I had visited as a guest. Now it would by my house. It was during my walk up the path toward the White House and up the stairs of the North Portico and into the Grand Foyer that the reality hit me: I was actually the First Lady, married to the President of the United States. It was the first of many times I would be reminded of the history I was now joining."" 

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87 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 123.
88 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 125.
From the first day in the White House, Hillary felt a great deal of respect towards the White House staff and their permanent roles in the house. She describes them thus:

Members of the permanent White House staff, numbering about one hundred, were waiting to greet us in the Grand Foyer. These are the men and women who run the house and tend to the special needs of its residents. The White House has its own engineers, carpenters, plumbers, gardeners, florists, curators, cooks, butlers and housekeepers who continue from one administration to the next. The entire operation is overseen by the ‘ushers,’ a quaint term from the nineteenth century still used to describe the administrative staff.89

In 2000, First Lady Hillary Clinton published a book, An Invitation to the White House, about the permanent White House staff and a behind-the-scenes look at the extraordinary job they do every day.

**First Lady of the United States, 1993 - 2001**

Creating “Hillaryland”- The West Wing

Hillary Clinton’s first job in the White House was to recruit staffers, pick office space and learn the intricacies of the traditional First Lady duties. As the nation’s First Lady, Hillary continued to balance public service with private life. One of the most important goals of Bill Clinton as President was to create a system of universal health care. The idea was to combine government controls and the competitive marketplace, taking the elements of both to limit health care costs. Hillary’s experience in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and health care, made it natural for her to focus her energy and talents on this health care reform. In 1993, the President asked his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform.

89 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 125.
The East Wing as it exists today was added to the White House in 1942, mainly to cover the construction of an underground bunker, now the Presidential Emergency Operations Center (PEOC).\(^{90}\) Around the same time, Theodore Roosevelt's coatroom became the movie theater. Later, offices for correspondence, calligraphers and the social secretary were placed in the East Wing. In 1977, Rosalynn Carter, broke tradition and was the first First Lady to place her personal office in the East Wing and for the first time it was formally call the "Office of the First Lady."\(^{91}\) Her principal assistant was the first to hold a separately identified position with the title "Chief of Staff to the First Lady."

Since then, the East Wing of the White House served as the offices for the First Lady and her staff. This includes the White House Social Secretary, White House Graphics and Calligraphy Office and correspondence staff. Today, the Social Secretary prepares all of the invitations and written correspondence for every event held at the White House.

Eleanor Roosevelt employed the first Social Secretary.\(^{92}\) The East Wing also includes the White House Theater, Garden Room, the visitor’s entrance and the East Colonnade. Visitors touring the White House enter through the east entrance and move through the East Colonnade past the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden to enter the Residence to view rooms on the Ground and State Floors. Through each presidency, as First Ladies expanded their duties, their staff grew bigger and more specialized. First Lady Jackie Kennedy was the first to have her own press secretary. Lady Bird Johnson structured her


\(^{91}\) The East Wing of the White House. The White House Museum.

\(^{92}\) The East Wing of the White House. The White House Museum.
staff to reflect that of the West Wing. Rosalyn Carter’s staff director operated as a Chief of Staff and attended daily meetings with the President’s staff. And Nancy Reagan increased the size and prominence of her staff within the White House.

Now Hillary Clinton broke tradition even further: the President gave her an office on the second floor of the West Wing itself; her staff of twenty (plus another fifteen interns and volunteers) were divided between a suite in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building and the traditional locus of the East Wing. The West Wing includes the President’s Oval Office, Roosevelt Room, the Cabinet Room, the Situation Room, and offices housing the President’s senior staff. The rest of the White House staff work in the Old Executive Office Building (OEOB). No First Lady or her staff had ever had offices in the West Wing or the OEOB until First Lady Hillary Clinton.

Within just days of setting foot into the White House, Hillary claimed an office in the West Wing, announced that she would be known as Hillary Rodham Clinton, and emerged as head of a task force looking into the feasibility of a nationalized health care system. Hillary describes her staff structure,

Although the visitors’ office, personal correspondence and the social secretary would remain headquartered in the East Wing, some of my staff would be part of the West Wing team. I thought they should be integrated physically as well. Maggie made her case to Bill’s transition staff for the space we wanted in the West Wing, and the Office of the First Lady moved into a suite of rooms at the end of a long corridor on the first floor of the OEOB. I was assigned an office on the second floor of the West Wing just down the hall from the domestic policy staff. This was another unprecedented event in White House history and quickly became fodder for late night comedians and political pundits. One cartoon depicted the

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White House with an Oval Office rising from the roof of the second floor. Maggie assumed the title of Assistant to the President-her predecessors had been Deputy Assistant to the President and each morning she attended the 7:30 am senior staff meeting with the President’s top advisors. I also had a domestic policy staffer assigned to my office full-time, as well as a presidential speechwriter designated to work on my speeches, especially those relating to health care reform. My staff of twenty included a Deputy Chief of Staff, press secretary, scheduler, travel director and compiler of my daily briefing book.94

In Living History, Hillary Clinton goes on to explain how she would be involved in agenda that related to women, children, and families and the talents and leadership abilities of her staff who were recognized as part of the Clinton Administration.

These physical and staff changes were important if I was going to be involved in working on Bill’s agenda, particularly as it related to issues affecting women, children and families. The people I hired were committed to the issues and to the idea that government could-and should-be a partner in creating opportunities for people who were willing to work hard and take responsibility. Most of them came out of the public sector or from organizations committed to improving economic, political and social conditions for the underrepresented and the underprivileged. Before long, my staff was recognized within the administration and by the press as active and influential, due in large part to the leadership of Maggie Williams and Melanne Verveer, my Deputy Chief of Staff. 95

Hillary Rodham Clinton’s core groups of advisors were self-designated the name of “Hillaryland” when she was First Lady of the United States and again when, as United States Senator, she was one of the Democratic Party candidates for President in the 2008 election. The group included Huma Abedin, Patti Solis Doyle (credited with coining the name “Hillaryland”), Mandy Grunwald, Neel Lattimore, Ann Lewis, Evelyn Lieberman,  

94 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 132.  
95 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 124-125.
Tamera Luzzatto, Capricia Marshall, Cheryl Mills, Minyon Moore, Lissa Muscatine, Neera Tanden, Melanne Verveer, and Maggie Williams.

Soon my staff became known around the White House as “Hillaryland.” We were fully immersed in the daily operations of the West Wing, but we were also our own little subculture within the White House. My staff prided themselves on discretion, loyalty and camaraderie, and we had our own special ethos. While the West Wing had a tendency to leak, “Hillaryland” never did. While the President’s senior advisors jockeyed for big offices with proximity to the Oval Office, my senior staff happily shared offices with their young assistants. We had toys and crayons for children in our main conference room and every child who ever visited knew exactly where we stashed the cookies. One Christmas, Melanne ordered lapel buttons that read, in very small letters, HILLARYLAND, and she and I began handing out honorary membership, usually to long-suffering spouses and children of my overworked staffers. Membership entitled them to visit anytime—and to come to all of our parties.  

The “Hillaryland” team was unique in several ways. First, almost all were women; the only man in the group, former First Lady deputy press secretary Neel Lattimore. Second, most worked in the Clinton Administration, and had been personal friends and confidants of Hillary Clinton since her time in Arkansas.

Many years later, Hillary Clinton’s staff were described and written about in a June, 2007, Washington Post article. In the article, Tamara Luzzatto recalls and describes the infrastructure of Hillary’s staff and their dedication to see her succeed.

All of a sudden, I had the equivalent of a board of trustees -- an infrastructure that was integral to how she did business,” recalls Luzzatto, who continues as Clinton's top Senate aide. "They knew what made her tick, how she thought, how to present advice to her -- with everyone

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96 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 133.
united in a determination to see her do well. It was certainly a new experience.  

After Hillary left the White House, her “Hillaryland” team reconvened to help then Senator Clinton map her unprecedented efforts to campaign for the Presidency.

Washington Post wrote about the group’s allegiance to Mrs. Clinton and their efforts in the years Hillary Clinton was First Lady and during the Presidential Campaign.

They are acutely aware their work is making history. Once seen as a tight little sorority, today the group -- happily self-described as "Hillaryland"-- is at the center of a front-running presidential campaign. Never have so many women operated at such a high level in one campaign, working with a discipline and a loyalty and a legendary secrecy rarely seen at this level of American politics. Older and tougher, they have formed a closely knit Praetorian Guard around Clinton that plots strategy, develops messages and clamps down on leaks. But their extraordinary protectiveness also contributes to an ongoing perception of insularity around the candidate and the campaign.

Patti Solis Doyle, 41, Clinton's very first hire in 1991, now oversees the national campaign. Veteran Democratic activist Ann Lewis, 69, along with Capricia Marshall, 43, a Clinton White House social secretary, is leading an aggressive outreach to the female voters who are critical to Hillary Clinton's success. Neera Tanden, 37, who started as a brainy junior White House policy wonk, is the campaign's policy director. Huma Abedin, 32, Clinton's omnipresent traveling aide, started in the White House as an intern a decade ago.

Even those not on the payroll are back. Evelyn Lieberman, 62, once a deputy chief of staff for President Bill Clinton and now an official at the Smithsonian, achieved cult status among the disciples for firing Monica Lewinsky before her affair with the president was known, and she remains a trusted advisor. A favorite joke in “Hillaryland”: If Lieberman invites you for a walk, don't go. It means you're fired. Maggie Williams, 53, the first chief of staff for Hillary Clinton, whom colleagues consider a soul mate to the senator, is a strong voice guiding outreach to African Americans.

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"Something happens to a group of people when you've gone through wars together. You just develop a bond," says Solis Doyle.

In an era when every hiccup finds its way into tell-all books, particularly where the Clintons are concerned, having a loyal and discreet campaign staff is a great advantage. Solis Doyle leads a daily 7:30 a.m. conference call and a weekly sit-down with senior staff, which includes media director Mandy Grunwald and strategist Mark Penn. These sessions are so zipped-up that when a strategy memo about the Iowa caucuses surfaced in media reports, the campaign was quickly satisfied that the leak had not come from anyone in “Hillaryland”. And none of the group has written a tell-all book.  

The Washington Post article also indicates the pitfalls of allegiance such as creating a groupthink mentality.

But this kind of allegiance can exact a cost. Clinton's disciplined operation, closer to the model employed by President Bush than to the freewheeling style of her husband, can seem deaf to dissonant voices and unexpected political developments. ‘I would have to say the disadvantages outweigh the advantages,’ says William Mayer, a political science professor at Northeastern University who studies presidential campaigning. ‘You run the risk of a groupthink mentality often taking hold of something, and you're slow to realize things are not going well.’

First Lady White House Social Events

Although the West Wing part of her Hillary’s First Lady role was up and running, she was also hosting her first big event, the National Governors Association annual dinner. Hillary wanted this event to come off well. She wrote,

Bill had been Chairman of the NGA, and many of those attending were colleagues and friends we had known for years. We wanted the dinner to come off well, and I was eager to dispel the notion, percolating in the news media, that I had little interest in the customary functions for the First Lady’s office, which included overseeing the White House social

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98 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”

99 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”
events. I had enjoyed those responsibilities, carried out on a far less grand scale, as First Lady of Arkansas, and looked forward to them now.100

Hillary had gone to New York to meet with former First Lady Jackie Kennedy and seek advice on how to protect Chelsea as well as handling of the role of First Lady. Hillary wrote about her and President Clinton’s reasons for sending Chelsea to a private school.

Already, Bill and I had taken a measure of the public’s interest in Chelsea and the national fascination with a child growing up in the White House. Our decisions about where to send Chelsea to school had inspired passionate debate inside and outside the Beltway, largely because of its symbolic significance. I understood the disappointment felt by advocates of public education when we chose Sidwell Friends, a private Quaker school, particularly after Chelsea had attended public schools in Arkansas. But the decision for Bill and me rested on one fact: Private schools were private property, hence off-limits to the news media. Public schools were not. The last thing we wanted was television cameras and news reporters following our daughter throughout the school day, as they had when President Carter’s daughter, Amy, attended public school.101

Until former First Lady Jackie Kennedy’s death in 1994, Jackie remained an inspiration and advisor to Hillary Clinton.

Hillary granted her first interview as First Lady to a newspaper interviewer Marina Burros of The New York Times, who typically covered the first big black-tie dinner of each new administration. Burros’ storyline focused on the food, flowers and entertainment for the event. Hillary saw the interview opportunity as a chance to share her ideas about how she intended to make the White House a showcase for American

100 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 134.

101 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 136.
Hillary Clinton reflects on her interview with Burros and how she wanted to put her personal meaning on the White House including American cuisine,

I told Burros that I wanted to put our personal stamp on the White House, as previous First Couples had done. I began by introducing American cuisine to the menu. Ever since the Kennedy Administration, the White House kitchen had been ruled by the French. I understood why Jackie had wanted to improve much about the White House, from décor to cuisine, but that was then. In the three decades since she had occupied the White House, American chefs had revolutionized cooking, starting with the incomparable duo Julia Child and Alice Waters. Child had written Bill and me at the end of 1992, urging us to showcase American culinary arts, and Waters wrote to encourage us to appoint an American chef. I agreed with them. The White House, after all, was one of our nation’s most visible symbols of American culture. I hired Walter Scheib, experienced chef who specialized in American cuisine featuring lighter, fresher ingredients, and introduced more food and wine supplied by American purveyors. The dinner turned out to be a grand success, with the few flaws visible hopefully only to us. The mostly American-grown feast included smoked marinated shrimp, roast tenderloin of beef, baby vegetables in a zucchini basket and Yukon Gold potatoes with Vidalia onions. We ate goat cheese from Massachusetts and drank American wines. Our guests seemed genuinely pleased, particularly after dinner Broadway-style revue put together at the last minute by our Tony Award winning friend James Naughton and featuring Lauren Bacall and Carol Channing. I heaved a big sigh of relief.

On February 2nd, on the front page, The New York Times ran Hillary Clinton’s first interview as First Lady. The article also reported how Mrs. Clinton had announced that they were banning smoking in the Executive Mansion as well as the East and West Wings, that broccoli would return to the White House kitchen and that the Clintons hoped


103 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 139.
to make the White House more accessible to the public. Along with the text was a photo of Mrs. Clinton wearing a bare-shoulder, black Donna Karen evening dress. The story and the photo received a lot of commentary. Hillary stated,

The White House press corps was not happy that I had granted an exclusive interview to a reporter whose beat was not White House politics. In their view, my choice signaled my determination to avoid challenging questions about my role in the policy arena. Some critics suggested that the story was contrived to “soften” my image and portray me as a traditional woman in a traditional role. Some of my most ardent defenders also took exception of me as First Lady. If I was serious about substantive policy issues, they reasoned, why was I taking to a reporter about food and entertainment? Conversely, if I was really worrying about floral centerpieces and the color of table linens, how could I be substantive enough to head a major policy effort? What kind of message was I sending, anyway?  

In her memoirs, Hillary reflects on how she was perceived in the role as First Lady, and correlates that with gender stereotyping professional women face in their complex lives.

It seemed that people could perceive me only as one thing or the other either a hardworking professional woman or a conscientious and caring hostess. I was beginning to catch on to what Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a distinguished professor of communications and Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, would later term “the double bind.” Gender stereotypes, says Jamieson, trap women by categorizing them in ways that don’t reflect the true complexities of their lives. It was becoming clear to me that people who wanted me to fit into a certain box, traditionalist or feminist, would never be entirely satisfied with me as me which is to say, with my many different, and sometimes paradoxical, roles.

In addition she describes other women in her life and women on her administrative team and their professional roles and the role of being a mother. She stated,

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104 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 139-140.

105 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 140.
My friends lived the same way. On any given day, Diane Blair might be teaching political science class hours before preparing dinner for a huge crowd at the Blairs’ lakefront home. Melanne Verveer might be running a White House meeting one minute and talking on the phone with her granddaughter the next. Lissa Muscatine, a Rhodes Scholar from Harvard who gave birth to three children while working for me at the White House, might be on an airplane revising speeches or changing diapers at home. So who was the “real” woman? In fact, most of us took on all those roles and more every day of our lives. I know how hard it is to integrate the many disparate demands, choices and activities women pursue and face every day. Most of us live with nagging voices questioning the choices we make and with loads of guilt, whatever our choice. In my own life I have been a wife, mother, daughter, sister, in-law, student, lawyer, children’s rights activist, law professor, Methodist, political adviser, citizen and so much else. Now I was a symbol and that was a new experience.  

Americans were fascinated by Hillary Clintons; she was an attractive, smart First Lady. Like Hillary’s role model, Eleanor Roosevelt, she was determined to make a difference, and to use all her energy for the public good. This was the motivating point for everything Hillary and her husband had fought for. And like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary was much ahead of her time. Hillary stated,  

Bill and I had worried about the problems we would face when we moved into the White House, but I never expected that the way I defined my role as First Lady would generate so much controversy and confusion. In my own mind, I was traditional in some ways and not in others. I cared about the food I served our guests, and I also wanted to improve the delivery of health care for all Americans. To me, there was nothing incongruous about my interests and activities. I was navigating uncharted terrain and through my own inexperience, I contributed to some of the conflicting perceptions about me. It took me awhile to figure out that what might not be important to me might seem very important to many men and women across America. We were living in an era in which some people still felt deep ambivalence about women in positions of public leadership and power. In this era of changing gender roles, I was America’s Exhibit A.  

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106 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 140.  
107 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 140.
Hillary Clinton had encountered controversy from the start of her tenure. She was an easy target for the political opposition, taking a more overtly political role than any of her predecessors. Much as Nancy Reagan had served as a target for her husband's opponents, so too did Hillary Clinton become a target for those who disagreed with the Administration. The controversy surrounding Hillary Clinton during the 1992 presidential campaign was only the foundation of her run-ins with her antagonists and the media. Although several other First Ladies, such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Rosalynn Carter had also tried to take on substantive roles in their husbands' governments, neither assumed a role as public nor as significant to policy development as did Mrs. Clinton. Many observers believe that President Clinton made a mistake by putting Mrs. Clinton in such a politically charged agenda of Healthcare Reform.

First Lady Efforts in Healthcare Reform

For virtually a century, presidents and members of Congress had tried and failed to provide universal health benefits to Americans. On March 23, 2010, after a year of epic debate between Republicans and Democrats, President Obama signed legislation into law that will remake the nation’s health care system. Speaker Nancy Pelosi said: “After a year of debate and hearing the calls of millions of Americans, we have come to this historic moment. Today we have the opportunity to complete the great unfinished business of our society and pass health insurance reform for all Americans that is a right and not a privilege.” After the legislation passed, Mr. Obama reflected on the day in perspective and stated,

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In the end what this day represents is another stone firmly laid in the foundation of the American dream. Tonight, we answered the call of history as so many generations of Americans have before us. When faced with crisis, we did not shrink from our challenges. We overcame them. We did not avoid our responsibilities, we embraced it. We did not fear our future, we shaped it.\(^{109}\)

For the greater part of the century the country has been on the edge of national health reform many times before where several presidents had tried to reform United States health care system, with varied success. In the early 1900s, smaller proposals began to pave the way. In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt’s and other Progressive leaders were among the first to propose universal health care coverage and unsuccessfully campaigned in eight states on a platform calling for a state-based system of compulsory health insurance.\(^{110}\)

In 1935, in his first term, President Franklin D. Roosevelt cornerstone of his New Deal, envisioned a national health insurance system as a complement to Social Security. President Roosevelt appointed a Committee on Economic Security which was to develop a program that addressed old-age and unemployment issues, as well as medical care and health insurance (1934).\(^{111}\) The idea was not conventional, largely due to the opposition from the powerful lobbying group representing the nation’s doctors, the American

\(^{109}\) Pear and Herszenhorn, “Obama Hails Vote on Health Care as Answering ‘the Call of History.”

\(^{110}\) The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “National Health Insurance-A Brief History of Reform Efforts in the United States.” Focus on Health Reform, March 2009. This policy brief provides an overview of health reform efforts in the United States over much of the last century, from New Deal-era calls for government-subsidized health coverage to the creation of Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s and the failed attempt at universal coverage in the early 1990s.

\(^{111}\) The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “National Health Insurance-A Brief History of Reform Efforts in the United States”; and Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton,145.
Medical Association, (AMA). The AMA feared governmental control would cause physicians to lose their autonomy, be required to work in group practice models and be paid by salary or capitated methods. Furthermore, business and labor groups were not supportive, nor was the emerging private health insurance industry. The recommendations to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, from the Committee on Economic Security on health insurance to the President were never made public, in part to the fear its opposition would deteriorate the Social Security bill.

President Truman took up the cause of universal health care coverage calling Congress to pass a nationally program to ensure the rights to medical care as part of his Fair Deal and included it in his campaign platform in the 1948 election. Reformers were proposing that health insurance be national, universal, comprehensive, and run as part of Social Security rather than a state-administered system. These elements became part of the Truman era National Healthcare Insurance and also proposed a single insurance system that would cover all Americans. President Truman also faced opposition from the AMA, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and others who opposed national health insurance on political grounds, suggesting it was linked to socialism and communism. Truman was not able to overcome the opposition and instead proposed the idea of providing health insurance for Social Security recipients.


By the 1940s and 1950s, labor unions began bargaining for health care benefits in the contracts the unions negotiated for workers. After Johnson’s landslide election in 1964, and a huge Democratic majority in Congress, he made Medicare his highest legislative priority and acted quickly. In 1965, President Johnson’s Great Society initiative led to the creation of Medicaid and Medicare and it was signed by President Johnson’s in July 1965, with former President Truman by his side. Both Medicare and Medicaid were incorporated in the Social Security Act which provides federally funded health insurance for two underserved groups—the poor and the elderly. The achievement of the biggest health care reform success of the century was due to the convergence of presidential leadership and urgency, Johnson’s political skills in working with a large Congressional Democratic majority, growing civil rights awareness, public support, and the support of hospitals and the insurance industry.

In the 1970s President Ford and Carter also pursued health care reform but they also faced the same political opposition that had faced most of the twentieth century. Insurance companies continued to oppose universal coverage because they feared it could restrict the amount they could charge and limit their liability to turn down high-risk patients. When President Bill Clinton took office in 1994, the attitudes about health care reform were diverse and based on the history of healthcare reform, the odds were against him.

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On January 25, 1993 President Bill Clinton unveiled the health care task force and announced that it would produce reform legislation during his first one hundred days in office.  Hillary states the following about the initiative,

Few on the White House staff knew that Bill had asked me to chair the task force or that Ira would manage the day-to-day operations as a senior advisor to the President for policy and planning. Ira had learned about his new job only ten days before the inauguration…Bill wanted to approach health care reform from a new angle, and Ira Magaziner, with his brilliant and creative mind, had a knack for coming up with inventive ways of looking at issues. He also had private sector experience as the owner of a consulting business in Rhode Island that advised multinational companies on how to become more productive and profitable.

Hillary had been troubled by the issue of healthcare long before she became the First Lady of the United States and was assigned to the Healthcare Task Force. As the First Lady of Arkansas, during the five terms her husband Bill Clinton was governor, Hillary had worked to improve the healthcare by supporting immunizations and better access to care for rural areas. In addition, as a student activist in college, she began developing her beliefs that would form her calling as a leading advocate for children’s rights. Hillary Rodham Clinton had knowledge of the problems with the health care system including the politics of the reform movement. She wrote,

My experiences serving on the board of Arkansas Children’s Hospital and chairing a state task force on rural health care introduced me to problems embedded in our health care system, including the tricky politics of reform and the financial quandaries faced by families who were too “rich” to qualify for Medicaid but too “poor” to pay for their own care. Traveling around Arkansas in the 1980s, and then around the United States during the presidential campaign, I met Americans who reinforced my belief that

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117 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 143.

118 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 143.

119 Radcliffe, *Hillary Rodham Clinton-A First Lady For Our Time*. 

we had to fix what was wrong with the system. Bill’s commitment to reform represented our greatest hope of guaranteeing millions of hardworking men and women the healthcare they deserved.¹²⁰

On February 4, 1993, The First Lady and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell spoke in a news conference following their meeting with senators on health care reform proposals. Below is excerpt of the interview on the Capitol. In the interview First Lady Mrs. Clinton talked about the timeline for introducing the plan as well some of the problems in America’s health system.

Senator Mitchell:
Thank you for joining us Ladies and Gentlemen. We just completed a meeting attended by more than 25 Democratic senators, previously involved in a healthcare taskforce and the development of legislation for comprehensive healthcare reform. Each of the senators expressed their pleasure and gratitude at the First Lady’s willingness to undertake this difficult mission and the impedance and strength that her participation gives to the drive for comprehensive reform. A good exchange occurred in which each senator present was able to express to Mrs. Clinton his or her specifics on the issue. A lot of specific suggestions were made, no conclusions were reached. This is part of an ongoing process of consultation which we hope and expect culminating in the historic comprehensive health care legislation in this year. And I believe when that happens a major part of the credit will be due to efforts and leadership of Mrs. Clinton.

First Lady Hillary Clinton:
I would just express my appreciation to Majority Leader and Democratic senators who were in the meeting. In that room were Senators who have worked very hard on the issue of healthcare reform. Who understand how personally felt this issue is in homes across America. And on behalf of the President, I’m looking forward to working with them to come up with a piece of legislation that will respond to the very real needs that Americans have. To make sure they are secure in the healthcare that is given to them and the quality and choice available to them is what they expect.

Senator Mitchell:

¹²⁰ Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 148.
Upon leaving this press meeting, I will be accompanying Mrs. Clinton to a meeting she will be having with Senator Dole and Republican Senators in Senator Dole’s office just around the corner.

Reporter:
Mrs. Clinton what do you see is the major obstacles to healthcare reform?

First Lady Hillary Clinton:
The President has said for more than a year that major health care reform legislation is essential to meet the economic demands as well as human demands of this country. And any kind of change that will meet those demands in a realistic way will require people to do things differently. And I think that there will be a lot of work that will be done by the administration and by the Congress and by people interested around the country to explain the kind of system that is needed to overcome the obstacles that will understandably a rise as people try to appreciate why we have to make these changes. And that’s what we will be working on to come up with a piece of legislation that addresses those legitimate concerns.

Reporter:
Do you think it is realistic to expect that this legislation pass this year?

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton’s Response:
The president expects to be introducing legislation in May and has every intention to work very hard with the leadership in the Congress to address that issue this year with a piece of Legislation.

Reporter:
What do you see is the major obstacle in terms of conveying to people the difficulties ahead?

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton’s Response:
I don't know there is any one. I think that people know there's a problem. People who have been denied health insurance because of pre-existing conditions, who cannot change jobs because if they do they lose the insurance for their spouse or their child. People who are laid off and lose their benefits. People who are in the hundred thousand Americans a month who lose their health insurance. People who have to wait in long lines to immunize their children. I think Americans know we have a problem. And it just going to take a lot of hard work by a lot of us working together to come up with a system that will represent the best solutions to the problems people already know exist out there.
Reporter:
Will we see a broad outline of the goals you guys have or do you think you will have it down to the letter?

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton’s Response:
We are working very hard on it. We will be working until the deadline the President imposed and then we will have to show you what is in it and then we can have that conversation.\textsuperscript{121}

The health care issue not only focused on Mrs. Clinton’s professional experiences and public service but also took on a personal dimension. A few months after Bill Clinton had been sworn in as President of the United States, Mrs. Clinton’s father suffered a stroke and lay in a Little Rock hospital for three weeks between life and death.

Hillary described the critical condition of her father, Hugh Rodham,

Dr. Kumpuris explained that my dad had slipped into a deep, irreversible coma. We could visit him, but it was doubtful he would know we were there. At first I was concerned about taking Chelsea to see her grandfather, but she insisted and I relented because I knew how close she felt to him. When we went in, I was relieved that he looked almost peaceful. Since it would have been useless for the doctors to operate on his injured brain, he was not hooked up to the tentacles of tubes, drains and monitors he had needed after his heart bypass operation a decade earlier, although a mechanical respirator was breathing for him, still clinging to a small hope that he might open his eyes again or squeeze my hand. Chelsea sat by his side and talked to him for hours. His condition didn’t seem to upset her. I was amazed at how calmly she dealt with the situation…Bill arrived Sunday, March 21\textsuperscript{st}. I was so happy to see him and could feel myself relax for the first time in two days as he took charge of talking to the doctors, helping me think about the decision we would soon have to make about my father’s medical options.\textsuperscript{122}

All the multifaceted moral, ethical, philosophical and religious questions pertaining to a life-threatening illness, which thousands of families face every day, had commanded


\textsuperscript{122} Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 156-157.
answers for Hillary and her family. During the long hours she spent in the hospital she continued to learn about the healthcare issues facing Americans. She stated,

In the long hours I spent in the hospital, I talked with doctors, nurses, pharmacists, hospital administrators and family members of other patients about the present health care system. One of the doctors told me how frustrating it was for him to write prescriptions for some of his Medicare patients, knowing that they could not afford to fill them. Other patients paid for their drugs but took smaller doses than prescribed, to make them last longer. Often, these patients ended up right back in the hospital. The health care policy problems we were tackling in Washington were now a part of my daily reality. These personal encounters reinforced my sense of both the difficulty of the assignment Bill had given me and the importance of improving our system.\(^{123}\)

Just a day before Hugh Rodham’s death, Hillary touched on those compelling verdicts by ailing for “a new ethos of individual responsibility and care” in a speech to a University of Texas audience of more than ten thousand people which included Lady Bird Johnson and the Governor of Texas, Ann Richards. During her speech, she asked,

Where does life start; where does life end?” Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues….issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God’s guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? That is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system.\(^{124}\)

Mrs. Clinton indicated her belief in a moral world that cared about one another.\(^{125}\)

\(^{123}\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 158.

\(^{124}\) Radcliffe, *Hillary Rodham Clinton-A First Lady for Our Time*, 226.

\(^{125}\) Radcliffe, *Hillary Rodham Clinton-A First Lady for Our Time*, 226.
The day after Hillary’s speech in Austin, Texas, her father died. Hillary Clinton reflected on her relationship with her father,

I couldn’t help but think how my relationship with my father had evolved over time. I adored him when I was a little girl. I would eagerly watch for him from a window and run down the street to meet him on his way home after work. With his encouragement and coaching, I played baseball, football and basketball. I tried to bring home good grades to win his approval. But as I grew older, my relationship with him inevitably changed, both because of my experiences growing up, which occurred in such a different time and place from his, and because he changed. He gradually lost the energy that got him outside throwing football pass patterns to me and Hugh as we ran around the elm trees in front of our house. Just as those magnificent elms succumbed to disease and had to be cut down in neighborhoods like ours throughout the country, his energy and spirit seemed to wane over time.

More and more, his immediate world seemed to shrink as he lost his father and both brothers in a few short years in the mid-sixties. Then he decided in the early seventies that he had made and saved enough money, so he quit working and dismantled his small company. During my high school and college years, our relationship increasingly was defined either by silence, as I searched for something to say to him, or by arguments, which I often provoked, because I knew he would always engage with me over politics and culture-Vietnam, hippies, bra burning feminists, Nixon. I also understood that even when he erupted at me, he admired my independence and accomplishments and loved me with all his heart.

I recently reread letters he wrote me when I was at Wellesley and Yale, usually in response to a despondent collect call home in which I expressed doubts about my abilities or confusion about where my life was heading. I doubt anyone meeting my father or being on the receiving end of his caustic criticism would ever have imagined the tender love and advice he offered to buck me up, straighten me out and keep me going.126

President Bill Clinton delivered the eulogy at the funeral service for Hillary’s father Hugh Rodham’s:

In 1947 when I made my first political race, I ran in a congressional district where there were a lot of Republicans from the Middle West. And

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126 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 161-162.
my future father-in-law came down in a Cadillac with an Illinois license plate: never told a living soul I was in love with his daughter, just went up to people and said, ‘I know that you’re a Republican and so am I. I think Democrats are just one step short of communism, but this kid’s all right.'

Hillary Clinton expressed her own sadness in celebrating her father’s life and wrote,

We were supposed to be celebrating my father’s life, but I was overwhelmed with sadness for what he would now be missing. I thought about how much he enjoyed seeing his son-in-law serve as President and how much he wanted to watch Chelsea grow up. When Bill was preparing his eulogy on the plane from Little Rock, we were all telling stories. Chelsea reminded us that her PopPop had always said that when she graduated from college, he would rent a big limousine and pick her up wearing a white suit. He had many dreams that wouldn’t be realized. But I was thankful for the life, opportunities and dreams he passed along to me.

By the fall of 1993, there was a moment for serious action on healthcare and polls showed overwhelming public support for reform. The “Hillaryland” group was very joyous and “one member of the First Lady’s loyal staff crowed to Maureen Dowd, ‘This is Eleanor Roosevelt time!’” But an insurance industry lobbying group, HIAA had filmed a series of ads featuring a couple named Harry and Louise. In the ad, the characters, Harry and Louise, are discussing their worries about the how the reform would affect them. Congress was furious that they had been left out of the process and were skeptical of the reform’s premises. The Healthcare Task Force report, which was not ready at launch date, was 1, 342 pages. As Clinton’s budgetary process took center

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127 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 163-164.
128 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 164.
129 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
130 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
131 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
stage, the healthcare efforts were put lower on the Clinton Administration priority list. In
addition, the U.S. troops had been attacked in Somalia, the passage of legislation and the
 crisis in Bosnia were at the forefront of President Clinton’s work. As Hillary became
 frustrated she turned up the attacks on the insurance industry. In a speech to the
 American Academy of Pediatrarians, she denounced insurance companies for having “the
gall” to put the “Harry and Louise” ads on TV when they were “the very industry that has
brought us to the brink of bankruptcy because of the way they financed health care.”

In March of 1994, the Clintons used the opportunity at 109th Gridiron Dinner to
use humor to clear doubts about the administration health care plan. The Health
Insurance Association of America had launched a second round of advertisements,
featuring Harry and Louise. In the advertisement the couple asked each other contrived
questions about the plan and wondered aloud what it might cost them. For the Gridiron
Dinner, The Clintons prepared a stage parody of the insurance lobby’s television
advertisement. President Clinton played Harry and First Lady Hillary Clinton played
Louise and recorded their performance on video tape.

It went like this: Bill and I were seated on a sofa—he in a plaid shirt,
 drinking coffee, and me in a navy blue sweater and skirt—examining a
massive sheaf of papers, meant to be the Health Security Act.

Bill: Hi, Louise, how was your day?
Me: Well, fine, Harry—until now.
Bill: Gee, Louise, you look like you’ve seen a ghost.
Me: Well, it’s worse than that. I’ve just read the Clinton health security
plan.
Bill: Health care reform sounds like a great idea to me.
Me: Well, I know, but some of these details sure scare the heck out of me.
Bill: Like what?

133 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
Me: Like for example, it says here on page 3,764 that under the Clinton health security plan, we could get sick.
Bill: That’s terrible.
Me: Well, I know. And look at this, it gets worse. On Page 12,743—no I got that wrong—in page 27,655, it says that eventually we’re all going to die.
Bill: Under the Clinton health plan? You mean after Bill and Hillary put all those bureaucrats and taxes on us, we’re still all going to die?
Me: Even Leon Panetta.
Bill: Wow, that is scary. I’ve never been so frightened in all my life.
Me: Me neither, Harry.
Together: There’s got to be a better way.
Announcer: “Paid for by the Coalition to Scare Your Pants Off”

The Clinton videotape of the skit was played on several news shows and written about in the newspapers. Even though the skit gave journalists good laughs the Clinton Administration were losing the battle on healthcare reform. The Clinton Healthcare Reform plan didn’t have a single Republican supporter. Efforts by the administration were made to bring the Republicans to some sort of compromise. The President’s advisory asked the President to make a public address to the nation to explain how the Republican leadership had tried to derail reform. Hillary Clinton also shared the viewpoint of the advisors and stated,

I thought that the country needed to see the President fighting, even if he lost, and that we should try for a vote in the Senate. The Finance Committee’s compromise had been voted out of the committee, and Senator Mitchell, as Majority Leader, could bring it directly to the floor. Even if that strategy resulted in a Republican filibuster, as some in our camp predicted. I thought it could work in our favor. Members of Congress would be more accountable to their constituents come the November elections. And Democrats would not be left in the worst of both worlds: the Republicans never having to vote against reform, and the Democratic majority failing to pass new legislation. The more cautious

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134 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 229.
135 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 229.
strategy won out, and health care faded with barely a whimper. I still think that was the wrong call. Giving up without one last public fight demoralized Democrats and let the opposition rewrite history. After twenty months, we conceded defeat. We knew we had alienated a wide assortment of health care industry experts and professionals, as well as some of our own legislative allies.\textsuperscript{136}

The healthcare reform never went to vote and the Clintons were disappointed as well as discouraged. Hillary Clinton acknowledge her failure and took responsibility for the drawbacks and the failure.

Bill and I were disappointed and discouraged. I knew I had contributed to our failure, both because of my own missteps and because I underestimated the resistance I would meet as a First Lady with a policy mission. I also felt bad for Ira, who had taken a lot of criticism that was unfair and unwarranted. Bill appreciated his hard work and asked him to head up the Administration’s Working Group on Electronic Commerce. Ira did a great job establishing the government’s approach for encouraging electronic commerce. He was soon praised in the business community for his insight and became known as the “Internet Czar.” But our most critical mistake was trying to do too much, too fast. That said, I still believe we were right to try. Our work in 1993 and 1994 paved the way for what several economists dubbed the “Hillary Factor,” the purposeful restraint on price increases by medical providers and pharmaceutical companies during the 1990s. It also helped to create the ideas and political will that led to important smaller reforms in the years following. Thanks to the leadership of Senator Kennedy and Senator Nancy Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican, the nation now has a law guaranteeing that workers will not lose their insurances when they change jobs. I worked behind the scenes with Senator Kennedy to help create the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP), which by 2003 provided coverage to more than 5 million children of working parents too well off for Medicaid in 1965, and it helped reduce the number of Americans without health insurance for the first time in twelve years.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{136} Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 247.

\textsuperscript{137} Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 248.
However, during Clinton’s Presidency several smaller health bills were signed into law. He signed laws to allow women to be allowed to stay in the hospital for more than twenty-four hours after childbirth.

Advocacy for Children, Women and Families

Hillary was not blind to the public criticism and began to retool both her role in her husband's administration and the image the public had of her. By 1995, she had moved out of the policymaking spotlight of major domestic reform, choosing instead to focus on the rights of women and children. She discussed parenting in her book, *It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. Hillary shared her experiences as the First Lady and her observations of women, children, and families she had met around the world in her weekly newspaper column entitled “Talking It Over”. In her memoirs, Hillary shared the purpose of her political role,

> A political life, I’ve often said, is a continuing education in human nature, including one’s own. My involvement on the ground floor of two presidential campaigns and my duties as First Lady took me to every state in our union and to seventy-eight nations. In each place, I met someone or saw someone that caused me to open my mind and my heart and deepen my understanding of the universal concerns that most of humanity shares.¹³⁸

In 1996, Hillary published the book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.¹³⁹ The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it. In the book, Clinton shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being.

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¹³⁸ Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, x.

¹³⁹ Clinton, *It Takes a Village And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. 
Hillary goes on in her book to advocate for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs. Overall, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* was a great success. The book provided the First Lady with a cozier image that erased much of the bad feeling over the health care debacle. After the publication of Hillary’s book, The White House hosted two conferences on child care known to some West Wing staffers as “Hillary’s brain conference.” The conference highlighted new research on the development of infants’ brains and the development of neural pathways.

In 1992, Governor Clinton was elected President of the United States, and as First Lady, Hillary Clinton became an advocate of health care reform and worked on many issues relating to children and families. Additionally, Mrs. Clinton led successful bipartisan efforts to improve the adoption and foster care systems, reduce teen pregnancy, and provide health care to millions of children through the Children's Health Insurance Program. She also traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy and civil society.

In late March of 1995, First Lady Hillary Clinton took her first official trip overseas with her daughter, Chelsea. During that trip she visited five countries in South Asia over twelve days. She described the purpose of that twelve day trip as follows:

> The State Department had asked me to visit the subcontinent to highlight the administration’s commitment to the region, because neither the President nor the Vice President could make a trip soon. My visit was meant to demonstrate this strategic and volatile part of the world was important to the United States and to assure leaders throughout South Asia that Bill supported their efforts to strengthen democracy, expand free markets and promote tolerance and human rights, including the rights of

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140 Milton, *The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 344.

women. My physical presence in the region was considered a sign of concern and commitment. Although we had only a short time in each country, I wanted to meet with as many women as possible to stress the correlation between women’s progress and a country’s social and economic status. Development issues had interested me since my years of working with Bill on behalf of poor, rural communities in Arkansas, but this was my first serious exposure to the developing world. I had gotten some preparation earlier in March when I traveled to Copenhagen, Denmark, to represent the United States at the United Nations World Summit for Social Development. That conference underscored my conviction that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.\textsuperscript{142}

Carl Bernstein indicated, in his book, \textit{A Woman in Charge: The Life of Hillary Rodham Clinton}, “Hillary was looking forward to meeting women from other cultures. Almost anything at this point would have been preferable to Washington, but the opportunity to highlight women’s and children’s issues in another region of the world was the timeliest and most welcome of respites.”\textsuperscript{143}

First Lady Hillary Clinton’s first stop on her South Asian tour, in Islamabad, she met the wife of Pakistan’s president, Nasreen Leghari, whose lifestyle was traditional and consisted of purdah, or isolation. In purdah a women is not seen by men outside her immediate family. Mrs. Clinton later spent time with Pakistan’s woman Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The First Lady had been concerned with human rights and feminist struggles and, during her visit to Pakistan, she was inserted into a world where equality between men and women was part of a greater cultural struggle. Comparing her private visit with Mrs. Leghari where only females could enter her living quarters to a luncheon

\textsuperscript{142} Clinton, \textit{Living History, Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 169.

with Bhutto, where guest included women bankers, academics, and other accomplished professionals, it felt to Hillary like she was “being rocketed forward several centuries in time.” President Nasreen Leghari’s wife lived according to a traditional life of isolation and in stark contrast to Benazir Bhutto who had received an education from Harvard. During the South Asia visits, Hillary was concerned with the fate of newborn girls in the region. She took note of the elemental contradictions: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka all had had governments headed by women, yet women are held in such disregard in their cultures that newborn girls are sometimes killed or abandoned. The First Lady also visited rural villages in Pakistan and talked to the women in the villages. Mrs. Clinton was very concerned about being respectful to the culture and to the people she visited, and she was careful of her attire and covering her head with a scarf during religious visits to a mosque or into areas governed by religious traditions. Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea’s trip received press coverage around the world and especially in the United States. The news covered them wearing traditional dress, riding on elephants, in palaces, visiting villages in rural areas and gatherings in schools. In India, Mrs. Clinton visited the Mother Teresa’s orphanage and Chelsea swaddled babies who had been abandoned on the streets because they were female. In Nepal, Muslim women were willing to come to a Hindu village to hear the First Lady speak. Hillary not only spoke to the women in these countries but listened to what they had to say.

During her visit to New Delhi, India, Mrs. Clinton made a speech on women’s rights at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Mrs. Clinton had struggled with the writing clear image that would express what she wanted to say. She had attended a women’s luncheon
with the principal of the school, Lady Sri Ram College, Meenakshi Gopinath. The principal had given her a poem written by one of her students, Anasuya Sengupta called “Silence” and it began:

Too many women
In too many countries
Speak the same language.
Of silence....

The poem helped the First Lady to develop the theme, “Voices of Women,” that would become well-known and used in other speeches she made around the world. Hillary wrote,

I couldn’t get the poem out of my head. As I worked on my speech late into the night, I realized that I could use the poem to convey my belief that issues affecting women and girls should be integrated fully into domestic and foreign policy decisions. Denying or curtailing education and basic health care for women is a human rights issue. Restricting women’s economic, political and social participation is a human rights issue. For too long, the voices of half the world’s citizens have not been heard by their governments. The “Voices of Women” became the theme, and I decided to end my speech by quoting the poem...

We seek only to give words
To those who cannot speak
(too many women in too many countries)
I seek only to forget
The sorrows of my grandmother’s
Silence

The poem struck a chord with the audience members, many of whom were touched that I would draw on the thoughts of a schoolgirl to evoke the condition of women everywhere. Anasuya, lovely, humble and shy in the face of all the publicity her poem generated, was astounded that women all over the globe were requesting copies of it.

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144 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 277.

145 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 277-278.
In her memoirs Hillary Clinton also wrote about her visit to the state of Gujarat, in India, and her visit to the city of Ahmadabad. In Ahmadabad she visited the ashram of Mahatma Gandhi and the Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA).

My most vivid memories of India were not of the Taj Mahal, breathtaking as it was, but of two visits I made in the city of Ahmadabad in the state of Gujarat. The first was to Mahatma Gandhi’s simple ashram, where he sought a meditative retreat from the roiling struggle to create an independent India. The deprivation I had seen and the simplicity of his life reminded me of the excesses of mine. Gandhi’s beliefs in non-violent resistance to oppression and the need to organize large opposition groups to a government’s policies influenced the American civil rights movement and was critical to Martin Luther King’s campaign to end racial segregation. In his own country, Gandhi’s life and principles of self-reliance and rejection of the caste system inspired a remarkable woman, Ela Bhatt. Following Gandhi’s example, she founded the Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in 1971. Liz Moynihan, Senator Moynihan’s extraordinary wife, had introduced me to Bhatt and encouraged me to make a trip to SEWA and see for myself what one determined woman could create. Both a trade union and a women’s movement, SEWA claimed over one hundred forty thousand members, including some of the poorest, least educated and most shunned women in India. These women entered into arranged marriages and then lived in their husbands’ households under the watchful eyes of their mothers-in-law. Some had lived in purdah until their husbands died, were disabled or left, and they had to support their families; all struggled day-to-day to survive. SEWA offered small loans to enable them to earn their own income and also provided basic literacy and business education training…SEWA was providing employment for thousands of individual women and changing deeply held attitudes about women’s roles.¹⁴⁶

Over a thousand women came to meet and hear Mrs. Clinton in Ahmadabad and to share how SEWA had changed their lives because of the small loans they had received and also because of the solidarity they felt with other struggling women. Mrs. Clinton’s affirmation for human rights became even greater when the women sang in Gujarati “We Shall Overcome”. Mrs. Clinton wrote,

¹⁴⁶ Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 279-280.
Finally, I was asked to make closing remarks. As I finished, Ela Bhatt took the microphone and announced that the women wanted to express their gratitude for my visit from America. In a stunning flash of moving color they all sprang to their feet and began singing “We Shall Overcome” in Gujarati. I was overwhelmed and uplifted to be in the midst of women who were working to overcome their own hardships as well as centuries of oppression. For me, they were a living affirmation of the importance of human rights.  

During this trip the First Lady’s relationship to the press improved greatly. Bernstein described the rapport as,

Photographers and reporters on the journey saw her at ease, as a mother, as a woman among women, an emissary, and they took note of how the people she was visiting responded to her, and vice versa. Enormous respect and some emotion appeared to course in both directions. She was at once a revered celebrity, a powerful woman who came to listen to the plight of women in primitive and misogynist societies who would take that message back to America; but she also gave something back, an earnestness and a promise that this was not just another First Lady going through the motions.

In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go. The President was supportive, but he was also concerned—there were issues with Harry Wu and whether or not an appearance by the First Lady would advance the human rights issue or make it worse.” Harry Wu was the Chinese-American human rights agitator who was held in a prison, whom Beijing refused to release. Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she

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147 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 281.
149 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 275.
declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" –
inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights.
The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton, asserted herself as an advocate for
the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries --
including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and
children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse.
These efforts brought her international acclaim. Below is the full text of First Lady,
Hillary Clinton’s speech in Beijing.

“FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE
ON WOMEN

BEIJING, CHINA
SEPTEMBER 5, 1995
Mrs. Mongella,
Distinguished delegates and guests,

I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for
inviting me to be part of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on
Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions
women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in their
communities, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers,
citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every
day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and
supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park or washing
clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come
together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again,
our talk turns to our children and our families.
However different we may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world -- and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. . . . Let them look at the women gathered here and at Huairou . . . the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum, where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.
That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet has a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Jojakarta, Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of the Western Hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children of their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70 percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued - not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses,
planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the ballot box and the bank lending office.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves. . . for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace. . . for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids. . . and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity. We need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -here and around the
world -- accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna - that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated. Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.
It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend - or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote. It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

We have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and build a better world.
We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war.

But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too. Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world -- as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes - the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our -- and the world's -- call to action.

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

Thank you very much.

God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.150

“Her address was an epiphany for the UN delegates, who erupted in rapturous applause. The Chinese officials sat in rigid silence. For Hillary herself, it was a turning point. Her psychological withdrawal had ended. Hillary’s comeback began in Beijing.”151 After the conference the First Lady’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer observed the First Lady


151 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 277.
Clinton undergo an evolutionary process. Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

During the remainder of Mrs. Clinton’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.” “With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Women of the World.”

In 1997, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright established the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing to promote the advancement of women as a U.S. foreign policy goal. The United States government partnered under the leadership of the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative with several organizations (United Nations, the World Bank, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Union and other

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154 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.
155 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.
governments) to coordinate Vital Voices conferences throughout the world, bringing together thousands of emerging female leaders from over 80 countries.

Conceived and organized by Swanee Hunt, our Ambassador to Austria, and nurtured by Melanne Verveer, this meeting of one thousand prominent European women was the official launch of the United States government’s Vital Voices Democracy Initiative. The project was close to my heart, a prime example of the Administration’s efforts to incorporate women’s issues into foreign policy. An outgrowth of Beijing, the Vital Voices initiative brought together representatives of our government, NGO’s and international corporations to promote progress for women in three areas: building democracy, strengthening economies, and working to achieve peace. In too many countries, women were still denied the right to participate in the political arena, derive an independent income, own property or enjoy legal protections from abuse and violence…I thought personal attention to political and individual development was missing in our own diplomatic rhetoric about democracy and free markets. Women and children suffered disproportionately during the difficult transition from communism to capitalism and democracy because they no longer could rely on fixed incomes common to centralized economies or on free education and health care provided by the state. Vital Voices encourages women’s entrepreneurship in places as diverse as South America and the Baltic States, supports efforts to involve women in the political sphere in Kuwait and Northern Ireland and galvanizes women to combat trafficking of women and children in Ukraine and Russia. Through an effective, nonprofit global partnership, the organization continues to educate and train women around the world, many of whom have become political leaders in their own countries.156

These conferences launched regional Vital Voices initiatives that continue to give women the skills and resources they need to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Mrs. Clinton was the keynote speaker in Vienna at a forum entitled “Vital Voices Women in Democracy”. The positive response to the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative led to the creation of Vital Voices Global Partnership as a nonprofit non-governmental organization (NGO) in June 2000. Today, Vital Voices continues the work

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156 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 414-415.
of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing women leaders across the globe.

Hillary Clinton, during President Clinton’s first term, worked with Dave Thomas, the founder of the Wendy’s fast-food chain, and other corporate and foundation leaders to spearhead adoption reform. She had an awareness in reforming adoption and foster care since her days at Yale Law School when she represented a mother who wanted to adopt her foster child. Through new legislation, Mrs. Clinton hoped that the process for adoption could be sped up and arbitrary barriers removed that prevented many families from being able to adopt.157 In 1995, there were 500,000 children in foster care and for 100,000 of them, returning to home was not an option, and only 20,000 found permanent placements with families.158 On November 19, 1997, the Adoption and Safe Families Act was signed by President Bill Clinton.

My domestic policy staff had worked tirelessly with Administration officials and congressional staffers to craft the new legislation, which included financial incentives to states, efforts to keep families together in appropriate circumstances and faster time frames for making permanent placement decisions and for terminating parental rights in cases of abuse and neglect. Passing this important legislation was instructive. We were learning that in working with a recalcitrant Congress, we could often move more expeditiously on a targeted issue, rather than on a broad initiative such as health care or welfare reform. The sweeping changes in federal adoption law would speed up the placement of thousands of foster children like Deanne into safe permanent homes. ‘The legislation represents a fundamental shift in the philosophy of child welfare, from a presumption that the chief consideration ought to be returning a child to

157 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 432.
158 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 432.
his biological parents, to one in which the health and safety of the child is paramount,’ Washington Post said.\textsuperscript{159}

After five years of the signing of the Adoption and Safe Families Act, the number of children adopted surpassed the goals of the legislation and more than doubled.\textsuperscript{160} In addition, Mrs. Clinton and her staff also developed new legislation to address the needs of young people who aged out of the foster care system and were ineligible for federal support. The Foster Care Independence Act of 1999 was signed, which provides young people aging out of foster care with access to health care, educational opportunities, job training, housing assistance, counseling and other support and services.\textsuperscript{161}

\textbf{Controversy}

When the Clintons arrived in Washington the media was becoming revolutionized. The primer of cable television, and the 24-hour news cycle, created an avid appetite for thorough coverage of Washington. Journalist Joe Klein stated, “cable television was beginning to become a force. And the competition among cable news became a vicious fact of Bill Clinton's life. Sex sold. Corruption sold.”\textsuperscript{162} Throughout the spring of 1993, a series of scandals, including "Travelgate" and "Hairgate," flared in the press. Hillary Clinton found it hard to shrug off the negative press. Stories -- like the one alleging that she broke a lamp during a heated argument with the President -- embarrassed and humiliated her. "I've always believed in a zone of privacy," she said,

\textsuperscript{159} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 434.

\textsuperscript{160} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 434.

\textsuperscript{161} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 435.

\textsuperscript{162} PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript.”
"but I guess I've been rezoned." Writer Gail Sheehy described the lack of the First Lady’s understanding of the media, “She had an agenda, changes in the country, in the world, that she wanted to see done. She couldn't understand why the media was focusing constantly on their private life, but the more she fought it the more she drew attention to it.”

The health care issue was not the only combative matter in which Hillary would be linked to the Clinton Presidency. The many controversies surrounding Hillary Clinton during her time as First Lady, from 1993-2000 are not the topic of this research but are a context that needs to be mentioned. While the Clintons were in the White House, they were accused of being involved in a number of scandals regarding their personal financial deals in Arkansas, hiding of documents and Bill Clinton’s sex scandals and possible impeachment. Even as political opponents disparaged the First Lady's policy-making role, Hillary became entangled in a number of other controversies and scandals including Whitewater, the suicide of close friend and administration official Vince Foster, Travelgate, Filegate, Paula Jones, Gennifer Flowers and Monica Lewinsky.

The lawyer chosen to lead the Clintons’ defense was their close friend and deputy White House Counsel, Vince Foster. Bernard Nussbaum, White House Counsel, described Vince as being very upset by the press attacks and stated,

“Vince, he got very upset with the attacks. He felt we couldn't stop these attacks -- and yes, no, we couldn't stop these attacks. You know, this is the nature of the game down here. This is the partisan game down here. And I kept trying to calm

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163 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript.”
him down but I did see him getting sadder and sadder. And then, then that day came when he took his own life.”

On the afternoon of July 20, Vince Foster told an assistant that he was going out for a few minutes. That evening, his body was found in a park 10 miles from the White House, a bullet hole through his head. A torn-up note was found a few days later at the bottom of Foster's briefcase. "I was not meant for the job or the spotlight of public life in Washington," it read. "Here, ruining people is considered sport." Vince Foster was one of Hillary and Bill’s very close friends, and David Gergen, an advisor, was concerned how the Clintons would keep going and described their resilience,

I was very concerned that knowing how close that Vince Foster was to both Bill and Hillary, that it would be sort of the final straw for Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton in Washington. They would just think, 'This town's impossible,' you know, 'We've lost one of our best friends, he's taken his life in the midst of this melee,' and that something very intangible would be lost. Bill Clinton's one of the most resilient people I've ever met. The pain goes deeper with Hillary, and it can stay there longer. She's strong but she's also vulnerable.

Far from destroying the Clintons, Foster's death steeled them against their adversaries. Foster’s suicide fueled the media’s fascination with scandal. Much speculation about the "real cause" of Foster’s death, and hints of conspiracy began developing around Clinton’s involvement. Questions aroused about whether there was a cover up and even whether Hillary was having an affair with Foster. Neither one of the Clintons was even in Washington when Foster died. In addition, media attention was focused on some files

164 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript,” PBS.
165 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript,” PBS.
166 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript,” PBS.
that were mysteriously removed from Foster’s office after his death, including documents related to an old Arkansas land deal, Whitewater.

In 1994, the independent counsel law was reenacted. A three-judge panel appointed Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr to investigate Whitewater real estate investment of Bill and Hillary Clinton. The investigation later expanded to include the suicide death of Deputy White House Counsel Vince Foster and the Monica Lewinsky scandal. The Whitewater became a scandal that haunted Clinton's presidency. The Whitewater purchase took place in 1970s while Bill Clinton was Attorney General in Arkansas making just over $25,000 a year. Hillary at the time was an associate at the Rose law firm in Little Rock. An old friend named Jim McDougal approached the Clintons to build vacation homes along the White River. Hillary Clinton decided to invest $250,000 in the Whitewater purchase. Like many of McDougal's real estate projects, Whitewater went under. During the Clinton Presidency, Jim McDougal was charged with fraud because he had made illegal transfers from his own Savings and Loan, Madison Guaranty. White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes examined the controversy and how unprepared The White House was for it. Ickes stated,

there was no memo on it, there was no defense group. There were some of us who said, 'Keep the walls up, keep it back, you know, it's none of their business, uh, nothing happened. It's a little deal down in Arkansas, it's nothing to do with the presidency uh and it'll go away.’ It didn't go away but that built up a suspicion, and as new things leaked out, as inconsequential as they might be, the press would say, 'Oh the Clintons have been hiding stuff.' And there was build up relatively quickly that the Clintons were just stonewalling.  

167 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript,” PBS.
In 1996, missing records from Hillary Clinton’s law firm, which the special prosecutor had subpoenaed two years before, were discovered in a storage area of the White House living quarters. A cover-up was suspected and Independent Council Ken Starr subpoenaed the First Lady Hillary Clinton before a grand jury to discuss the recently found records. Mrs. Clinton became the first First Lady to testify before a grand jury. Hillary Clinton’s difficulties would continue to mount. In January of 1998, “Hillary was telling the world that the Monica Lewinsky scandal was simply the work of a ‘vast right-wing conspiracy’ that had opposed her ‘husband since the day he announced for president.’ 168 Within a short time it became clear that President Bill Clinton had lied about his relationship with Lewinsky not only to his lawyers, administration officials, and to the nation, but to his wife and daughter as well. Impeachment proceedings became a reality as further charges about Bill Clinton’s sexual recklessness became public. Hillary endured the scandal and again "stood by her man" -- although from several steps away. After four years of investigations, at the cost of about $40 million, Ken Starr filed the Starr Report on September 11, 1998, which alleged that Bill Clinton lied during a sworn deposition about existence of an affair. The Staff Report made no reference to the Whitewater scandal. The allegations in the report led to President Bill Clinton being impeached by the House of Representatives December 19, 1998, on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. The charges came from the Lewinsky scandal and the Paula Jones lawsuit. President Clinton was acquitted by the Senate on February 12, 1999, and remained the President of the United States until the end of his second term.

168 PBS, “American Experience-Clinton, PBS Program Transcript,” PBS.
While all of this affected Hillary Rodham Clinton’s life and how she was viewed by the public, she was also a leader who was able to rise above it all, and she ran for the New York Senate race and won. The wife of a President is a public figure and, as such, her role is constantly examined and scrutinized by the media. Rebecca Shambaugh described Hillary’s leadership the best:

Hillary Clinton is not a woman who is easily stopped or who throws in the towel very often. Throughout both her personal and her professional life, she has been able to face adversity, adapt to new conditions, and even retool herself in order to get back into the game and come out ahead in most cases. Rebecca Cooper, a national correspondent for ABC7/WJLA-TV, covered Hillary Clinton during the Clinton administration and shared with me that Hillary’s unique combination of intelligence, confidence, and the basic Midwest values that she grew up with has formed the core of her resilience. In Washington, being truly resilient is a difficult commodity to come by, and some people in Washington politics who have experienced great difficulties don’t have the strength and inner core to re-emerge as Hillary has been known to do. She is the girl in school whom all of us know, not just because she was a straight A student but because of her hard work and desire to learn.  

Running for the Senate

In 1999, Hillary Clinton officially declared herself a candidate for to run for the position of U. S. Senator. On November 7, 2000, Hillary Clinton became the first First Lady ever elected to public office, winning a U.S. Senate seat for New York State. First Lady Hillary Clinton began carving out a future for herself while she worked to save her husband's and becoming the first First Lady to run for and win public office. In 1999, she explained her reason for wanting to become a United States Senator from New York: "I want independence. I want to be judged on my own merits. Now for the first time I am making my own decisions. I can feel the difference. It's a great relief."

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Post-Presidential Life

Hillary Clinton remained a First Lady until January 20, 2001, but she was sworn in as a United States Senator on January 1, 2001. Mrs. Clinton served two roles for twenty one-days, as a member of one branch of government while married to the leader of another branch. She became the first female senator to represent New York State. As a Senator, Mrs. Clinton was on four Senate Committees and eight subcommittees.

Hillary Clinton’s memoirs, Living History, sold over 3 million copies. In her memoirs, she wrote about being born in a time period of possibilities:

I wasn’t born a First Lady or a Senator. I wasn’t born a Democrat. I wasn’t born a lawyer or an advocate for women’s rights and human rights. I wasn’t born a wife or mother. I was born an American in the middle of the twentieth century, a fortunate time and place. I was free to make choices unavailable to past generations of women in my country and inconceivable to many women in the world today. I came of age on the crest of tumultuous social change and took part in the political battle fought over the meaning of America and its role in the world. My mother and my grandmothers could never have lived my life; my father and my grandfathers could never have imagined it. But they bestowed on me the promise of America, which made my life and my choices possible.

In 1999, Hillary Clinton officially declared herself a candidate for to run for the position of United States Senator. On November 7, 2000, Hillary Clinton became the first First Lady ever elected to public office, winning the U.S. Senate seat from New York State. As an advocate for her state, Senator Clinton led a bipartisan effort to bring broadband access to rural communities; co-sponsored the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act; included language in the Energy Bill to provide tax

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170 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

171 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 1.
exempt bonding authority for environmentally conscious construction projects; and
introduced an amendment calling for funding of new job creation to repair, renovate and modernize public schools.

‘I am in, and I’m in to Win’ With that supremely confident pronouncement, Hillary Rodham Clinton took the first bold step toward becoming America’s first female president. Her declaration came in an email message that landed in millions of Americans’ in-boxes at 10:00 a.m. sharp on Saturday, January 20, 2007.172

Hillary Rodham Clinton was the only wife of a President to enter any type of electoral race on a national level. This also set an unusual precedent for a First Lady to been elected to the United States Senate; since no other woman who had been First Lady had stood for public office.

On June 3, 2008, after failing to win enough primary elections, Hillary Clinton delivered a stirring concession speech in Washington, D.C. to her supporters, emphasizing that she was not interested in having a cult personality following, but in her party achieving dramatic change in the executive branch. She addressed the National Democratic Convention and endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama. Throughout the fall, she campaigned vigorously on Obama’s behalf and, after he won the 2008 election, he named her as his Secretary of State. In January of 2009, Hillary Clinton became the 67th Secretary of State. Hillary is the third woman and the only former First Lady to serve in this capacity. The position’s duties are to serve as the primary advisor to the President on foreign affairs and to also enact presidential policy decisions through her department.

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which also includes the U.S. Foreign Service. A great part of Secretary Clinton’s public role is leading or joining global conferences and other international meetings on a variety of issues. As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton has focused special attention, beyond her required duties, on the international rights of women, economic empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world, and “town hall” type meetings with direct questioning from the public, whether in the United States or other countries.

**Review of Conceptual Framework and its Application**

The leadership behaviors demonstrated by Hillary Clinton will be identified through primary and secondary source reference materials. Primary and secondary sources will be used to gather words and actions of Hillary Clinton. These words and actions will be viewed through the lens of Bass’ Transformational Leadership framework in order to conduct the analysis. The established leadership strategies will be examined through the lens of The Leadership Theory of Bernard Bass’ four components of transformational leaders.

This research also compared different kinds of documentary sources to each other in order to make connections. According to Taylor and Bogdon (1998), “triangulation is a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, and in order to gain a deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people involved.”

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174 Taylor, and Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (3rd. ed.)*, 80.
understand how she demonstrated transformational leadership. The primary and secondary sources were analyzed to determine the applications of Bass’ four components of transformational leadership to Hillary Clinton’s words and actions. Bass’ four components provided the conceptual framework for analyzing the work of the First Lady Hillary Clinton.

Analysis

Bass defines transformational leadership traits through four components. Transformational leadership is a form of leadership style that leads to positive changes in those who follow. Transformational leaders are able to get things done by their energetic nature, enthusiasm and passion. Not only are these leaders concerned and involved in the process; they are also focused on helping every member of the group succeed as well. According to Bass, transformational leadership “occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.”175 Hence, transformational leadership can be defined through the impact that it has on followers. Transformational leaders, Bass suggests, garner trust, respect and admiration from their followers. Bass also recommends four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style. Through the power of their

vision and personality, transformational leaders are able to inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals.

**Transformational Leadership Evidence: Hillary Clinton “Hillaryland” Leadership**

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Hillary Clinton demonstrated when working with her staff in the West Wing. Her staff came to be known as “Hillaryland” and gained the respect of the entire Clinton Administration. Hillary Clinton was involved in every aspect of leading the team and even had her own office on the second floor of the West Wing. Hillary built her knowledge about the role of the First Lady. She saw her new role as an opportunity and a responsibility to her country. The “Hillaryland” members were motivated by their acutely awareness that their work was making history.

Table 6. Hillary Clinton's "Hillaryland" Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components of Transformational Leadership- <strong>Idealized Influence</strong>- A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Words</strong></td>
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<td>“These physical and staff changes were important if I was going to be involved in working on Bill’s agenda, particularly as it related to issues affecting women, children and families. The people I hired were committed to the issues and to the idea that government could and should be a partner in creating opportunities for people who were willing to work hard and take responsibility. Most of them came out of the public sector or from organizations committed to improving economic, political and social conditions for the underrepresented and the underprivileged. Before long, my staff was recognized within the administration and by the press as active and influential, due in large part to the leadership of Maggie and Melanne Verveer, my Deputy Chief of Staff.”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Actions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton’s first job in the White House was to recruit staffs, pick office space and learn the intricacies of the traditional First Lady duties.</td>
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</tbody>
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Hilary Clinton broke tradition even further: the President gave her an office on the second floor of the West Wing itself; her staff of twenty (plus another fifteen interns and volunteers).\footnote{The White House, “First Lady’s Office, The White House Museum.}

No First Lady or her staff had ever had offices in the West Wing or the OEOB until First Lady Hillary Clinton.

The “Hillaryland” team was unique in several ways. First, almost all were women; the only man in the group, former First Lady deputy press secretary Neel Lattimore.

Second, most worked in the Clinton Administration, and have been personal friends and confidants of Hillary Clinton since her time in Arkansas.

Tamara recalls and describes the infrastructure of Hillary’s staff and their dedication to see her succeed. “All of a sudden, I had the equivalent of a board of trustees – an infrastructure that was integral to how she did business,” recalls Luzzatto, who continues as Clinton’s top Senate aide. “They knew what made her tick, how she thought, how to present advice to her -- with everyone united in a determination to see her do well. It was certainly a new experience.”\footnote{Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”}

How is the component established through the words and actions?

Hillary served as a role model to her followers by selecting and building her team—“Hillaryland”. Hillary built her knowledge about the role of the First Lady. She saw her new role as an opportunity and a responsibility to her country.

Hillary Clinton hired people who were committed to the issues and who believed in the idea that government could create opportunities for people. The “Hillaryland” team was unique in that all were women except for one; they set up their office in the West Wing; (no First Lady or her staff had ever had offices in the West Wing); and most of the team had worked in the Clinton Administration or were personal friends of Mrs. Clinton. Her staff quickly received recognition within the Presidential administration and by the press as being active and influential.

The “Hillaryland” staff believed in the First Lady and wanted to see her succeed. In addition, the team built genuine respect and trust with the First Lady and each other.

The staff showed dedication, had experience in the public sector and were hardworking.

Components of Transformational Leadership - Inspirational Motivation - Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

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<th>Words</th>
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178 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”
The Washington Post wrote about the group’s allegiance to Mrs. Clinton and their efforts in the years Hillary Clinton was First Lady and during the Presidential Campaign.

“They are acutely aware their work is making history. Once seen as a tight little sorority, today the group -- happily self-described as “Hillaryland”-- is at the center of a front-running presidential campaign. Never have so many women operated at such a high level in one campaign, working with a discipline and a loyalty and a legendary secrecy rarely seen at this level of American politics. Older and tougher, they have formed a closely knit Praetorian Guard around Clinton that plots strategy, develops messages and clamps down on leaks. But their extraordinary protectiveness also contributes to an ongoing perception of insularity around the candidate and the campaign.

In an era when every hiccup finds its way into tell-all books, particularly where the Clintons are concerned, having a loyal and discreet campaign staff is a great advantage. Solis Doyle leads a daily 7:30 a.m. conference call and a weekly sit-down with senior staff, which includes media director Mandy Grunwald and strategist Mark Penn. These sessions are so zipped-up that when a strategy memo about the Iowa caucuses surfaced in media reports, the campaign was quickly satisfied that the leak had not come from anyone in “Hillaryland”. And none of the group has written a tell-all book.”

**Intellectual Stimulation** - The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

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<th>Words</th>
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<th>How is the component established through the words and actions?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Soon my staff became known around the White House as “Hillaryland.””</td>
<td>“We were fully immersed in the daily operations of the West Wing, but we were also our own little subculture within the White House.”</td>
<td>Mrs. Clinton’s staff quickly utilized creative ways to build relationships and develop a subculture within the White House. The “Hillaryland” team came to embrace the ideas of</td>
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179 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”
“My staff prided themselves on discretion, loyalty and camaraderie, and we had our own special ethos. While the West Wing had a tendency to leak, “Hillaryland” never did. While the President’s senior advisors jockeyed for big offices with proximity to the Oval Office, my senior staff happily shared offices with their young assistants.”

Establishing the First Lady Staff in the West Wing along with the President Clinton’s staff.

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<tr>
<td>“All of a sudden, I had the equivalent of a board of trustees -- an infrastructure that was integral to how she did business,” recalls Luzzatto, who continues as Clinton's top Senate aide. “They knew what made her tick, how she thought, how to present advice to her -- with everyone united in a determination to see her do well. It was certainly a new experience.”</td>
<td>“While the President’s senior advisors jockeyed for big offices with proximity to the Oval Office, my senior staff happily shared offices with their young assistants. We had toys and crayons for children in our main conference room and every child who ever visited knew exactly where we stashed the cookies. One Christmas, Melanne ordered lapel buttons that read, in very small letters, HILLARYLAND, and she and I began handing out honorary membership, usually to long-suffering spouses and children of my overworked staffers. Membership entitled them to visit anytime and to come to all of our parties.”</td>
<td>The “Hillaryland” received support and encouragement for each other as well as their leader, Mrs. Clinton. There was an appreciation for diversity in the all women staff; with representations from minority women as well as representations from several generations.</td>
</tr>
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180 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 133.

181 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”

182 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 133.
Discussion of Leadership Transformational Evidence: Hillary Clinton
“Hillaryland” Leadership

Examining First Lady Hillary Clinton’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Clinton accessed each of the transformational leadership components in her leadership in the context of her efforts to establish herself and her staff in the West Wing—“Hillaryland” team. Hillary served as a role model to her followers by selecting and building her team—“Hillaryland”. Hillary built her knowledge about the role of the First Lady. She saw her new role as an opportunity and a responsibility to her country. Hillary Clinton hired people who were committed to the issues and who believed in the idea that government could create opportunities for people. The “Hillaryland” team was unique in that all were women except for one; they set up their office in the West Wing (no First Lady or her staff had ever had offices in the West Wing) and most of the team had worked in the Clinton Administration or were personal friends of Mrs. Clinton. Mrs. Clinton’s staff quickly received recognition within the Presidential administration and by the press as being active and influential. The “Hillaryland” staff believed in the First Lady and wanted to see her succeed. In addition, the team built genuine respect and trust with the First Lady and each other. The staff showed dedication, had experience in the public sector and was hardworking. The “Hillaryland” members were motivated by their acute awareness that their work was making history, and their awareness in the importance of their work in supporting the First Lady to be successful.
Transformation Leadership Evidence: Hillary Clinton Healthcare Reform Initiative

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Hillary Clinton demonstrated to develop and implement the Healthcare Reform Initiative. In 1993, the President asked his wife, to chair the Task Force on National Healthcare Reform. Hillary’s experiences in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and healthcare, made it natural for her to focus her energy and talents on this healthcare reform. The Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force, while lacking tangible accomplishments, has become a purposeful lesson for Hillary Rodham Clinton’s own future and political goals. Mrs. Clinton’s leadership on the universal healthcare reform ended without a vote, but the lessons learned are a benefit for future leaders of health care reform.

Table 7. Hillary Clinton's Components of Transformational Leadership in Healthcare Reform Initiative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence</th>
<th>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Words</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>On January 25, 1993, President Bill Clinton unveiled the health care task force and announced that it would produce reform legislation during his first one hundred days in office.</td>
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<td>“My experiences serving on the board of Arkansas Children’s Hospital and chairing a state task force on rural health care introduced me to problems embedded in our health care system, including the tricky politics of reform and the financial quandaries faced by families who were too “rich” to qualify for Medicaid but too “poor” to pay for their own care. Bill’s commitment to reform represented our greatest hope of guaranteeing millions of hardworking men and women the healthcare they deserved.”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Actions</strong></td>
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183 Clinton, *Living History Hillary Rodham*, 143.

As the first Lady of Arkansas during the five terms her husband Bill Clinton was governor, Hillary had worked to improve the healthcare by supporting immunizations and better access to care for rural areas. In addition, as a student activist in college, she began developing her beliefs that would form her calling as a leading advocate for children’s rights.

“The traveling around Arkansas in the 1980s, and then around the United States during the presidential campaign, I met Americans who reinforced my belief that we had to fix what was wrong with the system.”

### How is the component established through the words and actions?

In 1993, the President asked his wife, to chair the Task Force on National Healthcare Reform. Hillary’s experiences in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and healthcare, made it natural for her to focus her energy and talents on this healthcare reform. Hillary Clinton had been a role model advocating, by chairing, a state task force on rural health care while she was the First Lady of Arkansas. As she traveled around the country she learned about the downfalls of the current health system in America; this helped her articulate her vision for universal healthcare reform and establishing a strong sense of purpose in her followers.

### Inspirational Motivation-Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

### Words

Mrs. Clinton stated in a press conference, “The President has said for more than a year that major health care reform legislation is essential to meet the economic demands as well as human demands of this country. And any kind of change that they'll meet those demands in a realistic way will require people to do things differently. And I think that there will be a lot of work that will be done, by the administration and by the Congress and by people interested around the country, to explain the kind of system that is needed to overcome the obstacles that will understandably rise as people try to appreciate why we have to make these changes. And that’s what we will be working on to come up with a piece of legislation that addresses those legitimate concerns.”

The “Hillaryland” group was very joyous and “one member of the First Lady’s loyal staff crowed to Maureen Dowd, ‘This is Eleanor Roosevelt time!'”

### Actions

The Clintons, at 109th Gridiron Dinner used humor to clear doubts about the administration health care plan. For the Gridiron Dinner, the Clintons staged a parody of the insurance lobby’s television spot. President Clinton played Harry and First Lady Hillary Clinton played Louise and recorded their performance on video tape.

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188 Milton, *The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 305.
By the fall of 1993, there was a moment for serious action on healthcare, and polls showed overwhelming public support for reform.\textsuperscript{189}

But an insurance industry lobbying group, HIAA had filmed a series of ads featuring a couple named Harry and Louise. In the ad, the characters, Harry and Louise, were discussing their worries about the how the reform would effect them.\textsuperscript{190}

Congress also was furious that they had been left out of the process and more than skeptical of the reform’s premises. The Healthcare Task Force report which was not ready at launch date, was 1,342 pages. As Clinton’s budgetary process took center stage, the healthcare efforts were put lower on the Clinton Administration priority list.

### How is the component established through the words and actions?

On February 4, 1993, The First Lady and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell spoke in a news conference following their meeting with senators on health care reform proposals. Hillary Clinton articulated a compelling vision and stated, “And I think that there will be a lot of work that will be done, by the administration and by the Congress and by people interested around the country, to explain the kind of system that is needed to overcome the obstacles that will understandably rise as people try to appreciate why we have to make these changes. And that’s what we will be working on, to come up with a piece of legislation that addresses those legitimate concerns.”\textsuperscript{191} Mrs. Clinton motivated others to do more than intended and more than thought possible by creating a piece of legislation 1,342 pages long.

**Intellectual Stimulation**--The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

### Words

“I think that people know there's a problem. People who have been denied health insurance because of pre-existing conditions, who cannot change jobs because if they do they lose the insurance for their spouse or their child. People who are laid off and lose their benefits. People who are in the hundred thousand Americans a month who lose their health-insurance. People who have to wait in long lines to immunize their children. I think Americans know we have a problem. And it is just going to take a lot of hard work by a lot of us working together to come up with a system that will represent the best solutions to the problems people already know exist out there.”\textsuperscript{192}

### Actions

“Bill and I were disappointed and discouraged. I knew I had contributed to our failure, both because of my own missteps and because I underestimated the resistance I would meet as a First Lady with a policy mission. I also felt bad for Ira, who had taken a lot of criticism that was unfair and unwarranted. But our

\textsuperscript{189} Milton, *The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 305.

\textsuperscript{190} Milton, *The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 305.

\textsuperscript{191} C-Span Video Library, “Presidential Healthcare proposal, February 4, 1993.”

\textsuperscript{192} C-Span Video Library, “Presidential Healthcare proposal, February 4, 1993.”
most critical mistake was trying to do too much, too fast. That said, I still believe we were right to try. Our work in 1993 and 1994 paved the way for what several economists dubbed the ‘Hillary Factor,’ the purposeful restraint on price increases by medical providers and pharmaceutical companies during the 1990s. It also helped to create the ideas and political will that led to important smaller reforms in the years following. Thanks to the leadership of Senator Kennedy and Senator Nancy Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican, the nation now has a law guaranteeing that workers will not lose their insurance when they change jobs. I worked behind the scenes with Senator Kennedy to help create the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP), which by 2003 provided coverage to more than 5 million children of working parents too well off for Medicaid in 1965, and it helped reduce the number of Americans without health insurance for the first time in twelve years."

During Clinton’s Presidency several smaller health bills were signed into law. He signed laws to allow women to be allowed to stay in the hospital for more than twenty-four hours after childbirth.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The healthcare reform never went to vote and the Clintons were disappointed and as well as discouraged. Hillary Clinton acknowledged her failure and took responsibility for the drawbacks and the failure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force, while lacking tangible accomplishments, has become a purposeful lesson for Hillary Rodham Clinton’s own future and political goals. Mrs. Clinton’s leadership on the universal healthcare reform ended without a vote, but the lessons learned are a benefit for future leaders of health care reform. Hillary Rodham Clinton courageously looked at different perspectives in her efforts to establish healthcare reform and she took the first stab at the health care reform issue from the First Lady’s platform. Her efforts serve as a tool to lead future efforts in the area.</td>
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**Individualized Consideration**-Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
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<tr>
<td>“How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? That is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“In the long hours I spent in the hospital, I talked with doctors, nurses, pharmacists, hospital administrators and family members of other patients about the present health care system. One of the doctors told me how frustrating it was for him to write prescriptions for some of his Medicare patients, knowing that they could not afford to fill them. Other patients paid for their drugs but took smaller doses than prescribed, to make them last longer. Often, these patients ended up right back in the hospital. The health care policy problems we were tackling in Washington were now a part of my daily reality. These personal encounters reinforced my sense of both the difficulty of the assignment Bill had given me and the importance of improving our system.”</td>
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195 Clinton, *Living History Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 158.
Discussion of Leadership Transformation Evidence: Hillary Clinton Healthcare Reform Leadership

Examining First Lady Hillary Clinton’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Clinton accessed each of the transformational leadership components in her leadership in the context of her efforts to establish universal healthcare reform legislation. In 1993, the President asked his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to chair the Task Force on National Healthcare Reform. Hillary’s experiences in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and healthcare, made it natural for her to focus her energy and talents on this healthcare reform and to be a role model in the efforts. As she traveled around the country she learned about the downfalls of the current healthcare system in America; this helped her articulate her vision for universal healthcare reform and established a strong sense of purpose in her followers. On February 4, 1993, The First Lady and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell spoke in a news conference following their meeting with senators on healthcare reform proposals. Mrs. Clinton articulated a compelling vision and stated, “And I think that there will be a lot of work that will be done by the Administration and by the Congress and by people interested around the country, to explain the kind of system that is needed to overcome the obstacles that will
understandably rise as people try to appreciate why we have to make these changes. And that’s what we will be working on to come up with a piece of legislation that addresses those legitimate concerns.196 Mrs. Clinton motivated others to do more than intended and more than thought possible as her team created 1,342 page legislation on universal healthcare reform.

The Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force, while lacking tangible accomplishments, has become a purposeful lesson for Hillary Rodham Clinton’s own future and political goals. Mrs. Clinton’s leadership on the universal healthcare reform ended without a vote, but the lessons learned are a benefit for future leaders of health care reform. Hillary Rodham Clinton courageously looked at different perspectives in her efforts to establish healthcare reform and she took the first attempt at the health care reform issue, from the First Lady’s platform. Her efforts serve as a tool to lead future efforts in the area. The health care issue not only focused on Hillary’s professional experiences and public service, but also took on a personal dimension when her father suffered a stroke. During the long hours she spent in the hospital she continued to learn about the healthcare issues facing Americans. In a speech at the University of Texas to an audience of more than ten thousand people, Hillary mentioned the compelling verdicts by the ailing for “a new ethos of individual responsibility and care.”

**Transformational Leadership Evidence: Hillary Clinton Activism for Women and Children**

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components of Hillary Clinton demonstrated when advocating for women and children.  

First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits she met with women and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States, but as the First Woman of the World.\textsuperscript{197} Her words and actions articulate a compelling vision that human rights as women’s rights. Mrs. Clinton’s vision was able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible and extends to an international level.

Table 8. Hillary Clinton's Components of Transformational Leadership in Activism for Women and Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence--A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Words</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>At the United Nations World Summit for Social Development, in her address, at the conference, Hillary Clinton emphasized her “conviction’s that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Actions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>As First Lady, Hillary Clinton became an advocate of health care reform and worked on many issues relating to children and families. She led successful bipartisan efforts to improve the adoption and foster care systems, reduce teen pregnancy, and provide health care to millions of children through the Children's Health Insurance Program. She also traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy and civil society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Clinton had awareness in reforming adoption and foster care since her days at Yale Law School, when she represented a mother who wanted to adopt her foster child. Through new legislation, Mrs. Clinton hoped that the process for adoption could be sped up and arbitrary barriers removed that prevented many families from being able to adopt.\textsuperscript{198} On November 19, 1997, the Adoption and Safe Families Act was signed by President Bill Clinton.</td>
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\textsuperscript{197} Sheehy, \textit{Hillary’s Choice}, 278. 

\textsuperscript{198} Clinton, \textit{Living History: Hillary Rodham}, 432.
“The State Department had asked me to visit the subcontinent to highlight the administration’s commitment to the region. My visit was meant to demonstrate this strategic and volatile part of the world was important to the United States, and to assure leaders throughout South Asia that Bill supported their efforts to strengthen democracy, expand free markets and promote tolerance and human rights, including the rights of women. My physical presence in the region was considered a sign of concern and commitment. Although we had only a short time in each country, I wanted to meet with as many women as possible, to stress the correlation between women’s progress and a country’s social and economic status. Development issues had interested me since my years of working with Bill on behalf of poor, rural communities in Arkansas, but this was my first serious exposure to the developing world. I had gotten some preparation earlier in March when I traveled to Copenhagen, Denmark, to represent the United States at the United Nations World Summit for Social Development. That conference underscored my conviction that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”

How is the component established through the words and actions?

First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits, she met with women, and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. At the United Nations World Summit for Social Development, In her address, at the conference, Hillary Clinton emphasized her “conviction’s that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”

Inspirational Motivation-Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

Words

In the book, Clinton shared her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.200

During her visit to New Delhi, India, Mrs. Clinton made a speech on women’s rights at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Mrs. Clinton had struggled with the writing one clear message that would express what she wanted to say. She had attended a women’s luncheon with the principal of the Lady Sri Ram College, Meenakshi Gopinath. The principal had given her a poem written by one of her students, Anasuya Sengupta, called “Silence” and it began:

Too many women  
In too many countries  
Speak the same language.

The poem helped the First Lady to develop the theme of “Voices of Women” that would become well-known and used in other speeches she made around the world. Hillary wrote, “I couldn’t get the poem out of my head. As I worked on my speech late into the night, I realized that I could use the poem to convey my belief that issues affecting women and girls should be integrated fully into domestic and foreign policy decisions. Denying or curtailing education and basic health care for women is a human rights issue. Restricting women’s economic, political and social participation is a human rights issue. For too long, the voices of half the world’s citizens have not been heard by their governments. The “Voices of Women” became the theme, and I decided to end my speech by quoting the poem…

'We seek only to give words
To those who cannot speak
(too many women in too many countries)
I seek only to forget
The sorrows of my grandmother’s
Silence’

Actions

In 1996, Hillary published the book, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it.

“Her address was an epiphany for the UN delegates, who erupted in rapturous applause. The Chinese officials sat in rigid silence. For Hillary herself, it was a turning point. Her psychological withdrawal had ended. Hillary’s comeback began in Beijing.”

After the conference, the First Lady’s Chief of Staff, Melanne Verveer, observed the First Lady Clinton undergo an evolutionary process. Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never though she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

During the remainder of Hillary’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.”

“With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Women of the World.”

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201 Clinton, *It Takes a Village And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.


205 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.

206 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.
The poem struck a chord with the audience members, many of whom were touched that I would draw on the thoughts of a schoolgirl to evoke the condition of women everywhere. Anasuya, lovely, humble and shy in the face of all the publicity her poem generated, was astounded that women all over the globe were requesting copies of it.

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

Overall, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* was a great success.

The book provided the First Lady with a warmer image that erased much of the bad feeling over the health care debacle.

In the book, Clinton, shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.

Hillary Clinton’s office provided her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could, at an international level.

Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never though she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

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“No foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States, but as the First Woman of the World.”

Hillary Clinton’s words and actions articulate a compelling vision, that human rights are women’s rights. Clinton’s vision is able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible, and extend to an international level.

**Intellectual Stimulation** - The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

**Words**

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70 percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

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Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders. …As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential. If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights.”

Actions

In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go."210

During this trip the First Lady’s relationship to the press improved greatly.

Bernstein descried the rapport,

“Photographers and reporters on the journey saw her at ease, as a mother, as a woman among women, an emissary, and they took note of how the people she was visiting responded to her, and vice versa. Enormous respect and some emotion appeared to course in both directions. She was at once a revered celebrity, a powerful woman who came to listen to the plight of women in primitive and misogynist societies, who would take that message back to America; but she also gave something back, an earnestness and a promise that this was not just another First Lady going through the motions.”211

How is the component established through the words and actions?

In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she declared that ‘human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights’ – inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton, asserted herself as an advocate for the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim.

Individualized Consideration- Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

Words


210 Clinton, Living History Hillary Rodham Clinton, 277-278.

211 Bernstein, A Woman in Charge: The Life of Hillary Rodham Clinton, 420-421.
continues the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing female leaders across the globe.

**Actions**

She took note of the elemental contradictions: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka all had had governments headed by women, yet women were held in such disregard in their cultures that newborn girls were sometimes killed or abandoned.

The First Lady also visited rural villages in Pakistan and talked to the women in the villages. The First Lady was very concerned about being respectful to the culture and to the people she visited, and she was careful of her attire and covering her head with a scarf during religious visits to a mosque or into areas governed by religious traditions. Mrs. Clinton’s and Chelsea’s trip received press coverage around the world and especially in the United States. The news covered them wearing traditional dress, riding on elephants, in palaces, visiting villages in rural areas and gatherings in schools.

These conferences launched regional *Vital Voices* initiatives that continue to give women the skills and resources they need to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries.

On November 19, 1997, the Adoption and Safe Families Act was signed by President Bill Clinton.

“**My domestic policy staff had worked tirelessly with Administration officials and congressional staffers to craft the new legislation, which included financial incentives to states, efforts to keep families together in appropriate circumstances and faster time frames for making permanent placement decisions and for terminating parental rights in cases of abuse and neglect. Passing this important legislation was instructive. We were learning that in working with a recalcitrant Congress, we could often move more expeditiously on a targeted issue, rather than on a broad initiative such as health care or welfare reform. The sweeping changes in federal adoption laws would speed up the placement of thousands of foster children like Deanne into safe permanent homes. ‘The legislation represents a fundamental shift in the philosophy of child welfare, from a presumption that the chief consideration ought to be returning a child to his biological parents, to one in which the health and safety of the child is paramount,’” *Washington Post* said.”

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

During Mrs. Clinton’s visits to countries outside of the United States, she offered support and encouragement to women by showing care. She was respectful of their cultures and their religion. The *Vital Voices* initiative provided women around the world the skills and resources they needed to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Even today the *Vital Voices* continue the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing female leaders across the globe. On the domestic front, Hillary’s staff worked hard on the Adoption and Safe Families Act.

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Discussion of Leadership Transformational Evidence -- Hillary Clinton –Activism for Human Rights for Women and Children

Examining First Lady Hillary Clinton’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Clinton accessed each of the transformational leadership components in her leadership in the context of her efforts on human rights for women and children. First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits, she met with women and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. Before Hillary took her trip to South Asia, she had already represented the United States in Copenhagen, at the United Nations World Summit for Social Development. At her address to the conference she emphasized her “conviction that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.” In her book, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* Clinton shared her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and she advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.213

Hillary Clinton’s position of First Lady provided her with ways to move issues that she never thought she could at an international level. In September of 1995, China

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was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go. The President was supportive, but he was also concerned—there were issues with Harry Wu and whether or not an appearance by the First Lady would advance the human rights issue or make it worse.”

Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 — when she declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" — inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton asserted herself as an advocate for the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim. As her chief of staff, Melanie Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

During the remainder of Hillary’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans

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in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.”

“With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Woman of the World.”

Hillary Clinton’s words and actions articulate a compelling vision of human rights as women’s rights.

Clinton’s vision was able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible and extended to an international level. During Hillary Clinton’s visits to countries outside of the United States, she offered support and encouragement to women by showing care. She was respectful of their cultures and their religion. The Vital Voices initiative provided women around the world the skills and resources they needed to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Even today the Vital Voices continues the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing women leaders across the globe. On the domestic front, Hillary’s staff worked hard on the Adoption and Safe Families Act.

**Conclusion**

This chapter provided the narrative for Hillary Clinton’s life and work and analyzed her words and actions through Bass Transformational Leadership attributes. Chapter 5 will provide the review of research questions of Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton and analyze their words and actions through Bass’ Transformational Leadership attributes.

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216 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION

Introduction

This dissertation examined how two First Ladies, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, have developed, promoted and advanced social change for our nation’s children and families to achieve measurable change and how they used the four components of Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory: Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration. Nancy Reagan’s years as First Lady in the White House spanned from 1981-1989, and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s from 1993-2001. The purpose of this study was to use documentary research to analyze their work and determine leadership characteristics displayed by these two First Ladies of the United States. In addition, the analysis includes how their backgrounds and upbringings, which provided a foundation for their leadership, are significantly related to their personal backgrounds, experiences and value judgments. This chapter has two parts. The first part revisits each of the five research questions and provides a summary of the findings and conclusions. The remainder of the chapter provides the reader with recommendations for further research, as this study was limited to two First Ladies.

According to Bass, transformational leadership “occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir employees to look beyond their
own self-interest for the good of the group.\(^1\) Hence, transformational leadership can be defined through the impact that it has on followers. Transformational leaders, Bass suggests, garner trust, respect and admiration from their followers. Bass also recommends four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style.\(^2\)

Table 9. Bass' Four Components of Transformational Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Idealized Influence</td>
<td>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspirational Motivation</td>
<td>Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Stimulation</td>
<td>The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualized Consideration</td>
<td>Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through the rigorous analysis of the words and actions of Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, as well as the words and actions of those who corresponded with Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, this study uncovered the aspects of transformational leadership they accessed in their leadership practices.

Now that Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton’s leadership as First Ladies has been researched and analyzed separately, this chapter answers this dissertation’s guiding


\(^2\) Bass, *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations*, 5
research questions in a final summary, discussion, and conclusion. Questions for further research are presented, as well as the implications for leaders in education.

**Research Questions**

This dissertation is guided by the following questions:

This study will contribute to the field of women’s leadership and to educational leadership by answering the following research questions:

1. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s backgrounds and upbringings provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families?

2. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s career paths prior to the White House provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote, and advance causes for children and families?

3. How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s roles as First Lady provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families?

4. How did the words and actions of these two First Ladies exemplify Bass’ four components of transformational leadership?

5. What are the implications of this research for women within the field of educational leadership?
Research Question 1

How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s backgrounds and upbringings provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families?

Nancy Reagan

Nancy Reagan’s background and upbringing influenced her entire life and provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families while First Lady of the United States of America from 1981-1989. Ann Frances Robbins was nicknamed “Nancy” early on. Nancy and her mother were so close that separation caused the little girl much unhappiness. In the first few years of her life she was fascinated with her mothers’ life in the theater. At the age of four Nancy was devastated to have to go live with her aunt and uncle in Maryland and she missed her mother dearly. Nancy vowed that if she ever had a little girl, she would never leave her. The experience of being away from her mother for five years had a profound effect on Nancy. The spells of loneliness from these separations account for Nancy Reagan’s more-than normal compassion for children who are hurting, as evidenced by her Foster Grandparents Program and her anti-drug-abuse crusade.

Nancy moved to Chicago with her mother and soon-to-be-her adoptive father, Dr. Loyal Davis. Dr. Davis allowed Nancy to become acclimated to him at her own pace. He was considered strict but fair and expected Nancy always to give her best effort, and she made every effort to live up to his expectations.\(^3\) As a young child she did everything

to please Dr. Davis. She even went to the hospital to observe his brain surgeries. On April 19, 1938, at the age of 16, Nancy filed a petition of adoption, and she also requested that her name be changed. Anne Francis Robbins legally became Nancy Davis.4

At a young age, Nancy had made the decision to pursue acting and follow in her mother’s footsteps. In her senior year she was cast and played the role of the future First Lady as the wife of a presidential candidate for the presidency and her character helped her husband win.5 Nancy made a promise to her father to complete at least one year of college before pursuing an acting career. She enjoyed Smith College so much that she stayed on, majoring in drama. Nancy graduated from Smith College on May 23, 1943, and returned to Chicago to stay with her mother until her father returned from the war.6 Nancy Davis worked as a sales clerk in the Marshall Fields Department store and later as a nurse's aide in Chicago. Nancy’s admiration and love for her parents would shape her political agenda. She wrote about her feelings regarding childrearing in a Saturday Post article,

> You do it with love. Love is the key. You try to make sure that your children realize that you have their best interests at heart. I feel sorry for young people today, this being the age of the antihero. Young people know they are missing something but cannot quite pinpoint what it is. This

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4 For accounts of Nancy Reagan’s early life see Novak, My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan, 78; Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation, “Nancy moves to Chicago.”

5 Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, “Nancy at Smith College.”

leads to intense frustration, a feeling that everything is wrong and nothing is right.\textsuperscript{7}

While First Lady of the United States, Nancy Reagan’s upbringing and background provided a foundation for her political agenda for the \textit{Foster Grandparents Program} and her \textit{Just Say No} campaign. Both of these initiatives developed, promoted and advanced causes for children and families. Such intense passions developed from those experiences early in her childhood. Nancy Reagan’s love and admiration for her parents also shaped her political agenda. As a young child she did everything to please Dr. Davis, her father. Nancy Reagan even went to the hospital to observe her father’s brain surgeries. She gained a great deal of insight into medicine and pain and suffering of others. At a young age, Nancy Reagan had made the decision to pursue acting and follow in her mother’s footsteps. During Nancy Reagan’s \textit{Just Say No} campaign she used her acting knowledge to build partnerships and support with other actors as well as make appearances on television sitcoms and programs to promote her cause.

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton’s background and upbringing influenced her entire life and provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families while First Lady of the United States of America from 1993-2001. Hillary Rodham was born into a middle-class family with strong conservative values that promoted self-reliance. Her childhood experiences were typical of the 1950s era. Her parents had a vast amount of influence on her beliefs and value system. In addition, Hillary’s mother, Dorothy Rodham, stressed with her children to the

\textsuperscript{7} Nancy Reagan, “Viva Foster Grandparents.”
importance of always maintaining their emotional equilibrium even under stress.

"Imagine having this carpenter’s level inside you," she said. "You try to keep that bubble in the center…" Hillary described her parents as, hardworking and rejecting the attitudes of entitlement, self-reliant and not self-indulgent. Hillary proved to be ambitions at an early age and was involved in a plethora of extracurricular activities. Hillary’s early education and experiences were a reflection of her successful career to come. She was the most highly decorated Girl Scout with merit badges, a National Merit Scholar, and demonstrated an early devotion to politics in her volunteerism as a Goldwater girl. In her youth, Hillary often went with her friends from her Sunday school class to visit the migrant workers in her community. “She realized early in her life how difficult the conditions were for the young children of these hard working families. They lacked proper healthcare and education, and yet they all had a sense of hope in their lives. This was just one of the many experiences that inspired Hillary and gave her life a sense of purpose.” Even as a child Hillary believed in terms of organizing constituents for her causes, establishing neighborhood carnivals or clothing drives for migrant workers. Her brother Hughie stated, “She would think things through to see what would be appealing to the group. We would just follow along as little brothers. She liked running things.”

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Hillary Rodham made history early in life as the first female to ever run for student council president at Maine Township High School. While she did not win, her endeavor suitably foreshadowed the future political confidence that would accentuate the intonation by which she lived: anything is possible. Her classmates were accurate predictors of her future when they voted Hillary Rodham “Most Likely to Succeed” in the 1965 senior superlative awards. While growing up in Park Ridge, Hillary was actively involved in the First United Methodist Church of Park Ridge. She credits her church affiliations as the force which “opened my eyes and heart to the needs of others and helped instill a sense of social responsibility rooted in my faith.”

Hillary Rodham’s mother wanted Hillary to have an independent, professional career, and her father, otherwise a traditionalist, was of the opinion that his daughter’s abilities and opportunities should not be limited by gender. Hillary made a decision to work in public service after hearing a speech in 1964 by the Reverend Martin Luther King. At the time when seventeen-year-old Hillary Rodham left Park Ridge, Illinois, for Wellesley College, her character had been already formed: a combination of intelligence and inquiring mind, ambition and idealism, reliance on financial independence and belief in the public service.

Hillary Rodham would further construct her political values and character during her undergraduate years at Wellesley University. Her political life began by following in her father’s Republican footsteps and she eventually went on to become the President of...

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12 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 21.

13 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 23.
the Young Republicans on Wellesley campus. It was midway through her undergraduate studies when she realized her closer alignment with the Democratic Party and its more liberal ideals and changed her political affiliation. She was voted the Class of 1969 Wellesley Student Body President and made a name for herself recognizing that, “The only way to make a real difference…is to acquire power.” At the end of the first year at Wellesley College, Hillary applied for and received the Wellesley Internship Program in Washington D.C. The program placed students in agencies and congressional offices to gain experience at “how government works.” Hillary Rodham was assigned to the House Republican Conference interning with a group of leaders including Minority Leader and Future President Gerald Ford, Congressmen Melvin Laird of Wisconsin and Charles Goodell of New York. At the end of her internship Hillary worked at the Republican Convention in Florida to work on Governor Rockefeller’s efforts for the Republican Presidential nomination for the Presidency.

Hillary Rodham graduated, with a bachelor’s degree in political science and departmental honors, from Wellesley College. At her 1969 college graduation Hillary was the first student to be a commencement speaker at Wellesley College catching national attention.

While First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton’s upbringing and background provided a foundation to her political agenda for developing her team “Hillaryland”, Healthcare Reform Initiative and advocacy for human rights for women and children. Hillary’s parents had a vast amount of influence on her beliefs, value

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14 Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 34.
system and establishing a great deal of self-reliance. Hillary’s childhood experiences gave her a sense of purpose, social responsibility and decision to work in the public service. Hillary Rodham would further construct her political values and character during her undergraduate years at Wellesley University and realize her closer alignment with the Democratic Party. Hillary Rodham graduated from Wellesley College. At her 1969 college graduation Hillary was the first student to be a commencement speaker at Wellesley College catching national attention. Hillary’s experiences during her attendance in an all-women’s college shaped her beliefs about developing and promoting women in leadership and developing her “Hillaryland” team in the White House.

**Research Question 2**

How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s career paths prior to the White House provide a foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote, and advance causes for children and families?

**Nancy Reagan**

Nancy Reagan career’s path, prior to the White House provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote, and advance causes for children and families. In her lifetime, Nancy Reagan held three distinctive careers, all flourishing under the glare of the spotlight. Her first was as an actress, the second as political wife, and the third as wife and First Lady to the 40th President of the United Stated, Ronald Reagan. In a very famous speech, that launched Ronald Reagan’s political career, he said,

> You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least
let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.\textsuperscript{15}

This speech not only launched President Ronald Reagan’s political career but also Nancy Reagan’s career as a politician’s wife and the First Lady of the United States. Not only did President Reagan have a rendezvous with destiny to become the 40\textsuperscript{th} President of the United States and to serve the American people for eight years, but Nancy Reagan embarked on her own transformational rendezvous with the American people and a destiny of her own that continues still today in preserving her husband’s legacy.

When Nancy Davis met Ronald Reagan, her mother predicted she would marry him because he had so many characteristics of her stepfather, Dr. Loyal Davis, a famed neurosurgeon. Both men, from small towns in Illinois, were crusaders with strong convictions for social justice. Before she had met Ronald Reagan, Nancy had looked up to her stepfather, whom she loved. Although, Nancy intended to give up her movie career to be a housewife and a mother she continued to act to support the family financially. “I learned a lot about how to be a wife, and about many other things, from my mother, Edith Luckett Davis. She had a profound influence on the woman I turned out to be, as did her second husband, Dr. Loyal Davis, whom I have always considered my true father.”\textsuperscript{16} Nancy wrote about being a wife and a mother,

We were so happy on our honeymoon, but the first year of our marriage was difficult. During that year we had our first child, Patti, who was born—go ahead and count—a bit precipitously but very joyfully, on October 22, 1952. I didn’t know much about being a parent, and I was an insecure mother. Then too, Ronnie’s career in Hollywood had trickled to a


Ronald Reagan was not getting roles in movies but was making guest appearances on various television shows. A few months after the birth of their first child, Patricia, Nancy took part in the film Donovan’s Brian. Nancy’s wish was to be a mother and a wife, and she said,

Oh, I wanted to give up my career. It’s the best decision I ever made. I’d seen too many marriages fail because both were in the business. Every day, you know, you’re told how dear and darling you are in the studio, and you come home and you want to be treated that way at home. And that’s not the way it is. But Ronnie never asked me to give up my career, I wanted to give up my career.18

The Reagans were reluctant at first to consider the governor’s race, but a group of wealthy Republicans were persistent. On January 4, 1966, Ronald Reagan declared his candidacy for the Republican nomination for Governor of California. Nancy was involved in her husband’s race and even traveled around the state giving speeches to seek voter support. “Despite her acting background, Nancy was somewhat shy, and was not enthusiastic about making speeches at first. She began by taking questions from an audience, and eventually came to enjoy campaigning on her own.”19 On January 3, 1967,

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18 Noonan, When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan, 77.

Ronald Reagan was sworn in as the governor of California. Nancy’s first priority as the First Lady of California was to get her family settled in Sacramento.

Mrs. Nancy Reagan’s political agenda really began when she was the First Lady of California. As the First Lady of California, Mrs. Reagan sought out worthwhile projects and causes to champion and adopt. She had always been interested in helping the sick due to her experiences being doctor’s daughter. As First Lady of California, she began visiting hospitals, and talking and listening to patients. She made regular visits to state institutions that cared for the elderly and physically and emotionally handicapped children. During one of these hospital visits in 1967, she observed participants in the Foster Grandparent Program, a program that brings groups together as a form of therapy for senior citizens and handicapped children, and she soon became its champion. She promoted the Foster Grandparent Program in California and, later, throughout the nation as a First Lady. In a March 1, 1982 article, in the Saturday Evening Post, Nancy Reagan writes about how she came about championing the Foster Grandparent Program during her time as First Lady of California:

I give a lot of my time to the Foster Grandparent Program because I really believe in it. Ever since I first observed it at work in the Pacific State Hospital in Pomona, California, in 1967, when my husband was governor, I have worked to expand this beautiful program. On that first day, I met a boy named George. It was instant love. He held my hand and followed me everywhere throughout the day. When it was time to leave,

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neither one of us wanted to let go, and we both cried. That was my introduction to the *Foster Grandparent Program*.22

When Mrs. Reagan first became interested in the *Foster Grandparents Program* there were 63 projects in existence. She continues, in her article, to speak about her efforts in supporting the program as First Lady of California:

> For 15 years, I have tried to focus public attention on the *Foster Grandparent Program*. When my husband was governor of California and I was out traveling with him, I would visit any Foster Grandparent project that happened to be around to see how they were working. I even interested the Australian government with the idea on one trip to that country with my husband. One of my last official luncheons in Sacramento was to honor these Grandparents.23

She went to her husband, Governor Reagan, for help in extending the program to all state hospitals. Mrs. Reagan’s efforts led the program to be expanded into other states as well.

The cause most important to Mrs. Reagan as First Lady of California was that of Vietnam War veterans (POW), prisoners of war, and soldiers missing in action (MIA). She visited wounded Vietnam veterans and became active in projects concerning POWs and servicemen missing in action. She wrote,

> I soon became involved in the issue of prisoners of war, and I corresponded and talked on the phone with many of the mothers, wives, and children of these men. The women I came to know were just amazing. In many cases they didn’t even know whether their husbands and sons were dead or alive. But they never gave up hope. When the POWs started coming home, Ronnie, Ron and I watched on television with tears streaming down our faces. ‘I can’t stand it,’ I said, ‘I’ve got to get my arms around those boys. We’ve got to do something for them.’24

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She was deeply grateful to those who had fought on behalf of the country, and dismayed that they were not welcomed home by the public as the heroes they were. Immediately after the Paris Peace Accords were signed on January 27, 1973, *Operation Homecoming* returned 591 prisoners of war who had been captured in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (two POWs from Vietnam and a Cold War POW were released from China). When the first plane landed in California returning POWs, Governor and Mrs. Reagan were waiting to honor their return. To welcome the soldiers’ home, Nancy organized several dinners in their homes in Sacramento and Los Angeles. Soldiers brought whoever they wanted to the dinner including their wives, parents, and children. “To this day, Nancy believes that the Reagans’ involvement with the POWs & MIAs was the high point of their years in Sacramento.”  

The compensation she received from her weekly newspaper column about military families was sent directly to the National League of Families of American Prisoners of War & Missing in Action.

By the end of 1968, Nancy had become confident in her role as the First Lady of California. The *Los Angeles Times* recognized Nancy Reagan as “Women of the Year” in the December 13, 1968 issue of the paper.  

The paper article was entitled “A Model First Lady.” The article commended her on doing an exemplary job, and navigating the position successfully and with dignity and poise.

Mrs. Reagan was described as “model First Lady in a job few women would envy for long if they understood the day in, day out grind that ceremonial duties can become. She was poised, friendly, informed,

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interested and beautifully turned out day after day, not just when she felt like it.  

During the 1980 primaries, presidential candidates’ spouses took on an increasing role in their husbands’ candidacy. Mrs. Reagan began to make her own appearances and offer remarks that reflected her husband's views on issues. In the 1984 presidential campaign, Nancy Reagan was particularly helpful through several televised debates. President Reagan had performed poorly in a previous debate, and Nancy asked his advisors not to ask him to remember endless statistics. The advisors took Nancy’s suggestions and President Reagan demonstrated greater effectiveness in the ensuing debate.

While First Lady of the United States, Nancy Reagan’s career path prior to the White House provided a foundation for Nancy Reagan’s activism in the causes of Foster Grandparents Program and her Just Say No campaign. Both of these initiatives developed, promoted and advanced causes for children and families during the years Mrs. Reagan served as the First Lady of the United States of America. Mrs. Reagan’s political agenda really was initiated when she was the First Lady of California when she began seeking out worthwhile projects and causes to champion and adopt. Even before Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States of America, it was clear that his wife, Nancy Reagan, would be President Reagan’s advocate, advisor and protector, demonstrating her strength within her own family.

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Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton’s career path prior to the White House provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote, and advance causes for children and families. In her lifetime, Hillary Clinton has held three distinctive careers all flourishing under the glare of the spotlight. Her first was as a lawyer, the second as a political wife, and the third as wife and First Lady to the fortieth President of the United Stated, Bill Clinton.

Hillary entered Yale Law School as one of a mere 27 female students. She became a powerhouse on campus and grew even more passionate about her political beliefs. Hillary Rodham’s acknowledgment of social injustice led her to work on behalf of many causes, but children’s issues have permanently been high on her political activism. During her time in law school, she worked with the Yale-New Haven Hospital to draft legal guidelines for the medical treatment of abused children. She also worked on behalf of the non-profit organization, Carnegie Council on Children, to write papers on the legal rights of minors. It was at Yale that Hillary’s unmatched determination and leadership skills soared as she continued to lead efforts to correct social ills. Her unique persona was visible on campus and caught the attention of not only her classmates, but also the future President of the United States Bill Clinton.

Hillary Rodham and Bill Clinton began dating in the spring of 1971. Bill Clinton was the perfect match because he was, as Hillary put it, “the one guy who wasn’t afraid of me.”28 Together, they cultivated a relationship that despite its imperfections has crafted a historical route to the highest political positions in the United States. Married on

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October 11, 1975, Hillary originally kept her maiden name Rodham. They formally began their political voyage when Bill Clinton won the May, 1976, primary for state attorney general and secured their legacy after Bill won the 1978 gubernatorial election. In 1976, Bill Clinton was elected as the Attorney General of Arkansas and the Clintons moved to Little Rock. Vince Foster of the Rose Law Firm offered Hillary Rodham Clinton a job in the litigation section of the firm. Hillary was the first woman associate hired by the firm and she became the first woman to become a partner in the firm in 1979. Hillary continued her advocacy for children through her law practice. She co-founded the Arkansas Advocate for Children and Families in 1977. President Jimmy Carter also appointed Hillary Rodham Clinton to serve on the board of the Legal Service Corporation in 1977 and, later, she chaired. *Time* magazine twice named Hillary Rodham Clinton as one of the top 100 lawyers, nationally. Hillary became accustomed to life in Arkansas easily. She made good friends and made a good name for herself in the local academic and legal communities.

During her 12 years as First Lady of the State of Arkansas, she served as Chairwoman of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, co-founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and served on the boards of the Arkansas Children's Hospital, and the Children's Defense Fund. As the First Lady, she played a role in advocating the establishment of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, the Adoption and Safe Families Act and The Foster Care Independence Act. Often I hosted social events at the Governor’s Mansion or presided over meetings of the Rural Health Advisory Committee, which Bill had asked me to chair as part of his effort to improve access to quality health care in rural Arkansas. I continued my involvement with Marian Wright Edelman
and the Children’s Defense Fund and commuted to Washington, D.C.,
every few months to chair board meetings. And based on my experience
and my work on his campaign, President Carter had appointed me to the
board of the Legal Services Corporation, a position for which I had to be
confirmed by the United States Senate. The Corporation was the nonprofit
federal program created by Congress and President Nixon that funded
legal assistance for the poor. I served with Mickey Kantor, a former legal
services lawyer who had represented migrant workers in Florida.  

While Chairwoman of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, Clinton
fought for teachers’ raises and mandatory competency tests for new and working
teachers. She was instrumental in developing the state’s first set of statewide curricular
standards in the 1980s. On July 28, 1983, she made her first speech before a committee
of the Arkansas Legislature. She spoke to the legislature about education being in
crisis. “The crisis, however, can become a great opportunity if the state addressed it
boldly and intelligently,” said Hillary. Even before Bill Clinton began his campaign
for the presidency in 1992, Hillary Clinton had become an accomplished attorney and
was commonly known in Democratic policymaking groups as a successful children's
advocate. Hillary Rodham Clinton became known to the American people in 1992 as she
defended her husband, Democratic presidential candidate and then Arkansas governor
Bill Clinton, on the television show 60 Minutes, in an interview with Steve Kroft. Hillary
accompanied her husband and announced to the nation that she was "not sitting here
because I'm some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette. I'm sitting here
because I love him and I respect him, and I honor what he's been through and what we've

29 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 83.
30 “First Lady Says Education Crisis can be Opportunity,”
31 “First Lady Says Education Crisis can be Opportunity,”
been through together." She further declared, "If that's not enough for people, then heck, don't vote for him." Even though Hillary’s performance on 60 Minutes saved her husband's candidacy, it placed her at the focus of a national debate. Supporters praised her strength and frankness while critics condemned her harshness and insensitivity to women who had "stood by their men." But Americans did vote for Bill Clinton, and in turn, they voted for her as well. In his campaign, Bill Clinton had assured the nation that if they elected him, they would essentially get "two for the price of one." Public opinion of Hillary Clinton was further divided during the 1992 campaign when she remarked, "I've done the best I can to lead my life. I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."32

While First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton’s career paths prior to the White House provided a foundation for Hillary Clinton’s activism in the cause of national healthcare reform and rights of women, children and families. Both of these initiatives developed, promoted and advanced causes for children and families. Hillary Rodham became passionate about her political beliefs during her years at Yale Law School. Hillary Rodham’s acknowledgement of social injustice led her to work on behalf of many causes especially children’s issues. Hillary Rodham joined the Rose Law Firm, becoming the first women associate hired by the firm and later the first woman to make partner in the firm. Hillary Rodham continued her advocacy for children through her law practice. Even before Bill Clinton began his campaign for the Presidency in 1992, Hillary Clinton had become an accomplished attorney and was commonly known in Democratic

32 Miller Center, “American President: A Reference Resource, Hillary Clinton.”
policymaking groups as a successful children’s advocate. Bill Clinton won the
Presidency becoming the forty-second President of the United States. When Americans
voted for President Clinton they also voted for Hillary Rodham Clinton. In his campaign,
Bill Clinton had assured the nation that if they elected him, they would essentially get
“two for the price of one.”33

Research Question 3

How did Nancy Reagan’s and Hillary Clinton’s role as First Lady provide a
foundation for each woman’s political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes
for children and families?

Nancy Reagan

Nancy Reagan’s role as First Lady provided a foundation for her political agenda
to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families in many ways. When
thinking about which First Ladies have expanded their role in the American presidency
by advocating for a social cause, modern First Ladies Nancy Reagan may not be the first
woman to come to mind. Nancy Reagan is often wrongfully overlooked when listing the
most empowering activist First Ladies in American history. Nancy Reagan was a creation
of her time and much of her orthodox viewpoint was reminiscent of the principles of the
generation that endorsed a traditional 1950s housewife. Even though she may not be
categorized among the liberated feminist leaders of the twentieth century, she does share
commonalities with their historical trailblazing due to her use of the First Lady’s platform

33 Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 105.
to effectively advocate on behalf of families, children and health issues. The work she began as the First Lady of the United States continues to be evidence of her influence.

From the beginning, First Lady Nancy Davis Reagan recognized the special privilege of the First Lady and she worked to ensure the success and legacy of her husband's presidency.

She believed that the wife of a President "genuinely has the power to make a difference" and advised her successors to remember that they would "never again be in this unique position to make such a contribution." She urged them to make their opinions known either to the President or to his staff. "In spite of a White House full of people taking care of various aspects of a President's life," she said, "you're the one who knows him best. You don't give up your right to an opinion just because you're married to the President." 34

Hence, Nancy Reagan's hard work and role as First Lady became that of an advisor, protector and a partner to her husband and President of the United States Ronald Reagan, as well as being an activist in her own right. Mrs. Reagan’s first year in the White House was marked by an assassination attempt on the President, battling her image in the public eye, and activism.

Even though she was everything to the President, Nancy Reagan was over and over again a target in the media. Although she was heavily criticized for her influence on her husband and her role as First Lady, she is also greatly credited for supporting the President with his efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union. In addition, Nancy Reagan’s most important policy assistance was in convincing her husband to concede

34 Miller Center University of Virginia, Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia, “American President: A Reference Resource-Nancy Reagan.”
publicly that he had made a mistake in secretly approving arms sales to Iran. At first, President Reagan refused to give in to this pressure but on March 4, 1987, he made a public speech apologizing for the arms sale. Nancy was diagnosed with breast cancer in October of 1987. Unbelievably, even her decision to have a mastectomy instead of a lumpectomy was criticized. In her 1989 memoirs, *My Turn*, Nancy Reagan wrote openly about her years as First Lady to protect her husband, Ronald Reagan, from physical harm, the ambition of those around him, and negative publicity.

When First Lady Nancy Reagan came to Washington, she began to focus public’s attention on the problem of drug abuse among young people. Her most famous cause was that of drug and alcohol abuse in teenagers. Her *Just Say No* campaign helped fuel the United States’ awareness of the ever-growing drug problem amongst adolescents. She spent time at rehabilitation centers and wrote special articles on the subject, making herself the top soldier in the war on drugs. She used her position to lobby against teen drug abuse, appearing at many school events to promote the issue. She traveled almost 250,000 miles throughout the nation, and overseas, to work with young people and their families. She appeared on television shows, taped public service announcements, and wrote articles. She concerned herself with both prevention and rehabilitation, and focused international attention on the topic when she spoke to an audience of first ladies from countries throughout the world at the United Nations. Myra Gutin, in her book, *President’s Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century*, described Mrs. Reagan efforts, “She brought the question of drug abuse to the forefront. Her star power and

35 Miller Center University of Virginia, Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia, “American President: A Reference Resource-Nancy Reagan.”
stage presence were key to the campaign.” Anne Edwards writes about the plan and purpose of the campaign and stated,

Her staff agreed that her new endeavor should bring her in contact with the people with drug-related problems, not just the agencies. Above all her staff wanted to humanize her and her program.37

The executive staff idea was to have Mrs. Reagan visit schools, hospitals, and drug centers. During the visit she would give a short speech and interact with the children and the adults.38 A camera crew accompanied Mrs. Reagan to capture the encounters and the most moving were then circulated to the news agencies. At the end of Mrs. Reagan’s first year as First Lady, her Just Say No campaign was solid. She would consistently visit school and treatment centers and give interviews to the press stating her views on young people and drugs. Mrs. Reagan’s aides had felt that she needed a substantial and meaningful project, but fighting drug abuse was one that was Mrs. Reagan’s own personal choice.39 Although at first, her aides were not sure that the program was the right one, they saw the Just Say No Campaign to be more relevant than the Foster Grandparent Program. Anne Edwards writes about the conviction in the staff in moving the program forward,

From the moment that she appeared at the first school to ask the kids to “just say no” to drugs no matter who offered them or how much peer

36 Myra Gutin, The President’s Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century, 225.


pressure was exerted, her team knew she had been right. This was the program for her.\footnote{Edwards, \textit{The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage}, 254.}

Sheila Tate, her press secretary recalled,

> When she could sit with a child...those big eyes focus on a kid and the kid finds himself telling his whole life story to her, and the both sit there and cry, but when she leaves, the kid can say, “You know, here’s someone so important, and she cares about me. And that’s the feeling they got from that. That started building.....And she was taking that camera, that media spotlight, and turning it around and focusing it on the issue, which is something she cared about.\footnote{Edwards, \textit{The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage}, 254; Wallace, \textit{First Lady}, p. 102.}

In an interview with \textit{Good Morning America} in November, 1981, Mrs. Reagan said,

> her best role is to try to bring public awareness, particularly parental awareness, to the problems of drug abuse” because “understanding what drugs can do to your children, understanding peer pressure and understanding why they turn to drugs is...the first step in solving the problem.\footnote{Good Morning America, “Nancy Reagan.”}

In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement; all those things that have to be there [to combat the use of drugs by minors]. Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”\footnote{Edwards, \textit{The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage}, 254.} Nancy Reagan used her innate grace, her Hollywood charm and acting career and her childhood experiences in her efforts to personalize the war on drugs and seeking to stamp out drug abuse in America. President Reagan wrote about his support of Nancy’s efforts on the \textit{Just Say No} Campaign in a letter on July 14, 1986, to Mr. Richard G. Capen, Jr. In the letter, President Reagan stated,
It’s apparent that Nancy has been on the right track. We must concentrate on taking the customer away from the drugs. The other way won’t solve the problem. We are studying now how a nationwide effort can be mobilized. Whatever we come up with I know the news media will play an important role and I’m happy to know of your own interest and concerns.\textsuperscript{44}

First Lady Nancy Reagan took her \textit{Just Say No} crusade primetime, made appearances on television talk shows, recorded public service announcements, and wrote guest articles.\textsuperscript{45} In 1983, she cohosted a two-hour program with host David Hartman on \textit{Good Morning America}.

Nancy Reagan’s real reward is the opportunity to promote her favorite cause—the fight against drug and alcohol abuse among the young. The timing of the broadcast, which had been planned for months, turns out to be advantageous. Washington has been buzzing about Nancy Reagan’s health, tying rumors of illness and low morale to her husband’s re-election plans. There is no better antidote for the speculation than 26 hours in the New York media glare…. The guests are a mix of experts, worried parents and addicts who have gone straight. Though Nancy has been pursuing this cause for two years, she does not pretend to scientific expertise. Her role is to draw attention to the dangers, to persuade parents and teen-agers to get professional help quickly. Her questions this morning are simple. "When was it," she asks a former N.F.L. player who finally conquered the habit, "that you realized that you had to do something?" Over and over again she gets youngsters to acknowledge that peer pressure started them on the road to addiction.\textsuperscript{46}

In 1983, First Lady Nancy Reagan appeared in an episode of the hit television drama \textit{Dynasty} to accentuate support for the anti-drug campaign. As she continued to


\textsuperscript{45} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\textsuperscript{46} Barrett, “The First Lady Hits the Road.”
promote *Just Say No*, she appeared in an episode of the popular 1980s sitcom *Diff'rent Strokes*, Season 5, Episode 22\(^{47}\) In the episode, as a reporter for the school newspaper, Arnold learns that drugs are being sold on school grounds. This attracts the concern of First Lady Nancy Reagan, who comes to the school to talk about her anti-drug campaign. Mrs. Reagan appeared in a rock music video, *"Stop the Madness."*\(^{48}\) *Stop the Madness* was an anti-drug music video that uniquely endorsed and supported by United States President Ronald Reagan and the Reagan administration. The main star of the video was First Lady Nancy Reagan. Mrs. Reagan appeared twice in the *Stop the Madness* video which appeared on January 16, 1986. When asked about her campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it"\(^{49}\) She also appeared in a Super Bowl commercial.

In 1985, Mrs. Reagan held a two-day briefing for 17 international first ladies, which focused on the international problem of drug and alcohol dependency. On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the, "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses.\(^{50}\) Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address, with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse. This joint


\(^{48}\) “Stop the Madness,” Produced by B. L. Dyak, and W. N. Utz, Motion Picture Association, 2005.

\(^{49}\) You Tube, “Tribute to Nancy Reagan.”

\(^{50}\) National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
address by the Reagans marked the start of the administration’s campaign against illegal narcotics which included legislative proposals and recommendations for increased Federal spending. The Reagans involvement in speaking with the American people signaled recognition that public and political interest in the drug issue was growing.

In October, 1988, Nancy Reagan became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws. In her speech, Nancy Reagan told the United Nations that,

The United States must do more to solve its drug problem itself through stricter law enforcement and education. The United States should stop blaming developing countries that produce most of the illegal drugs consumed by Americans… We need to educate a generation to 'just say no' to drugs,…If we lack the will to fully mobilize the forces of law in our own country to arrest and punish drug users, if we cannot stem the American demand for drugs, then there will be little hope of preventing foreign drug producers from fulfilling that demand,…We will not get anywhere if we place a heavier burden of action on foreign governments than on America's own mayors, judges and legislators. You see the cocaine cartel does not begin in Medellin, Colombia. It begins in the streets of New York, Miami, Los Angeles and every American city where crack is bought and sold.

As First Lady, Nancy Reagan emphasized that the United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world.

These data illustrate the many ways Nancy Reagan’s role as First Lady provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children

51 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

and families. Nancy Reagan used the First Lady’s platform to advocate effectively on behalf of families, children and health issues. From the beginning, First Lady Nancy Davis Reagan, recognized the special privilege of being First Lady, and she worked to ensure the success and legacy of her husband’s Presidency. Nancy Reagan’s hard work and role as First Lady became that of an advisor, protector and a partner to her husband, the President of the United States of America Ronald Reagan, as well as being an activist for the *Foster Grandparents Program* and *Just Say No* campaign. The *Just Say No* campaign was Nancy Reagan’s own personal choice, and the campaign helped fuel the United States’ awareness of the ever-growing drug problem amongst adolescents and the need to educate young people about the effects of drugs. Through the power of her vision and personality, it is clear that First Lady Nancy Reagan inspired followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals of her anti-drug campaign.

After leaving the White House on January 20, 1989, Mrs. Reagan continued her work and legacy. That year, she wrote her memoirs entitled *My Turn*, published by Random House. To continue to support educational drug prevention programs, she created the Nancy Reagan Foundation to continue her campaign to educate people about the serious dangers of substance abuse.\(^{53}\) In 1994, the Nancy Reagan Foundation joined efforts with the BEST Foundation For A Drug-Free Tomorrow and developed the Nancy Reagan Afterschool Program, a drug prevention and life-skills program for youth. She

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\(^{53}\) National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
continued to travel domestically and internationally, speaking out on the harmful effects of drugs and alcohol.

In 1994, former President Ronald Reagan was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease and the Reagans funded the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois for research into the illness, an affiliate of the National Alzheimer’s Association.\(^{54}\) Mrs. Reagan is still actively involved with the national Alzheimer’s Association and its affiliate, the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois. When President Ronald Reagan died in June 2004, Nancy accompanied his casket from the Reagan Presidential Library and Museum in California to his state funeral in Washington, D.C. The eighty-two-year-old widow then returned to the grounds of the presidential library, where her husband was buried. Since former President Reagan's death, Mrs. Reagan became an outspoken public advocate for stem cell research.\(^{55}\)

In recent years, Mrs. Reagan has devoted her time to serving on the board and working on the projects of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California. The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to developing and fostering President Reagan’s Four Pillars of Freedom: preserving individual liberty, promoting economic opportunity, advancing democracy around the world, and instilling pride in our national heritage. On June 2, 2009, Nancy Reagan joined President Obama as he signed the Ronald Reagan Centennial

\(^{54}\) National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\(^{55}\) National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
Commission honoring Ronald Reagan’s memory. Throughout her long and celebrated marriage to Ronald Reagan, she was a guide and trusted friend. Her closest aide, Michael Deaver, said, “Without Nancy Reagan, there would have been neither a Governor Reagan nor a President Reagan.”

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton’s role as First Lady provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, to promote and advance causes for children and families in numerous ways. Hillary Rodham Clinton’s public service journey has been long, difficult, and weary at times, yet she has evolved into one of the most powerful and influential women in the United States and around the world. She has left an extraordinary and a very unprecedented impression on the First Lady American History. Hillary Rodham Clinton’s involvement in the Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force changed the role of the First Lady and the American Presidency by demonstrating that the West Wing was no longer a sacred office, reserved solely for the President of the United States’ advisors.

The inauguration of the 42nd President of the United States took place on January 20, 1993, at the United States Capitol. President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore took over from the outgoing President George H. W. Bush and outgoing Vice President Dan Quayle. Hillary Clinton’s first job in the White House was to recruit staffers, pick office space and learn the intricacies of the traditional First Lady duties. As the nation’s First Lady, Hillary continued to balance public service with private life. One of the most

56 PBS, “Reagan.”
important goals of Bill Clinton as President was to create a system of universal health care. The idea was to combine government controls and the competitive marketplace, taking the elements of both, to limit the health care costs. Hillary’s experience in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and health care, made it natural for her, to focus her energy and talents on this health care reform. In 1993, the President asked his wife, to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. Hillary Clinton broke tradition even further: the President gave her an office on the second floor of the West Wing itself; her staff of twenty (plus another fifteen interns and volunteers) were divided between a suite in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building and the traditional locus of the East Wing.\(^\text{57}\)

In Living History, Hillary Clinton explains how she would be involved in multiple agendas that related to women, children, and families and how she would access the talents and leadership abilities of her staff, who were recognized as part of the Clinton Administration.

These physical and staff changes were important if I was going to be involved in working on Bill’s agenda, particularly as it related to issues affecting women, children and families. The people I hired were committed to the issues and to the idea that government could and should be a partner in creating opportunities for people who were willing to work hard and take responsibility. Most of them came out of the public sector or from organizations committed to improving economic, political and social conditions for the underrepresented and the underprivileged. Before long, my staff was recognized within the administration and by the press as active and influential, due in large part to the leadership of Maggie and Melanne Verveer, my Deputy Chief of Staff. \(^\text{58}\)

\(^{57}\) The White House“First Lady’s Office, The White House Museum.

\(^{58}\) Clinton, Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton, 124-125.
Hillary Rodham Clinton’s core group of advisors were self-designated “Hillaryland” when she was First Lady of the United States and again when, as United States Senator, she was one of the Democratic Party candidates for President in the 2008 election. Many years later, Hillary Clinton’s staff were described and written about in a June, 2007, Washington Post article. In the article, Tamara Luzzatto recalls and describes the infrastructure of Hillary’s staff and their dedication to see her succeed.

All of a sudden, I had the equivalent of a board of trustees -- an infrastructure that was integral to how she did business,” recalls Luzzatto, who continues as Clinton’s top Senate aide. "They knew what made her tick, how she thought, how to present advice to her -- with everyone united in a determination to see her do well. It was certainly a new experience. 59

After Hillary left the White House, her “Hillaryland” team reconvened to help then Senator Clinton map her unprecedented efforts to campaign for the Presidency. She had encountered controversy from the start of her tenure. Hillary Clinton was an easy target for the political opposition, taking a more overtly political role than any of her predecessors. Much as Nancy Reagan had served as a target for her husband's opponents, so too did Hillary Clinton become a target for those who disagreed with the Administration. By the fall of 1993, there was a moment for serious action on healthcare, and polls showed overwhelming public support for reform. 60 The “Hillaryland” group was very joyous and “one member of the First Lady’s loyal staff crowed to Maureen Dowd, ‘This is Eleanor Roosevelt time!” 61

But an insurance industry lobbying group,

59 Romano, “The Gurus-Clinton’s other Family, Gatekeepers of Hillaryland.”
60 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
61 Milton, The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton, 305.
HIAA, had filmed a series of ads featuring a couple named Harry and Louise. In the ad, the characters, Harry and Louise, were discussing their worries about how the reform would effect them.\textsuperscript{62} Congress also was furious that they had been left out of the process and were more than skeptical of the reform’s premises. The Healthcare Task Force report, which was not ready at launch date, was 1,342 pages. As Clinton’s budgetary process took center stage, the healthcare efforts were put lower on the Clinton Administration priority list. In addition, the United States troops had been attacked in Somalia, and the passage of NAFTA legislation and the crisis in Bosnia, were at the forefront of President Clinton’s work. Healthcare reform never went to vote and the Clintons were disappointed as well as discouraged. Hillary Clinton acknowledged her failure and took responsibility for the drawbacks and the failure. Hillary Rodham Clinton’s leadership of the White House Healthcare Task Force concluded unsuccessfully lacking an agreement of health care reform during the Clinton Administration. The lessons learned from the movement served the purpose of laying the groundwork for the future. For virtually a century, presidents and members of Congress had tried and failed to provide universal health benefits to Americans. On March 23, 2010, after a year of epic debate between Republicans and Democrats, President Obama signed legislation into law that is remaking the nation’s health care system. During Clinton’s Presidency several smaller health bills were signed into law. Mrs. Clinton and her administrative staff led successful bipartisan efforts to improve the adoption and foster care systems, 

\textsuperscript{62} Milton, \textit{The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton}, 305.
reduce teen pregnancy, and provide health care to millions of children through the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Hillary was not blind to the public criticism and began to retool both her role in her husband's administration and the image the public had of her. By 1995, she had moved out of the policymaking spotlight of major domestic reform, choosing instead to focus on the rights of women and children. In 1996, Hillary published the book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it. In the book, Clinton shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs. Overall, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* was a great success. The book provided the First Lady with a warmer image that erased much of the bad feeling over the health care debacle. She also traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy and civil society.

In late March of 1995, First Lady Hillary Clinton took her first official trip overseas with her daughter, Chelsea. During that trip she visited five countries in South Asia over twelve days. During her visit to New Delhi, India Mrs. Clinton made a speech on women’s rights at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Mrs. Clinton had struggled with writing clear image that would express what she wanted to say. She had attended a

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63 Clinton, *It Takes a Village And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.

64 Milton, *The First Partner Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 344.
women’s luncheon with the principal of the school, Lady Sri Ram College, Meenakshi Gopinath. The principal had given her a poem written by one of her students, Anasuya Sengupta, called “Silence” and it began:

Too many women
In too many countries
Speak the same language.
Of silence....

The poem helped the First Lady to develop the theme, “Voices of Women,” that would become well-known and used in other speeches she made around the world. Hillary wrote,

I couldn’t get the poem out of my head. As I worked on my speech late into the night, I realized that I could use the poem to convey my belief that issues affecting women and girls should be integrated fully into domestic and foreign policy decisions. Denying or curtailing education and basic health care for women is a human rights issue. Restricting women’s economic, political and social participation is a human rights issue. For too long, the voices of half the world’s citizens have not been heard by their governments. The “Voices of Women” became the theme, and I decided to end my speech by quoting the poem…

We seek only to give words
To those who cannot speak
(too many women in too many countries)
I seek only to forget
The sorrows of my grandmother’s
Silence

The poem struck a chord with the audience members, many of whom were touched that I would draw on the thoughts of a schoolgirl to evoke the condition of women everywhere. Anasuya, lovely, humble and shy in the face of all the publicity her poem generated, was astounded that women all over the globe were requesting copies of it.  

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65 Clinton, Living History Hillary Rodham Clinton, 277.

66 Clinton, Living History Hillary Rodham Clinton, 277-278.
In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go. The President was supportive, but he was also concerned—there were issues with Harry Wu regarding whether or not an appearance by the First Lady would advance the human rights issue or make it worse.”

Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" – inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. As First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton, asserted herself as an advocate for the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition, she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim. “Her address was an epiphany for the UN delegates, who erupted in rapturous applause. The Chinese officials sat in rigid silence. For Hillary herself, it was a turning point.”

After the conference the First Lady’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, observed the First Lady Clinton undergo an evolutionary process. Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her


office provides her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

During the remainder of Hillary’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.”

“With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Woman of the World.”

In 1997, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright established the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, to promote the advancement of women as a U.S. foreign policy goal. The United States government partner, under the leadership of the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative, with several organizations (United Nations, the World Bank, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Union and other governments) to coordinate Vital Voices conferences throughout the world, bringing together thousands of emerging female leaders from over 80 countries. These conferences launched regional Vital Voices initiatives that continue to give women the skills and resources they need to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Mrs. Clinton was the keynote speaker in Vienna at a forum entitled “Vital Voices: Women in

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70 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 277.

71 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 278.

72 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 278.
Democracy”. The positive response to the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative led to the creation of Vital Voices Global Partnership as a nonprofit non-governmental organization (NGO) in June, 2000. Today, Vital Voices continues the work of advancing women's economic, political and social status around the world, as well as training and organizing female leaders across the globe.

In 1999, Hillary Rodham Clinton officially declared herself a candidate for to run for the position of U. S. Senator, and on November 7, 2000, she became the first First Lady ever elected to public office, winning a U.S. Senate seat for New York State. As an advocate for her state, Senator Clinton led a bipartisan effort to bring broadband access to rural communities; co-sponsored the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act; included language in the Energy Bill to provide tax exempt bonding authority for environmentally conscious construction projects; and, introduced an amendment calling for funding of new job creation to repair, renovate and modernize public schools.

‘I am in, and I’m in to Win’ With that supremely confident pronouncement, Hillary Rodham Clinton took the first bold step toward becoming America’s first female president. Her declaration came in an email message that landed in millions of Americans’ in-boxes at 10:00 a.m. sharp on Saturday, January 20, 2007.73

Hillary Rodham Clinton was the only wife of a President, to enter any type of electoral race on a national level. This also set the unusual precedent of a First Lady being elected to the United States Senate; since no other woman before, who had been First Lady, had stood for public office.

73 Gerth and Don Van Natta Jr., The Hopes and Ambitions of Hillary Rodham Clinton, Her Way, 4.
On June 3, 2008, Hillary Clinton delivered a stirring concession speech in Washington, D.C. to her supporters, emphasizing that she was not interested in having a cult personality following, but in her party achieving dramatic change in the executive branch. She addressed the National Democratic Convention and endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama. Throughout the fall, she campaigned vigorously on Obama’s behalf and, after he won the 2008 election, he named her as his Secretary of State. In January of 2009, Hillary Clinton became the 67th Secretary of State. Hillary is the third woman and the only former First Lady to serve in this capacity. The position’s duties are to serve as the primary advisor to the President on foreign affairs and enact presidential policy decisions through her department, which included the U.S. Foreign Service. A great part of Secretary Clinton’s public role is leading or joining global conferences and other international meetings on a variety of issues. As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton has focused special attention, beyond her required duties, to focus on the international rights of women, economic empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world, and has held “town hall” type meetings with direct questioning from the public, whether in the United States or other countries.

These data illustrate the many ways Hillary Clinton’s role as First Lady provided a foundation for her political agenda to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families. Hillary Clinton used the First Lady’s platform to effectively advocate on behalf of families, children, women and health issues. Hillary Clinton’s involvement in the Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force changed the role of the First Lady

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U.S. Department Diplomacy in action, “Hillary Rodham Clinton Secretary of State.”
and the American Presidency by demonstrating that the West Wing was no longer a scared office, reserved solely for the President of the United States’ advisors. Hillary Clinton became an advocate of healthcare reform and worked on many issues relating to children and families. Even though Hillary Rodham Clinton’s leadership of the White House Healthcare Task Force concluded unsuccessfully, the lessons learned from the movement served the purpose of laying the groundwork for the future. Mrs. Clinton led successful efforts to improve the adoption and foster care systems, reduce teen pregnancy, and provide healthcare to millions of children through the Children’s Health Insurance Program. She traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy and civil society. Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 when she declared that “human rights are women’s rights, and women’s rights are human rights”-inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. As First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton, asserted herself as an advocate for the world’s women and children. In 1997, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright established the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women to promote the advancement of women as a United States foreign policy goal. Today, Vital Voices continues the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing women leaders across the globe. In January of 2009, Hillary Clinton became the 67th Secretary of State. As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton has continued her focus on
international rights of women, economic, empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world.

First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton both demonstrated and influenced women’s leadership by advocating for a cause, acting as the White House hostess, influencing policy and playing a significant role in their husband’s Presidential Administrations. Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton’s activism in moving social agendas focused on children, women and families. They were able to exert political power at national and even international fronts.

**Research Question 4**

How did the words and actions of these two First Ladies exemplify Bass’ four components of transformational leadership?

The leadership behaviors demonstrated by Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton were identified through primary and secondary source reference materials. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather words and actions of the First Ladies. These words and actions were viewed through the lens of Bass Transformational Leadership framework in order to conduct the analysis. The established leadership behaviors were examined through the lens of The Leadership Theory of Bernard Bass’ four components of transformational leadership: Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration.75

This research also compared different kinds of documentary sources to each other in order to make connections. According to Taylor and Bogdon (1998), “triangulation is

a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, and in order to gain a
deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people involved.” The research used numerous primary and secondary sources pertaining to the First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton to understand their transformational leadership. The primary and secondary sources will be analyzed to determine the applications of Bass’ four components of transformational leadership to the First Ladies words and actions. Bass’ four components provided the conceptual framework for analyzing the work of the First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton.

Analysis

Bass defines transformational leadership traits through the four components. Transformational leadership is a form of leadership style that leads to positive changes in those who follow. Transformational leaders are able to get things done by their energetic nature, enthusiasm and passion. Not only are these leaders concerned and involved in the process; they are also focused on helping every member of the group succeed as well. According to Bass transformational leadership “occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.” Hence, transformational leadership can be defined through the impact that it has on followers. Transformational leaders, Bass

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76 Taylor and Bogdan, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods 3rd ed., 80.

suggests, garner trust, respect and admiration from their followers. Bass also recommends four interrelated components of transformational leadership that he views necessary for leaders to move into the transformational leadership style. Through the power of their vision and personality, transformational leaders are able to inspire followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals.

Through the rigorous analysis of the words and actions of Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton as well as the words and actions of those who corresponded with Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton in their life as First Ladies, this study has uncovered the aspects of Transformational Leadership they accessed in their leadership practices.

Transformation Leadership Components Evidence: Nancy Reagan-Activism

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Nancy Reagan demonstrated when championing for drug abuse education and starting the “Just Say No” Campaign, 1981-1986. She elevated the interest of a nation and the use of drugs among youth dropped considerably. She gave 14 speeches to generate awareness and making her vision known. This researcher has classified Nancy Reagan’s words and actions into one of the four components of Transformational Leadership.

78 Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."
Table 10. Nancy Reagan’s Transformational Leadership-Activism—*Just Say No* Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence</th>
<th>A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>“A little girl raised her hand,” and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you <em>just say no.</em>’ And there it was born.”79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Her staff agreed that her new endeavor should bring her in contact with the people with drug-related problems, not just the agencies. Above all her staff wanted to humanize her and her program.”80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Actions             | Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “*Just Say No,*” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.81 |
|                     | James Rosebush was her chief of staff and James and Sheila Tate would be part of Mrs. Reagan’s staff for five years. |
|                     | A name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School. |
|                     | Slogan for the Campaign is established. |
|                     | The executive staff idea was to have Mrs. Reagan visit schools, hospitals, and drug centers. During the visit she would give a short speech and interact with the children and the adults.82 |

| How is the component established through the words and actions? | Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “*Just Say No,*” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.83 |
|                                                               | A name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School. “A little girl raised her hand,” and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody |

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79 Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."


“Offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you just say no.’ And there it was born.”84

Mrs. Reagan’s phrase articulated the vision and the inspiration for the drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but even 30 years later the slogan is used across the country.

**Inspirational Motivation** - Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Words</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Drugs take away the dream from every child’s heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it’s time we in America stand up and replace those dreams.” - Nancy Reagan</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Actions</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne Edwards wrote about the conviction in the staff in moving the program forward,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“From the moment that she appeared at the first school to ask the kids to “just say no” to drugs no matter who offered them or how much peer pressure was exerted, her team knew she had been right. This was the program for her.”86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sheila Tate, recalled, “When she could sit with a child...those big eyes focus on a kid and the kid finds himself telling his whole life story to her, and they both sit there and cry, but when she leaves, the kid can say, ‘You know, here’s someone so important, and she cares about me.’ And that’s the feeling they got from that. That started building....And she was taking that camera, that media spotlight, and turning it around and focusing it on the issue, which is something she cared about.”87

She asked Americans to join in the national crusade.

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

Mrs. Reagan words and actions motivated her followers (the people of America) to hear her vision and to motivate them to take part in joining the crusade against drugs.

**Intellectual Stimulation** - The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

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84 Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."
When asked about her campaign, the first lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it."  

“In 1986, when the president signed a proclamation creating the first official "Just Say No to Drugs Week," Nancy Reagan spoke from the heart when she said, "Someone asked me if I wanted to make a New Year’s wish, and I said yes- and it was that I’d like to see every young person in the world join the 'Just Say No' to drugs club. Well, just the fact that Congress has proclaimed "Just Say No Week’ and in light of all the activities taking place, it seems that my wish is well on its way to coming true.”

By 1988 more than 12,000 "Just Say No" clubs had been formed across the country and around the world. The results were encouraging: cocaine use by high-school seniors dropped by one-third, the lowest rate in a decade.

“...Just the fact that Congress has proclaimed "Just Say No Week’ and in light of all the activities taking place, it seems that my wish is well on its way to coming true.”

Mrs. Reagan’s vision encouraged her followers to set up 12,000 “Just Say No” clubs and in turn the use of drugs decreased by one-third, being the lowest in a decade. Her influence was noted in the progress the country had made in increasing drug awareness and decreasing its use.

When asked about her campaign, the first lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it”.

14 anti-drug speeches were given in 1984 by First Lady Nancy Reagan.

“Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there [to combat the use of drugs by minors]. Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”

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90 Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."
91 You Tube, “Tribute to Nancy Reagan.”
“Many of you may be thinking: "Well, drugs don't concern me.” But it does concern you. It concerns us all because of the way it tears at our lives and because it's aimed at destroying the brightness and life of the sons and daughters of the United States. Now you can see why drug abuse concerns every one of us—all the American family. Drugs steal away so much. They take and take, until finally every time a drug goes into a child, something else is forced out—like love and hope and trust and confidence. Drugs take away the dream from every child's heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it's time we in America stand up and replace those dreams. Each of us has to put our principles and consciences on the line, whether in social settings or in the workplace, to set forth solid standards and stick to them. There's no moral middle ground. Indifference is not an option. We want you to help us create an outspoken intolerance for drug use. For the sake of our children, I implore each of you to be unyielding and inflexible in your opposition to drugs… So, to my young friends out there: Life can be great, but not when you can't see it. So, open your eyes to life: to see it in the vivid colors that God gave us as a precious gift to His children, to enjoy life to the fullest, and to make it count. Say yes to your life. And when it comes to drugs and alcohol just say no.”

In 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws. She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received and afterwards delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations from the delegates.

“State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America's own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”

### Actions

“The crusade made serious demands on her time: 110 appearances and fourteen anti-drug speeches in 1984 alone. Her intense effort to fight school-age drug and alcohol abuse took her to sixty-five cities in thirty-three states and nine foreign countries. She also invited the spouses of two dozen heads of state to a three-day anti-drug forum in Washington and Atlanta.”

In April, 1985, Nancy invited the First Ladies of various nations to the White House for a conference on drug abuse extending the campaign to an international level.

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the, "National Crusade for a Drug Free America” anti-drug abuse bill into law, which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal

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93 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."


95 Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."

96 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

97 National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."
victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address, with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse.

In October, 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.\textsuperscript{98}

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\textbf{How is the component established through the words and actions?} \\
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Mrs. Reagan’s involvement in the drug campaign led her to make over 100 appearances and fourteen speeches in which she supported and encouraged her followers through her words, offering encouraging phrases and sharing their stories. In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there [to combat the use of drugs by minors]. Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”\textsuperscript{99}

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses.\textsuperscript{100} Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address, with the President, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse.

Mrs. Reagan, in her address, talked about how drugs concern all of us and that we must set solid standards against drugs and “Just Say No”.

In October, 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.\textsuperscript{101}

She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received, and afterwards, delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations. “State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America’s own demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”\textsuperscript{102}

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\end{table}

\textsuperscript{98} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\textsuperscript{99} Edwards, \textit{The Reagans Portrait of a Marriage}, 254.

\textsuperscript{100} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\textsuperscript{101} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\textsuperscript{102} Lewis, “Nancy Reagan, at U.N., Says U.S. Must Do More to Combat Drugs.”
Discussion of Leadership Transformation Evidence-- Nancy Reagan’s *Just Say No* Campaign Analysis

Examining First Lady Nancy Reagan’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Reagan accessed each of the components in her leadership in the context of the *Just Say No* campaign. Nancy Reagan as First Lady had an executive staff which included Sheila Tate and five others. During a weekly Monday morning meeting, Nancy Reagan with her executive staff decided that “*Just Say No,*” was to be the name for Nancy’s newly begun antidrug program.  

This name for her cause was chosen after she met with school children in Oakland, California, at Oakland Elementary School. “A little girl raised her hand,” and said, “Mrs. Reagan, what do you do if somebody offers you drugs?” And Mrs. Reagan said, ‘well, you just say no.’ And there it was born.”  

When asked about her campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it" Mrs. Reagan’s involvement in the drug campaign led her to make over 100 appearances and fourteen speeches in which she supported and encouraged her followers through her words, offering encouraging phrases and sharing their stories.  

In her speeches she would tell parents, “Money doesn’t buy love or affection or attention or involvement, all those things that have to be there (to combat the use of drugs by minors). Only people provide those things, and, particularly, parents.”

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103 Edwards, *The Reagans, Portrait of a Marriage,* 249.


Mrs. Reagan’s phrase articulated the vision and the inspiration for drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but, even 30 years later, the slogan is used across the country. Through her many appearances and anti-drug speeches she captured the attention of youths and, in fact, the entire nation. During her campaign 12,000 Just Say No clubs were established and Congress established Just Say No Week.

On October 27, 1986, President Reagan signed the "National Crusade for a Drug Free America" anti-drug abuse bill into law, which granted $1.7 billion in funding to fight the crisis and ensured a mandatory minimum penalty for drug offenses. Even though the bill was criticized by some, it was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse. Mrs. Reagan in her address, talked about how drugs concern all of us and to set solid standards against drug and to Just Say No.

Many of you may be thinking: "Well, drugs don't concern me." But it does concern you. It concerns us all because of the way it tears at our lives and because it's aimed at destroying the brightness and life of the sons and daughters of the United States. Now you can see why drug abuse concerns every one of us—all the American family. Drugs steal away so much. They take and take, until finally every time a drug goes into a child, something else is forced out—like love and hope and trust and confidence. Drugs take away the dream from every child's heart and replace it with a nightmare, and it's time we in America stand up and replace those dreams. Each of us has to put our principles and consciences on the line, whether in social settings or in the workplace, to set forth solid standards and stick to them. There's no moral middle ground. Indifference is not an option. We want you to help us create an outspoken intolerance for drug use. For the sake of our children, I implore each of you to be unyielding and inflexible in your opposition to drugs... So, to my young friends out there: Life can be great, but not when you can't see it. So, open your eyes to life: to see it in the vivid colors that God gave us as a precious gift to His
children, to enjoy life to the fullest, and to make it count. Say yes to your life. And when it comes to drugs and alcohol, just say no.\textsuperscript{108}

In October 1988, she became the first First Lady to address the U.N. General Assembly, speaking on international drug interdiction and trafficking laws.\textsuperscript{109} She also led the United States delegation to the Third Committee debate. The committee deals with social, humanitarian and cultural matters. In her speech, Nancy Reagan told the United Nations,

The United States must do more to solve its drug problem itself, through stricter law enforcement and education. She said the United States should stop blaming developing countries that produce most of the illegal drugs consumed by Americans... We need to educate a generation to 'just say no' to drugs... If we lack the will to fully mobilize the forces of law in our own country to arrest and punish drug users, if we cannot stem the American demand for drugs, then there will be little hope of preventing foreign drug producers from fulfilling that demand... We will not get anywhere if we place a heavier burden of action on foreign governments than on America's own mayors, judges and legislators,” she continued. “You see, the cocaine cartel does not begin in Medellin, Colombia. It begins in the streets of New York, Miami, Los Angeles and every American city where crack is bought and sold.\textsuperscript{110}

She emphasized that United States must do more to stamp out the use of drugs by its own citizens and continue efforts to eradicate drug production and trafficking in the developing world. Mrs. Reagan’s speech was well received and afterwards delegates lined up to shake her hand and offer her congratulations. “State Department officials said the speech represented a growing appreciation by the Administration that America's own

\textsuperscript{108} Ronald Reagan Foundation and Library "Nancy Reagan-Her Cause."

\textsuperscript{109} National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, "First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan."

\textsuperscript{110} Lewis, Special to the New York Times “Nancy Reagan, at U.N., Says U.S. Must Do More to Combat Drugs.”
demand for drugs is the major motor driving the international drug trafficking industry.”

The New York Times reported that the diplomats from Latin America and Asia have long stated that the American authorities should place more emphasis on curbing drug demand in the United States rather than pressing them to eradicate drug producers and traffickers, and they appeared pleased with Mrs. Reagan’s speech. Through the power of her vision and personality, it is clear that First Lady Nancy Reagan inspired followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals of her anti-drug campaign.

Transformation Leadership Evidence: Hillary Clinton- Activism for Women and Children

The words and actions below are evidence of the transformational leadership components Hillary Clinton demonstrated when advocating for women and children. First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits she met with women and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States, but as the First Woman of the World.”

Her words and actions articulate a compelling vision of human rights as women’s rights. Mrs. Clinton’s


113 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 278.
vision was able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible and extended to an international level.

Table 11. Hillary Clinton's Components of Transformational Leadership in Activism for Women and Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idealized Influence--A transformational leader serves as a role model for followers through genuine trust. Charismatic vision and behaviors inspire others to follow.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Words</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the United Nations World Summit for Social Development, in her address, at the conference, Hillary Clinton emphasized her &quot;conviction’s that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As First Lady, Hillary Clinton became an advocate of health care reform and worked on many issues relating to children and families. She led successful bipartisan efforts to improve the adoption and foster care systems, reduce teen pregnancy, and provide health care to millions of children through the Children's Health Insurance Program. She also traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy and civil society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mrs. Clinton had awareness in reforming adoption and foster care since her days at Yale Law School, when she represented a mother who wanted to adopt her foster child. Through new legislation, Mrs. Clinton hoped that the process for adoption could be sped up and arbitrary barriers removed that prevented many families from being able to adopt. On November 19, 1997, the Adoption and Safe Families Act was signed by President Bill Clinton.

“The State Department had asked me to visit the subcontinent to highlight the administration’s commitment to the region,…My visit was meant to demonstrate this strategic and volatile part of the world was important to the United States, and to assure leaders throughout South Asia that Bill supported their efforts to strengthen democracy, expand free markets and promote tolerance and human rights, including the rights of women. My physical presence in the region was considered a sign of concern and commitment. Although we had only a short time in each country, I wanted to meet with as many women as possible, to stress the correlation between women’s progress and a country’s social and economic status. Development issues had interested me since my years of working with Bill on behalf of poor, rural communities in Arkansas, but this was my first serious exposure to the developing world. I had gotten some preparation earlier in March when I traveled to Copenhagen, Denmark, to represent the United States at the United Nations World Summit for Social Development. That conference underscored my conviction that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”

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### How is the component established through the words and actions?

First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits, she met with women, and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. At the United Nations World Summit for Social Development, In her address, at the conference, Hillary Clinton emphasized her “conviction’s that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.”

### Inspirational Motivation - Transformational leaders have a capacity to motivate and establish a clear vision that they are able to articulate to followers.

#### Words

In the book, Clinton shared her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.  

During her visit to New Delhi, India, Mrs. Clinton made a speech on women’s rights at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Mrs. Clinton had struggled with the writing one clear message that would express what she wanted to say.

She had attended a women’s luncheon with the principal of the Lady Sri Ram College, Meenakshi Gopinath. The principal had given her a poem written by one of her students, Anasuya Sengupta, called “Silence” and it began:  

*Too many women  
In too many countries  
Speak the same language.  
Of silence….*

The poem helped the First Lady to develop the theme of “Voices of Women” that would become well-known and used in other speeches she made around the world. Hillary wrote, “I couldn’t get the poem out of my head. As I worked on my speech late into the night, I realized that I could use the poem to convey my belief that issues affecting women and girls should be integrated fully into domestic and foreign policy decisions. Denying or curtailing education and basic health care for women is a human rights issue. Restricting women’s economic, political and social participation is a human rights issue. For too long, the voices of half the world’s citizens have not been heard by their governments. The “Voices of Women” became the theme, and I decided to end my speech by quoting the poem…

*We seek only to give words  
To those who cannot speak (too many women in too many countries)  
I seek only to forget  
The sorrows of my grandmother’s  
Silence’*

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In 1996, Hillary published the book, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*. The book was a best seller and she received a Grammy Award for her recording of it.

“Her address was an epiphany for the UN delegates, who erupted in rapturous applause. The Chinese officials sat in rigid silence. For Hillary herself, it was a turning point. Her psychological withdrawal had ended. Hillary’s comeback began in Beijing.”

After the conference, the First Lady’s Chief of Staff, Melanne Verveer, observed the First Lady Clinton undergo an evolutionary process. Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”

During the remainder of Hillary’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.”

“With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Women of the World.”

The poem struck a chord with the audience members, many of whom were touched that I would draw on the thoughts of a schoolgirl to evoke the condition of women everywhere. Anasuya, lovely, humble and shy in the face of all the publicity her poem generated, was astounded that women all over the globe were requesting copies of it.

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

Overall, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* was a great success.

The book provided the First Lady with a warmer image that erased much of the bad feeling over the health care debacle.

In the book, Clinton, shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.

Hillary Clinton’s office provided her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could, at an

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117 Clinton, *It Takes a Village And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.


121 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.

122 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.

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“With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States, but as the First Woman of the World.”

Hillary Clinton’s words and actions articulated a compelling vision, that human rights are women’s rights. Clinton’s vision is able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible, and extend to an international level.

**Intellectual Stimulation**-The leader encourages followers to explore new innovative ways of doing things along with being creative.

**Words**

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world’s population. Women are 70 percent of the world’s poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders. …As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential. If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights.”

**Actions**

In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go.”

During this trip the First Lady’s relationship to the press improved greatly.

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125 Sheehy, *Hillary's Choice*, 278.

126 Clinton, *Living History Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 277-278.
Bernstein described the rapport, “Photographers and reporters on the journey saw her at ease, as a mother, as a woman among women, an emissary, and they took note of how the people she was visiting responded to her, and vice versa. Enormous respect and some emotion appeared to course in both directions. She was at once a revered celebrity, a powerful woman who came to listen to the plight of women in primitive and misogynist societies, who would take that message back to America; but she also gave something back, an earnestness and a promise that this was not just another First Lady going through the motions.”

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she declared that ‘human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights’ -- inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton, asserted herself as an advocate for the world’s women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim.

**Individualized Consideration**-Transformational leadership also involves offering support and encouragement to individual followers through coaching specific needs of followers.

**Words**

Mrs. Clinton was the keynote speaker in Vienna, at a forum entitled Vital Voices Women in Democracy. The positive response to the Vital Voices Democracy Initiative led to the creation of Vital Voices Global Partnership as a nonprofit non-governmental organization (NGO) in June, 2000. Today, Vital Voices continues the work of advancing women's economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing female leaders across the globe.

**Actions**

She took note of the elemental contradictions: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka all had had governments headed by women, yet women were held in such disregard in their cultures that newborn girls were sometimes killed or abandoned.

The First Lady also visited rural villages in Pakistan and talked to the women in the villages. The First Lady was very concerned about being respectful to the culture and to the people she visited, and she was careful of her attire and covering her head with a scarf during religious visits to a mosque or into areas governed by religious traditions. Mrs. Clinton’s and Chelsea’s trip received press coverage around the world and especially in the United States. The news covered them wearing traditional dress, riding on elephants, in palaces, visiting villages in rural areas and gatherings in schools.

These conferences launched regional Vital Voices initiatives that continue to give women the skills and resources they need to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries.

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127 Bernstein, A Woman in Charge: The Life of Hillary Rodham Clinton, 420-421.
On November 19, 1997, the Adoption and Safe Families Act was signed by President Bill Clinton.

“My domestic policy staff had worked tirelessly with Administration officials and congressional staffers to craft the new legislation, which included financial incentives to states, efforts to keep families together in appropriate circumstances and faster time frames for making permanent placement decisions and for terminating parental rights in cases of abuse and neglect. Passing this important legislation was instructive. We were learning that in working with a recalcitrant Congress, we could often move more expeditiously on a targeted issue, rather than on a broad initiative such as health care or welfare reform. The sweeping changes in federal adoption laws would speed up the placement of thousands of foster children like Deanne into safe permanent homes. ‘The legislation represents a fundamental shift in the philosophy of child welfare, from a presumption that the chief consideration ought to be returning a child to his biological parents, to one in which the health and safety of the child is paramount,’” Washington Post said.128

**How is the component established through the words and actions?**

During Mrs. Clinton’s visits to countries outside of the United States, she offered support and encouragement to women by showing care. She was respectful of their cultures and their religion. The **Vital Voices** initiative provided women around the world the skills and resources they needed to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Even today the **Vital Voices** continue the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing female leaders across the globe. On the domestic front, Hillary’s staff worked hard on the Adoption and Safe Families Act.

**Discussion of Leadership Transformation Evidence -- Hillary Clinton –Activism for Human Rights for Women and Children**

Examining First Lady Hillary Clinton’s words and actions in the use of transformational leadership through Bass’ four components illustrates how Mrs. Clinton accessed each of the transformational leadership components in her leadership in the context of her efforts on human rights for women and children. First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. During her visits, she met with women and advocated for causes effecting social change for them. Before Hillary took her trip to South Asia, she had already represented the United States

in Copenhagen, at the United Nations World Summit for Social Development. At her address to the conference she emphasized her “conviction that individuals and communities around the world are already more connected and interdependent than at any time in human history, and that Americans will be affected by the poverty, disease and development of people halfway around the globe.” In her book, *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* Clinton shares her dream for the children of America and the influence individuals and groups outside the family have on a child’s well-being, and she advocates for a society which works together to meet all of a child’s needs.  

Hillary Clinton’s position of First Lady provided her with ways to move issues that she never thought she could at an international level. In September of 1995, China was the host of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Hillary Clinton’s chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, stated, “This was one of those foundational events that Hillary felt strongly she should do. More people thought she should not go. The President was supportive, but he was also concerned—there were issues with Harry Wu and whether or not an appearance by the First Lady would advance the human rights issue or make it worse.”  

Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" – inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton asserted herself as an advocate for the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain


countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim. As her chief of staff, Melanie Verveer stated, “Beijing unleashed something extraordinary: pressure by activists all around the world on behalf of women, in retrospect. She only lately came to understand that her office provides her with a way to move issues that she never thought she could do outside of the more traditional ways.”131 During the remainder of Hillary’s years as First Lady, she would continue to advocate for women by adding to the foreign policy agenda “the cause of women victims of rape by paramilitary forces in Bosnia, women refugees, women’s access to microcredit, women’s contributions to peace plans in Ireland and Israel, and on and on.”132 “With each foreign trip, she gained greater international stature. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Woman of the World.”133 Hillary Clinton’s words and actions articulate a compelling vision of human rights as women’s rights.

Clinton’s vision was able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible and extended to an international level. During Hillary Clinton’s visits to countries outside of the United States, she offered support and encouragement to women by showing care. She was respectful of their cultures and their religion. The Vital Voices

131 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 277.
132 Sheehy, Hillary’s Choice, 278.
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initiative provided women around the world the skills and resources they needed to lift up themselves, their communities and their countries. Even today the Vital Voices continues the work of advancing women’s economic, political and social status around the world, training and organizing women leaders across the globe. On the domestic front, Hillary’s staff worked hard on the Adoption and Safe Families Act.

Research Question 5

What are the implications of this research for women within the field of educational leadership?

Research on Navigating the Leadership Labyrinth

Scholars continually attempt to understand the many facets of women leadership in the field of educational administration. Dr. Susan Haddick Sostak has conducted research on female superintendents at Loyola University through the lens of female epistemology. Dr. Sostak research discusses female researchers (Shakeshaft, Grogan, Brunner and Curry) who have studied educational leadership from the female point of view and then applies this research to the ethical leadership and decision making practices of female superintendents. Dr. Kim Dryier’s research determined that women pursing a position in educational administration were confronted with the

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134 Dr. Susan Haddick, “The ‘Other’ Superintendent: The Ethical Leadership and Decision Making Practices of Women Superintendents” (Dissertation submitted to Loyola University of Chicago, 2009).

challenge of coping with relational aggression directed towards them from other females.\textsuperscript{136} Dryier’s research suggested that relational aggression occurs more often with women than men because women have fewer professional colleagues for support. Furthermore, her research suggests that women administrators need to learn better ways to engage in healthy relationships with other women in the workplace. Dr. Erica Jordan’s research examined female principals that once taught within the school that they now lead. Her study explored the transition from colleague to superior and discussed Sergiovanni’s *Sources of Authority* that are employed by female administrators to balance social relationships while maintaining high levels of teacher expectations, conducting formal/informal evaluations, and exerting disciplinary actions when appropriate.\textsuperscript{137}

Attitudes toward leadership are changing, and what women can offer in this role is essential. Even though our society has made great strides in the last 100 years in embracing the role of women in leadership positions, there are still lessons to be learned from female leaders and a long road ahead for women to equal male leaders. The question used to be “Can women lead?”, but this question is no longer germane to the conversation. Today, there is an increased presence of women in corporate and political leadership roles, and one can point to highly effective female leaders in a variety of domains. Women are certainly making the news and Americans are willing to bring women into leadership to help build a better nation. In her book, *Women Lead the Way*, Linda Tarr-Whelan states, “To achieve sustainable long-term economic growth and well-

\textsuperscript{136} Dr. Kim Dryier, “The implications of relational aggression toward females pursuing educational administration” (Dissertation submitted to Loyola University of Chicago, 2009).

\textsuperscript{137} Dr. Erica Jordan, “Examining Female Principals That Lead Within the Same Schools that They Once Taught” (Dissertation submitted to Loyola University of Chicago, 2009).
being, leadership must become more balanced-and that means it must include more women.”

There are several factors that have contributed to leadership effectiveness and the rise of female leaders. On the current political front, Hillary Clinton put “18 million cracks” in the presidential glass ceiling before becoming the third female Secretary of State, and Nancy Pelosi also made history becoming the first female Speaker of the House. “Six years of polling by The White House Project and GfK/Roper Public Affairs have found that both women and men in large numbers—in some cases, as high as 90 percent—are ready to see women in the highest positions of leadership.” Based on the research, there is a leadership gap “whereby women are disproportionately concentrated in lower--level and lower--authority leadership positions than men.” Removing the barriers to the leadership gap would provide equal opportunities that allow for all the possibility of taking leadership roles. But one barrier that continues is that women are less likely to self-promote and negotiate than men.

Researchers have identified several approaches to navigating the leadership labyrinth. The research is clear that leadership matters, and by choosing leaders from the largest pool of talent, which include women, the best leadership is attained, but the path for women is more labyrinthine. One key to navigating the labyrinth is for women to make connections with others in their network and seek the guidance and support of male

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140 Powell and Graves, Women & Men in Management, 3rd ed.

141 Eagly and Carli, Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how Women Become Leaders.
and female mentors. Understanding the many facets of the leadership labyrinth will help women and organizations in accessing and obtaining the same opportunities in conquering high-ranking leadership positions to both genders. This will provide organizations and constituents access to the best talent pool of individuals in leadership and ensure that there is gender diversity in the ranks of leadership, which is known to influence organizational success. The application of effective negotiation methods can support women in obtaining the resources they require at work and at home to develop their leadership advancement. In addition, women can remind themselves of their work, expect more rewards for their work and learn to negotiate well.

How Did Nancy Reagan Make Connections, Seek Guidance and Support, and Negotiate to Navigate the Labyrinth?

In order to develop opportunities in her careers, First Lady Nancy Reagan utilized her networking skills to make connections with others throughout her life. As a young girl, Nancy Davis had a strong desire to be adopted by her stepfather, Loyal Davis. She approached a retired judge, who was a neighbor, to help her complete the paperwork for the legal adoption. At the young age of 16, Nancy filed a petition of adoption and had her named legally changed. Nancy Davis’ father expected the best out of Nancy, and that included earning a college degree. In 1939, Nancy left her home in Chicago to attend Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. Nancy pursued an ambitious acting career in the 1940s through the 1950s. She lived alone in New York and California during a time when most women her age were married. Her acting career in Hollywood was due to her mother’s connections with Hollywood’s top actor, Spencer Tracy, whose
support landed Nancy Davis with a screen test with the best directors in Hollywood and a seven-year contract with Metro Goldwyn Mayer.

Nancy was persistent with the President of the Screen Actors Guild and asked for support in getting her name off a list of communist supporters, which had appeared in a Hollywood paper. Nancy’s connections and persistency landed her a date with her future husband, and the future President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. Although after marriage, Nancy wanted to give up her career to be a housewife and mother, she continued to act in films and on her husband’s General Electric television program.

Nancy Reagan’s career in the film industry continued to grow even when her husband was not able to find work in the film industry. During Ronald Reagan’s governor’s race, Nancy Reagan traveled around the state of California to seek voters’ support by taking questions from the audience.

As First Lady of California, Nancy Reagan secured private funds and donations from her friends to restore the Governor’s mansion and she used her connections with her husband, Governor Reagan, for help in extending the Foster Grandparents Program to all California state hospitals. She continued to network and develop connections to the voters through her visits to hospitals and championing programs that were close to her heart. Mrs. Reagan showed her gratitude to soldiers who had fought on behalf of the country by hosting dinners at the Reagans’ family homes in California.

As First Lady of the United States, Nancy Reagan continued to access her network of friends and supporters to ensure the success of her husband’s Presidency. She believed in the power of the First Lady and was on the phone constantly with her friends.
and the Administration advisors for guidance, support, and to make her opinions known. Just in her first year as First Lady, Nancy Reagan utilized her contacts with former White House renovators to direct major renovations in the White House living quarters. She again used her connections to secure private donations, in the excess of $800,000, to fund the renovation projects. She was not shy to negotiate or be persistent, especially when it came to her role as First Lady, in being an advisor, protector, and a partner to her husband and President of the United States Ronald Reagan. Nancy Reagan used her connections in Washington DC choosing the somebodies that helped her keep an eye on to help her husband navigate political relationships. She developed a close friendship with the publisher of Washington Post and a Democrat, Kay Graham. Nancy Reagan took on a key influential role of being the President’s advisor. While the public saw the First Lady focused on style and design, behind the scenes she took part in selecting her husband’s key advisors. Nancy Reagan is credited for surrounding her husband with people who would bring out the best in him and individuals who held more moderate political views. Nancy Reagan’s most important activism was her Just Say No Campaign. In promoting her cause Mrs. Reagan utilized her Hollywood connections to make appearances in sitcoms, commercials, songs and production of television programming. Nancy Reagan even used her connections with political advisors and former White House staff to help her husband forge talks with the Soviet Union and in dealing with the Iran-Contra affair. Mike Deaver was the deputy chief of staff during the Reagan Administration, and had the closest alliances and friendship with the First Lady. In 2004, Michael Deaver authored the book, Nancy: A Portrait of My Years with Nancy
Reagan. No other Presidential administrative advisory has written a book about the work of the First Lady and hence it signifies the support the First Lady, Nancy Reagan received from the President Reagan’s chief of staff.

Even after Nancy Reagan left the White House as First Lady, she continued to work and advocate on behalf of her husband’s legacy. Nancy Reagan was always aware of her work and her power as First Lady, and she utilized her power in unique ways to protect and ensure the success of her husband. She worked behind the scenes utilizing her connections and negotiating skills to converse with the major power players in and outside of the White House. When Nancy Reagan called people, they not only took the call but they listened.

How Did Hillary Clinton Make Connections, Seek Guidance and Support, and Negotiate to Navigate the Labyrinth?

In order to develop opportunities in her careers, First Lady Hillary Clinton utilized her networking skills to make connections with others throughout her life. As a young girl, Hillary Clinton had a strong motivation to achieve and run things, and was able to organize constituents for her causes, getting others involved in the process. Hillary Rodham’s networking skills, developed during High School and her early political developments, were shaped in large part by her father’s political beliefs, her high school history teacher, and her Methodist youth minister. At the time when seventeen-year-old Hillary left Park Ridge, Illinois, for Wellesley College, her character had been already formed: a combination of intelligence and an inquiring mind, ambition and idealism, reliance on financial independence and belief in public service. While at Wellesley, Hillary Rodham developed friendships that would last a lifetime and whom she would
rely on during her future careers. Hillary was mentored through her Washington D.C.
internship and gained experience in how government worked. During Hillary Rodham’s
first year at Yale, she met Marian Wright Edeleman and began working for her on the
Washington Research Project. Hillary received mentoring from Marian Edeleman, and
she gives Marian credit for directing her to a lifelong advocacy for children. After Law
School, Hillary Rodham once again was asked by Marian Edeleman to come to work on
the Children’s Defense Fund. Hillary Rodham left her future husband, and future
President Bill Clinton, to take the position in Massachusetts. In January of 1974, Hillary
took a staff position in Washington and joined the impeachment inquiry staff, advising
the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

When Hillary finally returned to Arkansas, she married Bill Clinton, took a position
in the Rose Law Firm, and very quickly become a partner in the firm. Hillary continued
her advocacy for children through her law practice. Hillary co-founded the Arkansas
Advocate for Children and Families in 1977. President Jimmy Carter also appointed
Hillary Rodham Clinton to serve on the board of the Legal Service Corporation in 1977
which she chaired. During her 12 years as First Lady of the State of Arkansas, Hillary
Rodham Clinton continued to develop her network of supporters to build strong
connections. Many of the individuals that worked with or for the Clintons became part of
the Presidential campaign, as well as part of the President’s and Hillary Clinton’s
Administration. Even before Bill Clinton began his campaign for the Presidency in 1992,
Hillary Clinton had become an accomplished attorney and was commonly known in
Democratic policymaking groups as a successful children's advocate. When Hillary was
planning her daughter’s future in the White House, she connected with former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy for support and advice.

Hillary Rodham Clinton’s core groups of advisors were self-designated “Hillaryland” when she was First Lady of the United States, and again when, as United States Senator, she was one of the Democratic Party candidates for President in the 2008 election. The Clintons broke tradition when the President gave her an office on the second floor of the West Wing for herself and her staff of twenty. The “Hillaryland” team was unique in several ways. First, almost all were women; the only man in the group, former First Lady Deputy Press Secretary Neel Lattimore. Second, most had worked in the Clinton Administration, and had been personal friends and confidants of Hillary Clinton since her time in Arkansas. Many years later, Hillary Clinton’s staff were described as being very discrete and dedicated to the success of the First Lady. In addition, the “Hillaryland” team was seen as part of the Clinton Administration. Hillary Clinton’s success as First Lady is greatly credited to her team, but she, too is a strong example of the type of support women leaders need to be successful. She believed in hiring women and providing them with mentoring to ensure their success. Hillary Clinton also traveled to more than 80 countries as a representative of our country, winning respect as a champion of human rights, democracy, and civil society.

Even after Hillary Clinton left the White House as First Lady, she continued to work and advocate on behalf of children and families. Hillary Clinton was always aware of her work and her power as First Lady. She utilized her power in unique ways to accomplish several small legislative victories. She had established a lifetime of
connections and, in particular, had been mentored by both males and females in law and government. Hillary Clinton was faced with many challenges and controversies while First Lady of the United States. Yet, each adversarial event developed her resilience and made her more determined to succeed in creative ways to reinvent her image. She was able to turn adversaries into opportunities due to her connections, her sense of purpose in her work, and the loyalty of her staff. The support and encouragement of her allies helped Hillary Clinton to be elected Senator of New York State. During her Senate campaign she utilized a unique form of canvassing called “listening sessions,” to win voter support. The “listening sessions” helped Mrs. Clinton to make connections to the voters.

Use of Transformational Behaviors to Develop Female Leaders

Female leaders can be developed with the combination of warmth and the use of transformational behaviors. The transformational leadership style encompasses traditionally feminine behaviors such as being considerate and supportive, and the research strongly equates it with leadership effectiveness. Researcher Esther Wachs Book, in her book Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership, indicates that women are willing to reinvent the rules; have an ability to sell their visions; possess the determination to turn challenges into opportunities; and have a focus on 'high touch' in a high tech business world. Author Linda Tarr-Whelan considers the strength of the women to “this country to be the

142 Lowe, Kroecck and Sivasubramaniam, “Effectiveness Correlation of Transformational and Transactional Leadership: A meta-analysis review of the MLQ literature.”
143 Book, Why the Best Man for the Job is a Woman: The Unique Female Qualities of Leadership.
transformation leaders we need.” And, this study has looked at how First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton adopted transformational leadership styles to conquer the barriers to their role as First Ladies.

How did Nancy Reagan Use Transformational Behaviors to Navigate the Labyrinth?

Nancy Reagan accessed many of the transformational behaviors when looking after President Reagan in order to advise him, protect him from being overwhelmed, while navigate the political landscape. These roles of confident and protector ensured his success in the White House. Nancy Reagan’s first priority as First Lady was to protect her husband. She believed strongly in Reagan’s leadership and knew him better than anyone else. Mrs. Reagan set the vision on creating a team for the Reagan Administration that was more moderate and one that she could work closely with. She also developed relationships with key democratic leaders. First Lady Nancy Reagan took the Reagan administration challenges such as the arms race with the Soviet Union and the Iran-Contra affair and made them into opportunities. She provided motivation and stimulation by working with President Reagan’s advisors to look at creative ways to forge peace with the Soviet Union. When Ronald Reagan was faced with the worst crisis of his Presidency, Nancy worked relentlessly to remove the Chief of Staff, which was considered a necessary step to quell the crisis. Mrs. Reagan used her alliances and convinced her husband to apologize to the American people for his involvement in the Iran-Contra affair. After President Reagan had been shot, Nancy Reagan handled the ordeal in a way that gave the people of the United States the image of vitality and

competence, moving the country forward and not in fear. Nancy Reagan was involved in every aspect of the President’s schedule and collaborated with his advisors, who listened to her. She utilized innovative ways to accomplish her goal of ensuring the President’s safety, and she worked diligently to maximize Reagan’s potential as President of the United States. Nancy Reagan worked behind the scenes to keep an eye on all the staff recommendations and personnel decisions.

First Lady Nancy Reagan’s most important activism was her Just Say No Campaign. She elevated the interest of a nation and the use of drugs among youth dropped considerably. When asked about her campaign, the First Lady remarked, "If you can save just one child, it's worth it.” Mrs. Reagan’s involvement in the anti-drug campaign led her to make over 100 appearances and fourteen speeches in which she supported and inspired her followers through her words, offering encouraging phrases and sharing their stories. Mrs. Reagan’s phrase articulated the vision and the stimulation for the anti-drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but, even 30 years later, the slogan is used across the country. First Lady Nancy Reagan inspired followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals of her anti-drug campaign. Nancy Reagan navigated the leadership labyrinth by utilizing transformational behaviors to carry out her vision, and building support for her activism.

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145 You Tube, “Tribute to Nancy Reagan.”
How did Hillary Clinton Use Transformational Behaviors to Navigate the Labyrinth?

Hillary Clinton accessed many of the transformational behaviors in her role as First Lady of the United States. Her staff came to be known as “Hillaryland” and gained the respect of the entire Clinton Administration. Hillary Clinton was involved in every aspect of leading the team and even had her own office on the second floor of the West Wing. Hillary built her knowledge about the role of the First Lady. She saw her new role as an opportunity and a responsibility to her country. The “Hillaryland” members were motivated by their acute awareness that their work was making history, and their awareness in the importance of their work in supporting the First Lady to be successful. Hillary Clinton hired people who were committed to the issues and who believed in the idea that government could create opportunities for people. In addition, the team built genuine respect and trust among the First Lady and each other. The staff showed dedication, had experience in the public sector, and was hardworking. As Hillary Clinton traveled around the country, she learned about the downfalls of the current healthcare system in America; this helped her articulate her vision for universal healthcare reform and establish a strong sense of purpose in her followers. Mrs. Clinton motivated others to do more than intended and more than thought possible as her team created a 1,342 page legislation on universal healthcare reform. The Clinton Administration’s Health Care Task Force, while lacking tangible accomplishments, became a purposeful lesson for Hillary Rodham Clinton’s own future and political goals. Mrs. Clinton’s leadership on the universal healthcare reform ended without a vote, but the lessons learned are a benefit for future leaders of health care reform.
First Lady Hillary Clinton also had a strong sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy and civil society. Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" – inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights. As First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton asserted herself as an advocate for the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries -- including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and children. In addition she addressed many of the ways women around world suffer abuse. These efforts brought her international acclaim. Hillary Rodham Clinton was becoming known not merely as the First Lady of the United States but as the First Woman of the World.Hillary Clinton’s words and actions helped articulate a compelling vision that human rights are women’s rights. Clinton’s vision was able to motivate others to do more than they originally thought possible, and it extended to an international level. Hillary Clinton navigated the leadership labyrinth by utilizing transformational behaviors to carry out her vision, and building support for her activism.

Role of First Ladies

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the position of First Lady has evolved from following a traditional role of White House hostess to becoming a more visible public figure with their political agendas. First Ladies’ greater involvement in

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146 Sheehy, *Hillary’s Choice*, 278.
Presidential administration initiatives has allowed the role to evolve into an influential driver for social change in our country. It is their leadership in social causes that has made our First Ladies garner a celebrity-like attention from the American people. Their desire to choose a cause to advocate during their time in the White House is due in large part to either personal connections or leadership goals that are assumed with a specific social or political cause. In so many ways, the First Ladies have contributed to the social and educational issues of the country with an impact as significant as that of the other government officials. By being married to the Presidents of the United States, the First Ladies are at the heart of American politics and have become an exclusive influential form of governmental leadership. The role of the First Lady is an important leadership role in our country and a tribute to these American women. The study of how modern First Ladies develop, promote and advance their agendas is significant to understanding the traits women leaders bring to leadership and fill a void that their male counterparts may leave. This dissertation analyzed how First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton developed, promoted and advanced social causes that were based on their core values and beliefs about children and families, and measurably advanced social change for our nation’s children and families.

Leadership Lesson to be Learned from First Lady Nancy Reagan-How did she Utilize her Leadership to Promote and Advance her Social Cause?

First Lady Nancy Reagan recognized the special privilege of being a First Lady and the contributions she could make in the role as First Lady of the United States. She used her role and her leadership style to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families. Her goal as First Lady was to educate children and their parents on
the adverse effects of drug abuse. Her anti-drug campaign began when she made a remark to a child who asked her, what to say if offered drugs, and she responded, “Just Say No!” Nancy Reagan’s personal connection to the drug crusade was due largely to her many visits to hospitals and seeing the impact drugs had on families. She used her position to lobby against teen drug abuse, appearing at many school events to promote the issue. She traveled almost 250,000 miles throughout the nation and overseas, to work with young people and their families. She appeared on television shows, taped public service announcements, and wrote articles. She concerned herself with both prevention and rehabilitation, and focused international attention on the topic when she spoke to an audience of First Ladies at the United Nations from countries throughout the world. In 1986, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act was a personal victory for Mrs. Reagan and she made a joint address, with President Reagan, to the nation on the problem of drug abuse. Nancy Reagan used her innate grace, her Hollywood charm and acting prowess and her childhood experiences in her efforts to personalize the war on drugs, and sought to stamp out drug abuse in America.

After leaving the White House on January 20, 1989, Mrs. Reagan continued her work, leaving quite a legacy. At the age of 91, Nancy Reagan continues to utilize her leadership capacity to impact social change at national and international levels and her most important work of preserving her husband President Ronald Reagan’s legacy. Nancy Davis Reagan was married to former President Ronald Reagan for over fifty years before he died in 2004. Her affection for and commitment to her husband is
well recognized, matched only by the unwavering devotion Ronald Reagan had for Nancy. First Lady Nancy Reagan was well aware of her role and power as First Lady and she was never afraid to use it and it made all the difference in establishing her husband’s Presidency.

She believed that the wife of a President ‘genuinely has the power to make a difference’ and advised her successors to remember that they would ‘never again be in this unique position to make such a contribution.’ She urged them to make their opinions known either to the President or to his staff. ‘In spite of a White House full of people taking care of various aspects of a President’s life,’ she said, ‘you’re the one who knows him best. You don't give up your right to an opinion just because you're married to the President.’

Nancy Reagan was a creation of her time, and much of her orthodox viewpoint was reminiscent of the principles of the generation that endorsed a traditional 1950s housewife. Even though she may not be categorized among the liberated feminist leaders of the twentieth century, she does share commonalities with their historical trailblazing, due to her use of the First Lady’s platform to advocate effectively on behalf of families, children and health issues.

The work Nancy Reagan began as the First Lady of the United States continues to give evidence of her influence. She has provided leadership lessons for future First Ladies, and for women’s leadership, generally. The lesson to take away from Mrs. Reagan’s role as First Lady is that of advocacy for personal belief and values that one care about deeply. In addition, staying involved in their role and using ones connections in their network so that others can also advocate on their behalf or their cause. Mrs.

Reagan’s use of transformational behaviors aided her in moving her agenda forward. Mrs. Reagan’s phrase *Just Say No*, articulated the vision and the inspiration for drug campaign. Her words not only established a slogan for the moment but, even 30 years later, the slogan is used across the country. Through the power of her vision and personality, it is clear that First Lady Nancy Reagan inspired followers to change expectations, perceptions and motivations to work towards common goals of her anti-drug campaign.

**Leadership Lesson to be Learned from First Lady Hillary Clinton-How did she Utilize her Leadership to Promote and Advance her Social Cause?**

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton recognized the special privilege of being a First Lady and the contributions she could make in the role as First Lady of the United States. She used her role and her leadership style to develop, promote and advance causes for children and families. Her goal as First Lady was to be an advocate of health care reform and she worked on many issues relating to children and families. One of the most important goals of Bill Clinton as President was to create a system of universal health care. The idea was to combine government controls and the competitive marketplace, taking the elements of both to restrain the health care costs. Hillary’s experience in children’s advocacy and social policy for families, children and health care, made it natural for her to focus her energy and talents on health care reform. In 1993, the President asked his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. Mrs. Clinton’s leadership on the universal healthcare reform ended without a vote, but the lessons learned are a benefit for future leaders of health care reform. Hillary Rodham Clinton courageously looked at different perspectives in her
efforts to establish healthcare reform and she took the first attempt at the health care
reform issue, from the First Lady’s platform. First Lady Hillary Clinton had a strong
sense of purpose in advocating for children and women. As the First Lady, she played a
role in advocating for the establishment of the State Children’s Health Insurance
Program, the Adoption and Safe Families Act, and The Foster Care Independence Act.

During her years in the White House, Mrs. Clinton visited 80 countries as a
representative for the United States, championing human rights, democracy, and civil
society. During her visits she met with women and advocated for causes effecting social
change for them. Hillary Clinton’s famous speech in Beijing in 1995 -- when she
declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights" –
inspired women worldwide and helped galvanize a global movement for women’s rights.
The First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton asserted herself as an advocate for
the world's women and children. She attacked the policies of certain countries --
including those of host nation China -- that violated the human rights of women and
children.

Hillary Rodham Clinton never embraced the role of the First Lady in quite the
same way as her predecessors. Even though other First Ladies had been involved in
policy planning and being a major government player, Mrs. Clinton took her participation
and activism to an extensive depth and breadth. She broke new ground as the First Lady.
Hillary Rodham Clinton used her platform to revolutionize the role of the First Lady by
leading efforts to provide Universal Healthcare Reform for all. Mrs. Clinton shared her
experiences as the First Lady and her observations of women, children, and families she
had met around the world in her weekly newspaper column entitled “Talking It Over”. In 1996, she published the book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*.

Hillary Clinton continues to shatter all glass ceilings at national and international levels. Hillary Rodham Clinton is a name and a face recognized in the United States as well as Europe and Asia. While some may agree with Mrs. Clinton and others disagree, she is recognized as a global leader who is now serving in the most important leadership roles of her lifetime. After leaving the White House she was the first First Lady to serve in the Senate, run for the presidency and become the Secretary of State. Hillary Rodham Clinton assumed office as the 67th Secretary of State in January, 2009. Her public service journey has been long, difficult, and weary at times, yet she has evolved into one of the most powerful and influential women in the United States and around the world. Hillary Rodham Clinton, the 42nd First Lady of the United States, has mastered the art of politics better than any other First Lady in American history. Fifty years ago, it was unimaginable that a highly involved, policymaking First Lady, activist, Senator, Secretary of State, and first woman to run for the Presidency was even a realistic possibility. Yet today, Hillary Rodham Clinton has transformed the scope of possibilities for American women and for the role of First Lady to be an individual success. A great part of Secretary Clinton’s public role was leading or joining global conferences and other international meetings, on a variety of issues. As Secretary of State, Mrs. Clinton focused special attention, beyond her required duties, on the international rights of women, economic empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world, and
“town hall” type meetings with direct questioning from the public, whether in the United States or other countries.

Although Hillary Rodham Clinton has clearly established a lasting legacy, her story is far from complete. She has provided leadership lessons for future First Ladies, and women’s leadership generally. Mrs. Clinton’s trials and tribulations as a leader, teach others how to be successful as they themselves lead their own organizations and build their teams. She successfully navigated through difficult situations and still rose above it all. Hillary Clinton has provided several examples of transformational behaviors that are required of leaders today such as: being a ongoing learner and adapting to new situations, being focused on her work and connecting to her constituents by leading with a purpose and being of service to her country. Her most important lesson is that of resilience. Hillary Clinton is best known for her ability to reinvent herself over and over and adapt to new situations again and again even in the face of most severe adversity and to move forward with even more diligence and absolute fortitude than ever imaginable.

**Application for Educational Administrators**

The findings of women leadership and the leadership of the First Ladies can be applied to educational administration and women administrators specifically. The research on women leadership has clearly articulated the barriers and ways to overcome the barriers in selecting and developing women leaders. This research has articulated the ways First Lady Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton also overcame the barriers and were able to navigate the labyrinth while accomplishing their activism goals for social causes. Increase of the presence of women in prominent leadership roles will be greatly enhanced
as more changes take place in the organizational cultures. Additionally, women will be positioned for leadership as there is an increase in women’s career development, as additional mentoring opportunities for women are provided, and as the number of women in strategic positions increases.

School districts can utilize the information on barriers, and the ways to overcome those barriers when selecting and training school and district leaders. School boards should ensure that the pool of prospective candidates for principal, district administrators and superintendent positions is great enough to include female and male candidates. This will allow for the most talented candidates for hires, as well as providing more representation of diverse groups of individuals.

In addition to being representative group member diversity is associated with greater group productivity. (Forsyth, 2010). Indeed, research has shown a strong connection between gender diversity and organizational financial performance, as the number of women at the top increases, so does financial success. Researchers have identified several approaches to navigating the leadership labyrinth.

The research is clear that leadership matters, and by choosing educational leaders from the largest pool of talent, which includes women, the best leadership is attained and leadership is more balanced. In her book, Women Lead the Way, Linda Tarr-Whelan states, “To achieve sustainable long-term economic growth and well-being, leadership must become more balanced-and that means it must include more women.” One key to navigating the leadership labyrinth for women educators is for women to make

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148 Crystal L. Hoyt, "Women and Leadership,"305.

connections with others in their network and seek the guidance and support of male and female mentors. In addition, like First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, through networking, women educational leaders can remind themselves of their work, expect more rewards for their work and learn to negotiate well. Furthermore, women in educational leadership positions can utilize transformational behaviors that help build strong relationships with their staff and improve education for all students.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

With the rise of women in national politics, researchers have the opportunity to analyze the unique qualities that women convey to the predominately male domain. Scholars need to examine the position of the First Lady and the roles she plays in a Presidential administration. Furthermore, as women gain more access and recognition in national politics, there will come a day when we will see a “First Man”. Thus, questions will arise as to the essential nature of the partner’s role in American politics. This study was limited to two First Ladies and their use of Transformational Leadership styles in advocating for social change. Additional research that would add to the literature could be done in a variety of ways. The researcher could study:

1. What lessons can be learned from Hillary Rodham Clinton and Michelle Obama leadership through a comparative analysis of the leadership style?
2. How do other women leaders throughout the world serve to advocate for social change through transformational leadership style?
3. How do minority women leaders throughout the United States serve to advocate for social change through transformational leadership style?
In the 2012 political election, a record number of women (twenty) were elected to the United States Senate. The analysis of women’s way of knowing through the feminist epistemology is a critical perspective to the advancement of women leadership. Feminist epistemology provides a critical perspective on the feminine and provides for an understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in social settings. Like Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton whose ways of knowing provided them to advocate for a cause and lead their vision, scholars also need to examine women leaders with a feminist epistemology perspective when conducting research on women and women’s leadership. This research on First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton is grounded in Bass’ Transformational Leadership theory and the understanding that women have a unique voice and their own way of knowing, organizing and leading in any setting. This research looked at First Lady Nancy Reagan and First Lady Hillary Clinton’s experiences and analyzed their perspectives from their own viewpoint, the viewpoint of others, particularity the viewpoint of women scholars and women they led in their endeavors. To help meet the growing challenges of our country, scholars can continue to apply the lessons of harnessing the full range of talent available, from women to people of every race who are also underrepresented in leadership roles. This will aid in accessing and obtaining the same opportunity in conquering high-ranking leadership positions for women in order to obtain and support leadership in all organizations.

Limitations of the Study
Like all research, this study was subject to limitations. In researching the words and actions of former First Lady Nancy Reagan and former First Lady Hillary Clinton, the researcher was limited to the available documentation that may not always completely illustrate the true feelings of the speaker. An additional limitation of this study was the exclusion of direct interviews with the individuals researched in the study. Even though ample perspective have been provided through various documentations, personal interviews with the subjects would have added value to the research. In addition, the documents researched here focus on the words and actions of the subjects during their time in office and do not account for current perspectives of those individuals. The researcher acknowledges that in order to maintain the integrity of this study, it is vital that her personal opinions regarding these First Ladies, children, advocacy for children, and female leadership do not affect the evaluation of the research and its presentation in this dissertation. In order to maintain the integrity of this study, the researcher has maintained a personal journal for the purposes of recording opinions and personal reactions expressed throughout the research process and during the presentation of the information.

**Final Thoughts**

The study of how modern First Ladies develop, promote and advance their agendas is significant to understanding the traits women leaders bring to leadership, and fill a void that their male counterparts may leave. This dissertation analyzed how First Ladies Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton developed, promoted and advanced social causes that were based on their core values and beliefs about children and families, to advanced social change for our nation’s children and families to achieve measurable
change. Nancy Reagan’s years as First Lady in the White House spanned from 1981-1989, and Hillary Rodham Clinton’s from 1993-2001. The purpose of this study was to use documentary research to analyze their work and determine leadership characteristics displayed by these two First Ladies of the United States. In addition, the analyses included how their backgrounds and upbringings, which provided a foundation for their leadership, are significantly related to their personal backgrounds, experiences and value judgments. These First Ladies have used their positions and leadership styles to assist in moving political agendas forward by highlighting specific social awareness or achieving personal political goals. The impact of these First Ladies on children and educational issues and policy is not just an extension of the Presidents’ agendas but is also derived from the First Ladies’ own systems of value judgments, personal experiences, and career goals. This research was an historical analysis completed by using the Bernard Bass’ Transformational Leadership Theory as a lens to view the various characteristics exhibited by the selected First Ladies.

The First Ladies of the United States of American demonstrate and influence women’s leadership by advocating for a cause, acting as the White House hostess, influencing policy and playing significant role in their husbands’ administrations. This research supports how First Lady Nancy Reagan and First Lady Hillary Clinton used their roles as First Lady to wield significant power and influence as they presided over White House social affairs and advocated for social agendas, while serving as the President’s most trusted partner. First Ladies are at the heart of American politics and have become an influential form of government leadership. This research provided
evidence on how Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton’s role and responsibilities as First Lady could assume varying meanings reliant upon their personalities, backgrounds and personal goals.

At the age of 91, Nancy Reagan continues to utilize her leadership capacity to impact social change at national and international level and her most important work of preserving her husband President Ronald Reagan’s legacy. After leaving the White House on January 20, 1989, Mrs. Reagan continued her work and leaving a legacy. In 1989, Nancy Reagan wrote her memoirs entitled *My Turn*, published by Random House. To continue to support educational drug prevention programs, she created the Nancy Reagan Foundation to continue her campaign to educate people about the serious dangers of substance abuse.\footnote{150}{National First Ladies' Library and Historic Site, “First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan.”}

In 1994, the Nancy Reagan Foundation joined efforts with the BEST Foundation For A Drug-Free Tomorrow and developed the Nancy Reagan Afterschool Program, a drug prevention and life-skills program for youth. She continued to travel domestically and internationally, speaking out on the harmful effects of drugs and alcohol. In 1994, former President Ronald Reagan was diagnosed with Alzheimer’s disease and the Reagans funded the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois, for research into the illness, as an affiliate of the National Alzheimer’s Association.\footnote{151}{National First Ladies’ Library and Historic Site, “First Lady Biography: Nancy Reagan.”} Mrs. Reagan is still actively involved with the national Alzheimer’s Association and its affiliate, the Ronald & Nancy Reagan Research Institute in Chicago, Illinois. When
President Ronald Reagan died in June 2004, Nancy accompanied his casket from the Reagan Presidential Library and Museum in California to his state funeral in Washington, D.C. The eighty-two-year-old widow then returned to the grounds of the presidential library, where her husband was buried. After former President Reagan's, death Mrs. Reagan became an outspoken public advocate for stem cell research.152

In recent years, Mrs. Reagan has devoted her time serving on the board and working on the projects of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California. The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to developing and fostering President Reagan’s Four Pillars of Freedom: preserving individual liberty, promoting economic opportunity, advancing democracy around the world, and instilling pride in our national heritage. On June 2, 2009, Nancy Reagan joined President Obama as he signed the Ronald Reagan Centennial Commission honoring Ronald Reagan’s memory. Throughout her long and celebrated marriage to Ronald Reagan, she was a guide and trusted friend. Her closest aide, Michael Deaver, said, “Without Nancy Reagan, there would have been neither a Governor Reagan nor a President Reagan.”153 First Lady Nancy Reagan’s son, Ron Reagan, said,

I hope that history remembers her as somebody who was dedicated to the person she loved more than anybody else on earth. That’s what her life has been about. And she did her very best to make sure that he could do his very best.154


153 PBS, “Reagan.”

154 PBS, “Reagan.”
Hillary Clinton remained a First Lady until January 20, 2001, as she was sworn in as a United States Senator on January 1, 2001. Mrs. Clinton served two roles for twenty-one days, as a member of one branch of government while married to the leader of another branch. She became the first female senator to represent New York State. As a Senator, Mrs. Clinton was on four Senate Committees and eight subcommittees.

Hillary Clinton’s memoirs, *Living History*, sold over 3 million copies.\(^\text{155}\) In her memoirs, she wrote about being born in a time period of possibilities:

I wasn’t born a First Lady or a Senator. I wasn’t born a Democrat. I wasn’t born a lawyer or an advocate for women’s rights and human rights. I wasn’t born a wife or mother. I was born an American in the middle of the twentieth century, a fortunate time and place. I was free to make choices unavailable to past generations of women in my country and inconceivable to many women in the world today. I came of age on the crest of tumultuous social change and took part in the political battle fought over the meaning of America and its role in the world. My mother and my grandmothers could never have lived my life; my father and my grandfathers could never have imagined it. But they bestowed on me the promise of America, which made my life and my choices possible.\(^\text{156}\)

As an advocate for her state, Senator Clinton led a bipartisan effort to bring broadband access to rural communities; co-sponsored the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act; included language in the Energy Bill to provide tax exempt bonding authority for environmentally conscious construction projects; and introduced an amendment calling for funding of new job creation, to repair, renovate and modernize public schools.

‘I am in, and I’m in to Win’ With that supremely confident pronouncement, Hillary Rodham Clinton took the first bold step toward

\(^{155}\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*.

\(^{156}\) Clinton, *Living History: Hillary Rodham Clinton*, 1.
becoming America’s first female president. Her declaration came in an email message that landed in millions of Americans’ in-boxes at 10:00 a.m. sharp on Saturday, January 20, 2007.\textsuperscript{157}

On June 3, 2008, after failing to win enough primary elections, Hillary Clinton delivered a stirring concession speech in Washington, D.C. to her supporters, emphasizing that she was not interested in having a cult personality following, but in her party achieving dramatic change in the executive branch. She addressed the National Democratic Convention and endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama. Throughout the fall, she campaigned vigorously on Obama’s behalf and, after he won the 2008 election, he named her as his Secretary of State. In January of 2009, Hillary Clinton became the 67\textsuperscript{th} Secretary of State. Hillary is the third woman and the only former First Lady to serve in this capacity. The position’s duties are to serve as the primary advisor to the President on foreign affairs and to enact presidential policy decisions through her department, which also includes the U.S. Foreign Service.\textsuperscript{158} A great part of Secretary Clinton’s public role is leading or joining global conferences and other international meetings on a variety of issues. As Secretary of State, she has focused special attention beyond her required duties to focus on the international rights of women, economic empowerment in financially depressed regions of the world, and “town hall” type meetings with direct questioning from the public, whether in the United States or other countries. Hillary Rodham Clinton’s life has been affected by controversy and by how she was viewed by the public. More importantly, she was also a leader who was able to rise above it all and

\textsuperscript{157} Gerth and Don Van Natta Jr. The Hopes and Ambitions of Hillary Rodham Clinton, Her Way, 4.

\textsuperscript{158} U. S. Department Diplomacy in action, “Hillary Rodham Clinton Secretary of State.”
run for the New York Senate race and win. The wife of a President is a public figure and, as such, her role was constantly examined and scrutinized by the media. Rebecca Shambaugh described Hillary’s leadership the best,

Hillary Clinton is not a woman who is easily stopped or who throws in the towel very often. Throughout both her personal and her professional life, she has been able to face adversity, adapt to new conditions, and even retool herself in order to get back into the game and come out ahead in most cases. Rebecca Cooper, a national correspondent for ABC7/WJLA-TV, covered Hillary Clinton during the Clinton administration and shared with me that Hillary’s unique combination of intelligence, confidence, and the basic Midwest values that she grew up with has formed the core of her resilience. In Washington, being truly resilient is a difficult commodity to come by, and some people in Washington politics who have experienced great difficulties don’t have the strength and inner core to re-emerge as Hillary has been known to do. She is the girl in school whom all of us know, not just because she was a straight A student but because of her hard work and desire to learn.\footnote{Rebecca Shambaugh, \textit{Leadership Secrets of Hillary Clinton} (New York: McGraw-Hill ebooks, 2010).}

It is this researcher’s hope that this research has made a significant contribution to the study of women’s leadership and the recognition of the significant contributions that First Lady Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton have made to moving social agenda on behalf of children and families forward. It is also this researcher’s hope that this research provides lessons for future educational leaders who are women. This researcher was able to use the findings from this research, in her own leadership endeavors. Just about everyone in a position of leadership can point to a highly positioned individual who took an interest in fostering, and went to great lengths to help cultivate, the trajectory of her career. These mentors advocated on others’ behalf. This researcher has strengthened her own networking opportunities and utilizes female and male mentors who advocated on
her behalf in the field of educational leadership. During her undergraduate years at University of Missouri- Columbia, Dr. Roger Harding encouraged and supported her to pursue the field of educational leadership. As a principal, this researcher was fortunate to work for a woman superintendent for five years, Dr. Connie Collins, who continues to be a tremendous support and asset in her career. In addition, Dr. Sarah Jerome has provided this researcher networking opportunities in the field of superintendence through participation in the American Association of School Administration, coordinate school health cadre. This researcher’s lesson to women leader is to seek out opportunities early in their career and to never give up by reminding themselves of their passion for their work and their leadership capacity.
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VITA

Nimisha Kumar was born and raised in Ahmadabad, India and also, raised in Rolla, Missouri. At a very young age she knew she wanted to be an educator. Before pursuing her graduate studies, she attended University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri where she earned a Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education in 1993. From 1994-1997, she also attended University of Missouri and completed a Master’s and Educational Specialist programs in Administration and Supervision. In 2007, Nimisha began the doctoral program in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois. She has been an educator for the last 20 years in elementary and middle school classrooms, in Missouri and Illinois. Nimisha had been the principal at Horace Mann Elementary School in Oak Park, Illinois from 2005-2012. Currently, she serves on the Coordinated Health Cadre with American Associations of School Administrations. Nimisha currently lives with her children, in Orland Park, Illinois.
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