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The “Toughness Conundrum”: Contemporary Mainstream Media Images of Women in the Public Sphere during the “War on Terror”

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Images of Women in the Public Sphere during the “War on Terror”**

by

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Dedication

To Benny and Nate. I love you both.

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**The “Toughness Conundrum”: Contemporary Mainstream Media
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This dissertation explores the relationship between gender, war, and media constructions of both. Using the theoretical frameworks of the social constructions of gender and the gendered constructions of the public sphere, I have analyzed how *Time* magazine portrayed Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton in discussions of war. *Time* represents mainstream mediated coverage in this case. Rice and Clinton represent women outside the normal boundaries of femininity. First, they were participants in the public sphere, which is largely male-dominated in our society. Second, both women were involved in discussions of war and foreign policy. Their participation in this area of the public sphere is a contradiction to how society expects women to act during war time. The most interesting conclusion is the way the women are linked back to the private sphere through their relationships with men. These representations align with historical theoretical definitions of the public sphere, which favor male participation and often disregard female participation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the media, including the international media, tended to be masculinist, pro-government, and pro-military, with a striking absence of voices from women and those who opposed violent conflict.¹ This is not surprising considering that men have dominated the public sphere regarding war. In such an arrangement, women have long been absent from discussions and debates about war and violent conflict. Because many of these discussions take place in or are reported by the media, the media have a significant role in shaping the images of men and women as they relate to discussions of war in the public sphere.

Women who do participate in the public sphere, particularly on the topic of war, face what one journalist called the “toughness conundrum.” This reference dealt specifically with Hillary Clinton’s campaign for the presidency. However, it is a relevant issue to consider for any woman who attempts to weigh in on war in the public sphere. How do women contribute to the masculine topic of war while still remaining feminine enough so that they do not overtly challenge dominant gender norms? How do the media promote, question, or otherwise represent the “toughness conundrum” that women face in these situations? And perhaps most importantly, how are these women changing images of the public sphere and maybe the public sphere itself?

***LYSISTRATA* AND CONTEMPORARY IMAGES OF WOMEN IN WAR**

An ancient Greek play is still surprisingly relevant in discussions about media images of women during periods of war and violent conflict. *Lysistrata* debuted in 411 B.C., during the closing years of the second Peloponnesian War, a 25-year conflict

¹ Carolyn M. Byerly, “After September 11: The Formation of an Oppositional Discourse,” *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 3 (2005): 281-296.

between Athens and Sparta. The main character, Lysistrata, is a military wife who grows tired of her husband's continual absence due to war. She organizes women within Athens and other city-states, including Sparta, to put a stop to the fighting by refusing to have sex with their husbands until the men agree to a truce. They relied on one of the most private, intimate of acts to control public warfare. So although these women entered the debate of war in the masculine public sphere, they could not escape their connection to the private sphere.

Mary-Jane Fox argues that the play posits the idea of "woman" as humanity's champion and elevates Lysistrata's status beyond ancient Greek expectations of women. "In stepping out of [her] assigned 'territory,' that is, the private realm, the world of the hearth and home, the confinement of domestic life ... Lysistrata [is] not only questioning, but also threatening the political and social order."² And yet, the play relies on essentialist stereotypes of women that assert that femininity is tied to a tendency for discussion, negotiation, compromise, avoidance of aggression and violence, and an overriding compassion about the injustices of war. Additionally, while the fictitious *Lysistrata* may have challenged Greek gender norms, Fox argues that little has changed in the ensuing 2,000 years with regard to women's roles in the affairs of the state and foreign policy.

As I will discuss throughout this dissertation, little has changed for women in the thousands of years since *Lysistrata*'s debut. These stereotypes continue to pervade in contemporary images of femininity (and masculinity), particularly in the images we see of men and women during wartime in the media. Additionally, Fox uses the play to discuss the impact of the public and private spheres on women's involvement in wartime:

Perhaps most important is that women, in general, regardless of the final outcome of the essentialist/constructivist debate, are powerfully and historically (and pre-

² Mary-Jane Fox, "The Idea of Women in Peacekeeping: *Lysistrata* and *Antigone*," *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 2 (2001): 18.

historically) bound to these customs, matters, skills, and convictions which have almost invariably been *restricted to the private sphere*, thus their possible contribution to what is public—in matters of war and peace—has not only been overlooked, but as presented in [this] play and regarded throughout history, also scorned.³

Although women's involvement is largely overlooked in matters of war and peace, more women are breaking down the barriers between the public and the private spheres. In contemporary history, a relatively small number of women have served as heads of state, defense ministers, secretaries of state, and other positions in which they must contribute to discussions of war and peace. For example, in the United States, Madeleine Albright served as the first female Secretary of State in the Bill Clinton Administration.

During the George W. Bush presidency, two particular women have not been “restricted to the private.” In fact, they have countered the essentialist stereotypes of women—those that promote discussion, negotiation, compromise, avoidance of aggression, and an overriding compassion about the injustices of war—by supporting violent conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq (conflicts that are part of the United States’ “War on Terror”). This dissertation will analyze media images of these two women to determine if, after thousands of years, stereotypes of women are shifting.

Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton do not fit into the feminine mold of women as mothers/wives of soldiers, victims of war, or pacifists. On the contrary, these women have supported and continue to support war and violence. As a result, do the media present images of the women that align with feminine stereotypes? What do media constructions of these women mean for the gendered definitions of the public and private spheres? I will examine mainstream media images of Rice and Clinton in *Time* magazine and analyze the mediated images of women leaders during war.

³ Ibid., 17.

WOMEN IN THE MEDIATED PUBLIC SPHERE DURING WAR

It is mostly men who perpetuate violence, organize a violent response, and present the media with stories about it. With very few exceptions, women are cast mostly in the role of passive victim.⁴

For nearly the entire eight-year George W. Bush presidency, America was at war. The stories of the attacks on America on September 11, 2001, provide us with many images about gender—especially with regard to the observations about gender and violence quoted above. While men have largely perpetuated violence in response to the attacks, some notable women provided support and opposition to the violent conflicts that followed that fateful day.

The attacks were traced to Osama bin Laden, a leader of the Taliban in Afghanistan. The United States and its allies invaded Afghanistan less than a month after the attacks. The American public overwhelmingly supported invading Afghanistan, including some feminists who applauded the Bush Administration for fighting for Afghan women's rights. Although the United States armed forces were successful in toppling the Taliban in Afghanistan, the war has dragged on as bin Laden continued to elude troops. In 2002, the Bush Administration began pushing for an attack on Iraq, claiming that Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, was harboring weapons of mass destruction.

In 2002, President Bush and his Administration made a case to the American people to invade Iraq. On October 11, 2002, the U.S. Senate voted 77-23 and the U.S. House voted 296-133 to approve a resolution that authorized Bush to attack Iraq with the goal of pre-empting a terrorist attack on the United States.⁵ Out of ten female senators, only one voted against the resolution. Senator Hillary Clinton, the first first lady to be

⁴ Dafna Lemish, "The Media Gendering of War and Conflict," *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 3 (2005): 275.

⁵ "Senate Approves Iraq War Resolution," CNN.com, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/10/11/iraq.us> (accessed on February 1, 2008).

elected to the Senate, voted in favor of the resolution. In the House, a larger percentage of women voted against the resolution, yet nearly 40 percent of the female representatives in the House supported the measure.⁶ A total of about 50 percent of women in the U.S. House and Senate voted in favor of giving the president permission to attack. It is important to note here that the U.S. House and Senate have historically been dominated by men. Most of those who orchestrated the war were also men, with the exception of Condoleezza Rice, who served as Bush's National Security Adviser and Secretary of State.

The "War on Terror," which implies the conflicts in both Afghanistan and Iraq, continues today. Unlike other wars in which the United States has been involved when women have largely been absent from influential and powerful positions, Rice and Clinton occupy roles that challenge gender roles in different ways. In particular, because war and violent conflict are largely coded as masculine activities, women who are in leadership positions to influence decisions about the war occupy roles outside of what traditional stereotypes of femininity allow, and challenge the predominant public sphere by emerging from the private sphere.

The introductory quote to this section makes an important point about the masculine character of war as well as the media's role in perpetuating the myth that connects masculinity to war and violence.⁷ News in general, and war news in particular, tends to be dominated by masculinist discourse. It is produced by men. It relies on official male sources. And it deals with what is constructed as a masculine discourse. So although women are occupying roles in the public sphere as leaders during war time, their voices continue to be swallowed by a sea of male voices. Additionally, it has been

⁶ Fifty-six women were serving in the U.S. House at the time of the vote. Thirty-four women voted against House Joint Resolution 114, while 21 women voted for the resolution, and one female representative did not vote.

⁷ Lemish, "Media Gendering of War."

argued that women who occupy high levels of government often promote the same masculinist discourse and masculinist ideologies about war that men do.

The media play an important role in constructing meaning about war for their audiences, which includes constructions of gender. “War is visually constructed from the mixing and remixing of media fragments past and present, (re)combined in ways that resonate with the familiar landscape of gendered popular culture.”⁸ Although women have never simply been subjects and victims of war, the media often portray them as such. Women often provide a motivation for war—because they must be protected or rescued from men by men.⁹

The mainstream media, which often rely on myths and stereotypes of gender, have played an important role in distributing messages about Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton and their involvement in the decision-making processes of war. Images of both women in *Time* challenged (and continue to challenge) feminine stereotypes and women’s traditional connections to the private sphere. Rice is not married and has no children. She is neither a wife nor a mother. Although the issue of Rice’s sexuality never emerged in this study, publications outside of the mainstream news coverage speculated about her romantic relationships with women. Clinton is a wife, a mother, and heterosexual. She has all of the trappings of a traditional woman in the private sphere. However, she has long challenged traditional ideals of femininity. She had a successful career as an attorney, she hyphenated her name (early in her husband’s administration), and played a central role in attempting to overhaul health care in the first Clinton Administration.

⁸ Robin Andersen, “Gendered Media Culture and the Imagery of War,” *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 3 (2005): 367.

⁹ Ibid.

Analyzing mainstream media coverage of these women in the media allows for some ideal examples of women in power during war time. The goal of these case studies is to better understand if women's roles in the public sphere are changing in America. It is important to examine how women are portrayed in the public sphere in the media because the media give society directions on what behavior is acceptable and is not acceptable. Additionally because more women are now allowed to participate more fully in the debates about the über-masculine issue of war and violence, perhaps the public sphere is opening more fully to women. However, it is also important to analyze and examine what these women are saying and doing in the public sphere. Are they challenging gender norms or are they simply upholding masculine ideas about war and violence? The following sections will provide brief backgrounds about both Rice and Clinton and their disparate paths to government and public service.

Condoleezza Rice

In most everything she says and writes, Rice makes clear that she is an unabashed believer in the American experiment, in the United States as a model and force for good in the world.¹⁰

Condoleezza Rice trained to become a concert pianist in college, but opted for a degree in political science, which eventually landed her a position at Stanford University as a political science professor. She studied under Josef Korbel, who was also former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's father. Through her position at Stanford, she impressed officials in the George H. W. Bush presidency in the late 1980s. She then connected with his son, George W. Bush, who asked her to head his foreign policy team when he campaigned for president in 2000. "As George W. Bush and his conservative handlers guiding him began to cobble together a foreign policy team, Rice became a key

¹⁰ Jay Nordlinger, "Star-in-Waiting: Meet George W.'s Foreign Policy Czarina," *National Review*, August 30, 1999, 36.

player... Academically trained in the politics of the Cold War, her orientation toward foreign policy was very much steeped in the ‘balance of power’ and ‘national interests’ of realists.”¹¹ In many articles that preceded the 2000 election, Condoleezza Rice was pegged as someone who could become a major player in a Bush Administration. The media, including *Time*, predicted that she would become a “rock star” in the Administration.

She assembled a campaign team that was exclusively composed of men, including Paul Wolfowitz, Robert Zoellick, Richard Armitage, and Robert Blackwill.¹² When Bush was elected in 2000, he appointed Rice to be his National Security Adviser. Rice was the only female in Bush’s foreign policy team. Several women have served on foreign policy teams, including Madeleine Albright during the Clinton Administration. However, Rice served on a cabinet during a prolonged war and was actively involved in shaping U.S. foreign policy.

Following Colin Powell’s departure from the Secretary of State position in 2004, Bush promptly nominated Rice to take his place. “While Rice [did] not possess the experience, global receptivity, gravitas, and the staff support that Powell enjoyed, she [did] have the one skill he did not demonstrate: unabashed loyalty.”¹³ Her loyalty to Bush was a major issue in *Time*’s coverage of her as both National Security Adviser and Secretary of State. Her close, familial relationship with the president was often attributed as a source of her power in the Bush Administration, which has significant implications in discussions of media images of her in the public sphere.

¹¹ Clarence Lusane, “What Color is Hegemony? Powell, Rice and the New Global Strategists,” *New Political Science* 27, no. 1 (2005): 30.

¹² Jacob Heilbrunn, “Condoleezza Rice: George W.’s Realist,” *World Policy Journal*, December 22, 1999, 49-54; and Marcus Mabry, “Think Again: Condoleezza Rice,” *Foreign Policy* (2007): 22-28.

¹³ Lusane, “What Color is Hegemony?” 39.

It is also important to note that Rice was the first black woman to serve in both positions. She was one of the only black members of the Bush Administration, with the exception of Colin Powell. Yet her race was rarely a negative issue in the media's representations of her. It was rarely discussed at all, other than in discussions of how Rice overcame segregation while growing up in Alabama. Rice also discounted her race. For example,

she is refreshingly, strikingly, at ease on the matter of race. For years she has faced questions about her skin color and sex: Have they been advantages, responsible for her rapid rise? Disadvantages? "I don't spend too much time thinking about it," she says. "I can't go back and recreate myself as a white male" to test this proposition or that... She is loath "to criticize any black person for how he or she has wanted to navigate being black in America... She does allow, however, that she wishes the "black middle class would spend less time thinking about itself and more time worrying about the witches' brew that is poverty and race."¹⁴

While I am not focusing on race in the analysis of her image, it is something to be cognizant of—particularly as race and gender are conflated with images of other identities in the media. To some, Rice's appointment to the position of National Security Adviser and then to Secretary of State suggests that we are living in a post-race and post-feminist society.¹⁵

Additionally, Rice often linked her views on foreign policy with the United States' racist past. For example, she "regularly links the war against contemporary terrorists with her experiences growing up in Alabama and the terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan..."¹⁶ Rice's own discussions of politics indicate that she was inspired by the civil rights movement. She often applied the American experience to solutions for Iraq. As the introductory quote to this section indicates, she is a believer of American

¹⁴ Nordlinger, "Star-in-Waiting," 37.

¹⁵ After the 2008 Democratic primary race, the idea of post-race and post-feminist society was even more apparent in debates about race and women in politics.

¹⁶ Lusane, "What Color is Hegemony?" 41.

hegemony in international politics. Rice's acceptance and promotion of war positions her firmly outside of society's expectations for women, particularly for black women.

Hillary Clinton

*From her days as an Arkansas Governor's wife to her years in the White House to her race for the Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton has inspired admiration, controversy, hostility—and always curiosity.*¹⁷

Hillary Clinton has a considerable amount of “baggage” when it comes to her image in the media, as evidenced in the quote above. She has not only been a controversial public figure, she was also a First Lady, which carries its own implications for media images of her.

Clinton received a law degree from Yale University and she continued to practice law while her husband served as the governor of Arkansas in the 1980s. Hillary became a more visible public figure as Bill Clinton campaigned for the presidency in 1992.

Lisa M. Burns argues that in presidential campaign news coverage,

reporters draw on the memories of certain former first ladies to both describe the candidates' wives and to prescribe ‘proper’ first lady comportment. Such articles help shape public expectations of the first lady role by using collective memory to articulate the rhetorical boundaries of first lady performance.¹⁸

Burns argues that collective memories are limited in scope and reduce first ladies to a single ideology or role. Images of Hillary Clinton were often simplified into an “activist” first lady. “Such oversimplification helps to reify the fairly limited boundaries that define ‘proper’ first lady performance in the press.”¹⁹

Hillary Clinton assumed a visible role in the early days of the Bill Clinton presidency. She was charged with crafting a plan to reform health care in America. When

¹⁷ “Hillary Unbound,” *Time*, June 16, 2003, 25.

¹⁸ Lisa M. Burns, “Collective Memory and the Candidates' Wives in the 2004 Presidential Campaign,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8, no. 4 (2005): 684.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 686.

Republicans in congress challenged and eventually defeated her reform plan, she stepped out of her active role in the Clinton Administration. Following this experience, Clinton did not take a lead role on a policy issue for the remainder of the Clinton presidency. She emerged as a public political person again when she declared her intention to run for a U.S. Senate seat in New York. Later, she became the first woman to be considered a contender for a major party's nomination for president.

Although Rice and Clinton have varied backgrounds and experiences, their roles as political leaders forced the media to confront stereotypes about women in the public sphere. Rice, as a Republican serving in an administration filled with war hawks, was not overtly questioned about her stance on war. Her positions often aligned with neoconservative members of the administration who supported the use of unilateralist force to protect American interests, mostly during the first four years of Bush's presidency. Clinton, a Democrat, was often challenged by members of her party about her position on the war—even when this vote became a major distraction in her quest to secure the Democratic presidential nomination. However, she refused to apologize for her vote to give George W. Bush the authority to invade Iraq.

Mainstream mass media coverage of Rice and Clinton provides excellent material for case studies of women leaders during war time because these women have active roles in discussions about war: Rice as a key member of Bush's war cabinet and Clinton as a candidate for the commander-in-chief. I performed a textual analysis of the mediated images of these women in *Time* magazine between 2000 and 2008. Central to this analysis is the idea that patriarchy and gender roles are not natural, but rather socially constructed. The media play an important role in promoting these constructions, both by relying on social constructions of gender and gendered constructions of the public sphere.

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The fictitious construction of women in *Lysistrata* provides a helpful point of departure from which we can begin to look at how historical constructions of women and war have evolved (or not evolved) in society. It also allows us to examine how the constructions of constructions of the public and private spheres impact how men and women participate in both. Media images of Hillary Clinton and Condoleezza Rice in *Time* magazine may allow for a reconsideration of those constructions. This dissertation seeks to understand how *Time* magazine, a mainstream media outlet, constructed images of Rice and Clinton when they discussion war and violent conflict; how those constructed images have reified, limited, or enlarged women's ability to participate in the public sphere in meaningful ways; and what the implications of those mediated images are for contemporary women's access to power, particularly in the government.

There are few images of women like Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton particularly related to the public sphere. Unlike collective memories of first ladies, the media do not have readily available images with which to compare the images of these women. The most recognizable image of women during war time is that of a victim or mothers or wives of soldiers.

Gender media research focuses largely on how women are "framed" in the news or how the images rely on "myths" in the news. While these are important considerations, this project expands the theoretical framework to analyze how women leaders are covered during wartime and the expectations and/or assumptions of gender in the public/private sphere dichotomy. Discussions of the public and private spheres allow researchers to understand more about the gender assumptions associated with the spheres and how women leaders, especially those who serve during wartime and support war, could be challenging those assumptions.

- Which images of gender (and race) are allowed to surface in *Time* magazine during the “War on Terror,” which includes state-sponsored conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq?
- Because the subjects of media coverage of women soldiers and victims of war have been well studied, how do *Time* constructions of women leaders during war time compare to these constructions?
- How did *Time* construct women who were involved in discussion of war in the public sphere? What do these constructions mean for gendered constructions of the public sphere? Is there “real” or dominant public sphere? How is gender being incorporated in this model?
- What are the relations between power, gender, the media (representations), and the public sphere?

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Chapter 2 examines the social construction of gender and how those constructions have impacted how women and men are represented in the media during wartime. The chapter begins with an overview of the social constructions of masculinity and femininity as these constructions relate to violence. These are the basis for a discussion of how the media represent gender. The chapter then focuses mostly on research about representations of American women during wartime. Media representations of women largely follow two themes: The Victim and The Mother/Wife. While there are representations that challenge these themes in coverage, these themes permeate media coverage of women during wartime. The chapter also explores the relatively recent phenomena of media representations of women soldiers. Women have been fighting in wars and serving in the armed forces since the Revolutionary War. However, the official inclusion of large numbers women in combat started during the first Gulf War in the

early 1990s. As more women are participating in the armed forces and violent conflict, the masculinist ideal of war is changing. However, this change is limited. Until women are allowed to engage in active combat, they will remain in “protected” by male soldiers.

Chapter 3 includes discussions of the theoretical concept of the public sphere. Conceptions of the public sphere, particularly by Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt, allow for an understanding of the gendered construction of the public sphere and the media’s role in both acting as a quasi-public sphere *and* upholding the gendered constructions of both the public and the private spheres. The chapter also explores how the media covers women leaders in general. These concepts help put Condoleezza Rice’s and Hillary Clinton’s role in the public sphere in context and help explain how the media represents them. Based on Habermas’s and Arendt’s definition of the concepts of the public and the private spheres—and on criticisms of those definitions—I describe the public arena as having multiple spheres where many different groups attempt to access the dominant public sphere. It is against this definition that I compare the media coverage of two potential powerful political women.

Chapter 4 details the methodology I used to analyze news media representations of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton during wartime. Because I am looking at issues of power and hierarchy in society, I applied ideological textual analysis to examine coverage of these two women in *Time*. I chose this news magazine strategically. *Time* represents a general news magazine that is not overtly attached partisan to a position. This magazine represents “mainstream” coverage of the women. The ideological textual analysis allowed me to conclude that *Time* allowed a certain amount power to images Rice and Clinton in the public sphere. However, they accessed and participated in this sphere by working with patriarchal definitions of masculinity. Additionally, this analysis

that *Time* linked the women back to the private spheres through their coverage of the women's relationship to men.

Chapter 5 analyzes the major themes in *Time*'s coverage of both women. Both women's images shifted throughout their respective political careers. The shifts in their images are partially due to the changes in their careers: Rice transitioned from National Security Adviser to Secretary of State and Clinton started as a U.S. Senator and ended the timeframe as a presidential candidate. The latter images of the women moved away from traditional images of women in the media. However, the analysis also indicates that the shifts in these images are also a product of a shift in atmosphere in the dominant sphere. George W. Bush's first term was dominated by strong masculine personalities. This time period was dominated by discussions of violence: attacks on America and two wars. As Bush began his second term, the atmosphere shifted as the public and the larger government questioned America's involvement in war and violent conflict and many of the large male personalities disappeared from the Bush Administration.

Chapter 6 focuses on *Time*'s coverage of Rice and Clinton as it relates to their positions in public/private sphere theory. An interesting theme emerged in the coverage of both women. Early in their careers, *Time* linked them back to the private sphere through discussions of their relationships with men. This raises interesting issues about how the media cover women who challenge the typical feminine stereotype as well as the gendered expectations of the public and private spheres. These two case studies provide materials that help explain how the media negotiates the social construction of gender and the gendered construction of the public sphere. By linking both women back to the private sphere through images of a daughter (Rice) and wife (Clinton), *Time* reconnects them to femininity because, by the gendered construction of the private sphere, it is a sphere for women to inhabit. These are subtle connections—a way to discuss the

women's femininity without overtly using their appearances or other feminine markers to negotiate their roles in the masculine public sphere.

The discussion and conclusions in Chapter 7 allow for a better understanding about what these case studies mean in the context of gender in the media. The most notable findings in this dissertation are how the women's images shifted as the atmosphere of the dominant public sphere shifted as well as how *Time* linked of Rice's and Clinton's back to the public sphere through images of a daughter and a wife. As I discuss in Chapter 4, the public sphere is a masculine domain. The media, based on these case studies, continue to uphold this gendered construction. Rice's and Clinton's power, according to *Time*'s representations of them, are connected to their relationship to men. By using a multiple spheres model to frame these case studies, the analysis concludes that the dominant public sphere, which can include the government and the mainstream media, is more open to women. However, women still must find access points to this sphere. Rice and Clinton used a female masculinity by participating in masculine discussions of war.

Chapter 2: The Social Constructions of Gender and the Media

War is understood and interpreted, justified, and judged through the images and narratives that tell the stories of war. Gendered conventions used to tell the stories of war make war acceptable to the public while they reinforce a society based on gender inequality and the violence that promotes war.²⁰

Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton occupy positions of power in a government dominated by men. Although more women now serve in presidents' cabinets and in national legislative seats, their voices are often absent in debates about war and foreign policy. Rice and Clinton are the exceptions to that rule, a rule that I argue is a result of the social constructions of gender and the gendered constructions of the public sphere.

Rice and Clinton are exceptions to male-dominated rule during wartime simply because they are women. Masculinity, not femininity, has long been associated with violence and war, while femininity is more often linked to peace work or is absent from discussions of violent conflict altogether. This dichotomy has shaped and is constantly reshaped by how society is divided into public and private spheres. Both spheres have their own implications for men's and women's positions in society. Briefly, the public sphere is associated with masculinity and men largely occupy the sphere. The public sphere is where politics happen, including the politics of war. Women, on the other hand, are expected to remain in the private sphere, which implies that women are to remain at home and concern themselves with nonpublic endeavors like the family. In Chapter 3, I discuss the gendered construction of the public and private spheres and the impact the gendered construction of the spheres has on representations women who occupy both.

This chapter will focus primarily on how the social construction of gender dictates how men and women behave, particularly during periods of war and violent conflict. The

²⁰ Andersen, "Gendered Media Culture," 370.

media, an important modern arbiter of social norms, provide us with images of men and women during wartime. However, these images are not merely a reflection of reality during wartime. Rather, the media, like society, have certain expectations for men and women. As I will discuss below, war news is constructed as a masculinist narrative. The process of news production promotes the masculinist narrative through male-dominated ownership and control, employment, the “hierarchy of credibility” that is associated with news sources, and representations that depend on stereotypes of gender.²¹ Additionally, as patriarchy creates and upholds a gendered power structure, news and history are deliberate reflections of a masculine ideology. In other words, patriarchy gives men the power to write news and, more generally, history from their perspective.

The chapter begins with an overview of the social constructions of masculinity and femininity as these constructions relate to violence. These constructions are the basis for a discussion of how the media represent gender. The chapter will then move to a discussion of media representations of gender during violent conflict. While this conversation will consider historical images of women during wartime and violent conflict, a bulk of the discussion will focus on contemporary images of American women during the most recent conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Many of these images represent women as victims of war, women as mothers/wives of soldiers, women as soldiers, and, less often, women as peace activists.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER

As the introductory chapter noted, the play *Lysistrata* is an example of how assumptions about gender have pervaded history. While men have been political and violent actors, women have been the subjects of history and war. In the play, ancient

²¹ Cynthia Carter, Gail Branston, and Stuart Allen, “Setting the New(s) Agendas: An Introduction,” in *News, Gender and Power*, ed. Cynthia Carter, 1-12 (London: Routledge Press, 2002).

Greek women enter public debate about war by withholding sex from their husbands. While the play does allow women some agency, their demands to stop the war are largely tied to their bodies and sexuality.

The following table provides a summary of the dichotomies of gender and different characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity, which I will discuss throughout the chapter. This table illustrates an important aspect of the public/private divide. The separate spheres of political and domestic spheres are impacted by stereotypical gender characteristics. Access and participation in both spheres is determined by performing specific gender characteristics.

Table 1: Dichotomies of Gender

| Stereotypes of Masculinity | Stereotypes of Femininity |
|---|---|
| Public Sphere Politics Rational, Practical Aggressive, Assertive Strong Smart Protectors Violent | Private Sphere Family Emotional Docile, Soft, Passive Weak Incompetent Childlike Nurturing, Maternal |

Table 1 includes some of the many characteristics and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity that exist in the media and society in general.

The first section deals with the dichotomy of gender. Gender, for many feminists and cultural scholars, is a constructed identity based on assumptions. While the categories of male and female (sex) are considered biological, masculinity and femininity (gender) are considered cultural constructions.²² This means that one's identity is shaped not only

²² John Benyon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002). Some feminist scholars argue that male even the binary biological categories are too rigid and recognize that the biology of male and female are also socially constructed. They contend that there are many variations of biological categories.

by gender, but also by age, socioeconomic situation, geography, religion, and definitions of gender may not be understood without considering other cultural situations and locations.²³ As Chandra Mohanty argues, “It is the various systemic networks of class, race, (hetero)sexuality, and nation, then, that position us as ‘women’” and, by extension as “men.”²⁴

Because gendered identities are constructed, culture and society have certain expectations of gender and of how men and women should look and act based on their gender. These expectations rely on the binary constructions of gender, a dichotomy that promotes women’s connections to motherhood and private sphere of the home. Men, on the other hand, are expected to work outside of the home as well as lead nations and states and formulate policy, control economies and businesses, and occupy the public sphere in general. Men’s identities as fathers are not as closely connected to masculinity as women’s roles as mothers are tied to femininity. Marion W. Gray provides one argument for how and when these gender roles emerged in nineteenth century in bourgeois societies of Western Europe. This shift ushered in

prescribed strict roles for both females and males. Men were to be leaders in the public sphere... While the new standards divided life between the home and the public arena, they granted males alone the ability to move between the two [spheres]. As fathers, husbands, and owners of family property, men enjoyed, according to the new ideals, a presiding role in private life... Middle-class gender norms denied women the ability to move between the two spheres. They limited life-options of most bourgeois women to wifhood.²⁵

²³ Shayla Thiel, “Shifting Identities, Creating New Paradigms,” *Feminist Media Studies* 4, no. 1 (2004): 21-36.

²⁴ Chandra T. Mohanty, Ann Russo, Lourdes Torres, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991): 13.

²⁵ Marion W. Gray, *Productive Men, Reproductive Women: The Agrarian Household and Emergence of Separate Spheres during the German Enlightenment*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000).

Gray introduces an interesting historical connection between the constructions of gender and how they relate directly to the public and private spheres—as well as the structure of the economy.

In modern Western societies, then, men are expected to be rational, practical, and aggressive in order to fulfill their social and cultural roles.²⁶ Conversely, women are expected to adhere to the feminine archetype and be “docile, soft, passive, nurturant, vulnerable, weak, narcissistic, childlike, incompetent, masochistic, and domestic, made for child care, home care.”²⁷ When women resist or fail the archetype, they are considered less female, a lesser woman. “Women who comply or succeed are elevated as models, tokenized by success on male terms or portrayed as consenting to their natural place and dismissed as having participated if they complain.”²⁸ Catherine MacKinnon also makes a point about this construction of femininity: it is based on the *white middle-class* norm that emerged in nineteenth century Europe and it continues to evolve.

This female archetype is based on a narrow construction of white, middle-class women because black and lower-class women could not survive if they were soft, weak, and incompetent, MacKinnon argues. This raises a central point about how the world interprets gender roles and how there are different expectations based on race and class. Much of the following literature deals with Western white, middle-class standards of gender. This emphasis is essential in this dissertation because I am focusing on mainstream media representations of women—one who is white and one who is black. When women move into the public sphere they do not abandon their identities, whether it is their gender or race. However, they are able to occupy a hybrid identity in the media. It

²⁶ Benyon, *Masculinities and Culture*.

²⁷ Catherine A. MacKinnon, “Feminism, Marxism, Methods, and the State: An Agenda for Theory,” *Signs* 7, no. 3 (1982): 517.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 517.

is female with male persuasion. They must discuss war and violent conflict to be considered “leaders.” This identity tends toward white male, who generally occupies this position.

Cross-culturally, gender is a learned quality with assigned behaviors that vary independent of biological categories. (Hetero)sexuality also plays a significant role in the construction of gender and gender roles. Many feminists argue that the “norm” of heterosexuality is a form of power, “which institutionalizes male dominance and female sexual submission.”²⁹ This power dynamic is a result of men creating the world from their own point of view, “which then becomes the truth to be described.”³⁰ The system of creating the world, or creating reality, is largely a closed system. Because men are often able to “create” the world and reality, they hold the power both by writing history and determining the future through their powerful positions in government and other organizations. In other words, men largely have the power to create a certain perspective of “reality.”³¹

As the construction of gender is largely understood as a dichotomy, masculinity and femininity are only understood in relation to each other. Men are constructed as naturally violent, while women are assumed to be naturally nurturing; men are rational, women are emotional. Female is what male is not. Likewise, constructions of war and peace are similarly based on binary definitions that have implications for gender as well. At its most basic, peace is the absence of violence and conflict, which aligns with constructions of femininity, and war and conflict are the absence of peace, which aligns with constructions of masculinity. The implications of these constructions and

²⁹ Ibid., 506.

³⁰ Ibid., 523.

³¹ Ibid., 508.

representations structure how we live our lives, and have structured how men and women have lived their lives throughout history.

For this project, I discuss the relationship between masculinity and violence and femininity and nonviolence and/or pacifism, particularly related to the media's role in the system that helps define these constructions. Although the analysis will focus on the media's construction of femininity during wartime, it is also important to understand how masculinity is constructed, because as Cynthia Enloe argues, militarization may privilege masculinity, but it does so by manipulating constructions of both masculinity and femininity.³²

Masculinity and Violence

Throughout history, men have carried out violence and fought wars while women either remained on the home front and out of harm's way or became victims of war as civilian casualties (or actually participated in wartime activities). These roles position men as actors and protectors in the history of violence and women as subjects and victims in the history of violence. This section will focus specifically on masculinity as it relates to organized and/or state-sponsored violence (e.g. wars between nations or governing parties). Men are most typically linked to other types of violence as well, like violent crimes and domestic violence. While these are important topics, I will not discuss masculinity as it relates to violence in general, although it is important to recognize that there are links between them.

These gender characteristics have been defined and developed by a hierarchical system that seeks to control society by establishing acceptable roles for different groups

³² Militarization, according to Cynthia Enloe, not only encompasses military conflicts, but also the pervasiveness of the military in our lives. For example, children play with military-influenced toys like G.I. Joe and fashion designers regularly use camouflage in their designs. Militarism impacts people even when there are no wars or violent conflicts. Cynthia Enloe, *Manuevres: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

of people. This political-social system, patriarchy, insists that “males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak.”³³ This system is upheld because we, as members of society, are indoctrinated in gender roles from birth. The family, religion, education, and the media all contribute to this indoctrination. It can be a subtle process during which members of society who do not conform to gender standards are shunned or it can be more violent and overt. The patriarchal system has existed for long and is so insidious in every level of society—from Eastern to Western, from wealthy to poor, in nearly every culture—it now seems like a “natural” way to organize life. It has taken on different forms throughout history and continues to evolve.

This patriarchal system is not simply a community or society in which men hold political positions of power. “Patriarchies, rather, are those much larger societies where not only are there gender dominance: they are also highly class-structured, with small powerful elite controlling the rest of society.”³⁴ This is not only the case with gender and class, but also factors of dominance constructed on terms of race, sexuality, and other identities. Although the patriarchal hierarchy of society is less apparent now, it still exists. Patriarchal values are insidious at every level of our lives: from politics to economic institutions to representations in the mass media. However, modern constructions of masculinity are based on the male archetype’s connection with militarization.

In the United States, the military has always been associated with masculinity based on who has been allowed to serve in the military: Men.³⁵ Male sexuality is often

³³ bell hooks, *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Change* (New York: Astria Books, 2004): 18.

³⁴ Mary E. Clark, “Rhetoric, Patriarchy and War: Explaining the Dangers of ‘Leadership’ in Mass Culture,” *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (2004): 21.

³⁵ Christine L. Williams, “Militarized Masculinity,” *Qualitative Sociology* 17, no. 4 (1994): 415-422.

associated with the power that war confers. “For example, military hardware has long been surrounded by a symbolic culture that assigns meanings over and above its deadly purposes. Indeed, weapons designed to kill are conventionally associated with male virility.”³⁶ This association is further reinforced through the popular media that “glorify men who have ‘the right stuff’—the will, energy, and brute strength to compete in violent struggles with other men.”³⁷

Although more women are joining the military, the institution refuses to shed its masculine characteristics. Cynthia Enloe believes that the spread of militarism has exposed more women than ever before to militarism that promotes “the vices of exclusionary chauvinism and obedient conformism and sharing the disposition to perceive the world as dangerous and the danger as best contained by force.”³⁸ Militarization is not just about joining the military; it is a far more subtle process. While men are actors in war and violent action, both setting the policy and authority for war as well as serving in war, women are the subjects of war. “The military has learned to construct its own fictions, confirming the need for combat to save the ‘soft bodies’ of the ‘weaker sex,’ a story believable by virtue of its own familiarity.”³⁹ As if taking a cue from ancient Greece where women were portrayed as victims and pacifists in their roles as mothers and wives of soldiers, modern society has constructed women in similar “victim” and “pacifist” roles. That is, women are to maintain their dichotomous roles to men—or act in the opposite way. The opposite of a violent actor is a nonviolent subject, or a victim.

³⁶ Andersen, “Gendered Media Culture,” 368.

³⁷ Williams, “Militarized Masculinity,” 415.

³⁸ Bat-Ami Bar On, “The Opposition of Politics and War,” *Hypatia* 23, no. 2 (2008): 142-153.

³⁹ Andersen, “Gendered Media Culture,” 369.

Femininity and (Non)Violence

As noted above, social constructions of femininity include an archetype of woman as nurturing, maternal, caring, passive, and polite. Dominant notions of femininity are largely based on women's roles as mothers, or their potential to be mothers. Non-normative conceptions of "woman" invert these ideals to include more masculine behaviors that are seen as assertive, sexual, angry, and sadistic.⁴⁰ Women who behave in such a way are considered to be "mannish" and to be "mannish" as a woman is to be a freak and a threat to the proper order of things.⁴¹

Women as Victims

"Womenandchildren" often appear together because they have "traditionally remained at home where they are perceived as creatures that are fragile and need to be protected from men's wars. From this arises a dichotomy that assigns to men the role of protectors, leaving women and children as those to be protected."⁴² Christine Mason argues that this protector/protected dichotomy is inherently unequal. It divorces women from opportunities for their own protection and forces them into passive and weak positions. Limiting women to roles of victims depoliticizes their actions and undermines their potential agency.

A gendered analysis of war requires us to look beyond women as victims to the social structures and mechanisms that shape and reinforce—and in some cases undermine—their vulnerability in times of crisis. It also requires us to consider the possibility that vulnerability applies to men too, not necessarily (but sometimes) in the same ways.⁴³

⁴⁰ Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum, "Code Pink, Raging Grannies, and the Missile Dick Chicks: Feminist Performance Activism in the Contemporary Anti-War Movement," *NWSA Journal* 19, no. 1 (2007): 91.

⁴¹ Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

⁴² Christine Mason, "Guest Editor's Introduction: Women With and Without Guns: Gender, Conflict and Sexuality," *Social Alternatives* 22, no. 2 (2003): 3-4.

⁴³ Judy El-Bushra, "Feminism, Gender, and Women's Peace Activism," *Development and Change* 38, no. 1 (2007): 141.

Wars are fought for many reasons, yet one common—though often tangential—reason for fighting wars is to protect or liberate innocent people, who usually happen to be women and children. The most recent and obvious construction of women as victims came in the build up to the invasion of Afghanistan. The main reason for the invasion was generally understood as a military mission to topple the Taliban and capture or kill its leader, Osama bin Laden, who allegedly orchestrated the September 11th attacks. However, the condition of women in Afghanistan under Taliban rule was also used to make a case for the invasion. The Bush Administration promised to free women from the restrictive rule of the Taliban, ban the veil, and allow girls to attend school.

There is one area of war discourse where women are more likely to find a voice: peace politics. However, peace politics are often devalued in our militaristic culture and women's voices and demands are disregarded in favor of discussions of war or ignored completely.

Women as Pacifists

Social scientists, cultural theorists, and feminists have wrestled with women's connection to peace activism for years. Some researchers and theorists argue that women, due to their "maternal nature," are more equipped to work for peace because they are naturally more compassionate. Whether or not these connections are real or imagined and constructed, femininity is more likely to be connected to peace work or an opposition to war because women, in general, are assumed to have more pacific (or rather, not assertive, not confrontational, not aggressive) temperaments than men.⁴⁴ Modern interpretations of *Lysistrata* have emphasized the play's message that connects women and peace. For example, the Lysistrata Project emerged after September 11th, 2001, when

⁴⁴ Margaret Drabble, "Writing for Peace: Peace and Difference; Gender, Race, and the Universal Narrative," *Boundary 2* 34, no. 1 (2007): 215-225.

the United States prepared to invade Afghanistan. It was founded on the principle that femininity is more naturally connected to peace work, using the ancient Greek play as an example of that link.⁴⁵

Theories of women and peace activism lie between two poles of ideology—from the essentialist position and the social analysis of womanhood. The first extreme posits that males are innately violent and the root of war and violence, the other suggests that there is an essential conflation between womanhood and motherhood. Both of these extremes fail to challenge the actual stereotypes of masculinity and femininity that tend to promote the inequity between the sexes.⁴⁶

There are many examples of women organizing in the name of peace. In some cases, women expressly use femininity or traditionally feminine activities to frame their protest messages. Linda Pershing, who studied a group that utilized the traditionally feminine craft of needlework to protest nuclear proliferation in the 1980s, expressed concern that

encoding expressive behavior so that it safely communicates messages of resistance and opposition requires that women understand their cultural circumstances and skillfully manipulate their artistic practices. But there is, simultaneously, an element of subjugation involved—women may respond to oppressive and repressive circumstances in ways that accentuate, and therefore run the risk of reinforcing, their domination. Here lies the paradox and difficulty for the cultural analyst: as women reclaim and manipulate expressive forms associated with femininity or women’s conventional roles in order to create change, they simultaneously rely on and to some degree reinforce traditional stereotypes.⁴⁷

Pershing worries that what women do as nurturers on an interpersonal level can be easily disregarded on the global level. Not only are women less visible in the public sphere, but

⁴⁵ “About Us,” Lysistrata Project, <http://www.lysistrataproject.org/aboutus.htm> (accessed on February 8, 2009).

⁴⁶ El-Bushra, “Feminism, Gender, and Women’s Peace Activism.”

⁴⁷ Linda Pershing, *The Ribbon Around the Pentagon: Peace by Piecemakers* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996): 237-238.

by focusing on their femininity, Pershing is concerned that they will further be silenced when protesting the male-dominated realm of war. Although women are more often linked to peace activism, it is important to note that only 12 women have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize since 1905, suggesting that working for peace (or the absence of violence) is also something that occurs in the public sphere.

More recently, women have organized by concentrating on their femininity. Female-centered groups have used a combination of norm-embracing and norm-challenging performance elements to integrate gender into the anti-war agenda and promote a feminist ideology among fellow protesters. “Both informal and formal performances encourage protesters to think about the relationship between gender and the anti-war movement as well as challenge their own assumptions about gender and femininity.”⁴⁸ These types of feminist performance activism are arguably more “effective” in challenging gender norms and gender’s role in violence and war than relying on passive feminine activities.

Essentialist stereotypes link femininity to pacifism and masculinity to violence, but these stereotypes must be challenged because there is significant evidence that many women actually support war, either through direct participation or by providing other types of inputs (and contrarily, many men oppose violence and war). Additionally, some women actually encourage men to participate in violent nationalist or religious movements. Most importantly, women do not speak in a unified voice on issues of war and peace or respond to these issues in the same way.

The analyses of the social constructions of gender helps elucidate that the way men and women act in relation to war is not inherent or natural. Rather, constructivist theories indicate that men and women are socialized to behave in certain ways.

⁴⁸ Kutz-Flamenbaum, “Code Pink,” 100.

Socialization occurs at many levels through social institutions like the family, the educational system, the military, and the media. The next section discusses how the media informs us about proper gender roles. It also discusses how the media deals with an individual or individuals when they behave or act outside their socially prescribed roles.

REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

The absence of women writers, sources, and subjects of news, and particularly war news, has resulted in news discourse that is excessively “masculine” in form. Masculinism in the news has a reverence for power through sourcing and coverage practices that closely follow “strategic insider positions” and a lack of interest in points of view of the less powerful. News with this perspective also focuses on strategies rather than morality, has a tendency to discuss war in highly gendered language, such as sports, games, and/or hunting, and represents women tightly constrained and recognizable patterns (such as the victim or woman-soldier).⁴⁹ Historical representations and images of women in the media are important considerations when discussing war news because of this tendency.

I will begin this section with the assumption that the news and most media narratives are “masculine” in nature. In modern times, “women’s voices and experiences, historically marginalized in mainstream media, were particularly drowned out after September 11.”⁵⁰

The media rely on certain representations or images of groups, individuals, events, and other issues that warrant coverage in order to make sense of large amounts of information. They use these representations and stereotypes so news consumers and

⁴⁹ Bernadette Barker-Plummer and Cynthia Boaz, “War News as Masculinist Discourse,” *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 3, (2005): 372.

⁵⁰ Byerly, “After September 11,” 282.

audiences may understand information about the world. Representations and images are similar in that they are constructions. Images are appearances or sights that have been recreated or reproduced and have been detached from the place and time from which they made their first appearance.⁵¹ Representations and images are shaped by visual and linguistic “framing” of information in the media. The tools that journalists and other mass media communicators use to create media messages are bound to social and cultural definitions of gender. Framing here means that the media organize specific information about groups, individuals, and events to help create coherent representations. While framing is an important theory in mass communication research, I will not elaborate on it in this dissertation. However, it is important to consider that media representations and images do not (and cannot) include every piece of information about something or someone.

The issue with media representations of women is that they rely heavily on myth and stereotype, according to feminist media scholars. The production of media texts is often controlled within a patriarchal system that defines women as subjects rather than objects. These media representations and images of women help construct female and feminine identity and ideas about women’s lives and options.⁵² This goes for male and masculine identities as well. When dominant images of women are limited to women as weak, nurturing, and emotional, the identities of women are impacted. Women are expected to fit into these prescribed notions of femininity and when they do not, society and culture are responsible for explaining the aberrations in order to keep the stereotypes and myths that govern culture intact.

⁵¹ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin Books, 1977).

⁵² Suzanna Danuta Walters, *Material Girls: Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

The issue of “representation” is an important battleground for feminism.⁵³ While the women’s movement has been engaged in a material struggle for equal rights and opportunities for women, it has also been engaged in a “symbolic conflict about definitions of femininity (and by omission masculinity).”⁵⁴

A stereotype is a form of representation that stands in for what is real: “They are there not to tell it like it is but to invite and encourage pretense.”⁵⁵ Although stereotypes often include expressions of truth, they are constructions based on the radicalized notions of common social practices that categorize events, experiences, objects, and individuals. Stereotypes of gendered identities are socially constructed and products of circumstances, opportunities, and limitations.⁵⁶

The media are purveyors of messages about and representations and images of gender. The media provide us with images that tell us how to act, look, and regard others. They help us navigate our identities and shape how we define ourselves. “The media have so inserted themselves into the everyday life of most Americans (indeed, most people) that they have come to construct our sense of what it means to live in the (post) modern world.”⁵⁷ What we see in the media rarely reflects the many complex meanings that are embedded in “reality.”

Stereotypes of Women in the Media

Images of women in the media are rooted in the social ideas of what it means to be a woman. Stereotypical images of women as passive, wholesome, and pretty have pervaded the American media for over a century and women are often portrayed in the

⁵³ Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

⁵⁶ van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*.

⁵⁷ Walters, *Material Girls*, 22.

limited dichotomies of either the virgin or the vamp, either the sex goddess or the mother.⁵⁸

While these limited dichotomies often dictate how women will be represented, the media is not impervious to how women's lives have changed over the past century. As women have become more independent, the media have been forced to negotiate what it means to be "feminine" because independent women still challenge these stereotypes. Liesbet van Zoonen describes gender as a contested area of terrain in which definitions of gender can shift. She sees the relationship between gender and communication as "primarily a cultural one ... a negotiation over meanings and values that inform whole ways of life."⁵⁹ As women have become increasingly independent over the past century, the media have been forced to negotiate what it means to be feminine. For example, the popular media now allow images of women to be more physically, socially, or politically powerful while at the same time disciplining these new images to remain feminine in appearance. There are many popular examples, including Wonder Woman, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, the Charlie's Angels television series in the 1980s and the more recent movie series. These women are physically powerful and smart, but also attractive in appearance.

Feminist media theory and critical/cultural studies argue that these representations and images are the result of a system of power, meaning that one group or groups have the power to define other groups. That is why stereotypes are considered distortions of reality—what is included and what is left out of a representation impacts the meaning associated with the representation. The production of media texts is often controlled within a patriarchal system that defines women as subjects rather than actors in society.

⁵⁸ Carolyn Kitch, "Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Women's Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in a New Area of Historical Scholarship," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (1997): 477-489.

⁵⁹ van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*, 40-41.

As Catherine MacKinnon argues, the patriarchal structure of society promotes men's ability to "create" reality and write history. In the media, which is largely considered a "masculine narrative," where the ideas of the patriarchal system dominate, men likewise define our reality through their control of the system and structure of media production.⁶⁰

Furthermore, Mary Ellen Brown argues that

although they appear real, women function as sources of meaning, carrying rather than creating meaning. They are to be seen but are not given the privilege of speaking for themselves. As signs of support, women in the news are allowed to speak for organizations and institutions, many of which oppress women. This serves to diffuse arguments made by women against such institutions.⁶¹

Many factors dictate how men and women appear in the media. As I have discussed, media images of gender often rely on stereotypes. These stereotypes are based on the dichotomous constructions of gender. Masculine and feminine often appear as opposite constructions in the media. Additionally, as a "masculine narrative," the media relies on certain definitions of reality that position women as subjects in the media while men create meaning. All of these factors help define how the media cover war and how definitions of gender are involved in this coverage.

Gender, War, and Media

The media play an important role in constructing meanings about war for their audiences, which include constructions about gender. Although women have never simply been subjects and victims of war, the media often portrays them as such. Because masculinity and femininity are often treated in the media as opposites, images of men rely heavily on one set of stereotypes (as rational, practical, and naturally aggressive) and

⁶⁰ Lana F. Rakow and Kimberlie Kranich, "Women as Sign in Television News," *Journal of Communication* 41, no. 1 (1991): 8-23.

⁶¹ Mary Ellen Brown, "Feminism and Cultural Politics: Television Audiences and Hillary Rodham Clinton," *Political Communication* 14 (1997) 257.

images of women on another (as expressive, nurturing, and emotional).⁶² These stereotypes suggest that when armies of men engage in war and violent conflict, they must protect the weak women. These media representations are assumed as “natural” for males and are rarely questioned. When women partake in war, however, the media often questions or explains their involvement, as I will discuss below.

There are now more women than ever who publicly weigh in on war and violent conflict (women like Condoleezza Rice, Hillary Clinton, and the other women who serve in the U.S. government and other former government leaders, such as former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright). Yet following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the media, including international media, tended to be masculinist, pro-government, and pro-military, with a striking absence of voices from women, people of color, and voices opposing violent conflict.⁶³ This type of coverage is a result of how war news is produced: through routinized practices, embedded assumptions, and taken-for-granted subject positions. News depends upon powerful institutions and people to supply information and this focus has “provided a persuasive ‘insider’ perspective which focused minute attention either to the victims, or to the voices urging more peaceful solutions, because these voices [women, people of color, and others who oppose war], tended, by definition, not to speak from the inner circles.”⁶⁴ Bernadette Barker-Plummer and Cynthia Boaz discuss a similar pattern in the coverage of the Iraq war in international news magazines. They find that women are nearly absent in any role relating to the war. “There are few women sources, even fewer women writers, and the women who did

⁶² Benyon, *Masculinities and Culture*.

⁶³ Byerly, “After September 11,” 281-296; Barker-Plummer and Boaz, “War News,” 370-374; and April Lindinsky, “The Gender of War: What *Fahrenheit 9/11*’s Women (Don’t) Say,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7, no. 1 (2005): 142-146.

⁶⁴ Barker-Plummer and Boaz, “War News,” 371.

feature in this news were usually brought into the story in highly conventionalized, and often voiceless ways.”⁶⁵

During recent wartime activities, the media often limit representations of women to three familiar stereotypes: the victim, the (patriotic) mother and wife, and the female soldier. The first two stereotypes have existed throughout history while the third is relatively new and becoming more and more common as more women are serving in the armed forces.

Victims

Since the American Civil War, American women have never been the victims of war like other women across the globe. This is because war has always been conducted in foreign lands. In the most recent conflicts, particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq, “brown” women are subjects to be saved by Western (often white) men. These women are constructed as victims of both war and of “brown” patriarchal culture, religion, and/or governments.

August Del Zotto analyzed media images of Kosovar women during the Kosovo conflict that occurred in the late 1990s. Nearly all of the national and international media images represented women as victims of war, from the passive refugee, to the waiting wife, to the rape survivor. Alternative constructions, which were rare, included women in the role of the peace activist and very few non-stereotypical constructions that positioned women as central actors in challenging and changing policy.

Media representations of women in Kosovo supports the theory that popular culture still upholds the masculinist paradigm of war. Indeed, women as passive victims rather than as activists and combatants have been the staple of war coverage for decades... Until news agencies radically shift the standards for what

⁶⁵ Ibid., 371.

constitutes ‘news of war’ and ‘news’ overall, women will continue to be framed as victims or spectators rather than transformative agents in world events.”⁶⁶

While these portrayals do not concern American women, there is a tendency in the Western media to portray women, regardless of nationality, in similar roles. This limits women’s agency during wartime and upholds the image of women as victims.

Mothers/Wives of Soldiers

Women often remain home during wartime because they need protection from men’s wars—particularly in the American experience. This assumes a familiar dichotomy that positions men as protectors, leaving women and children as those needing protection (not unlike the victim stereotype discussed above). As Mason argues, their dichotomy is unequal and distances women from protecting themselves, which forces them into positions of weakness.⁶⁷

Mothers, contrary to the images we see in the media, have been important considerations in war—particularly when America becomes involved in violent conflicts. Prior to the First World War, women began challenging the proposed draft that would have enlisted their sons and husbands to serve in the war effort. In response, the Woodrow Wilson Administration embarked on a campaign to socialize mothers as to proper and acceptable wartime behavior. The “good mother” archetype that emerged encouraged women to avoid dissention of the war. It became increasingly important for the U.S. government to have women’s, and particularly mother’s, support for the war efforts.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ August C. Del Zotto, “Weeping Women, Wringing Hands: How the Mainstream Media Stereotyped Women’s Experiences in Kosovo,” *Journal of Gender Studies* 11, no. 2 (2002): 141-150.

⁶⁷ Mason, “Women With and Without Guns,” 3.

⁶⁸ Karen Slattery and Ana C. Garner, “Mothers of Soldiers in Wartime: A National News Narrative,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24, no. 5 (2007): 429-455.

During the two World Wars, the good patriotic mother archetype emerged that portrayed women as selfless, protective, and caring. Yet this image also suggested that a mother should be stoic, silent, and brave in the face of war when she puts her child/ren in harms way. This archetype was forced to reconcile the seemingly disparate assumptions that a mother would protect her children while allowing them to engage and participate in violent conflicts.⁶⁹

Often, women are forced in the role of the archetypal good mother who continue to carry out their maternal work (e.g. worrying about their children, supporting the cause) when their children are deployed. However, during the recent conflicts, more mothers are stepping out of their roles as the archetypal patriotic mother by expressing opposition to the war, with Cindy Sheehan being one of the most recognized examples.⁷⁰

Soldiers

In mainstream U.S. news media, coverage of women soldiers is a continued site of negotiation between femininity and violence. Coverage of the debates about women soldiers and their place in the military often appear in the news media, which “complicates women’s military roles by representing stories consistent with dominant patriarchal militaristic narrative.”⁷¹ Essentially, the arguments in these debates oscillate between women as passive and protected to women as strong and active.

Most recently, during both of the Gulf Wars,⁷² women have died or been taken captive during their service in war. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when a record

⁶⁹ Slattery and Garner, “Mothers of Soldiers”; Karen Slattery and Ana C. Garner, “The Patriotic Good Mother of World War II: The Creation of an Identity,” (paper, annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Chicago, IL, August 5-9, 2008).

⁷⁰ Slattery and Garner, “Mothers of Soldiers.”

⁷¹ John W. Howard III and Laura C. Prividera, “Rescuing Patriarchy or Saving ‘Jessica Lynch’: The Rhetorical Construction of the American Woman Soldier,” *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (2004): 89-97.

⁷² Operation Desert Shield began in August 1990 when U.S. forces arrived in Saudi Arabia. It ended in March 1991 with a permanent cease fire. Operation Iraqi Freedom began in March 2003 when cruise missiles and bomb salvos hit Baghdad. The conflict in Iraq continues today.

number of women joined the armed forces, the news media was forced to negotiate whether women soldiers were protectors or protected, especially with regard to prisoners of war. The media tended to reinforce the traditional imagery of protected femininity of female soldiers.⁷³ The “War on Terror” is noteworthy in this regard because it has mainstreamed images of female soldiers—mostly due to the increasing number of women who are joining the armed forces.⁷⁴ Because the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq have required so many soldiers, the U.S. armed forces are aggressively recruiting anyone who is qualified to be a soldier, including women. Additionally, coverage of female soldiers often focuses on the drama of soldiers who are also mothers, with the implication of “who will mind the children when mothers go to war?” There is a very different image of male soldiers, which rarely references their role as fathers.⁷⁵

In the current war in Iraq, Jessica Lynch served as the poster child for “protected femininity” in the media. In the media, Lynch was “a hero not for saving others but living to be saved by a warrior hero. She [was] a hero for being a subject, not an object.”⁷⁶ The media’s portrayal of Lynch as “protected” aligns with the media’s representation of women during war and violent conflict. Lynch’s experience in Iraq served as an argument as to why women should not be allowed to engage in combat situations because they are weak and must be protected. Another female soldier also captured the media’s attention when she became the poster girl against serving in combat situations, albeit for different reasons.

Lynndie England became notorious for her participation in torturing prisoners of war at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Her involvement was captured in several

⁷³ Cynthia Nantais and Martha F. Lee, “Women in the United States Military: Protectors or Protected? The Case of Prisoner of War Melissa Rathburn-Nealy,” *Journal of Gender Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 181-191.

⁷⁴ Deborah Cohler, “Keeping the Home Front Burning: Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in the US Mass Media after September 11,” *Feminist Media Studies* 6, no. 3 (2006): 245-261.

⁷⁵ Barker-Plummer and Boaz, “War News,” 370-376.

⁷⁶ Howard and Prividera, “Rescuing Patriarchy,” 94.

photographs that were leaked to the press when the prisoner abuse scandal surfaced. Although she was one of several soldiers, including other female soldiers, who appear in the photographs, the media focused on her involvement. A conflation of class and gender impacted England's image in the media. U.S. officials were reported as saying what happened at Abu Ghraib was the work of "recycled hillbillies" and the phrase resonated in the media; "discussions of Lynndie England as a gender-bending hillbilly pervert proliferated."⁷⁷ By featuring her short, dark hair, army fatigues, and a cigarette dangling from her lips, the media stereotyped England as a sexual deviant who existed outside of the normal accepted feminine bounds. Her sexualized images reinforced her role as a sexual deviant or vamp. England represented the "bad" girls who could not be trusted to serve in combat situations because she could not control herself.

Lynch and England represented the reasons why women cannot serve in combat situations because they are too weak and/or cannot control their sexuality. They represented the stereotypical images of the virgin and the vamp dichotomy that often exists in the media's coverage of women.

DISCUSSION

Feminist commentaries that circulated in the days after September 11 tended to reflect these binary assumptions, thereby seeming to essentialize men as inherently violent and women as inherently peaceful and nonviolent. In fact, history is replete with examples to discount both, including ancient British warrior queens who led their people into war against invaders or other enemies, and, in modern times, female heads of state, including Israel's Golda Meir and Britain's Margaret Thatcher, who approved military action while they were in office. Women also voluntarily serve in the militaries of many nations today (e.g. the United States and Israel) and they have taken up arms in modern national liberation struggles... Clearly binary stereotypes of men, women, and war are inaccurate, incomplete, and complex.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Christine Mason, "The Hillbilly Defense: Culturally Mediating U.S. Terror at Home and Abroad," *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 3 (2005): 40.

⁷⁸ Byerly, "After September 11," 290-291.

As discussed in this chapter, the social construction of gender impacts how the media constructs images of men and women. Likewise, social constructions of war and violence are almost exclusively masculine. Mediated narratives of war are largely dominated by masculine ideas and representations, which is a result of how news is produced. As Byerly argues, binary stereotypes of men and women are far too simple to explain what happens during war. However, the media rely on these stereotypes because they help make sense of and frame large amounts of information for both journalists and their news audiences. Using stereotypes can, and often do, stand in for more complex explanations.

As Dafna Lemish contends, men perpetuate violence, organize violent responses and present the media with stories about it. Women are largely absent from this process. Barker-Plummer and Boaz blame this process on the way news is produced: through routinized practices, embedded assumptions, and taken-for-granted subject positions. News depends upon the powerful to supply information and this focus

provided a pervasive ‘insider’ perspective which focused minute attention on the actions and opinions of aggressors but gave little serious attention either to the victims, or to the voices urging more peaceful solutions, because these voices tended, by definition, not to speak from inner circles.⁷⁹

By examining the social constructions of gender in the media, it is clear that war news is generally constructed and produced by men with an overwhelming absence of women. Even if women are in “leadership” positions during wartime, they often uphold and perpetuate masculine news narratives. What does the invisibility of women and feminine narratives mean in terms of the current news discourse?

The social constructions of gender and the gendered constructions of the public and private spheres inform each other. They are related because a patriarchal system of

⁷⁹ Barker-Plummer and Boaz, “War News.”

hierarchy defines women in a certain way. The same system has structured the political world into what we know as public and private, allowing men to participate in the public sphere without question, while forcing women into the private sphere. When women are placed in these limited roles, their ability to access the public sphere is likewise limited. Women have a difficult time accessing the public sphere *because* these stereotypical images of femininity are so closely connected to the private sphere. Women who do access the sphere must do it creatively/

Rice and Clinton were able to access the public sphere. But their access was likewise limited. They relied on masculine gender constructions of the public sphere to access that sphere. The analysis chapters examine how the women accessed the sphere by aligning with masculine discussions of war. Meanwhile, *Time* also linked them back to the private sphere by focusing on images of their relationship with powerful men.

This is an oversimplification of how women are represented in the media and their position in public and political life. The next chapter will examine gendered theoretical constructions of the public sphere, what they mean for women in the public sphere, and for mediated images of two powerful women in the United States: Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton.

Chapter 3: The Gendered Constructions of the Public and Private Spheres

In stepping out of [her] assigned “territory,” that is, the private realm, the world of the hearth and home, the confinement of domestic life ... Lysistrata [is] not only questioning, but also threatening the political and social order, and accepted status quo.⁸⁰

The concept of the public sphere serves two purposes in the analysis of media images of women leaders during wartime. First, the public sphere and the private sphere are inherently gendered. Theoretical conceptions of the spaces associate masculinity with the public sphere and femininity with the private sphere. Criticisms of these concepts allow for a better understanding about how the spheres are constructed on gendered terms and how they may be used to understand media images of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton and their roles in war.

Second, the media have a unique relationship with the public sphere. It exists as a quasi-public sphere where debates about politics often emerge and evolve. The media’s role in/as the public sphere presents its own implications for gender. In this concept, men generally have more access to the media as a quasi-public sphere because men are more likely to be involved in the public sphere in general.

This chapter will examine the definitions of the public and private spheres as they relate to gender. It will then move into a discussion about why female political leaders may be—and usually are—treated differently, particularly in the media, than men. Condoleezza Rice’s and Hillary Clinton’s positions in relation to the current conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq make them interesting case studies because they are not only involved at top levels of government, but they are also contributing to what is constructed

⁸⁰ Mary-Jane Fox, “The Idea of Women in Peacekeeping: *Lysistrata* and *Antigone*,” *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2001): 18.

as the highly masculinized discussion of war. How does this theoretical framework help us understand the mediated constructions of women who are involved in political discussions about war?

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES: SOME DEFINITIONS

In order to understand the conceptions of the “public” and “private” spheres of society, it is necessary to examine the cultural theories that help define them. As will become clear in the following definitions of these concepts, women are often absent from discussions of “the public.” This chapter will focus on two theorists who have written extensively on the public sphere that apply to analyses of gender and the media. Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt are critical theorists who used historical examples of public spheres to better understand the emergence of the spheres. Habermas noted the emergence of the sphere in Western Europe in the seventeenth century. Arendt discussed the sphere as it existed in ancient Greek society. Both theorists rely on a definition of the public sphere that excludes the participation a majority of a particular population, including women.

The following two sections focus on both Habermas’s and Arendt’s definitions and discussions of the sphere. They will provide a definition of the public sphere as it has evolved over the past two decades based on criticisms of the spheres. Arendt’s conception of politics is significant in this project because of how it has been criticized on gendered terms. The gendered implications of the sphere are important considerations about where men and women fit into the public and the private. These gendered implications are also helpful in understanding how media images are constructed.

Jürgen Habermas: The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere

Jürgen Habermas is perhaps best known for his work on the concept of the public sphere. He traced the emergence of the sphere as well as its decline in seventeenth century Europe in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The book was originally published in the 1960s and was relatively unknown to English-speaking scholars until it was translated from German in 1992. Shortly after the book's translation, Habermas's theory of the public sphere was the subject of criticisms from feminist theorists, historians, and other scholars who questioned Habermas's definition of the sphere. Although Habermas is most closely associated with the theory of the public sphere, particularly as it relates to communication theory, other scholars have conceptualized this sphere in relation to the private sphere. Hannah Arendt's theory of politics offers a detailed discussion about the public and private spheres. Arendt's theory, too, has received notable criticisms, particularly from feminist scholars.

The Public Sphere

In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas theorized a space in which private citizens could openly debate issues of the state without interference from the state or other powerful entities. For Habermas, the public sphere is a domain or arena that is *ideally* open to all citizens and he situates the emergence of the public sphere in late seventeenth-century Europe when private persons assembled to form a public.⁸¹ Prior to this emergence, public opinion was monopolized by a *representative publicness* in which feudal powers “represent(ed) their authority ‘before’ the people rather than for the people.”⁸² The public sphere emerged as some western European

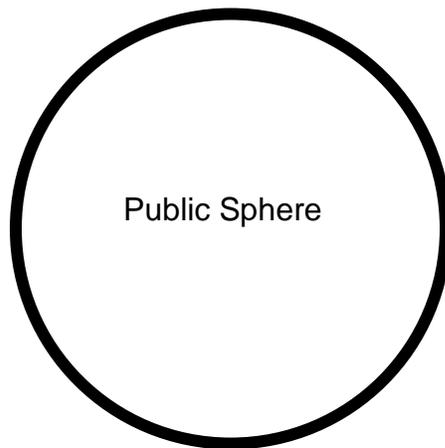
⁸¹ Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” in *Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, ed. Steven Seidman, 231-236 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992).

⁸² Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 232.

monarchies lost power in favor of common people—particularly as the higher class propertied (bourgeois white) men began making decisions for the good of the people, or the public.

For Habermas, the public sphere was a space in which public opinion could be formed. He defined public opinion as the concerns of social and public life. As feudal Europe was transforming into republics with more representative governments, “the emergence of [a] new space, which effectively formed a zone of mediation between the state and the private individual, shaped and was shaped by the emergence of a philosophical concept and consciousness of ‘publics’ and their importance.”⁸³ The public sphere was an unprecedented form of political confrontation—private people’s use of their reason in public. Reasoned, rational, and educated debate is a hallmark of the public sphere, according to Habermas.⁸⁴

Illustration 1: Habermas’s Public Sphere



⁸³ John Michael Roberts and Nick Crossley, “Introduction,” in *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere*, ed. Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts, 1-27 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004): 2.

⁸⁴ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*.

The bourgeois public sphere was incubated in coffee shops and other spaces in which private individuals could gather to discuss issues of the state. Although these spaces often or always excluded women and unpropertied people, Habermas argues:

However exclusive the public might be at any given instance, it could never be considered a clique; for it always understood and found itself immersed within a *more inclusive public of all private people who—insofar they were propertied and educated*—as readers, listeners, and spectators could avail themselves via the market of objects that were subject to discussion.⁸⁵

As illustration 1 indicates, Habermas's conception of the public sphere is limited to one large sphere. His concept establishes rather thick and impervious boundaries. White, propertied males could participate in the sphere.

Since its emergence in the late seventeenth century, the bourgeois public sphere has changed from a participatory sphere to a liberal democracy to a bureaucratic industrial society.⁸⁶ In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas claims that for the past century the public sphere has been in a process of decomposition, and places much of the blame for its decay on the mass media and the economy. The mass media, and specifically electronic media like television and radio, have transformed the public sphere into a sphere of cultural consumption where the public hear a “Don't Talk Back!” mantra and are “deprived of the opportunity to say something and disagree.”⁸⁷ Habermas sees this as problematic because the public, as he conceives it, is not involved in the sphere; rather the sphere is now monopolized by bureaucrats, governments, the economy, and consumer issues.⁸⁸

Things have changed somewhat in the digital age when more members of the public have access to one another through tools like the Internet, inexpensive audio and

⁸⁵ Ibid, 37 (my italics).

⁸⁶ Habermas, “The Public Sphere.”

⁸⁷ Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” 171.

⁸⁸ John Downey and Nick Fenton, “New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere,” *New Media and Society* 5, no. 2 (2003): 185-202.

video recording equipment, and cell phones. No longer are people hearing this “Don’t Talk Back!” mantra from the media and spheres of power. These tools have allowed more people to access the public sphere. However, as critics of Habermas’s concept have argued, people who exist on the margins of the public sphere (women, people of color, and others) have long participated in alternative spheres. The following section discusses these criticisms and introduces the idea that there is not one single sphere. Rather, a multiple spheres model acknowledges that alternative spheres exist and contribute to debates within and outside of the “mainstream” or “dominant” public sphere, which tends to be dominated by white males.

Criticisms of the Public Sphere

Habermas’s conceptualization of the public sphere has created a debate about when (and if) the public sphere was formed, if the concept was an ideal rather than a reality, who was allowed to participate in it, what could be discussed within it, and why it has declined.⁸⁹ The issues of power and accessibility are common in many of the criticisms, and I will focus on these themes of criticism as they relate to women and the public sphere. One category of criticism questions the founding of the public sphere on the basis of free and equal access. Many scholars note the issues of power that were and still are required to access the public sphere. Another category of criticism faults Habermas for focusing on the emergence of one sphere: the male bourgeois public sphere. By examining these issues, the critiques claim that Habermas ignored other public spheres in which oppositional discussions and exchanges of ideas take place.⁹⁰ These criticisms allow for an inspection of power and the hierarchies created by the formation of the public sphere.

⁸⁹ Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, 1-48 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993).

⁹⁰ Roberts & Crossley, “Introduction.”

Nancy Fraser argues that members of subordinated social groups have “repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative publics,” which she calls subaltern counter publics to indicate that they are parallel discourse arenas in which subordinate groups are able to construct and disseminate counter discourses.⁹¹ Subaltern counter publics also exist as spaces to regroup and train for activities that are directed at wider publics to agitate the public sphere.⁹²

Nevertheless, the ideal of public sphere is what Fraser calls a “conceptual resource,” a space in which people can deliberate their common affairs distinct from the state. This space, Fraser argues, can be a site for the production and circulation of discourses and debates that are critical of the state.⁹³

The difference between Habermas’s bourgeois public sphere and Fraser’s re-conception of the space is how discourse relates to the sphere as a whole or wholes. Habermas’s conceptualized one sphere that represents common interests. Within this single sphere, intrapublic relations eclipse subordinate groups’ concerns. In a society with a single sphere, “members of subordinate groups would have no arenas for deliberation among themselves about their needs, objectives, and strategies. They would have no venues in which to undertake communicative processes that were not, as it were, under the supervision of dominant groups.”⁹⁴ Fraser’s answer to this problem is the idea of a plurality of competing publics, or multiple spheres communicating with each other, promoting different issues, perspectives, and groups.

It is within the multiple spheres model that Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge argue that there are and always have been multiple spheres. For Negt and Kluge, the

⁹¹ Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, 109-142 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 122-123.

proletariat public sphere existed alongside the bourgeois public sphere and allowed laborers to discuss their own reality and confirm that their struggle was not an illusion. It is only within a collective movement, when workers have similar concerns or interests, that workers begin to talk, make suggestions, and become active.⁹⁵

As counter spheres become active, the discursive element of the sphere can be trumped by “speak,” which is not authentic discourse according to Habermas. In situations when the counter spheres are making demands of the dominant spheres, they create spheres of action. The counter sphere “does not discuss, it demands, and its demands are chanted or written on banners carried by a mass and backed up by the threat of physical resistance and even violence if its demands go unheeded.”⁹⁶ Alternate public spaces have also emerged throughout history as different groups who do not have power and access to the sphere have claimed a right to make their voices heard in the public sphere. The proletariat sphere emerged to demand increased wages from the capitalists. Likewise, women have been involved in alternative spheres of action since the early history of the public sphere (based on Habermas’s historical concept). Key examples of women’s involvement in alternative spheres include women formally organizing themselves for a conference in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. This Women’s Rights Conference focused on women’s suffrage, but also rights like equal pay for equal work. Women organized in individual states and slowly won the right to vote in national elections. Their efforts were finally rewarded on a national level in 1920.

These counter subaltern spheres must create their own spaces to discuss and plan how they will intervene in mainstream debates of a mainstream public sphere. Rather than entering into a discursive argument with those in power, they create spheres of

⁹⁵ Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

⁹⁶ Warren Montag, “The Pressure from the Streets: Habermas’s Fear of the Masses,” in *Masses, Classes, and the Public Sphere*, eds. Mike Hill and Warren Montag, 132-145 (London: Verso, 2000): 142.

action in which they can force themselves into the debate. Often, this is where the media enter the picture.

Today, the mainstream media are important sites for debate and can be seen as social gatekeepers that manage the interaction among elites, politicians, and the broader public.⁹⁷ It is difficult to imagine modern social movements without the media. It is through the media that counter spheres, like social movements can strengthen their messages by reaching the masses. This is a task that would be difficult in our society, if not impossible, without some form of mass mediated communication. Yet, as the literature indicates, the media, like the dominant public sphere, is not always friendly to messages that oppose the status quo. This generates the need for a sphere of action in which social movements must invent symbolic forms of direct action in order to move from their counter spheres to the mainstream mediated public sphere to enter the debate. “Citizens who disagree with their government have historically used public demonstrations, small presses, low-powered radio and other basic technologies to express dissent and mobilize followers.”⁹⁸ In the digital age, social movements have access to a wide range of communication devices and events to disseminate their messages to anyone who has access to the internet.

Habermas’s theory is particularly helpful when thinking about how the media impacts the “public” in a mass society. It is difficult to understand the modern public sphere (if it still exists) without considering the media, both in the mainstream media and in alternative forms of media.

⁹⁷ W. Lance Bennett et al., “Managing the Public Sphere: Journalistic Construction of the Great Globalization Debate,” *Journal of Communication* 54, no. 3 (2004): 398-583.

⁹⁸ Byerly, “After September 11,” 282.

Habermas's Public Sphere and the Mass Media

The “media,” or, more appropriately, the press, have always been important considerations for the public sphere. Early in the public sphere’s existence (as Habermas conceives it), members used pamphlets and newspapers to distribute their ideas and debates. These pieces of information were often partisan in nature and used to reach a broader public outside of the cafes and other public spaces where members of the public would gather to discuss and debate.

As the public sphere transformed and allowed more people into the sphere of debate, the media became an important site for society-wide debate (although Habermas argues that this is also when the sphere began its decline).⁹⁹ Today the media are important sites for debate and can be seen as social gatekeepers that manage interactions among elites and the broader public.¹⁰⁰ Here it is important to delineate between the mainstream mass media and alternative media. Alternative media can be easier to access as well as easier to control in terms of the messages it produces, but the alternative audience is usually not as large or as diverse as the mainstream mass media audience.¹⁰¹

When defining the media as a public sphere, or a space for public deliberation, examining production routines and ideological influences on the production of news content begins to address issues of accessibility to the mainstream public sphere. The mainstream media as a public sphere has some of the same border guards as the bourgeois public sphere—that is power and resources.

As I discussed above, the media system is not as monolithic as it once was. New digital technologies allow people to communicate with broader publics without having to use the media system. The internet has become an accessible space for debate and

⁹⁹ Habermas, “The Public Sphere.”

¹⁰⁰ Bennett et al., “Managing the Public Sphere,” 437-454.

¹⁰¹ Downey and Fenton, “New Media, Counter Publicity.”

discussion and serves a similar purpose as pamphlets and partisan newspapers once served. Cell phones have even become a viable technology with which private people communicate and discuss issues of a public nature. Theoretically, men and women have equal access to alternative technologies and can perhaps participate on equal footing in this area of the public sphere. However, issues like having the resources and the knowledge to use these technologies are still issues. These issues remain for identities like race and socio-economic status as well.

Power and resources are not as central to access of the media and the public sphere as they once were. However, a dominant discourse remains in the mainstream media and public sphere. In the media as a public sphere, journalists and sources actively maintain boundaries of different social and political encounters by expanding or restricting the degrees of recognition and response. The news media have a central role in determining who communicates with larger publics.¹⁰² Because the public sphere is a masculine construction, gender becomes a central factor in considering access and influence in the news media.

Although Habermas's original concept of the public sphere has shifted and its boundaries have expanded through structural transformations, criticisms, and re-conceptualizations, it is still a useful concept to use when thinking about the mainstream public sphere and issues of accessibility. While the boundaries of the public sphere limit participation, they are not exempt from ruptures or cleavages or cracks where counter-hegemonic messages can enter. Critiques of the bourgeois public sphere have resulted in the acknowledgment of counter public spheres and it is at the intersections of various public spheres where public debate and deliberation seem to be the most fruitful.¹⁰³ The

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Calhoun, "Introduction."

following section addresses Hannah Arendt's definitions of the public and private spheres and their inherently gendered construction.

Hannah Arendt: The Human Condition

While Habermas mentions the private sphere, he does so implicitly. For, if there is a public sphere, there must be another realm of space where people can retreat from the rigors of public life. Other theorists, like Hannah Arendt, explore both spheres.

Hannah Arendt, a critical scholar who wrote about the divisions between public and private spheres and their relationship to politics, was more concerned about what she called the "human condition." In *The Human Condition*, Arendt theorized public and private spheres and their roles in politics.

Arendt's discussion of the human condition is important in understanding the gendered nature of the theoretical constructions of the public sphere and the private sphere. Criticisms of Arendt's concepts are productive for both understanding the gendered nature of the spheres as well as providing a direction that moves away from male-dominated politics to a more gender-neutral system.

Arendt modeled her political theory on the political systems of ancient Greek city-states, like Athens and Sparta. Many political scholars trace early forms of democracy to Greek society, and the formation of city-states helped promote nascent democratic governments. The rise of the city-state in ancient Greece allowed citizens to occupy two spheres: the private life and the political life. This introduced a distinction between what a citizen owned and what was considered to be communal. It destroyed the social organization that was based upon kinship and family clans.¹⁰⁴ Politics, as conceptualized by Arendt, is dependent upon a public space because it involves the interaction of

¹⁰⁴ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958): 24.

humans engaged in public matters.¹⁰⁵ The play *Lysistrata* provides one example of how politics, particularly during war time, were incredibly gendered in ancient Greek society. Men made the decisions to go to war, carried out war time activities, and wars usually ended on their terms.

The Viva Activa

In *The Human Condition*, Arendt discussed the human condition in terms of the *viva activa*. According to Arendt, the *viva activa* is what differentiates humans from other animals and creates a world of politics. The *viva activa* is composed of three human activities: labor, work, and action. Labor corresponds to the biological processes of human life and the processes of human survival. Work corresponds to the unnaturalness of the human experience. The products of work—human artifacts—often outlast the humans who create them. They are examples of the futility of mortal life and the relatively brief time individual humans survive in the world.¹⁰⁶

Finally, action corresponds to the human condition of plurality; that is, men inhabit the earth and compose political life, according to Arendt. “Action, insofar as it engages in founding and preserving political bodies, creates the condition for the remembrance, that is, for history.”¹⁰⁷ Whereas labor and work are activities that are individual in nature (e.g. familial or small community), action involves a plurality of individuals. In summary:

Labor gives us food. Work gives us houses. These are the prepolitical requirements which allow humans to flourish in politics. Humans, at their highest

¹⁰⁵ Nelli Kopola, 1998, “Is the Concept ‘Activa Woman’ an Oxymoron in Hannah Arendt’s *The Human Condition*?” *NORA*, vol. 6, no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 9.

level activity, act. After labor, work. After work, action. Labor and work master necessity so humans can experience freedom of political action.¹⁰⁸

Arendt is often criticized for valorizing this organization of society. Propertied men had time and energy to participate in the plurality of action because women and slaves carried out labor and work. I will explore these criticisms further after a discussion of how the *viva activa* relates to the public and private spheres.

The Public and the Private

The activities of labor, work, and action are carried out in separate spheres: the private and the public. Arendt contends that the distinction between public and private coincides with the opposition of necessity and freedom. The private sphere exists to hide some activities from public view while the public space allows some activities to be displayed for the public good.¹⁰⁹

For Arendt, the biological processes of human life—nude bodies and sexual organs—should occur in private where they are unobserved and performed without publicity or the notice of others. Because women are the child bearers, Arendt argues that they are more “biological” than men (i.e. women’s role in pregnancy, childbirth, and breast feeding) and thus believes they should remain in the privacy of the home.¹¹⁰ Arendt’s philosophy also places the economy in the private sphere because it is the systemization of the satisfaction of basic needs.

The activity of work occurs in the private sphere, but is often displayed in the public world, so it belongs in both spheres. “As an activity it is done in private and it yields the homes, temples of privacy. But it gives objective and relatively permanent

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Betz, 1992, “An Introduction to the Thought of Hannah Arendt,” *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society* 28, no. 3: 383-4.

¹⁰⁹ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 73.

¹¹⁰ Betz, “An Introduction to the Thought of Hannah Arendt,” 385.

results, highly visible, which are part of the public world.”¹¹¹ Some examples of work that straddle the private/public divide include works of art, architecture, literature and other artifacts that are publicly displayed but privately conceived and produced.

Finally, action is exclusively a public activity. The public is a space of appearance where the common good is pursued. This realm of action, the public,

is, par excellence, the space where citizens act and conduct politics. It is the parliament or assembly hall or forum or town meeting or town square where people go to be seen and heard as they espouse their causes. It is the place for debating and negotiating about the welfare of the city.¹¹²

In short, the public is a space of politics.

The public realm encompasses two definitions of the “public,” or everything that is common. The first definition is the space that constitutes “reality.” “There, only what is considered to be relevant, worthy of being seen or heard, can be tolerated, so that the irrelevant becomes automatically a private matter.”¹¹³ The second definition of the public signifies the world itself—the *common world* that is distinguished from the private home. “For the common world is the common meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it... Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. This is the meaning of public life.”¹¹⁴

There is a spatial quality to Arendt’s public political life. It is not enough for private individuals to simply vote separately and anonymously. People must see and talk to one another in public. It has a condition of plurality by which people meet in a public space and discuss public concerns. They must be united in an arena where common affairs and issues may be debated.

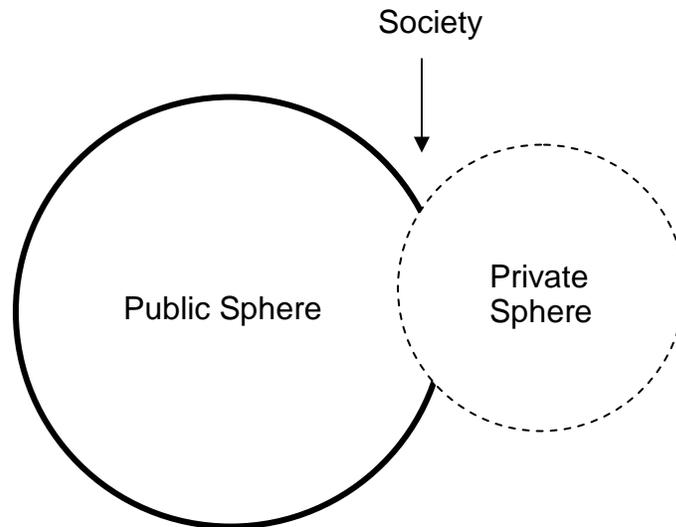
¹¹¹ Ibid., 385.

¹¹² Ibid., 385.

¹¹³ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 51.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 57.

Illustration 2: Arendt's Public and Private Spheres



By defining the public and private spheres as actual physical spaces with theoretical boundaries, Arendt contends that there are appropriate human activities to be carried out in these specific spaces. She laments the creation of a space in which private concerns invade public space. This space, “society,” taints politics. Arendt warns that politics are ruined when issues of the household become the business of politics. The rise of society occurred when private issues and activities and problems of the household emerged from that shadowy interior of the private sphere into the light of the public. There are many examples of how “society” occurs in our modern world. Politics now addresses “household” topics such as domestic violence, economic welfare for the poor, abortion, and other issues that Arendt would consider “private” in nature.¹¹⁵ By eliminating certain issues from appropriate topics of discussion in the public sphere, Arendt suggests that these issues have no place in the public. By segregating these

¹¹⁵ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 38.

“private” concerns to the private sphere, women are further barred from participating in the “action” of the public sphere. These are considered “feminine” issues.

Illustration 2 represents a model of Arendt’s concept. Arendt defines two distinct spheres: the public and the private. She also acknowledges that these spheres can overlap. In her definition of the concept, however, this overlapping space, which she calls “society,” is a negative manifestation of interacting spheres. In her definition, public interests of society and private interests of the home should be distinct and separate spheres. By defining the spheres in this way, she allows that the boundaries of the public sphere are not as impervious as that of Habermas’s definition of the concept. The size of the spheres in this image indicates the importance Arendt gives to activities carried out in each sphere. “Action” in the public sphere trumps “labor” and “work” in the private sphere for Arendt.

Criticisms of the Human Condition

Like Habermas, Arendt’s gendered conceptions of the public and private spheres have been criticized for celebrating a hierarchical social organization that promotes a patriarchal society. Criticisms tend to expand the spheres to include allow more participation in politics (by women and others who are not part of historically “powerful” groups). Based on Arendt’s definition of labor, work, and action, she relies on gendered ideas of private and public space. The public realm is a space of men’s business. Women may have limited access to this space, but they have long been excluded from the space. The same goes for people of color who may access the sphere, who are usually confined to marginalized spaces. Criticisms of Arendt’s public and private sphere share many similarities to those of Habermas’s concept of public space: Who has access? Who can participate?

Public space has, then, a problematic relation to democracy, and is historically a site of men's affairs. A definition of a public realm located in public and institutional spaces implies, also, a non-public, colloquially private but more accurately domestic realm in the home.¹¹⁶

Plurality, in both Arendt's and Habermas's definitions, is limited and thus not really plurality.

Both Arendt and Habermas rely on male-dominated histories that focus on how men have organized themselves into publics—Arendt on the organization of ancient Greek society and Habermas on bourgeois society in seventeenth century Western Europe. Both histories privilege white propertied males as citizens while other members of society were excluded from these spaces. It is no surprise that feminist and critical scholars have taken issue with both scholars' reliance on male-centric history. In terms of Arendt:

A political theory so indebted to a culture of masculinity and hero worship was bound to meet with resistance in the feminist writings of the 1970s and 1980s, as feminists began to pursue a woman-centered theory of knowledge, and debunk the patriarchal assumptions of the 'male-stream' Western political thought.¹¹⁷

Feminist criticism, at its base, asks of Arendt's public space: Can women inhabit the public world?¹¹⁸ The second criticism focuses on two aspects of Arendt's conceptualization of the space. The first analyzes the construction of "labor" and women's biological connection to that space. The second questions the sharply drawn boundaries between the two spheres and how they serve to exclude a vast majority of the population in a "democratic" society. Many of the criticisms attempt to better understand and re-conceptualize Arendt's political theory in order to add insights to the idea "women's action" in the public sphere.

¹¹⁶ Malcom Miles, "After the Public Realm: Spaces and Representation," *International Journal of Art and Design Education* 19, no. 3 (2000): 256.

¹¹⁷ Mary G. Dietz, "Hannah Arendt and Feminist Politics," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, 231-259 (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 1994): 231.

¹¹⁸ Kopola, "Is the Concept 'Active Woman.'"

Instead of considering the categories of labor, work, and action as socially constructed, she presents them as properties of the “human condition,” a naturally occurring structuring of society—particularly the categories of labor and work. Through labor women become ruled by their bodies based on their role in reproduction. They cannot release themselves from the world of “animal laborans” and thus cannot leave the private world. As such, women are non-political beings.¹¹⁹ Additionally, the exclusion of large groups of human beings like women, children, laborers, and noncitizen residents made the public space possible. Because these groups labored for daily necessities, they liberated white propertied men to enjoy leisure time during which they could discuss politics and other public concerns.¹²⁰

Thus the realm of women and slaves is, for the ancients, a realm of necessity, painful labor, and blackness. In its toil and trouble the private realm symbolizes the denial of freedom and equality, and the deprivation of being heard and seen by others. In its material reality, it makes possible the Greek male’s escape from the ‘first evil’ into the life of the public.¹²¹

The public arena, for Arendt, is a space where citizens (propertied males) were free and equal because freedom can only exist when one is among one’s equals.

Arendt set up such strict dichotomies for the public and private spheres because she feared that the demands of the body, poverty, economic determinism, and the normalizing effects of social engineering would destroy public deliberation among equals. Essentially, she drew impervious boundaries because she was concerned that freedom would disintegrate if it concerned itself with issues involved with labor.

Additionally, Arendt did not recognize women’s collective action as political because she asserts that a bond of loyalty to one another according to a particular

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Seyla Benhabib, “Hannah Arendt and the Redemptive Power of Narrative,” in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, 111-141 (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 1994).

¹²¹ Dietz, “Hannah Arendt and Feminist Politics,” 239.

identifying feature (i.e. identity politics, like feminism or race politics) is not a political act. Rather, political action involves a plurality of individuals who discuss different issues with different viewpoints and come to consensus on those issues for the public good. “Plurality ... implies both the condition of human freedom and the distinctiveness of unique selves who gather to speak and act and who commemorate their collective deeds through the creation of historical narratives.”¹²²

Feminists and other critics, while questioning Arendt’s reliance on masculine theories, also argue that her theory has much to offer feminist thought. Arendt’s theories help articulate a vision of women in politics and political life. Criticisms of Arendt’s *viva activa* help us understand the social construction of labor, work, and action, even if Arendt herself did not write about social forces that shape politics. The task and the goal of a feminist analysis of Arendt’s work is to reconceptualize these activities as genderless.¹²³

As Arendt’s existential analysis of the *viva activa* suggests ... there is nothing intrinsically or essentially masculine about the public realm, just as there is nothing intrinsically or essentially feminine about laboring in the realm of necessity. The point is not to accept these gendered realms as fixed and immutable, but rather to undermine the gendering of public and private and move on to a more visionary and liberating conception of human practices, including those that constitute politics.¹²⁴

Arendt drew gendered boundaries around the public and private spheres based on an ancient Greek organization of society. In this society the distinction may have been necessary because the biological differences between the sexes were a matter of life and death. Women were often forced to remain in the private sphere due to their roles as mothers. Motherhood once required that women bear the burden of carrying on the

¹²² Mary Hawkenworth, “Arendtian Politics: Feminism as a Test Case,” *Journal of Women’s History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 161.

¹²³ Dietz, “Hannah Arendt and Feminist Politics.”

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.

human race through reproduction. Mary-Jane Fox argues that this distinction is no longer necessary because reproduction is no longer a matter of life and death in many societies. However, the gendered notions of the spheres remain intact. In fact, “a particular conception of gender is embedded in the foundation so the huge and powerful political structures of the modern United States, and the associated global and economic political structures” remain masculine in their construction.¹²⁵ These constructions are not natural, but appear so because they have so long been associated with masculine and the male public sphere.

The theoretical concepts of the public and private spheres indicate that women are not welcome in the public sphere. How do these theories and the resulting criticisms of them allow us to better understand women who do participate in politics? Particularly, how do these definitions impact mediated images of these women? It is important to note that

women’s roles have evolved dramatically in the last 30-plus years with equal opportunity legislation, affirmative action principles, the women’s movement and feminist thought affecting both scientific and popular interest in women leaders... Feminists are now concerned with how differential power and oppression contribute to the unequal status of women compared to men in all realms of work, family, and social environments.¹²⁶

It is equally important to note that many of these criticisms have focused on one form of feminism that generally addresses white women’s issues. Women do not have a “common experience,” as many third world feminists and feminists of color have noted, and the same applies to women’s participation in the public sphere. Based solely on

¹²⁵ Anita Taylor and M.J. Hardman, “War, Language and Gender, What New Can Be Said? Framing the Issues,” *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (2004): 3.

¹²⁶ Jean Lau Chin, “Overview: Women and Leadership: Transforming Visions and Diverse Voices,” in *Women and Leadership: Transforming Visions and Diverse Voices*, ed. Jean Lau Chin, Bernice Lott, Joy K. Rice, and Janis Sanchez Hucles, 1-18 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007): 1.

statistics of women involved in the political process and the public sphere in general, white women dominate positions of power.

Women leaders in politics, though currently more visible in high-power political positions (i.e. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, U.S. House Majority Leader Nancy Pelosi), are still a relatively new development on the U.S. political scene. Additionally, in the most recent presidential election, Hillary Clinton was the first viable female candidate for a major party's nomination for president. John McCain, the Republican nominee for president, named Alaska Governor Sarah Palin to run as his vice president. Although these women serve in high levels of government, their occupying these positions does not indicate a move to a more "feminine" approach to leadership or that we are moving toward a post-feminist society. On the contrary, some women strongly adhered to more "masculine" ideals and leadership styles. Their appearance in the public sphere, however, does indicate a shift in the public/private distinction.

WOMEN IN THE MODERN PUBLIC SPHERE

Women's roles in politics and the public sphere have evolved since Habermas and Arendt introduced their theories. Additionally, because these theories are based on particular masculine histories, alternative histories indicate that women have fought to be included in the public sphere since its emergence. Acknowledging other histories indicates that women have participated in politics, albeit often at the margins. This section offers an explanation about how the separate spheres were created—outside of the public sphere framework—and what the creation of these spheres has meant to women serving in politics and the media's role in upholding or challenging stereotypes about women.

Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton are examples of how the public sphere has evolved to include women's voices. However, the shift does not mean that women are wholly accepted in these positions or that their voices are heard or taken seriously. Additionally, some argue that the ideology and dominance of patriarchy has long been strengthened by intelligent women who seek power within existing power structures.¹²⁷ In other words, just because Rice and Clinton occupy powerful positions does not mean that they will support and promote female-dominated agendas, such as education, family welfare programs, more diplomatic foreign policy programs and other issues considered "feminine" in nature.

Although it can be argued that the public and private spheres began taking shape long before the pre-industrial period in Western Europe, Marion W. Gray argues that a shift in the economic system during this period created a new organization of Western society.¹²⁸ Based on Habermas, Arendt, and Gray's disparate theories about when society split into public and private spheres, it is likely that the structuring of Western society into a patriarchy occurred over centuries while men's and women's roles shifted based on necessity and/or a perceived need for organization.

A Brief History of Women's Civic Involvement

Gray contends that the economy is a critical area to track the transitions of gender roles. In pre-industrial Western Europe the household was the normative center of the economy where women and men worked interdependently in production, reproduction, and consumption. Maintaining a household in the early modern era was a social responsibility that depended upon male and female cooperation. As a reformed economy emerged—something that Habermas also notes—the state and the market monopolized

¹²⁷ Lindinsky, "The Gender of War."

¹²⁸ Gray, *Productive Men*.

society and the idea of distinct, separate gender roles replaced the focus on interdependency.

By the nineteenth century, women's responsibilities—gardening, dairying, cooking, preserving, sewing, and mothering—did not belong in the economy. Women supported the household now called the family—but this was how the center of a private and subordinated sphere of life no longer equivalent to the productive realm.¹²⁹

Women's work was thus devalued and restricted to the private sphere.

The social organization of the masculine public sphere and the feminine private sphere shifted to revolutionary America as immigrants from Western Europe transferred their societies to the new land. As the budding country organized a government and drew up the Constitution, women's presence in "the People" was assumed to be relational. *Women's identities were shaped by their roles as wives, daughters, servants, and slaves. They were represented in the public sphere by their husbands, fathers, and masters and did not have independent civic status.*¹³⁰ The idea that *women are represented by men in the public sphere* becomes central in my analysis of Rice and Clinton, as I will discuss in the following chapters. Although women now have the right to vote and participate in politics, the vestiges of "male representation" in the public sphere remain.

The U.S. Constitution serves as its own sort of social design. It upholds the distinction between the public and private spheres. However, throughout this country's history, the shifts in the Constitution are examples of how the boundaries between the two spheres can also shift. Civic membership, as opposed to citizenship, implies the legal and political status of all persons under a country's or a government's political authority. It also refers to the broader political, legal, and social meanings that attach to someone's

¹²⁹ Ibid., 298-299

¹³⁰ Gretchen Ritter, *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender in Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

place within the political sphere: the legal realm, the regulatory and policy realms, and the realm of political representation.

When American women fought for and finally won the right to vote, this right symbolized public autonomy for women. The distinction between men's and women's civic membership diminished (for example, women were no longer represented in the political process by their husbands, fathers, or masters), but the right to vote did not have a dramatic impact on women's civic membership. Women's roles in the civic and public sphere still had strong roots in how society defined them.

Yet even after women gained the right to vote, they still lacked access to an important realm of civic membership: the military. Martial citizenship favors men because men have historically served in the military and in America's wars.

Democracy and military service provided a claim for a democracy of political rights. The result of this particular effort was an expansion of democracy to include all white men within the category of first class citizens. The extension of the vote effectively gendered civic membership thereby creating a civic membership that was divided into separate male and female spheres. The connection between voting, military, and civic membership was sustained after the Civil War when partisanship and the social rewards of civic membership were deeply connected to veterans' status.¹³¹

War is ultimately a masculine project—at least in many cultural worldviews. The demographics of soldiers fighting in wars have shifted dramatically in the past three decades. Prior to the first Gulf War and the current conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, men mostly fit the martial citizenship role. Following the first and second World Wars, the benefits of being a veteran of war were directly linked to men's roles as heads of households, and these benefits “strengthened public understanding of men as providers and protectors whether as husbands and fathers or as members of the state.”¹³²

¹³¹ Ibid., 179.

¹³² Stephanie Volkoff Green, “‘You’re Not a Veteran, You’re a Girl’: Gendered Martial Citizenship and Women Veterans of the United States Armed Forces,” *Intersections: Women’s and Gender Studies in Review across Disciplines* 5 (2007): 28.

Although male deaths during war still far outnumber female deaths, more women have been killed in Afghanistan and Iraq than in Vietnam, the Korean War, and the first Gulf War combined. But because women cannot serve in a martial role—on the frontline of battle—during wartime, they are not considered full citizens and are not granted the same rights because they are barred from martial service. “Thus, historically, veterans’ rights for women have been neglected and overlooked publicly and within the military, constructing a model of citizenship that bestows and recognizes veterans’ rights, and veterans, as gendered male.”¹³³

As women have entered the public sphere, as voting citizens and now as representatives of the people in government, martial citizenship appears to be less of a requirement for public service. Even though women political candidates face these restraints, there is more parity in elections today. For example, female candidates running for the U.S. Congress in open seat elections now have about the same chances of winning their contests as do male candidates. However, women who do serve in political offices are expected to be interested in what are considered feminine issues like education and welfare.¹³⁴

Women leaders are constrained by these types of expectations. They are evaluated differently than men and often engage in actions or support issues congruent with culturally defined gender roles as discussed above. These constraints often influence women’s leadership styles and behaviors. Yet, these styles and behaviors may be defined (by men) as signs of ineffective leadership.¹³⁵

¹³³ Ibid., 30.

¹³⁴ Jyl J. Josephson and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, “Introduction: Gender, Sex, and American Political Life,” in *Gender and the Political Process*, ed. Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Jyl. J. Josephson, 3-17 (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000).

¹³⁵ Chin, “Overview,” 8.

Although women are more visible as elected officials and government representatives, at the highest level of government, the presidency, the most powerful female leader in America has long been the First Lady. Her power, however, retains the idea of a public/private dichotomy as a First Lady's power is tied to her husband.

The title first lady is situated within an important legacy of Western political theory: the symbolic separation of public and private realms of social life, the elevation of the public world of politics (*polis*) in relation to the private world of household and family (*oikos*) and the association of men with the former and women with the latter. These dualisms remain the American political culture and conceal a devaluing of women and the domestic sphere...¹³⁶

Many First Ladies have served in their roles without challenging the dichotomy and expects they remain silent, passive, and conforming. Furthermore, first ladies are expected to serve in a voluntary capacity. This strengthens the position's association with that of the unpaid homemaker who depends on her husband's salary. Few first ladies have challenged these expectations.

The Media's Role in the Gendered Public Sphere

The historical omission, stereotyping, and trivialization of women's lives in media content have contributed to the idea that the public sphere should be a masculine arena while the feminine private sphere should remain the realm of women. As Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross contend, these problems have

historically contributed to women's invisibility and lack of access to social spaces where ideas are posted, exchanged, and debuted, and where agendas for cultural and public policy changes take place. In the common world, it's commonly understood that participation in such spaces—often referred to as the public sphere—is a prerequisite for social advancement and power. Communication scholars recognize that participation in the public sphere occurs increasingly

¹³⁶ Darlaine C. Gardetto, "Hillary Rodham Clinton, Symbolic Gender Politics and the *New York Times*: January-November 1992," *Political Communication* 14, no. 2 (1997): 226.

through the news and other communication media, including those representing entertainment genres.¹³⁷

Byerly and Ross ask: How has women's relationship to the media affected their participation? The previous chapter discussed women's relationship to the media. It has long been a contentious relationship, filled with uneven and contradictory representations. While feminists have waged campaigns to demand change as women's status and social practices have shifted through women's movements worldwide, these changes are often not reflected in changing patterns of gender representation in the media. "A careful analysis of the representation of women in the media, in both fiction and factual genres, reveals significant difference in the ways in which the object 'woman' is constructed along highly codified lines, in terms of ethnicity, age, sexuality, and disability."¹³⁸

The mass media, in the current social and political environment, are major contributors to the social constructions of gender and the gendered construction of the public sphere, as I have discussed in detail. Women leaders still occupy an awkward position in society. The media, although more accepting of women's roles as leaders, are forced to explain women leaders because "leadership" is not considered "natural" for a woman—due both to stereotypes of women and the construction of the masculine public sphere—particularly during wartime.

As Lysistrata challenged the political and social order by stepping out of her assigned territory of the private sphere, does the mainstream media's portrayal of two women leaders also challenge the political and social order? Is there room in the public sphere for female voices, particularly related to war? These case studies allow for an

¹³⁷ Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross, *Women and Media: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006): 99.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

examination of the multiple spheres model that many critics of the public sphere concept contend exists. Analyzing media images of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton in *Time* will provide an indication of whether or not the public sphere is changing in its nature and allowing more than white males to participate and whether or not the mainstream media (in this case *Time* magazine) allows for new images of the public sphere.

Using these frameworks, I will analyze media texts of Rice and Clinton, focusing on the discourse used to describe them. Chapter 4 details the media texts I analyze and how I chose them. It also explains how an ideological textual analysis can help us understand the “toughness conundrum” women face as they participate in public discussions of war and violent conflict, as well as the media’s role in negotiating this conundrum.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Two particular women provide interesting examples of how the media covers female political leaders during wartime. As I have discussed in the previous three chapters, Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton occupied top levels of government during the George W. Bush presidency. During this timeframe, Rice occupied two top-level government positions as the national security adviser and secretary of state. She was the first woman to serve as national security adviser and the second to serve as secretary of state in the United States. Clinton became the first first lady to win a U.S. Senate seat and then became the first woman to be considered a serious candidate for a major party's nomination for president. These women also played an important role in the debate about war and violent conflict during their tenures as top-ranking government officials.

This chapter details the methodology that allows for an interpretation power in media texts. It also addresses the importance of using case studies to examine larger social phenomena, the data collection process, and the more theoretical aspects of textual analysis and how they relate to this particular project.

DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDIES

The eight-year period of George W. Bush's election to the presidency in November 2000 through the election of Barack Obama in November 2008 presents an ideal timeframe to analyze Rice and Clinton. The timeframe has less to do with Bush than it does with what happened between 2000 and 2008. For seven years of this period, the United States was directly involved in state-sponsored violence, including, but not limited to, the invasion of Afghanistan, the build-up to the invasion of Iraq, and the ongoing conflict in both locations.

During this timeframe, Hillary Clinton won a seat in the U.S. Senate, representing the state of New York. In that capacity, she voted in favor of both of the resolutions that gave President Bush the authority to invade Afghanistan and Iraq. In her campaign for the Democratic nomination for president, she was forced to address these decisions. Although many voters called on her to apologize for voting in favor of invading Iraq, she never did. She became the Democrat's "war" candidate.¹³⁹

Condoleezza Rice served as President Bush's foreign policy adviser when he first ran for president in 2000. He named her national security adviser when he was elected. She was the only female on Bush's foreign policy team. After Colin Powell retired as secretary of state, Rice was named to take his place in 2004. Not only was she the face of the Bush Administration's policy in Afghanistan and Iraq, but she also attempted to broker peace between Israel and Palestine and Russia and Georgia, as well as addressing other issues related to violence and violent conflict around the world.

By examining news media coverage of these women as case studies, I hope to better understand how gender plays a role in media coverage of the public sphere, a space that is socially constructed as a male sphere as well as the implications on the coverage for both the shape and constructions of the public and the private spheres. These case studies are ideal because I am analyzing news media coverage of women leaders during war time, which I have defined as a highly masculinized topic in the public sphere. Case studies are important tools to examine and understand particular social phenomena. As Jack Lule argues,

sometimes issues are so large and so complex that abstract discussions founder on endless possibilities... [With case studies] the issues get much more specific—and often much more worthwhile—by dramatically narrowing the focus and

¹³⁹ This construction was in contrast to Barack Obama, who would become the leading contender for the Democratic nomination for president. Obama voted against giving Bush the approval to invade Iraq.

considering ... coverage of one incident by one newspaper... The issues remain the same but now the discussion is grounded, real, specific.¹⁴⁰

In this respect, case studies are instrumental in providing insights into issues or refining theories. The cases are important, but they play a supporting role. It is the analysis of the case that facilitates the understanding of a larger issue or phenomenon.¹⁴¹

These case studies are important in the analysis of media coverage of women during wartime. Unlike previous wars and violent conflicts when women have largely been absent from influential and powerful positions, Rice and Clinton occupy roles that challenge feminine gender roles in particular ways. Because war and violent conflict are largely coded as masculine activities, women who serve in leadership positions occupy roles outside of what traditional definitions of femininity allow.

Examining media constructions of women continues to be an important endeavor. Although women have never simply been the subjects and victims of war, the media often portrays them as such. Gender and war are constructed in the media from the mixing and remixing of media fragments, past and present. Additionally, more women are occupying positions in the public sphere. Images are often combined and recombined in ways that resonate with a gendered popular landscape.¹⁴² Examining how *Time* covers Rice and Clinton we can better understand how (or if) the public sphere is evolving.

***TIME* MAGAZINE**

I chose to analyze media representations of Rice and Clinton in *Time* magazine. Often media scholars rely on the *New York Times* to gauge how the mainstream media cover social phenomena. Because news magazines are produced less frequently than

¹⁴⁰ Jack Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 2001): 6.

¹⁴¹ Robert E. Stake, "Case Studies," in *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, 86-109 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998).

¹⁴² Andersen, "Gendered Media Culture."

newspapers, coverage can be more comprehensive and more extensive about a particular story, event, or individual than other news media sources like newspapers or television news. For example, *Time* published several in-depth stories about both Rice and Clinton throughout their political careers during the Bush presidency. The women also graced the magazine's cover several times throughout the eight-year period. These stories, in addition to the magazine's routine coverage of war, created images of the women that are important to analyze. Additionally, news coverage in *Time* often blurs the boundaries between news, commentary, and editorial material. Unlike the *New York Times* and other daily newspapers, which have dedicated sections to news and editorial material, information in *Time* does not have clear boundaries. Stories may be followed by commentary or may be buried within a sidebar of a story. In other words, there is more room to move out of the traditional "objective" character that newspapers follow in *Time*.

In addition to these factors, *Time* leads other news categories in circulation and readership numbers. *Time* has led the "Big Three" traditional news weekly magazines (*U.S. News and World Report* and *Newsweek* round out the category) in circulation for at least two decades. In 2006, *Time* magazine's circulation topped 4,066,000 subscribers, a number that does not account for readership on the magazine's website.¹⁴³ Throughout *Time*'s history, it has changed ownership and now is part of the largest media conglomerate in the world, Time Warner.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, *Time* includes some interesting yearly projects, including the "Person of the Year" and the *Time* 100 List. The latter project includes a list of leaders in respective categories and the person of the year is highlighted in a cover story at the end of the year. The project and series provide a certain image of America: a non-partisan snapshot of the (mostly) white men that help write

¹⁴³ "Understanding News in the Information Age," Project for Excellence in Journalism, March 12, 2007, <http://www.journalism.org/node/1187> (accessed on August 28, 2008).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

history. The commentary is not meant to be political; it is a sanitized reflection of America and American politics.

Readership numbers account for print circulation as well as readership on the magazine's website. In today's media environment, it is important to consider both circulation numbers and readership numbers because more and more news consumers are turning to internet sources for their news. Because *Time* leads in both categories, it suggests that news consumers value the information from this particular news magazine.

In 1998, to commemorate the magazine's 75th anniversary as well as the turn of a new century, *Time*'s editors began compiling the *Time* 100 List, which highlighted, celebrated and sometimes denounced (in the case of Adolph Hitler, for example) individual leaders throughout the twentieth century. The list was comprised of leaders and revolutionaries, artists and entertainers, builders and titans, scientists and thinkers, and heroes and inspirations. The magazine commissioned a range of celebrities and public figures to write entries for specific individuals on the list. *Time* has continued the list, commemorating the "person of the year" every year as well as continuing the *Time* 100 List since 2000.

The *Time* 100 List provides an interesting portrait of America, which relies on the white male as the maker and custodian of history.

Ultimately, the *Time* 100 List trades a form of neo-liberal historicism; the series develops a particular "common sense" about the meaning and memory of the century, measuring individuals according to their relative advancement of, or impediment to, *Time*'s cardinal values of "free minds, free markets, free speech and free choice."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Paul Grainge, "Remembering the 'American Century': Media Memory and the *Time* 100 List," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 203.

The first list that appeared in 2000 has been criticized for an absence of women—17 women appeared in the original “person of the year” series, but none were included on the short list.

The *Time* 100 List is relevant here because both women appeared on the list several times between 2000 and 2008. In fact, Clinton has been included more times on the list than her husband: five in comparison to Bill Clinton’s four appearances on the list.

Selection of Articles

Several research databases allow electronic searches of *Time* magazine. However, the searches only included full-text searches, without graphics or pictures. Because it is important to understand both the written and visual discourse of the media, I opted to search paper copies of the magazine. I scanned each edition of *Time* magazine from Election Day in 2000 (November 7; when George W. Bush and Hillary Clinton were elected), through Election Day in 2008 (November 4; when Barack Obama was elected). I chose to analyze from Election Day 2000 through Election Day 2008 because although new presidents do not take the presidential oath until January 20 following the election, coverage of incoming administrations generally over-shadows coverage of outgoing administrations. While I skimmed the editions, I looked for any textual reference to Hillary Clinton and Condoleezza Rice in addition to any graphics or photographs that included their likeness. To be included in this study, the stories also had to mention the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, or another violent conflict or foreign policy issue. I identified 173 total articles, 68 mentioning Clinton and war and 105 mentioning Rice and war. Articles included anything from cover stories to short blurbs about the women. The data set also includes several *Time* cover stories that focused on either woman. The following table lists the cover stories about the two women over the eight-year period:

Table 2: Time Cover Stories (2000-2008)

| Time Cover Stories (2000-2008) |
|---|
| Hillary Clinton |
| "Hillary: In Her Own Words," <i>Time</i> , June 16, 2003 (book excerpt from <i>Living History</i>) |
| "Love Her, Hate Her," <i>Time</i> , August 28, 2006 (speculation about presidential candidacy) |
| "What Hillary Believes," <i>Time</i> , November 19, 2007 (presidential campaign) |
| "The Fighter," <i>Time</i> , March 17, 2008 (Democratic Party presidential nomination) |
| Condoleezza Rice |
| "Feeling the Heat," <i>Time</i> , April 5, 2005 (9/11 Commission hearings) |
| "Back to Reality," <i>Time</i> , February 12, 2007 (Rice and foreign policy) |

These cover stories provide a snapshot of how *Time* covered Rice and Clinton. Many stories did not focus exclusively on Rice or Clinton. Rather, Rice and Clinton made up a portion of the stories. An ideological textual analysis is ideal for this project because it is designed to examine the power embedded within media texts, as I will discuss below.

TEXTUAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In order to understand how these media texts fit into the social constructions of gender and the gendered constructions of the public sphere, it is important to use a method that acknowledges that society is highly structured. In communication studies, researchers often have the choice between two methodological approaches: quantitative and qualitative.

James Carey classifies communication studies into two “views”: the “transmission” and “ritual” views of communication. The transmission view considers communication as a process in which messages are transmitted for the control of people over a large distance. The ritual view understands communication’s role in the maintenance of society over time. The transmission view is associated with quantitative

methods that focus on a sender-receiver model of communication, while the ritual view is more in line with qualitative methods. According to Carey, the transmission view, which relies on functional analysis, goes directly to the source of the effect without examining mass communication as a system of interacting symbols and interlocked meanings.¹⁴⁶

The scientific method, often associated with quantitative communication research methods, offers a way to test assumptions and observations against evidence in the “real” world. Those tests can ideally be replicated in order to understand a phenomenon in the communication field and build theory. Additionally, the scientific method allows researchers to control for validity and reliability in their studies. The scientific method lends itself to understanding some forms of the communicative processes. Many researchers favor the process for its objective and systemic nature of collecting and analyzing data. Quantitative research methods are appropriate for many questions regarding communications, and particularly for studies that deal with larger amounts of data. These methods are also helpful in tracking trends over time.

Qualitative research methods in communication also focus on the media text and audience, but in a different way. Textual analyses, in contrast to content analyses, focus on smaller sets of communication or media texts with the goal of uncovering latent meanings in the texts. Rather than counting certain aspects of texts, textual analysis attempts to interpret patterns of coverage and analyze those patterns while considering factors that may shape the message.

The purpose of qualitative methods is not to explain phenomena but rather look at phenomena holistically in order to better understand what is happening in particular situations. Norman Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln contend that during the “crisis of representation” when qualitative researchers questioned their positions within their

¹⁴⁶ James Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

research that “issues such as validity, reliability, and objectivity, which had been settled in earlier phases (of qualitative research history), [were] once more problematic.”¹⁴⁷ They write that the “double crisis of representation” includes a legitimating crisis that involves issues of validity, generalizability, and reliability in how qualitative studies are evaluated.

In this sense, it is no surprise that qualitative research is fundamentally political in its relation to positivism because these are issues that cannot be resolved within qualitative research. Qualitative researchers interpret phenomena within certain theoretical frameworks and through their own lived experience, which is something quantitative researchers try to avoid. While many quantitative methods address a universal, objective truth, qualitative researchers contend that there are multiple interpretations of reality based on people’s social and historical backgrounds.

Qualitative methods are more suited to deconstruct communication artifacts and texts in order to analyze the ideology that governs how communication processes are carried out. Sonja Foss argues that ideology permeates rhetorical artifacts, like news media texts. Multiple ideologies, or multiple patterns of belief, have the potential to be included in media messages. Aspects of power are embedded in many rhetorical texts. Some ideologies are more privileged while others are repressed. Resistance to the dominant ideology is often muted or contained by a variety of sophisticated rhetorical strategies. To maintain a position of dominance, a hegemonic ideology must be constructed, renewed, reinforced, and defended through the use of rhetorical strategies and practices.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne S. Lincoln, “Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research,” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne S. Lincoln, 1-29 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000): 10.

¹⁴⁸ Sonja Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Longrove, IL: Waveland Press, 2004).

A qualitative, interpretive textual analysis of *Time* is appropriate for this study because it has allowed me to organize information into themes in the texts and then assemble the information into a montage, or the creation of a larger narrative by juxtaposing images of social life in order to understand a particular phenomenon.¹⁴⁹ The purpose of the dissertation is to better understand how women leaders are represented in the mainstream media during wartime. As I have discussed in previous chapters, this purpose is tied to the social construction of gender and the gendered construction of the public sphere, both of which assume that news, and particularly war news, is a masculinist narrative that upholds a patriarchal power system in society. Specifically, I will use textual analysis to explore the following questions:

- Which images of gender (and race) are allowed to surface in *Time* magazine during the “War on Terror,” which includes state-sponsored conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq?
- Because the subjects of media coverage of women soldiers and victims of war have been well studied, how do *Time* constructions of women leaders during war time compare to these constructions?
- How did *Time* construct women who were involved in discussion of war in the public sphere? What do these constructions mean for gendered constructions of the public sphere? What is the “real” public sphere? How is gender being incorporated in this model?
- What are the relations between power, gender, the media (representations), and the public sphere?

In order to explore these questions more thoroughly, I followed Sonja Foss’s framework for an ideological analysis, in which she outlines three broad concerns. The

¹⁴⁹ Thomas R. Lindlof and Bryan C. Taylor, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods (2nd Ed.)* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002).

(1) first concern is to identify the ideology in a text, which includes determining a preferred reading of the text, or what is assumed in the text about the subjects involved in it. The (2) second concern is to identify whose interests are included in a text, which requires a determination of whose interests are represented in the text as well as determining whose interests are absent or negated in the text. And finally, the (3) third concern involves identifying strategies that are used to support a particular ideology. This step observes the rhetorical features that are used to privilege one ideology over another. For example, does the text portray a universal ideology (like patriarchy or white supremacy), assuming everyone believes this ideology.¹⁵⁰

Power, as referred to here, means power in the hegemonic sense in which a ruling group dominates subordinate groups “through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practices.”¹⁵¹ Ideology is not a necessarily a strategic process in which agents seek out dominance. Rather, it is an unwitting, unconscious process that society supports through institutions and their rewards and punitive measures.¹⁵²

As the media has become more and more important in the transmission of messages, modern culture has gone through what John Thompson calls the process of “mediation.”¹⁵³ This means that the media have more power to define the boundaries of acceptability. And those who have access to the media, either through routinized modes of production or as extra-media influences, also have the power to define acceptability and deviance. Theorists studying ideology, the media, and power use hegemony to

¹⁵⁰ Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism*.

¹⁵¹ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: The Making and the Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): 253.

¹⁵² Stuart Hall, “The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies,” in *Culture, Media and Society*, ed. by M. Gurevitch, 52-86 (New York: Methuen, 1982).

¹⁵³ John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in an Era of Mass Communication* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

explain how the ruling order maintains dominance, using the media as a tool. Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese examine the ideological influences on the media and the role of the media in propagating the dominant ideology.¹⁵⁴

The analysis in the following two chapters will be centered on these broad categories: That dominant and resistant ideology are included in media texts and that a hegemonic ideology (like patriarchy) must defend itself through rhetorical strategies and practices. Using this ideological analytic strategy, I have examined the news texts through multiple readings and by taking detailed and exhaustive notes throughout the readings. I then organized my notes into themes in coverage. The following two chapters analyze the coverage through the lens that asserts that war news is a masculinist narrative as well as the assertion that the public sphere is predominately male. Because Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton do not align with society's proper definition of femininity, this analysis considers how the media represent them. I provide many examples to illustrate the main points of my analysis. Throughout the analysis I italicize and/or bold important excerpts from *Time*. All of the examples I provide are important, but these specific, highlighted examples are central to many of my discussions and conclusions.

¹⁵⁴ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996).

Chapter 5: Gender Identities, the ‘Toughness Conundrum,’ and Access Points to the Masculine Public Sphere

As George W. Bush began his presidency in 2000, Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton started their high-profile political careers. Bush created an Administration not unlike other presidential administrations in history (with the exception naming of Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice to high-profile posts). Many of the members of the Administration were white men with a specific ideological position about America’s dominance in the world. Because the government is a public sphere—a sphere in which “private” persons discuss matters of the public interest (at least theoretically), Bush helped create a specific atmosphere in this sphere. It was a male-dominated space in which a masculine ideology was promoted, particularly in Bush’s first term following the September 11th attacks. During the eight-year period of the George W. Bush presidency, America was engaged in two wars—the ultimate expression of masculine aggression.

The Bush presidency was dominated by discussions of war. Condoleezza Rice participated in the inner circle of this particular public sphere. Hillary Clinton participated outside of the inner sphere, but also participated in debates and discussions of about war and violent conflict in the government as a public sphere. Both women supported the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Clinton refused to apologize for her vote to authorize the invasion of Iraq, even when members of her party, the Democratic Party, called for an apology.

Although every president’s “war council” has been dominated by males—and white males in particular—*Time’s* description of George W. Bush’s Administration emphasized its masculine characteristics. *Time* often referred to Bush’s reputation as

having a no-nonsense, alpha-male decisiveness.¹⁵⁵ These masculine characteristics impacted how *Time* described Bush's views on foreign policy, particularly after September 11th. Then-Vice President Dick Cheney and then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld helped shaped this policy. They believed, as did other neo-conservatives in the Administration, that America's interests were to be protected at all costs, including taking pre-emptive action against potential terrorist attacks. After September 11, 2001, the Bush "war council" embarked on a path that outlined "a *muscular, idealistic and unilateralist* vision of American power and how to use it."¹⁵⁶ The Bush Doctrine, as it came to be known, favored a "grand strategy to fight Islamic terrorists and rogue states by spreading democracy around the world and pre-empting gathering threats before they materialize. And the U.S. wasn't willing to wait for others to help."¹⁵⁷

The analysis of *Time*'s coverage in this chapter will focus on Rice's and Clinton's political careers between 2000 and 2008 and how they negotiated their roles in the public sphere as well as how *Time* negotiated their roles. The first section describes the construction of a neo-conservative policy and how that impacted the "sphere" in which Rice participated. The shape of this sphere changed during Bush's second term when unilateral action became unpopular and the masculine atmosphere shifted. Hillary Clinton participated in the larger, more general sphere of government. She was aware of the "toughness conundrum" she faced and she successfully shifted from a position that is strongly linked to the private sphere (first lady) to a position that is firmly linked to the masculine public sphere (presidential candidate). The purpose of the chapter is partly descriptive. It is important to understand how *Time* represented these women compared to traditional images of women in the media—particularly images of women during war

¹⁵⁵ Mike Allen and Romesh Ratnesar, "The End of Cowboy Diplomacy," *Time*, July 17, 2006, 20.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

and violent conflict. The second purpose is to understand how *Time* portrayed their access to the public sphere.

The discussion section of this chapter reconceptualizes the public sphere as it existed for Rice and Clinton from 2000 and 2008. The multiple spheres model is helpful not only in understanding images of Rice and Clinton in *Time*, but also in understanding how the public sphere always shifting. Sometimes it is welcoming to new participants and sometimes it is a closed sphere. By understanding its shifting nature, we can start to create a genderless sphere where more members of society may fully participate in debate and discussion.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

Rice emerged on the national political and media scene during George W. Bush's campaign for the presidency in 2000 when she was largely portrayed as his "foreign policy lifeline. She served as the Bush presidential campaign's foreign policy adviser. She participated in the "war council," a label that emerged in *Time* after the September 11 attacks. Permanent members of the council, based on their appearance in *Time* and other news coverage, included Vice President Cheney and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, who favored a hard-line approach, Secretary of State Colin Powell, who led the multilateralist, moderate faction of the Administration, and Condoleezza Rice, who did not fit neatly into either ideological camp. Many other members of the Administration also occupied important positions in the "war council," but were not always discussed in news coverage.

After the United States began combat missions in Afghanistan, Rice lost her voice in the media to some outspoken men in the "war council." She was largely portrayed as an "ideological puzzle" without concrete ideological beliefs. *Time* also focused on her role as a "calm mediator" in the Administration when one of her sole responsibilities

seemed to be solving disputes between the strong masculine personalities in the “war council.” The masculine atmosphere was diluted during Bush’s second term because the broader government and public began to question the war in Iraq. In addition, Bush’s approval ratings dipped lower than any president in history. The unilateralist faction of the “war council” lost favor and Condoleezza Rice found a voice in a formerly hostile sphere.

The First Bush Term

In an atmosphere that promoted “cowboy diplomacy,” Rice could not find her voice in *Time*’s coverage of the Bush Administration. The coverage suggested that she mostly followed the ideological positions of those who dominated the debate in the “war council.” This section focuses on Rice’s difficulty in accessing this sphere of strong male personalities, even when she was portrayed as a member. Three themes emerged in *Time*’s coverage of her between 2000 and 2004: an ideological puzzle and a calm mediator.

She eventually found access to the discussion when she assumed the position of secretary of state during Bush’s second term. In contrast to Clinton, the coverage of Rice in *Time* suggests that she did not know how to negotiate the “toughness conundrum” she faced as a woman in the public sphere. When the strong male personalities were pushed out of the Administration, she found her voice, particularly in the coverage I focused on in *Time*.

‘Ideological Puzzle’

*Now that Bush has nominated her to be his Secretary of State, the question is where she stands on the foreign policy fights of the day. Despite four years as one of the Administration’s most vocal advocate on the war front, Rice has shown few fixed ideological moorings.*¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Massimo Calabresi, “Condi Gets Her Shot,” *Time*, November 29, 2004, 29.

While it was clear where Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Powell stood ideologically with regard to foreign policy, *Time* had a hard time classifying Rice's position. She was portrayed as everything from a political moderate to a hard-liner who stood with the unilateralists on issues regarding Afghanistan and Iraq. But most often, Rice was portrayed as a referee or moderator of the group without an opinion of her own. Often this image implied that Rice couldn't find her voice among the outspoken men. Throughout her tenure in the Bush Administration, *Time* was never able to fully classify her beliefs and often concluded that she would morph her political beliefs for personal gain. After September 11, Rice increasingly took sides with Cheney and Rumsfeld.

Virtually overnight, Rice morphed from her realist stance of opposing defense of human rights—a “second order effect” as she termed it—as a motivation for intervention and foreign policy determinations to centralizing Hussein's human rights violations as a justification for the war in Iraq and other rationales lost credibility.¹⁵⁹

As the Administration built a case for war in Iraq, Rice joined the rest of the Bush Administration policy team and helped make the Administration's case for war to the American public. For example, she was a “driving force behind the Administration's early ‘my way or the highway tone.’”¹⁶⁰ Additionally, “National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice vowed that the U.S. would ‘use every tool at our disposal to turn back the threat’” from Iran, Iraq, and North Korea.¹⁶¹ Another examples of Rice's “my way or the highway” image includes an image of her and Rumsfeld teaming up to connect Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden when they made a case for war: “National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld were

¹⁵⁹ Clarence Lusane, “What Color is Hegemony? Powell, Rice and the New Global Strategists,” *New Political Science*, vol. 27, no. 1: 35, 2005.

¹⁶⁰ Massimo Calabresi, “The Charm of Face Time,” *Time*, September 10, 2001, 32.

¹⁶¹ Massimo Calabresi, “The Access of Evil: Is It for Real?” *Time*, February 11, 2002, 30 (my italics).

cranking up new accusations of links between Saddam and the al-Qaeda terrorist network of Osama bin Laden.”¹⁶²

The previous passages suggest that Rice was not only willing to forego diplomatic pressure in favor of a more heavy-handed military approach in Iraq and other locations, but that she believed in the unilateralist persuasions of Cheney and Rumsfeld. According to *Time*, she was a “driving” force behind positions that allowed little room for diplomacy on issues like Russia, North Korea, and climate change. She teamed up with Rumsfeld to make a case against Saddam Hussein, claiming that he had links to the al-Qaeda terrorist network.

Rice’s alignment with the unilateralist faction of the Administration contradicts what society expects of most women. Not only did she develop and carry out policy on war, but she also argued for military action against perceived enemies who have not attacked or threatened the United States.

Following the invasion of Iraq, Rice’s opinion on foreign policy subjects was often not discussed in the news magazine’s coverage of war. Rather, she was portrayed as a “calm mediator.” Her responsibilities included settling disputes between the unilateralists and multilateralists. She relayed discussions and arguments to the President but did not express opinions of her own. This image is more in line with what society expects of women, particularly of women in the public sphere. Women may participate, but only marginally. Additionally, women are imagined as having more skills at mediation and keeping everyone happy. It is a stereotype that asserts that women are less aggressive than men. *Time* focused on Rice’s role as a mediator and with this emphasis, fell into the trap that many journalists face when covering gender and war.

¹⁶² Johanna McGeary, “What Does Saddam Want?” *Time*, September 16, 2002, 35 (my italics).

Calm Mediator

Vice President Dick Cheney highlighted Rice's role as a mediator in an interview: "The challenge for Condi and the task she handles very well is to referee that group and that process and deliver to the President their best thinking and see to it that everyone gets an opportunity to be heard."¹⁶³ Here Rice's opinion is not necessarily needed. She is lauded for her close relationship with the President and her ability to summarize conflicting arguments—not for her own thoughts and ideas.

Bush likes to hear all sides—and then looks to Rice to haul the differing positions into a unified policy. Iraq has tested her... *Though Rice, 48, keeps her opinions closely guarded*, she has muffled some of the war whoops coming from the more hawkish members of the Administration.¹⁶⁴

She has had trouble since then bridging the deep divide between the Bush team's hard-liners and moderates, but if she has challenged Dick Cheney or Donald Rumsfeld, she has been mindful not to allow those differences to become public.¹⁶⁵

Rice's image was often that of a voiceless, inexperienced woman dominated by outspoken men. In some references to her, she is all but invisible to men like Rumsfeld.

*Rumsfeld, for one, has not always treated Rice with due deference. At a planning meeting on the war in Iraq and its aftermath, an organization chart was passed around at the top of which were the initials NSA. 'What's the NSA?' asked Rumsfeld. 'That would be me,' replied Rice.*¹⁶⁶

When Rice tried to impose order on postwar planning, Rumsfeld ignored her. Vice President Cheney established a broad and powerful shadow National Security Council early in the Administration and used his close relationship with Bush to drive White House decision making.¹⁶⁷

The commission looking into Sept. 11 is bound to focus, as it has, on the record of the Administration in its first few months. That will necessarily involve asking if Rice effectively staffed the National Security Council (NSC)—which had primary

¹⁶³ Dickerson, "I Don't Hold Clarke," 36.

¹⁶⁴ Dickerson, "The Calm Mediator," 14 (my italics).

¹⁶⁵ Duffy, "Condoleezza Rice," 56.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Elliott and Massimo Calabresi, "Is Condi the Problem?" *Time*, April 5, 2004: 36 (my italics).

¹⁶⁷ Calabresi, "Condi Gets Her Shot," 29 (my italics).

responsibility for coordinating policy and action on terrorism—*whether she set the right priorities and if she had the standing to go toe-to-toe with enormously experienced figures like Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.*¹⁶⁸

*In the run-up to the war, she was often overwhelmed by the combined duo of Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who ignored her attempts at control.*¹⁶⁹

The image of the ideological puzzle and the calm mediator align more closely with “feminine” images in the public sphere. Rice did not have a clear ideological position, but more often, it did not matter what she thought. Rather, she was a calm mediator who solved disputes amongst the strong male personalities the Bush Administration and the “war council.” In short, these themes of coverage suggest that her opinion was not valued.

Perhaps because she did not have a clear ideological position or because others in the Administration received more coverage, Rice all but disappeared from *Time*’s coverage of the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and from coverage of the Administration in general for over a year. From March 2003 through April 2004, Rice was rarely mentioned and never quoted in *Time*. Joe Klein, who writes a weekly column about politics for *Time*, picked up on her absence in a column titled, “Where have you gone, Condi Rice?” Klein’s column suggests that Rice’s job is to be the arbiter of security-policy disputes. Additionally, Klein suggests that Rice should have been in charge of peacekeeping and nation building in Iraq, as those responsibilities fell under the National Security Advisers’ duties in other presidential administrations.¹⁷⁰

Condoleezza Rice did have a significant role in the Bush Administration’s “war council.” She did contribute to the foreign policy issues that Bush encountered during his

¹⁶⁸ Elliott and Calabresi, “Is Condi the Problem?” 33 (my italics).

¹⁶⁹ Romesh Ratnesar, “The Condi Doctrine,” *Time*, August 15, 2005, 39 (my italics).

¹⁷⁰ Joe Klein, “Where Have You Gone, Condi Rice?” *Time*, April 14, 2009.

first term while she served as his National Security Adviser. *Time's* coverage of this period, however, created an image of Rice that portrayed conflicting image. She was a visible member of the "war council" in *Time's* coverage. However, her image was riddled with questions about where she stood on an ideological level. The reference to Rice as an "ideological puzzle" suggested that she did not fit into a mold like other members of the "war council." Within this image, she was either a unilateralist or a calm mediator, who did not have an opinion. The examples of how Rumsfeld, in particular, disregarded Rice create an image of her a figure head in the Administration. It is difficult to gauge what her responsibilities are or if she is involved in the "war council" beyond her role as a referee.

Rice would face different challenges in the second Bush term when she was tapped to fill Colin Powell's old position as secretary of state. However, the images of her in *Time* shifted. No longer was she simply a figure head of the Administration. She had a distinct voice on foreign policy issues and no longer served as a mediator of the men's disputes.

The Second Bush Term

After George W. Bush was elected to a second term, the atmosphere of his inner circle and of the overall government changed. More questions emerged about the intelligence that led to the invasion of Iraq and some of the strong masculine personalities of the "war council" were forced out, namely Colin Powell and Donald Rumsfeld. Rice's image became more important in *Time's* coverage of the Administration and war and she seemed to have more of a voice in the inner circle of the Administration as well as in the international foreign policy arena. Part of this shift in her image can be attributed to her new position as Secretary of State and the resignations of some key figures.

Following the resignation of both Colin Powell and Donald Rumsfeld, Rice emerged from the shadows of the big masculine personalities and changed the direction of the U.S.'s foreign policy as well as the shape of the sphere in which Rice participated.

Once Rumsfeld was ditched after the 2006 midterm elections, Rice pushed the North Korea six-party agreement around Cheney, proving her weakness as NSA were not because of her inability to go toe to toe with Dick [Cheney] and Don [Rumsfeld], but because she had chosen not to. As secretary of state, she has—so far at least—won some big battles.¹⁷¹

The largest shift in coverage of Condoleezza Rice occurred when she was nominated to the position of Secretary of State in George W. Bush's cabinet. Up until this point, she was largely portrayed as a "team" player in an Administration that was increasingly divided between foreign policy unilateralists and multilateralists. The coverage in *Time* had a difficult time pinning down where she stood on issues and representations of her bounced back and forth from being a "hawk" who agreed with pre-emptive action and a moderate who approached global conflict with more focus on diplomacy. More often than not, she was portrayed as not having an opinion, but as being a referee between the two factions in the administration. Additionally, she was often the "scapegoat" in the Administration, according to many *Time* stories—from bungling the Administration's policy on the war on terror to misinforming the public on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

In a preview of the Secretary-of-State-designate, Massimo Calabresi wrote,

Rice is virtually certain to be confirmed by the Senate, not least because few Democrats want to be on the record voting against the *first black woman named Secretary of State*. Still, she will undoubtedly be grilled about her record and management. She faced criticism for planning counterterrorism low on her list of priorities in the nine months before 9/11. And she shares the blame both for letting the now discredited allegations that Saddam Hussein was seeking uranium

¹⁷¹ Marcus Mabry, "Think Again: Condoleezza Rice," *Foreign Policy* (2007): 26.

in Africa get into Bush's 2003 State of the Union Speech and for hyping up the significance of high-strength aluminum tubes Iraq tried to buy abroad.¹⁷²

Her image as an "ideological puzzle" was difficult to shake in her early days in the position, as Calabresi summarizes in the quote above. Calabresi's story, "Condi Gets Her Shot," included a subtitle that argued that "She argued the hard-liners' case on Iraq. But the next Secretary of State remains an ideological puzzle." A photograph of Bush kissing Rice on the cheek accompanied the story with a cut line that read: "Rice has won the President's trust and affection. But will she demonstrate her independence?" Calabresi continues with a summary of her ideological evolution: "She has changed positions dramatically on several issues, shifting from a hard-nosed student of realpolitik to a true believer in Bush's vision of spreading democracy from Morocco to Afghanistan."¹⁷³

The image of Rice in *Time* shifted when she began carrying out her responsibilities as Secretary of State. Her first six months on the job were "surprising." "Her enthusiasm for travel has transformed her image from that of a remote presidential consigliere to a glamorous globe-trotting operator with a first-name-only cachet."¹⁷⁴ She had "star power" overseas.¹⁷⁵

Within her first year as Secretary of State, Rice's image shifted from one of a woman in the shadows to a woman who served as the face for American diplomacy abroad. "For someone who, as National Security Adviser during Bush's first term, often seemed overwhelmed by rivals in the war cabinet, Rice has displayed striking confidence in her early forays as a diplomat."¹⁷⁶ Suddenly Rice was competent and even glamorous

¹⁷² Calabresi, "Condi Gets Her Shot," 29 (my italics).

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁷⁴ Ratnesar, "The Condi Doctrine," 36.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁷⁶ Duffy and Shannon, "Condi on the Rise."

in *Time*'s coverage of her. In the following excerpt, Michael Duffy and Elaine Shannon cover everything from Rice's wardrobe choices (at one point even mentioning her stiletto boots) to her impact on the foreign policy scene.

Around the globe, diplomats are busy comparing notes on what they see—and they aren't talking about her stiletto boots. To some, Condi's rise augurs a return to a more pragmatic U.S. diplomacy for an Administration exhausted by war... In policy, too, the Administration has shown a new willingness to work with allies, most recently by signing on to European efforts to negotiate an end to Iran's nuclear program. Says a French diplomat: 'We have heard things and seen things that were unthinkable a month ago, and she's part of it.'¹⁷⁷

Rice was no longer a supporter of unilateralist action, but a promoter of moderation and diplomacy.

By training and temperament Rice is a foreign policy realist, less inclined to the moralizing approach of the neoconservatives who dominated Bush's War Cabinet in the first term. Her push for pragmatism has rubbed off on hawks like Vice President Dick Cheney, the primary intellectual force behind Bush's post-9/11 policies.¹⁷⁸

"The Condi Doctrine," according to Romesh Ratnesar, is a result of Rice wresting "control over the tone and direction of U.S. foreign policy from a war-cabinet of hard-liners, curbing their unilateralist bluster." This is the same war cabinet and policy Rice supported as National Security Adviser. Rice "cemented her status as the President's most trusted lieutenant, a relationship that makes her the most influential Secretary of State in more than a decade."¹⁷⁹ This is an important point. *Time* placed a great deal of importance on Rice's relationship with Bush, which I will cover in Chapter 6. However, this relationship impacted her image as Secretary of State. The longer Rice served in that position, the more *Time* questioned whether she was really controlling the direction of

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

¹⁷⁸ Allen and Ratnesar, "The End of Cowboy Diplomacy," 23-24.

¹⁷⁹ Ratnesar, "The Condi Doctrine," 38.

foreign policy. In the following quote, Romesh Ratnesar and Elaine Shannon indicate that Rice was still under the spell of the unilateralists and the Bush Doctrine.

Even some of Rice's supporters wonder whether her commitment to the Bush doctrine is impairing her judgment—not just about the U.S.'s problems in Iraq, but also about the wisdom of pinning so much hope on the idea that bringing democracy to societies that have never known it is the best strategy for making Americans safer... 'The biggest problem I have with Condi and the Middle East,' says the Republican elder statesman, 'is that she really has drunk the democratic-transformation Kool-Aid.'¹⁸⁰

Here she continues to appear like an impressionable woman who is willing to change her opinion in order to gain power. The reference to drinking Kool-Aid also indicates that Rice is under the "spell" of the "war council" rather than carrying out her own ideas. (This was a reference to the mass death of people who belonged to a cult led by Jim Jones in South America. Members of the cult drank Kool-Aid laced with poison.)

It is her relationship with Bush, Shannon and Ratnesar argue, that explains her commitment to unilateralism: "Rice hasn't distanced herself from the hawk in the White House, in part because Bush continues to identify with them."¹⁸¹ Her image shifted again. *Time* placed many expectations on Rice as Secretary of State. Her tasks were "daunting." Not only that, but "after six years of tussling with others on Bush's national-security team, Rice has seen off her rivals and emerged as the principal spokesperson for Bush's foreign policy."¹⁸²

With Rumsfeld out of the picture, Rice had more room to assert herself in the Administration. However, she could not "usurp" Cheney's power. The two previous excerpts provide examples of two conflicting images. The first is that Rice's ineptitude is the reason for America's foreign policy problems during Bush's second term. The second

¹⁸⁰ Ratnesar, "The Condi Doctrine," 41.

¹⁸¹ Romesh Ratnesar and Elaine Shannon, "The Weight of the World," *Time*, February 12, 2007: 36.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

image reverts back to earlier images of Rice as unable to compete with dominant men in the Administration, like Cheney.

As Rice prepared to leave her position at the State Department at the end of Bush's presidency, Hillary Clinton was named to that position in the new Barack Obama Administration in 2009. Clinton became the third woman in history to serve as the Secretary of State. Although Rice and Clinton both occupied positions in the dominant government public sphere, they participated in different spheres. As Secretary of State, Rice existed within a small sphere of the inner Administration. As Senator, Clinton was a representative of the people and belonged to a larger body of representatives.

An analysis of *Time's* coverage of Rice indicates that she did not successfully "perform" her role for the media. She had trouble finding her voice in the early days of the Bush Administration and only eventually gained power after some male members of the Administration left their positions. Clinton, on the other hand, seemed keenly aware of the "toughness conundrum" she faced as a woman in the public sphere. She was aware that to gain power in the public sphere, she had to shed the feminine image of the First Lady and portray an image of a woman with foreign policy experience. Her adeptness at reading her gendered position resulted in a very different image than that of Rice. The following section analyzes Clinton's image in *Time* throughout the Bush Administration when the country was involved in two wars.

HILLARY CLINTON

Time's portrayal of Condoleezza Rice during Bush's first term has little in common with Hillary Clinton. They came to politics from different backgrounds. The media had few images of Rice in the collective archive because she had not formerly been a "public" person in the sense that she did not serve in a highly visible national

government office. *Time* and other media outlets did have access to a variety of images of Hillary Clinton, the former First Lady.

The First Lady to the Senator

Time's coverage of Hillary Clinton between 2000 and 2006, her entire first Senate term, focused on her transition from First Lady to U.S. Senator, her attempts to bulk up her foreign policy experience, and speculation about her running for president in 2004, and then again in 2008.

Time often compared early images of Senator Hillary Clinton to the image of First Lady Hillary Clinton. Early in her first term her image strongly related to her role as the First Lady and the "feminine" issues associated with that position (health care and policies impacting the family). The residual images of her tenure as First Lady include comparisons to Evita Perón and Lady Macbeth. These references have specific negative connotations. Clinton challenged this image by quickly acquiring knowledge about and experience with the military and foreign policy issues.

Clinton's image as an "activist" First Lady had less to do with the issues on which she focused and more to do with her relationship with her husband and his presidency. She was directly involved in the Administration and because of that she became a controversial figure. For example:

*Her fame ran more to Evita than Mother Theresa in a co-presidency of more failures than triumphs. Before impeachment, Hillary was one of the more unpopular First Ladies. She bungled the Administration's biggest domestic project—health care...*¹⁸³

Taking the platform in Los Angeles [at the Democratic National Convention], Hillary Clinton showed she has mastered the ballet of politics. *She extended her arms like Evita to take in the cheers of the crowd, sweeping back and forth across the stage, the mistress of all she surveyed, breaking stride only for the hackneyed*

¹⁸³ Margaret Carlson, "Capitol Hill," *Time*, November 20, 2000, 58 (my italics).

wave and point—with astonishing delight, as if she'd just spotted a bunkmate from sleep-away camp.¹⁸⁴

These issues emerged in the coverage of her throughout her first term in the Senate. Journalists relied on images of Evita and Lady Macbeth, which were common media references when Clinton was First Lady, to describe her during her Senate campaign and after she was elected. Evita Perón, the well-known spouse of Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón, is a controversial figure in history. While her husband served in the presidency in the late 1940s and early 1950s, she was directly involved in policymaking and outspoken on a variety of issues. Clinton's role in her husband's administration was not unlike that of Evita's. The reference to Evita Perón is an effective and easy way to explain the challenges to gender that Hillary Clinton presented as an "activist" First Lady. The image of Lady Macbeth as the conniving, ruthless wife of King Duncan in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, is even more potent in helping the media explain the slippage of gender norms in the Bill Clinton White House. Lady Macbeth is a popular image used to invoke a negative feeling about a political wife who becomes involved in her husband's public and political affairs.

The *Time* coverage of Clinton also focused on her connection to women and feminine issues. "Among nurses, teachers and social workers, she was a goddess who understood what they were up against. Rather than faulting her for muffing health-care reform, they rewarded her for trying."¹⁸⁵ The image of a women-friendly candidate increased after Clinton announced her campaign for the presidency, but came into a sort of conflict with the image of the presidency that we see so often in the media—a masculine image. Clinton and her aides were cognizant that her work on women's issues and other traditionally feminine issues (health care and education, for example) would

¹⁸⁴ Margaret Carlson, "Who's That First Lady?" *Time*, August 28, 2000, 28 (my italics).

¹⁸⁵ Carlson, "Capitol Hill," 59.

not exude an image of strength, which she needed to win the presidency. Throughout her first Senate term, *Time* chronicled her quick study of foreign policy and her position on war and violence.

The ‘Toughness Conundrum’

Hillary Clinton is not the only elected official who approved George W. Bush’s call for an invasion of Iraq. She is not the only woman who voted for war either.¹⁸⁶ But her vote became a major point of contention as the war continued and violence in Iraq escalated. She remained unapologetic about her vote, even after evidence indicated that Saddam Hussein was not harboring weapons of mass destruction.

She often weighed in on war and became outspoken in her support to fully armor the troops in Iraq and support military families on the home front. The following quote makes another distinction between “masculine” perspectives on war and how Hillary Clinton challenged that preconception. The masculine perspective, as Joe Klein writes, focuses on hunting down and killing every Muslim fanatic. This perspective, Klein argues, ignores protecting major cities and ports that could be easy targets for terrorist attacks. “‘The Administration just hasn’t made the commitment to homeland security that it has to national security,’ *Senator Hillary Clinton of New York, who is not a guy, told me last week.*”¹⁸⁷

Klein goes out of his way to point out that Hillary Clinton “is not a guy.” In this case, the distinction seems to be a positive characteristic. The masculine perspective that Klein writes about has not been successful in protecting America from terrorist attacks.

¹⁸⁶ On October 11, 2002, the U.S. Senate voted 77-23 and the U.S. House voted 296-133 to approve a resolution that authorized Bush to attack Iraq to take pre-emptive action against possible terrorist attacks. Out of ten female Senators, only one voted against the resolution. In the House, a larger percentage of women voted against the resolution, yet nearly 40 percent of women in the House supported the measure. Altogether, about 50 percent of the women in the U.S. Congress voted in favor of giving the President permission to attack.

¹⁸⁷ Joe Klein, “How Soccer Moms Became Security Moms,” *Time*, February 17, 2003: 23 (my italics).

Was a non-masculine perspective (presumably provided by Clinton in this case) the only way to address the problem? If this perspective had come from a man, a gendered analysis of it would not be an issue. But because it came from Clinton, the topic of gender and war became important.

By the time the candidates began announcing their intentions to run in the 2004 election against George W. Bush, *Time* journalists began speculating a Hillary for President Campaign. She did not run for president in 2004, but her choices of committees in the Senate indicated that she had her sights on the executive office, particularly because of her quick study on foreign affairs and national security issues. If she were to run for office, she knew that she needed “to spend time bulking her resume, especially on national security issues—it’s no accident that she lobbied for a place on the Armed Forces Committee”¹⁸⁸ and “*her newfound grasp of military matters has impressed colleagues of both parties.*”¹⁸⁹

An interesting theme emerged regarding Clinton’s image: she became the “hawk in doves coo” among the Democratic presidential contenders based on her vote for war and her foreign policy experience. This role reversal—a woman supporting war while the leading male Democratic candidates opposed the war—created a situation in which journalists were forced to discuss gender, the presidency, and war. For example, “A vote for Clinton is, at bottom, a radical proposition. It is a vote for the first woman President, the most dramatic expansion of American possibility since a Catholic was elected President in 1960.”¹⁹⁰

Masculinity and the presidency of the United States have been inherently linked throughout the country’s history. Although other female candidates in recent history (for

¹⁸⁸ Joe Klein, “The Savior Complex,” *Time*, September 29, 2003, 23.

¹⁸⁹ Joe Klein, “Hillary in 2008? No Way!” *Time*, May 16, 2005, 27 (my italics).

¹⁹⁰ Klein, “What Hillary Stands For,” 44 (my italics).

example: Geraldine Ferraro, who ran for Vice President in 1980, and Elizabeth Dole who campaigned for the Republican nomination in 1996) have forced American society to reconsider this connection. The general electorate has never made the leap. And when Clinton announced her candidacy and was the frontrunner, columnists and journalists alike were forced to reconsider what has been an exclusively masculine/male post: “But part of the problem with editorial writers ... is a *narrow definition of the qualifications necessary to be President*. It helps to be a *warrior*, for one thing. It helps to be able to *take a punch and deliver one*—even, sometimes a sucker punch.”¹⁹¹ This “narrow definition” makes a female president a “radical proposition.” The masculine characteristics attached to the presidential role have been constructed as natural through a long history of the social construction of gender and the gendered construction of the public and private spheres. This is patriarchy’s goal: to make male-dominated leadership appear natural and just.

Interestingly, the two lead candidates for the Democratic nomination challenged that construction of the President of the United States as a white male. The campaign for the 2008 presidency introduced gender *and* race to the equation.

*As a woman, [Clinton] was, simply, the embodiment of an inspiring idea about our country and about ourselves. It’s the old idea that anyone can grow up to be President. Not just that, but that even at age 230, we are still young enough and flexible enough to be expanding our notion of who we mean by ‘anyone.’ Because of our special tortured history on the subject of race, electing a black President would demonstrate that idea even more powerfully than electing a woman.*¹⁹²

When Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton emerged as front-runners in the race for the Democratic nomination, *Time* and other media outlets were suddenly forced to examine gender and race issues with the presidency. Hillary Clinton was no longer the

¹⁹¹ Joe Klein, “Shrinking Democrats,” *Time*, May 5, 2008, 23 (my italics).

¹⁹² Michael Kinsley, “The Pat-on-the-Back Factor,” *Time*, July 16, 2007, 24 (my italics).

only “radical proposition”—and in this case, race trumped gender according to Michael Kinsley. Kinsley makes an interesting point about identity and the presidency: “*The President is unavoidably a symbol, and a presidential candidate’s ‘essential qualities’ include his or her race or sex. So race and gender matter. It’s still an uphill battle for a woman or an African American who wants to be President.*”¹⁹³ Race and gender are rarely discussed in the media when white men run for the presidency because white men are assumed to be leaders. This excerpt implies that a female candidate (and a black candidate—or anyone other than a white male candidate) must prove herself in “conventional” ways and address why a female could lead a major military power as its commander-in-chief.

Clinton is a judicious hawk on foreign policy and has learned her lesson on domestic-policy overreach... Any woman running for President will face a **toughness conundrum**: she will constantly have to prove her strength and be careful about showing her emotions... It will take a brilliant politician to create a credible presidential style. So far, Senator Clinton hasn’t shown the ease or creativity to break the ultimate glass ceiling.¹⁹⁴

Joe Klein calls this challenge the “toughness conundrum.” Unlike a male candidate, he argues that she will have to “continuously prove her strength” and “create a credible presidential style.” In order to run a credible campaign, Clinton, with the help of the media, retooled her image to become “a judicious hawk.” Media had to deal with this construction that both challenged feminine stereotypes as well as a portion of the Democratic Party’s base that disagreed with Clinton and her stand on the Iraq War.

Hillary Clinton was successful in shedding some of the more feminine characteristics that the media associated with her from her time as a political spouse. She was able to overcome these challenges by increasing her foreign policy experience during her first term as Senator. However, her image as a “judicious hawk” became problematic

¹⁹³ Kinsley, “The Pat-on-the-Back Factor,” 24 (my italics).

¹⁹⁴ Klein, “Hillary in 2008?” 27 (my italics, my bold).

to members of her own party who disagreed with her position on the Iraq war and to the media that did not know how to reconcile stereotypes of gender and war. “*National security is the toughest test for a Democrat, particularly for a woman so associated with feminine causes like child care and education.*”¹⁹⁵ Could a woman who had served in the feminine First Lady role and was a member of the party questioning the war in Iraq really deal with national security and foreign policy issues?

Clinton attempted to break out several preconceived images as she constructed a new image that allowed for a woman to participate in the public sphere on the issue of war. Prior to the official announcement of the Clinton presidential campaign, she was praised as an “unlikely warrior” by a conservative media outlet—a far cry from her Lady Macbeth image during her time as the First Lady and her early days in the Senate.¹⁹⁶ *Time* focused its coverage of Clinton in the early days of the second Bush term on her attempts to bridge gaps with conservative lawmakers and her focus on military affairs.

As she begins her campaign for reelection this year, Hillary Rodham Clinton is laying all the necessary predicates for a possible run for the White House in 2008. In part to deflect the attacks of Hillary haters around the country, she has teamed with Republicans who once spat out her name like a curse. As a New York Senator, she has emerged as an outspoken booster of the terrorism-preparedness program at home and for more money for U.S. troops and better force protection in Iraq.¹⁹⁷

The problem with Clinton’s outreach to conservatives and her image as a “judicious hawk” is that the more liberal faction of the Democratic Party did not trust her in regard to the Iraq War. “She is not as insulated as she once was on the left, which is far angrier than it used to be. Some liberals say they will not forgive her support for the Iraq invasion or, even worse, her refusal to recant that vote.”¹⁹⁸ There are many examples

¹⁹⁵ Karen Tumulty, “Ready to Run,” *Time*, August 28, 2006, 29 (my italics).

¹⁹⁶ Karen Tumulty, “Is This the Race for 2008?” *Time*, August 29, 2005, 27 (my italics).

¹⁹⁷ Michael Duffy, “Can Hillary Join the Club?” *Time*, March 20, 2006, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Tumulty, “Ready to Run,” 29.

from the coverage in *Time* about Clinton's struggles with her own party regarding her vote on the Iraq war.

She will spend the next year trying to navigate between the twin dangers of being too moderate on the war for an antiwar primary electorate and going so far in mollifying that electorate as to weaken her chances in the general election... *She's saddled with the original sin of being an original war supporter.*¹⁹⁹

Time hinted that Clinton ignored her party's position on the Iraq war in favor of the general electorate that would likely be more forgiving—and even supportive—of her vote on Iraq and her foreign policy experience. The coverage in *Time* often praised her work in the national security and foreign policy arena. However, the praise came in the form of a surprise. The coverage indicated that people were surprised that Clinton, as a woman, could attain military knowledge. In the following excerpt, a *Time* story noted how the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army was both surprised and disarmed at Clinton's depth of knowledge of military affairs.

The *Time* coverage of her campaign praised her position on Iraq as “solid, responsible and much different from most of her opponents’.”²⁰⁰ But, at the same time, the *Time* coverage indicated that Clinton was in a difficult situation: she was attempting to appeal to the general public during a primary when voters did not appreciate her positions on Iraq.

Until last week, Clinton had not spent any time at all exploiting her knowledge of military affairs and establishing herself as a strong Commander-in-Chief... Clinton's late arrival on the national-security argument seemed yet another example of an overcalculated, underthought campaign strategy. She had made the conscious decision not to talk about national security, until the general election because, as one of the generals supporting her told me, ‘Military stuff just doesn't make it with Democratic voters.’ In other words, it seems ... militaristic... But national-security expertise speaks directly to the question of strength and authority, which is central to the presidency.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ William Kristol, “Hillary's Iraq Shuffle,” *Time*, January 29, 2007, 29 (my italics).

²⁰⁰ “She Who Laughs...,” *Time*, October 15, 2007, 18.

²⁰¹ Joe Klein, “The Race Goes On,” *Time*, March 17, 2008.

The interesting implication of this excerpt, as with this entire section, is that Clinton's gender was always central to her image, particularly as she attempted to gain the Democratic nomination. *Time* continued to promote a masculine image of the presidency and Clinton's challenges in appearing, well, more masculine. She knew that her experience in feminine issues would not be enough to win the national election. As Bill Clinton said, "The country may be ready for a woman President ... but the first one to make it is likely to be a Republican in the Margaret Thatcher mode."²⁰² This means that women can be leaders *if* they align with militant expectations—they must be prepared to discuss war and carry it out.

As Clinton struggled to shed some of the residual images that followed her from the White House to the Senate, she continued to court women voters with her expertise on more feminine issues like child care, education, and even health care. Her image became a contradiction in terms when compared to stereotypes of gender. She was breaking into the public sphere, but she did so by appealing to masculine and feminine expectations, depending on her audience.

Time's coverage Clinton and Rice (and, no doubt, coverage in many other media outlets) reveals a great deal about how the media and society view women in leadership positions who participate in discussions about war. The following section will discuss the evolution of the women's images in *Time*. The idea that both women face a "toughness conundrum" in mediated discussions of war suggests that it is still unusual for women to be a part of those discussions. The discussion will consider the "toughness conundrum" and what it means for media images of women leaders.

²⁰² Tumulty, "Ready to Run," 29.

THE ‘TOUGHNESS CONUNDRUM’ AND ACCESS TO THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The goal of this chapter was to analyze the images of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton in *Time* magazine as they relate to the particular spheres in which they participated. As the spheres changed shape, so did the women’s images. Both women seemed to be “aware” of how they were required to act to access these spheres.

It is imperative to note that both of the women were surrounded by men and a masculine culture of government, which impacted *Time*’s images of them. In particular the “muscular” brand of unilateralism that dominated the Bush Administration is the epitome of “masculine” foreign policy.

Typical images and stereotypes of women in the media during war time address women’s roles as victims—either as actual physical victims of violence or as mothers or wives of soldiers. These images and stereotypes are based on the dichotomous constructions of gender. Men, as portrayed in the introductory quote, are the actors. Women are the subjects. As Dafna Lemish notes, men are largely involved in the perpetuating violence, organizing violent responses, and presenting the media with stories about violence in the media, women are largely cast in the role of passive victims.²⁰³ Women have carved out an area of war discourse in which they have a more active voice: peace politics. However, even women’s roles in peace politics are based on constructions of women as naturally more compassionate than men.

Rice and Clinton both occupied positions that required them to become “actors” in war. However, themes in *Time*’s coverage of them, particularly during early coverage of their careers, aligned with feminine characteristics of being weak and passive (Condoleezza Rice) and explaining why a woman would involve herself in military affairs (Hillary Clinton).

²⁰³ Lemish, “The Media Gendering of War.”

Between 2000 and 2004 (the first Bush Administration) both women began their high-profile (and independent, in the case of Hillary Clinton) political careers. The United States also invaded Afghanistan and Iraq within this time period. Although *Time's* images of Rice and Clinton are quite different, there are some notable similarities. Rice's image as an "ideological puzzle" and a "calm mediator" imply that Rice relatively powerless in the Bush Administration even though she also was portrayed as an intricate member of Bush's "war council." Meanwhile, *Time's* representation of Senator Clinton relied heavily on residual feminine images of her as the First Lady. *Time's* representation also included significant discussions on Clinton's increased attention to national security and foreign policy issues. *Time* referenced both women's appearances on several occasions as well as referring to both of them as bossy school teachers. Additionally, they were both often accused of changing their political beliefs to gain power in the political system.

Bush was re-elected in 2004. The conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq ensued and, particularly in Iraq, devolved. New themes emerged in the coverage of both women during Bush's second term as president. The shifts in coverage are partially the result of changes in the women's positions within the government. Bush appointed Rice to the position of Secretary of State (2005) and Hillary Clinton declared her intention to run for the Democratic nomination for president (2006). Both women gained a certain amount of "power" with their new positions and this is when the evolution of their images occurred. The changes were also a result of the shift in the masculine atmosphere of the Bush Administration. The public was no longer willing to accept unilateralism and some large masculine personalities (Rumsfeld and Powell, for example) disappeared from the sphere.

Time's coverage of Clinton often discussed the "toughness conundrum" she faced in her bid for the presidency. Because the American presidency has always been a male

endeavor, she would have to prove herself both in conventional ways and make up for the fact that she was a woman. She was willing to do that by becoming what *Time* called a “hawk in dove’s coo.” While she emerged as a “judicious hawk” in *Time*, the news magazine’s coverage of her also sought to explain how a woman could successfully fill the role of commander-in-chief.

The “toughness conundrum” became a way for *Time* to make the images of Rice and Clinton acceptable as they occupied traditionally masculine roles. Both women challenged the very assumptions that the private and public spheres have created about gender. They both occupy powerful positions in the public sphere. Clinton, in particular, was aware that one way she could access this sphere was to “perform” certain aspects of masculinity. By supporting the Bush Administration’s invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the women created hybrid gender identities: a female masculinity. By understanding the “toughness conundrum” both women gained access to the public sphere. If they had not acknowledged this conundrum, they probably would have found accessing the sphere more difficult.

The other side of the “toughness conundrum” involves the media’s representations of these women. In order for Rice and Clinton to participate in the masculine public sphere and discuss issues of war and violent conflict, *Time* linked them back to femininity and the private sphere through their relationships with men. The women were allowed to participate in the public sphere if they still appeared feminine. While *Time* did focus on aspects of both women’s appearances (for example, Rice’s stilettos and haircut, Clinton’s pant suits), the magazine mostly reinforced their femininity by focusing on their familial relations with men. This representation of femininity is more subtle than overt discussions of feminine appearances. It is an

indication that women are more welcome in the public sphere, but are still marginally accepted.

How do these shifting images fit into the social constructions of gender we generally see in the media during periods of war and violent conflict? As I discussed in previous chapters, the play *Lysistrata* gives us a historical idea about men's and women's roles in war. These roles have not changed a great deal over the 2,000 years since that play debuted. As the literature indicates, men are still overwhelmingly actors in war. Women, then, occupy the subject position. Images of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton, while clearly not merely subjects in media war coverage, occupy fascinating positions that challenge historical constructions. As these women's images shifted over the eight years of coverage, some themes challenged those stereotypes.

The women's official support of violent conflict challenges many ideas that have traditionally prevented women from participating in discussions about war. *Time's* coverage of Rice, Clinton, and war relied on stereotypes of femininity *and* masculinity to create images of these women. They were sometimes passive and polite and other times assertive and aggressive. Of all the constructions of femininity during wartime (victims, mothers/wives and soldiers/women soldiers) *Time's* constructions of Rice and Clinton align most closely with the construction of the woman soldier because the media is forced to explain the contradictions embedded in the idea of a woman soldier as well as a woman leader.

These contradictions are central to the idea of the "toughness conundrum." Women face this conundrum when they participate in the public sphere, particularly during discussions of foreign policy and war. The women could participate in war *if* they remained feminine enough to continue to align with an acceptable definition of femininity. The themes in coverage of the women suggest that Condoleezza Rice could

participate in the masculine discussion of war so long as she remained on the sidelines. Early in the George W. Bush Administration, Rice was portrayed as a “referee” to the strong masculine personalities in the “war council.” Although she gained a voice later after transitioning to the Secretary of State position, she was still tightly connected to Bush. Meanwhile, early in the timeline, coverage of Clinton largely relied on residual images of her as First Lady. Even as she shed these images, she was forced to oscillate between traditionally feminine issues to gaining experience in foreign policy. The conundrum these women face is appearing “tough,” but not too “tough.”

One way the media, and particularly *Time*, addressed this conundrum was to portray women as acting “tough” in the masculine sphere of war, while also connecting them back to the private sphere through their familial relationships with men. More than once, *Time* reporters referred to Bush and Rice’s relationship as a father-daughter bond. On the contrary, Clinton had a more obvious bond to a male in power: her husband. Chapter 6 explores this theme as it relates to images of women in the public sphere.

Chapter 6: Returning to the Private Sphere: Condoleezza Rice as a Daughter and Hillary Clinton as a Wife

*The title first lady is situated within an important legacy of Western political theory: the symbolic separation of public and private realms of social life, the elevation of the public world of politics (polis) in relation to the private world of household and family (oikos) and the association of men with the former and women with the latter.*²⁰⁴

Chapter 5 analyzed and discussed how *Time* described Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton in its coverage of them and war. It described themes in the news magazine's coverage of the women as they progressed through their political careers between 2000 and 2008. Rice and Clinton were arguably two of most powerful women in the American government who weighed in on foreign policy matters, particularly war and violent conflict. Rice served as the National Security Adviser and the Secretary of State under President George W. Bush. Clinton was the first first lady to be elected to the U.S. Senate. Her presidential ambitions became apparent as she "burnished" her foreign policy resume to include a position on the Senate Armed Services Committee, among other assignments and opportunities. Both women faced a "toughness conundrum" as they participated in the public sphere, particularly regarding issues of war and violence. Based on the coverage in *Time*, Clinton was more successful in negotiating her gender and her position. However, based on how Rice's image shifted in during the second Bush term, she learned to more adeptly negotiate her role so as to have a voice in the Administration as well as the media.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the "atmosphere" of the dominant public sphere impacted the women's images. Rice participated in what *Time* reporters called "cowboy diplomacy," which indicates strong, aggressive masculine traits. The difference

²⁰⁴ Gardetto, "Hillary Rodham Clinton," 226.

between the atmosphere of Bush's first and second terms regarding war and violent conflict allowed more room for female involvement in the second term. After Bush's second election in 2004, his Administration had to start answering questions about the unilateralist ideology that dominated his first administration. War and cowboy diplomacy were not working and were no longer popular.

This chapter will analyze a major common theme in *Time's* coverage of both women: their connections back to the private sphere through images of their relationships with men. Although it could be argued that women are allowed to participate in more areas of the public sphere today, discussions of war and foreign policy are still almost entirely dominated by male voices. Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton are examples of women who have attempted to assert their voices in this area of the public sphere. Throughout the eight years of coverage that I analyzed for this dissertation, *Time* consistently discussed Rice's and Clinton's relationships with the powerful men in their lives. This theme has significant implications for the interpretation of women's roles in the public sphere, and especially with how the media represents women leaders in the public sphere. Rice's relationship with George W. Bush, portrayed as a father-daughter bond, gave her a considerable amount of power. Clinton's link to her husband was often her perceived source of power. This chapter will explore how *Time* linked two powerful women back to the private sphere by focusing on their familial relationships with men.

The chapter first analyzes Condoleezza Rice's relationship with George W. Bush as *Time* describes it as a father-daughter relationship. This section discusses the relationship in contrast to Bush's relationship with other men in his Administration, most notably then-Vice President Dick Cheney. The second section addresses descriptions of Hillary Clinton's relationship with her husband, former President Bill Clinton. This section also analyzes *Time's* speculation about the role of the "First Spouse" and how the

news magazine could not imagine Bill Clinton in such a feminine and submissive position. The chapter will end in a discussion of this theme and its implications of how women are represented in the media when they occupy powerful positions in the public sphere. What does this theme mean for images of women in the public sphere?

CONDOLEEZZA RICE AND GEORGE W. BUSH

As I discussed in the previous chapter, when Condoleezza Rice served as George W. Bush's National Security Adviser, she was mostly caught between two factions of the Administration: one that argued for multilateralist, diplomatic foreign policy and another that argued for a unilateralist policy. In Bush's first term, *Time's* representations of Rice were never consistent. She either aligned with the unilateralists when it came to the Administration's position on Iraq or she was merely a moderator or mediator of the two factions.

Throughout the eight-year period of Bush's presidency, *Time* articles often discussed his relationship with Rice. On more than one occasion, their relationship was portrayed as one with a father-daughter bond. Rice often took vacations with the First Family and spent private time with Bush at his ranch in Crawford, Texas. As I will discuss in this section, the portrayal of the Rice/Bush relationship is notable because it is a representation of how the media negotiates a woman's power in the public sphere. *Time* also described Bush's relationships with other members of his Administration (a majority of who are male). *Time* represented these relationships in a different way. Bush, rather than a father-figure, is portrayed as a "fledgling princeling" in these relationships. This suggests that Bush has very different relationships with men in his Administration than with Rice.

‘Everyone Says Condi Is Like a Daughter to Bush’

Rice met Bush when she briefly served in his father’s Administration in the late 1980s under National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft as an expert in Soviet and East European Affairs. She served as Bush’s foreign policy adviser as he campaigned for his first term as president in 2000. Articles in *Time* often mentioned their close bond and the amount of private time she spent with his family. The following quotes summarize the pair’s relationship in the early days of Bush’s first term.

She has come to know George W. well in the last couple of years, and, by all accounts, the two get along famously. A Bush aide says that they vacation together; that they talk on the phone nearly every day; and that Bush trusts her completely to manage his foreign-policy team and to provide counsel on other matters as well—including social issues.²⁰⁵

*And Rice hangs out with the First Family, spending time at the Crawford Ranch last month, going up to Camp David for relaxing weekends. Rice and Bush watch movies and sports together. “A lot of this is personal chemistry,” says a top Bush aide. “Condi and the President are very close. They’re friends. He trusts her. That means a lot. **Everyone says Condi is like a daughter to Bush.**”*²⁰⁶

Here Rice is portrayed as a faithful servant to Bush—the woman who mediates the arguments between the large personalities in the Administration. Most importantly, these excerpts establish a portrait of their relationship: “Everyone says Condi is like a daughter to Bush.” While this father-daughter bond is referenced several times throughout the eight years of the Bush presidency, the age difference between the two is noteworthy. Rice is only eight years younger than Bush. They clearly have a close friendship. Do the media characterize it as a familial bond because suggesting a different type of bond is inappropriate? *Time* could have portrayed this bond as more of a sister-brother relation. By focusing on a daughter-father bond, both the Bush Administration and *Time* created an image of Rice as young and impressionable. Sister-brother bonds

²⁰⁵ Nordlinger, “Star-in-Waiting,” 35.

²⁰⁶ Johanna McGeary, “Odd Man,” *Time*, September 10, 2001, 28 (my italics, my bold).

imply a more equal status whereas a daughter must be represented in the public sphere by her father. By using this description, *Time* and the Administration could allay fears that the relationship may be something more than familial while positioning Rice in an image with less power.

Articles in *Time* often mentioned the “private” time Rice spent with the President and the First Family. The following excerpts from stories in *Time* highlight this “bond” and indicate that Rice’s power in the public sphere comes from her familial relationship with Bush and his family.

In 2001, there was no doubting the *source of Rice’s power*. *During the election campaign, she had forged a deep bond with Bush, building on relationships with his family that she had established during his father’s presidency*. Rice used the confidence that Bush had in her to consolidate her position in Washington. The big personalities of the Administration’s foreign policy team had not yet shown their muscle.²⁰⁷

*As George W. Bush’s National Security Adviser, Condoleezza Rice, spends more time with him than anyone else in the West Wing. **But her clout is more the product of experience than ideology***. In the early days of Bush’s term, she tutored the President and quietly helped set priorities... *Though others might call many shots, Rice’s proximity has made her the foreign policy voice of the White House*.²⁰⁸

Whereas people like Secretary of State Colin Powell, Vice President Dick Cheney, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld were often portrayed as having very clear ideological viewpoints, Rice was not. This theme was discussed in the previous chapter. But it has some significant implications for Rice’s image. The “big personalities” of the Administration are respected for their ideas whereas Rice is respected due to her “proximity” the president and the power she has by her association with him. It is Bush’s “confidence” in her that allowed her to consolidate power while she was his National Security Adviser. However, once the “big personalities” of his Administration emerged

²⁰⁷ Elliott and Calabresi, “Is Condi the Problem?” 33 (my italics, my bold).

²⁰⁸ Duffy, “Condoleezza Rice,” 57 (my italics, my bold).

(meaning Powell, Cheney, and Rumsfeld), she was not able to assert herself as easily, but continued to have power because of her relationship to Bush.

Rice, thus, was not respected for her opinions, ideological beliefs, and thoughts about how the United States should address international issues. Rather, she was respected because of her relationship to the President. This introduces the idea that Bush served as Rice's protectorate. She enjoyed her power in the Administration through him.

Following her appointment to the post of Secretary of State, her relationship with Bush continued to be a source of her power. She did begin asserting an ideological voice of her own (this shift in coverage was also discussed in the previous chapter). Her relationship with Bush, however, still accounts for much of her power within the public sphere. Quite differently than former Secretary of State Colin Powell, who did not have a close relationship with Bush, Rice *spoke for* Bush. Her policy was often an extension of his ideology.

Following Colin Powell's exit from the Administration in 2004 and Donald Rumsfeld's exit in 2006, the coverage of Rice allowed for more discussions about her stance on foreign policy issues. In fact, according to *Time*, she became a major player in creating a direction for the foreign policy of Bush's second term. Although she was connected to the unilateralist faction that dominated the Bush's first term, she was portrayed as moving the Administration away from taking action on military and other global issues without considering diplomacy first: "The practical costs of the last plank of the Bush Doctrine—unilateralism—may have finally persuaded the Administration to jettison that too. *This move is being led by Rice, who is emerging as Bush's most visible and most intimate adviser.*"²⁰⁹

Although Rice is portrayed as charting the Administration's new direction, she is still intimately connected to her boss. One article asks: "Are the disagreements among Bush foreign policymakers gone? Of course not. But for now the nonstop dissonance of the first term has subsided, replaced by something new: *a single voice who speaks*

²⁰⁹ Allen and Ratnesar, "The End of Cowboy Diplomacy," 25 (my italics).

confidently for the boss.”²¹⁰ Even though Rice is supposed to be steering the ship, she “speaks confidently for the boss.”

As Rice gained power and presence in the Administration as the Secretary of State, her “most outstanding asset remains her relationship with Bush.” The following quote indicates their close relationship is the source of her power, rather than her increased responsibility and more visible ideological positions. “*For all of her personal emollient, **Rice’s most outstanding asset remains her relationship with Bush**... Both rely heavily on the intimate bond forged during the first term.*”²¹¹

This quote, from a story published in 2005, discusses how Rice can make difficult foreign policy issues seem less harsh and intense. It implies that her presence has a mollifying effect. Her close relationship with Bush is apparent here. And her discussions with him, while public in small-group meetings, remain private—at meals that are not public in nature, outside of the public light.

Although Rice’s relationship with Bush became less of an issue when she took over the position of Secretary of State, *Time* continued to discuss their close relationship as it related to the position. Other members of the Administration (most notably, the “strong men” like Vice President Dick Cheney) had different relationships with Bush. Often Rumsfeld and Cheney were portrayed as having the most power in the Administration—even more than Bush. Their relationships were described as manipulative in nature. Comparing descriptions about Bush’s relationship to Rice and his relationship to Cheney further elucidates Rice’s image and relationship with Bush in *Time*.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39 (my italics).

²¹¹ Elaine Shannon, “The Condi Doctrine,” *Time*, August 15, 2005, 28 (my italics, my bold).

Bush's Male Relationships

Bush's relationships with the men in his Administration were not as "intimate" or "familial." Rather, Bush was an "inexperienced princeling" caught in the middle of the two major factions of his Administration:

This raises the most interesting question about how this President uses people, both in public and in private. It's a media cliché to tell the story of an impressionable and inexperienced princeling caught between his powerful counselors: Powell and his multilateralist moderates arrayed against Rumsfeld, Cheney and the unilateralist hawks.²¹²

Much like the "inexperienced princeling" image, Bush relied on Cheney's advice as opposed to expecting him to review and deliver someone else's ideological plans. Cheney is often portrayed as the man behind the scenes who wielded the power in Bush's Administration.

The war effort has changed the way Bush and Cheney interact. In addition to frequent meetings, the two now seem to be carrying on a long, rolling conversation throughout the day... When Bush rewrote a portion of Sept. 20 address to Congress, reframing the Administration's position on Osama bin Laden al-Qaeda network, he made sure an aide called Cheney to run it by him. *More often than not, the last question Bush asks before making a decision is, "What do you think, Dick?"*²¹³

Cheney's force is gravitational; *his relationship is so close and so big that he is the fixed weight who pulls policy in his direction.* He can just sit there in meetings, camping inside his sidwinder smile and cocking his head as if he's listening to music no one else hears. He saves his advice for a circle that no one else can enter. "He doesn't tell Bush what to think," says a White House adviser and Cheney friend. "It's a process. He lays it out. He guides Bush's thinking to a conclusion. But he knows what the conclusion is going to be."²¹⁴

While Bush is portrayed as having a familial, father-daughter bond with Rice, the power relationship between Bush and Cheney is quite different. Cheney is not only

²¹² Nancy Gibbs, "Double-Edged Sword," *Time*, December 30, 2002-January 6, 2003, 66.

²¹³ James Carey and John F. Dickerson, "Where's Dick," *Time*, October 15, 2001, 35 (my italics).

²¹⁴ Gibbs, "Double-Edged Sword," 70.

represented as an adviser, he was portrayed as having a considerable amount of influence over Bush's decisions.

By using the father-daughter image to describe Rice's relationship with Bush, Rice is portrayed as having power not because of her ideological positions or ideas but because of her connection with Bush. This is unlike the men in the Administration, particularly then-Vice President Dick Cheney, who have a considerable amount of power over Bush. Like Rice, Hillary Clinton also had a familial tie with a president. Early in her career as an independent politician (as opposed to serving as a political spouse with her husband), her connection with Bill Clinton was portrayed as her source of political power in the public sphere.

HILLARY CLINTON AND BILL CLINTON

Images of Hillary Clinton in *Time* are much more complex than that of Condoleezza Rice because she has been a national public figure since her husband first ran for the presidency in 1988. While Rice's background is mostly limited to academia, Clinton's background was scrutinized by the media throughout her husband's presidency. Even before Bill Clinton won the election, the media was not sure how to characterize Clinton. Darlaine Gardetto argues that Hillary Clinton was a controversial figure even before she became First Lady because she did not conform to what society imagines as a political spouse.

Hillary Clinton did not occupy the traditional role of First Lady, by being involved in her husband's Administration, having a successful pre-political career as an attorney, and then running for and winning a seat in the U.S. Senate:

Before impeachment, Hillary was one of the more unpopular First Ladies. She bungled the Administration's biggest domestic project—health care... Her fingerprints were everywhere, especially on the scandals (from Whitewater to Travelgate)... It wasn't until the President found himself under siege that her

popularity took off. By the end of impeachment, she realized that, Sally Field-like, people liked her, so she decided to run [for Senate].²¹⁵

“Hillary Clinton inspired an even greater frenzy because she was a gender revolutionary, transforming the cotton-candy role of First Lady into a power position. She wasn’t as charming as her husband either. And she seemed ... tougher.”²¹⁶

During Clinton’s 2000 campaign for the Senate seat, Clinton’s relationship with her husband was often portrayed as her source of power. However, *Time* also focused on a specific aspect of the Clinton’s marital relationship as a source of her power. Coverage of their relationship often mentioned Bill Clinton’s alleged philandering as a reason Hillary Clinton was able to secure her position in the Senate. “***While some women get a diamond necklace or a trip to Paris from an errant spouse, Hillary Clinton got herself a Senate seat.***”²¹⁷

Bill Clinton’s scandals and his clout were often portrayed as the secret to Hillary’s political success. Margaret Carlson wonders: “***If it weren’t for men, including her husband, making a martyr of her, would we be calling her Senator?***”²¹⁸ These excerpts suggest that absent the scandals of the Clinton presidency, Hillary Clinton never would have become a politician in her own right. According to the coverage, it was the public’s sympathy for Hillary Clinton that allowed her to shift her image and run for public office. And without Bill’s help, she would not have been so successful.

Friends say, even absent scandal, his eighth year was never going to be a casual victory stroll. The guy loves being President, they say. “He was always going to do lots of Democratic fund raisers and push an aggressive legislative agenda, and he’s always said that after Hillary had supported his career all these years, it was going to be her turn,” says a former staff member. “Would he have done so many

²¹⁵ Carlson, “Capitol Hill,” 58.

²¹⁶ Klein, “What Hillary Stands For,” 46.

²¹⁷ Carlson, “Capitol Hill,” 58 (my italics, my bold).

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 58 (my italics, my bold).

money events without Monica? Is he somehow working extra hard for Hillary? Who knows?”²¹⁹

The following quote suggests that Hillary Clinton would have to somehow change the perceived power relationship of her marriage in order to secure the Democratic presidential nomination. As the following quote proposes, Hillary would have to reconfigure the way the American people imagined her—not as the wife of Bill Clinton, but as an equal person in the partnership, whose name could be listed first.

The sequence is firmly fixed for most great American duos. It is never Costello and Abbott, or Cher or Sonny, or Clyde and Bonnie. And up to this point in history, it has always been Bill and Hillary. As the former First Couple campaigned together for the first time in Iowa over the Fourth of July holiday week, their agenda was topped by one goal: the political slight of hand necessary to change their public partnership from Bill and Hillary Clinton to Hillary and Bill Clinton.²²⁰

No other presidential candidate has had to deal with type of political maneuvering because men are generally listed first when paired with their wives. Clinton faced another hurdle because her husband was a well-known politician with a popular name.

Clinton emphasized her role as First Lady as she campaigned for the Democratic nomination for president. The coverage in *Time* questioned whether her experiences as First Lady were “valid” experience. This suggests that a First Lady is simply a symbolic figure, as the research indicates, rather than an active participant in the political process. This is even considering that Clinton was considered an “activist” First Lady with political goals of her own. For example, *Time* analyzed some of the claims Clinton made in her foreign policy dossier. One example in particular is important for two reasons:

There is no question that the First Lady encouraged women from Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods to push their political leaders toward the bargaining table. She traveled to Northern Ireland twice by herself in the mid- to late 1990s and praised those who stood up for peace. She engaged in particular with a group of

²¹⁹ Jay Branegan, “Running for History,” *Time*, November 20, 2000, 112.

²²⁰ Kinsley, “The Pat-on-the-Back Factor,” 34.

women peace activists who were largely cut out of the male-dominated negotiations and encouraged them to keep the pressure on... The bottom line: Clinton played a role in hearing the concerns of Irish women left out of the peace process, and in encouraging them to put pressure on their country-men to pursue negotiations. But that does not mean she rolled up her sleeves and conducted or led the talks that resulted in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.²²¹

The first reason this excerpt is important is because it downplays Clinton's role in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The second reason is that is indicative of how women's participation in the political process is not valued. Women peace activists were left out of the negotiations. Their only role was to keep the pressure on their men. This isolates both Hillary Clinton and Irish women in the private sphere. Men talk and discuss politics in the public sphere on women's behalf. The quote also devalues Clinton's role, as though organizing the women was not important—or it was not as important as working with men on the peace agreement. It also indicates that women cannot participate directly in the public sphere. In this case, women were to remain in the private sphere and influence their husbands from their positions as wives.

Time's early coverage of the Clinton campaign speculated about how the campaign would “use” Bill Clinton. Often, the coverage predicted that Bill would outshine Hillary on the stump. Hillary was often portrayed as boring and studious while Bill could win over a crowd or steal the spotlight.

However, as Clinton lost ground to Barack Obama, *Time* reevaluated Bill Clinton's role *and* power in his wife's political career and campaign. As *Time* had predicted before Hillary announced her campaign, Bill “could hurt her as well as help her.”²²² When Bill began attacking Hillary's rivals, the image of Hillary changed in *Time*. The magazine predicted that she would have done better without her husband at her side

²²¹ Karen Tumulty, Michael Duffy, and Massimo Calabresi, “How Much Did She Do?” *Time*, March 24, 2008, 29.

²²² Tumulty, “Ready to Run,” 27.

because he was a distraction to what she really stood for. The following excerpt addresses several issues. The first is the issue of whether or not Hillary's experience as First Lady qualifies as legitimate experience, as discussed above. She is labeled as Bill's de facto vice president. The second issue addresses the source of her political power and Bill's role in her campaign:

In their campaign to hand off the presidency one to another, the Clintons have now rotated the virtual vice presidency as well. Hillary's claim to be "ready to lead on Day One" rests on having served as de facto Veep when Bill was in office. Now it's his turn, wielding the hatchet in New Hampshire as he hacked away at the "fairy tale" that is Obama's candidacy and taking Hillary's place in South Carolina so she could focus on Super Duper Tuesday contests. Some party elders were disturbed enough to tell him to knock it off. *Some feminists wondered how satisfying it would be to see the first woman nominated being carried over the finish line by her husband.*²²³

This excerpt introduced an interesting shift in the coverage of Hillary the candidate. Following two years of focusing on Hillary *and* Bill, the campaign and the media began questioning Bill's involvement in the campaign. Bill was too strong a personality for Hillary to compete with and he was silenced by the party and his wife's campaign. The image of Hillary in *Time* emerged as a lady who did not need her husband to win an election. She needed to clean up his messes and go it alone.

Finally, with nothing left to lose, *the actual Hillary Clinton came back*, in a dizzying array of moods and aspects that seemed to confuse the press... *And she was a tough-minded, gritty, independent throughout, a woman on her own, as so many working women find themselves these days, cleaning up the messes that their feckless men have made. I cannot emphasize enough how important it was that Bill Clinton was out of the frame...* But the victories gave Clinton so much more. Even if she fails to win the nomination, as seems likely, *she has finally defined herself as a public figure*, and an attractive one at that, with a personality independent of her husband's. She isn't as clever as he is, but she's just as tenacious ... and, in an odd way, more vulnerable, and more real.²²⁴

²²³ Nancy Gibbs, "Teaming Up," *Time*, February 4, 2008, 15 (my italics, my bold).

²²⁴ Klein, "The Race Goes On," 27 (my italics, my bold).

It was not until the final months of her campaign that Hillary separated herself from Bill. Although she had been a public figure since her days in the Bill Clinton Administration, she was not considered truly “public” until she shed his support. She was finally “independent” from her husband and that, according to the excerpt in *Time*, established her as a viable, attractive public figure. Does this mean that women, in intimate relationships with powerful men, cannot be perceived as public figures? These excerpts suggest that this is true. While high-profile political men often lean on the support of their political wives, women, it seems, cannot. If they are to be successful, they cannot be identified as needing male support.

As Hillary’s image shifted from that of a former First Lady to a martyr who depended on her relationship with men for power to an independent public figure, *Time* and other media outlets were forced to imagine the possibility that a man would occupy the First Lady position for the first time in history. Bill Clinton posed some particular problems for this construction because he was already an active public figure, which did not fit into the mold of the First Lady.

Speculating the ‘First Spouse’s’ Role

As was the case in Bill Clinton’s campaigns for president, the two Clinton’s offered “two for one” in campaigns, suggesting that their relationship was a partnership and they both had something to offer. However, *Time* did not know how to represent “the aspiring First Laddie and strategist in chief.”²²⁵

The following quotes attempt to define the role Bill would play in a Hillary Clinton Administration:

There is another problem: What role would the big guy play in a Hillary Clinton Administration? Would *he* reform health care? Does anyone believe that a man

²²⁵ Klein, “Hillary in 2008?” 27

with such a huge personality would have a less active role in her Administration than she had in his?²²⁶

She will never escape the way people feel about the man she married, or their doubts about her motives for staying with him. “The real question is whether to revisit the book that people closed called Bill Clinton,” says a prominent Republican strategist. “Having him as First Lady, with no responsibilities in the White House—people will shudder at that.”²²⁷

The other man Clinton has to watch out for is her husband... No one knows how to bring a man renowned for his voracious need for information into anything approaching a *marginal role of political spouse*.²²⁸

The “marginal role of political spouse” is what the media expects of the wives of politicians. In this quote, *Time* portrays the feminine image of the political spouse: “*Playing the proper candidate spouse, Bill Clinton performed a subtle version of fixed eyes and adoring nod. But frequently he rested his face in one of his oversized hands, looking—depending on one’s perspective—captivated or faintly restless.*”²²⁹ If Bill Clinton’s role as First Spouse had been defined by the Hillary Clinton campaign or through residual images of the first spouse, she may have had a better chance of winning the Democratic nomination. Perhaps because Bill Clinton did not have a clearly defined role, gender assumptions prevailed. *Time* could not imagine how he would serve in a role that is reserved for the feminine private sphere, particularly after he served in the highest office in the public sphere. There was an implication in *Time*’s coverage of her that she never could have attained success in the public sphere without her husband, but that he was too much of liability to her presidential ambitions. And many of these implications were gendered.

²²⁶ Ibid., 27.

²²⁷ Tumulty, “Is This the Race for 2008?” 27.

²²⁸ Duffy, “Can Hillary Join the Club?” 45 (my italics, my bold).

²²⁹ Mark Halperin, “On the Road Again,” *Time*, July 26, 2007, 35 (my italics, my bold).

Early in Hillary's career, Bill was portrayed as the source of her power. It was her connection to him—and his scandals—that allowed her to explore an independent political career of her own. As her presidential campaign faltered, the media and her own campaign asked what went wrong. There was an assumption that powerful political men could “control” their wives. “The implication here is that any president who would rely on his wife to back him up would not have control over the presidency, might turn it over to his wife or, worse yet, she might wrest control from him.”²³⁰ A similar situation occurred in discussions of Hillary and Bill Clinton. However, there was an assumption that Hillary could not “control” Bill; that he would overrule Hillary and serve in the role of President once again.

DISCUSSION

Although they appear real, women function as sources of meaning, carrying rather than creating meaning. They are to be seen but are not given the privilege of speaking for themselves. As signs of support, women in the news are allowed to speak for organizations and institutions, many of which oppress women.²³¹

The two case studies presented here, contemporary news coverage of Hillary Clinton and Condoleezza Rice in *Time*, suggest that while these two women seem to have secured a place in the public sphere, their images are still laden with symbols. It is true that their images shifted over the eight-year period in this analysis. Rice and Clinton both gained more of a voice in the coverage about violence and war. However, to assume that women are now welcomed members in the public sphere and they are actors rather than subjects is incorrect. As Mary Ellen Brown argues, women's mediated images must be placed within a conceptual framework that explains this phenomenon. “At present ... the dominant or hegemonic gender position for television news coverage can best be

²³⁰ Gardetto, “Hillary Rodham Clinton,” 228.

²³¹ Brown, “Feminism and Cultural Politics,” 257.

described as *postfeminist*, suggesting that, if some women are in powerful positions, feminist goals have been attained.”²³² A similar problem emerged when Barack Obama won the 2008 election. There was an assumption that since American elected a black man to the White House that racism disappeared in this country.

However, the fact is that we are not living in a postfeminist or a post-race country. On the contrary, these case studies suggest that patriarchy (and perhaps racism) is more latent now, but they still exist. Brown contends that by constructing women within feminine stereotypes, the media allays fears society has about women leaving the private sphere. She uses the example of Hillary Clinton following her failed health care plan:

The construction of Hillary Clinton as the stay-at-home domestic wife and mother goes against her other persona as a take-charge, competent woman. However, the depiction of female political figures in their roles as mothers, housewives or grandmothers is seen as allaying fears that these women are neglecting their proper duties to pursue public life and are hence unnatural women.²³³

The analysis of both women indicates that women can and do participate in the public sphere—and even in the masculine discussions of war. Their participation is like a dance, however. They access this area of the public sphere by promoting masculine ideas about war. They performed these actions and ideals with variable success. Rice was invisible amongst strong masculine personalities for the first half of the Bush presidency. When the atmosphere shifted to prefer a less unilateralist approach to foreign policy (the death of “cowboy diplomacy”), she gained more of a voice in the Administration and in *Time*’s coverage of her. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton was aware of the opposition she would face as a woman without foreign policy experience if she ran for president. She strategically forced herself into the debate in many ways. And she was successful.

²³² *Ibid.*, 266 (my italics).

²³³ *Ibid.*, 266.

However, she miscalculated the shift in atmosphere that occurred after the 2004 elections. By remaining the “war candidate” in the Democratic Party, she actually lost support.

Time did not devote much attention to either woman’s appearance, which is often an issue in media coverage of women leaders. Additionally, *Time* coverage did not focus on Rice’s and Clinton’s roles as mothers or housewives. Rice did not have a family and Clinton’s only child was an adult. Rather, by focusing on their relationships with men there is an implication that the women gain their power through their relationships with powerful men. *Time* suggested that Rice had a familial relationship with George W. Bush. Clinton’s relationship to Bill Clinton was more explicit. Additionally, she had previously served in the First Lady position, which provides certain symbols about femininity in the public and private spheres.

Returning to Jürgen Habermas’s and Hannah Arendt’s definitions of the public sphere, these case studies indicate that the media do not only rely on the social constructions of gender to represent women leaders in the public sphere. There is another, more insidious process of covering women leaders. In the cases of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton, *Time* and other mainstream media news outlets were forced to cover two women who were not only questioning, but also threatening the political and social order. They are not unlike Lysistrata in this respect because they both stepped out of their assigned territory—that is the confinement of domestic life, and entered the public sphere.

Although the media can and did use the traditional representational techniques to cover these two women as a way to negotiate their roles outside of the private sphere, it relied on a masculine definition of who belongs in the public sphere. By relying on this definition, *Time* linked Rice and Clinton back to the private sphere through their relationship with men. Before women could vote, women’s identities were shaped by

their roles, servants, and slaves. They were represented in the public sphere by their husbands, fathers, and masters. The political and social systems have changed, but the way in which women are represented in this system appears to rely on old ideas.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the public sphere factors into this project in two ways. The first is how it has been defined as a masculine space. Based on these case studies, it continues to be a male-dominated space and accepting to female involvement only if that involvement adheres to masculine ideals that promote war and violent conflict as a legitimate and dominant foreign policy. The idea of the public sphere is also important in terms of the media's role in the public sphere. A large representative democracy like the United States depends on the media to distribute discussion of the public sphere to a larger public. The media act as a forum for the public space that is no longer possible in our society. When women are portrayed in particular ways, like Rice and Clinton, their voices become less powerful and less influential in the public sphere.

By using the theoretical frameworks of mediated representations of women and the public sphere, I have contributed a novel type of analysis to communications research. Research often focuses on how female stereotypes impact media coverage of women. The concept of the public sphere allowed me to analyze a deeper layer of coverage—the representation of women leaders in the public sphere. While women are allowed to participate, their participation is still linked to their relationships with men.

The final chapter will examine how the social construction of gender and the gendered construction of the public sphere have created and upheld different images of men and women in the public sphere. These concepts allow us to understand more about how a dominant ideology permeates media texts, even when it appears that individuals are challenging the dominant ideology (in this case, patriarchy).

The conclusion in Chapter 7 focuses on a discussion of how images of these women help us understand the multiple spheres model of the public sphere and how women can access this sphere. It also applies the multiple spheres model to these case studies to look forward to the future of women in the public sphere.

Chapter 7: Conclusions on Case Studies of Media Images of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton

This dissertation has explored the relationship between gender and war, and media constructions of both. Using the theoretical frameworks of the social constructions of gender and the gendered constructions of the public sphere, I have analyzed how *Time* magazine portrayed Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton in discussions of war. As I have maintained, Rice and Clinton represent women outside the normal boundaries of femininity. First, they were participants in the public sphere, which is largely male-dominated in our society. Second, both women were involved in discussions of war and foreign policy. Their participation in this area of the public sphere is a contradiction to how society expects women to act during war time.

The ancient Greek play *Lysistrata* serves as an historical example for examining how gender and war have been connected throughout history. It is also an illustration of women's and men's roles in the public and private spheres. Femininity, masculinity, and war have a relationship that has not changed dramatically in over 2,000 years, when the play first debuted. Women are still largely victims of war in need of protection by men—whether they are actual victims of war, mothers/wives of soldiers, or soldiers themselves. All of these constructions rely on women's roles in the private sphere, with the exception of women soldiers. Society and the media have had to negotiate this construction as more women are serving in the armed forces and finding themselves in combat situations.

As *Lysistrata* stepped out “of [her] assigned ‘territory,’ that is, the private realm, the world of the hearth and home, the confinement of domestic life ... *Lysistrata* not only [questioned], but also [threatened] the political order.”²³⁴ Rice and Clinton are among a

²³⁴ Fox, “The Idea of Women and Peacekeeping,” 18.

growing number of women who have stepped out of their assigned “territory.” As society has had to negotiate the role of women soldiers, it too must begin to negotiate the role of women leaders during war time.

By analyzing these as case studies, I was able to better understand the discourses from which *Time* drew to construct images of the women. Sonja Foss argues that ideology permeates rhetorical artifacts—in this case, media texts. War news, as I have illustrated in preceding chapters, is a masculine narrative that promotes male participation in the public sphere. Women’s roles in discussions about war in the public sphere, and particularly the mediated public sphere, are generally limited to images of women as victims. As Foss contends, in order to maintain a position of dominance, a hegemonic ideology (in this case, patriarchy) must be constructed, renewed, reinforced, and defended through the use of rhetorical strategies and practices. She describes three steps to use when analyzing rhetorical artifacts (including media texts). The first step is used to identify the ideology in the text by interpreting a preferred reading of the text. The next step is used to establish whose interests are included and whose interests are negated in a text. The final step includes identifying the rhetorical strategies used to support one particular ideology. Foss’s approach to ideological analysis allows for an examination of the dominant ideology in rhetorical artifacts as well as resistant ideologies that may be present in the artifacts.²³⁵

As with any analysis of the media, the conclusions in this dissertation are not simple. There are dominant, patriarchal ideologies embedded in the texts. However, there are also marginal and resistant ideologies present in the texts. Readings of media texts are complex, just as the topics of gender and war are complex. This final chapter will discuss the questions I posed in the introductory chapter: 1) Which images of gender (and race)

²³⁵ Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism*.

are allowed to surface in the mainstream media during the “War on Terror,” which includes state-sponsored conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq? 2) Because the subjects of media coverage of women soldiers and victims of war have been well studied, how do media constructions of women leaders during war time compare to other constructions of women? 3) How did *Time* construct women who are involved in the public sphere? What do these constructions mean for the gendered construction of the public sphere? 4) What are the relationships between power, gender, the media (representations), and the public sphere?

The conclusion will address what evolving media images of gender mean for women participating in the public sphere. It will focus on the impact of how the media portrays power and gender in the public sphere, paying close attention to the analysis in Chapter 6.

IMAGES OF GENDER (AND RACE)

The themes discussed in Chapter 5 indicate that the mainstream media still rely on stereotypes of femininity to create images of women. This is not a significant finding because many recent analyses of gender in the media have resulted in the same conclusions. However, because Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton are not typical women, the media must negotiate images of them in relation to coverage of war (and more than likely, with regard to other issues as well). The major themes I identified in Chapter 5 answer Foss’s question about what ideology dominates a preferred reading of the media texts. The themes that connect images of Rice and Clinton to traditional images of femininity suggest that women continue to be defined by a masculine narrative in the news, particularly in war news. So, although women may now participate in the public sphere, the media continues to negotiate their positions in the sphere.

As women soldiers have become more common, the media have consulted traditional images of femininity to make images of female soldiers more palatable to a general audience that presumably questions women's direct involvement in violent conflict. Women soldiers are often portrayed as mothers. Images and representations of the mother-soldier tend to focus on women's families and the impact their war service has on their families. Coverage of male soldiers, conversely, regularly lauds them for their service. It is assumed that they will sacrifice themselves for their country and the impact that service has on their families is mostly understood as an unfortunate side effect.

When women-soldiers are not mothers, the media has relied on other strategies to make them appear more feminine and incapable of serving as soldiers. For instance, the experiences of Jessica Lynch and Lynndie England provided the media with two examples of why women should not be permitted to be soldiers. Lynch needed protection and England was an aberrant woman who could not control her sexuality. These two images align neatly with the virgin/vamp dichotomy that often appears in mediated representations of women.

While *Time's* coverage of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton do not relate directly to these three broad categories (victims of war, mothers or wives of soldiers, or, in contemporary society, soldiers), the categories do inform mediated representations of them.

Gender was not the only issue in the 2008 presidential election. Barack Obama's candidacy introduced race into the discussion. Because a white male had always served in the position, gender and race have rarely been topics of conversation in previous presidential elections. According to *Time*, the country's past with slavery would make an Obama victory more significant than electing a woman. "The President is an unavoidable

symbol, and a presidential candidate's 'essential qualities' include his or her race or sex. So race and gender matter. It's still an uphill battle for a woman or an African American who wants to be President."²³⁶

Race often does not become an issue in politics until someone other than a white person becomes involved (similarly, gender and politics is not discussed until a woman becomes involved). The same is true about *Time's* coverage of Condoleezza Rice. She was the first black woman to serve as both National Security Adviser and Secretary of State. *Time* rarely discussed Rice's race. It became most apparent in photographs of Rice and other members of the Administration. In one of the few stories that mentioned Rice's race, it was clear that her race was a factor in her image: "Rice is virtually certain to be confirmed by the Senate, *not least because few Democrats want to be on record for voting against the first black woman named Secretary of State.*"²³⁷ This sort of assertion creates a certain amount of doubt about an individual's actual abilities. Did the Senate confirm Rice because she was qualified for the position? Or, did the Senate confirm Rice because Senators did not want to appear to be racist, or at the very least not progressive? If she had been a white woman, would the Senate have debated the same issues? Probably not.

Not surprisingly, the images of gender that surfaced in *Time's* coverage of Rice and Clinton largely relied on stereotypes of femininity. Additionally, because they occupied traditionally masculine positions, images also relied on stereotypes of masculinity. Race was mostly a subtext in the coverage of Rice. It was never mentioned (unless Barack Obama was also included in the story) in the coverage of Clinton. Being a woman and being black means that a person is an "other." This "other" construction

²³⁶ Kinsley, "The Pat-on-the-Back Factor," 24.

²³⁷ Calabresi, "Condi Gets Her Shot," 29 (my italics).

results from having identity features “other” than that of a white man. White men are genderless and without race—meaning that these issues are almost never considered in discussions of white men.

MEDIA IMAGES OF WOMEN LEADERS AND IMAGES OF WOMEN AND WAR

For centuries, women have been removed from the battlefield of war. Of course, they have never been absent from war. However, they are involved in war in a different way, so the violence of men takes precedence in the theater of war. Women are often the victims of war in terms of their presence in a violent zone or by sacrificing their sons and husbands to war. It is only within recent history that women have been actively involved in the physical space of “official” conflict as soldiers.

Time’s coverage of Rice and Clinton did not have much in common with the constructions of women as victims of war or women as mothers and wives of soldiers. The images are mostly comparable to media images of women soldiers. Women have served in the United States for decades as nurses and other supporting roles. Although women are still not allowed to serve on the front-line of the battlefield, the reality of war (i.e. the front-line can be located anywhere on a battle field now) has put more women soldiers in front-line positions. Society’s concerns about women soldiers get translated into media debates about whether or not women should serve. Often, notorious examples of women soldiers’ experiences are highlighted in the media as reasons why women should not serve in the military.

Because the idea of femininity does not align with the violence of war, it is difficult to discuss women as pivotal figures in war. Women soldiers and women leaders both face tests of their toughness as discussed previously. They may participate in violence or discussions of violence, but only if they retain some major feminine characteristics. In the popular media, physically strong female characters are often very

attractive. They may be strong, but only if they retain a feminine appearance.²³⁸ Female soldiers are either portrayed as weak or aberrant (Jessica Lynch and Lynndie England) or coverage of them focuses on their roles as mothers *and* soldiers. Based on my analysis of these case studies, the same phenomenon happens when the media covers women leaders during war time.

Rice and Clinton are not only challenging ideals of femininity by participating in discussions of war. They are also participants in the masculine public sphere. While examining images of Rice and Clinton as they relate to stereotypical images of women and war in the media is important, what I found is not surprising. The most interesting finding in this analysis are the intersections between gender, representations of power, and the public sphere. While the media relied on feminine stereotypes to represent images of these women, the women were also sometimes allowed a voice in discussions about war. One example is the inclusion of Rice and Clinton on the *Time* 100 List of influential people each year. They both appeared on the list several times. They were two of the few women included on the list of “Leaders and Revolutionaries.”

However, the media relied on a more subversive characteristic of the women in order to make them appear more feminine.

GENDER, REPRESENTATIONS OF POWER, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Chapter 3 discussed concepts of the public sphere. While these concepts may seem disparate, both Habermas’s and Arendt’s definitions of the public sphere provide a framework with which we can begin to understand the inherently gendered construction of the public *and* private spheres. It is important to note here that the public sphere could

²³⁸ Sherrie Inness, *Action Chicks: New Images of Tough Women in Popular Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

not exist without the private sphere, which Arendt's concept addresses more than Habermas's.

Chapter 3 also examines the media's relationship with the public sphere. The media and the public sphere impact and influence one another, but they are not the same thing. Using a multiple spheres model allows for an understanding how different spheres, including the "dominant" public sphere, the mediated public sphere, and alternative spheres exist in relation to each other as well as how they interact and influence each other. Criticisms of the public sphere concepts introduce the possibility to open the space for more involvement from every member in society, not just white men.

The following image accounts for the "dominant" public sphere (in this case, the government), the media, alternative public spheres, and the private sphere. It locates points of access and acknowledges that the spheres all interact with each other. This is not a monolithic model—and it does not have to be. Rather, the multiple spheres model allows for the idea that with multiple spheres, debate and discussion still remain in our society—but not necessarily the debate and discussion Habermas and Arendt claim are inherent to the concept of the public sphere.

As Nancy Fraser argues, subaltern counter spheres have always existed. She mostly focused on women's involvement in the political process by organizing themselves outside of the dominant public sphere, then entering it through a variety of means. Sometimes alternative spheres impact and interact with the dominant sphere through discourse and discussion. Because the discussions in the dominant sphere define what is acceptable to discuss and what is not, issues outside of the dominant sphere's purview are often "alternative" and mostly linked to the private sphere and marginal groups' concerns.

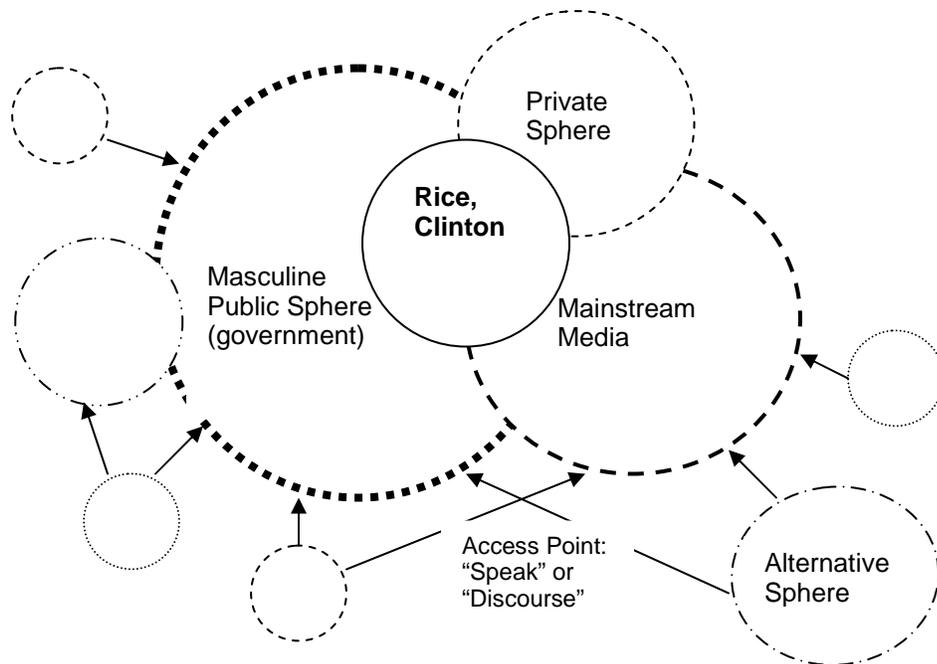
At other moments in history, access is more difficult to attain and performing “speak,” rather than discourse, is necessary. Social movements have used “speak” to access the public sphere throughout history—using public demonstrations and protests. Often “speak” is used to start a dialogue with the dominant sphere, but sometimes it takes years or decades for that dialogue to be productive in creating change. For example, women’s movements have existed for over a century and gained many victories for women through the use of “speak.”

Oskar Negt and Alexander Klug used the example of the proletariat public sphere to illustrate how workers organized to make demands to the capitalists (those who controlled the capital as well as materials in society) with regard to wages and other workplace issues. While Habermas argues that their actions were “speak” and not true discourse, critics of his concept would argue that this is one way alternative spheres can access the dominant public sphere. As more and more counter spheres access the public sphere through “speak,” they have also opened the dominant public sphere up for more participation from people at the margins.

As American women have struggled for over a century to be included in the public system, it is becoming more typical for women to participate in the public sphere. Women are not required to use “speak” to access the sphere any longer (although it is still necessary at times). Rather a point of access, particularly in the case of both Rice and Clinton, is the ability to “perform” certain aspects of masculinity (by supporting violent conflicts and discussing foreign policy) while retaining their femininity. In the case of these women’s coverage in *Time*, they retained this femininity by their connections to the private sphere: Rice as a daughter figure and Clinton as a wife. These images are throw backs to the reality of women before they had the right to vote. They were represented in the public sphere by their fathers and husbands.

Gender roles have evolved since women in America gained the right to vote. Although women are still connected to the sphere of labor (the private), they also participate in the spheres of work and action (and public). Women have had to use the strategy of “speak” to move from labor to action. Negt and Klug’s examination of “speak” versus “discourse” in the public sphere allows for a discussion of Habermas’s and Arendt’s concepts together. As Mary G. Dietz wrote, there is nothing intrinsically or essentially masculine about the public sphere (the sphere of action), just as there is nothing intrinsically or essentially feminine about the private sphere (the sphere of labor). However, because they are constructed as such through the system of patriarchy, women have had to use “speak” to gain access. Illustration 3 of the multiple sphere model addresses this point of access.

Illustration 3: Multiple Public Spheres Model



As this illustration of the multiple spheres model indicates, the “real” public and private spheres that exist are complex. Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton participate in the public sphere, but are connected to the private sphere through the media. In reality, they exist in all the spheres. They found access to the public sphere through their understandings of the “toughness conundrum.” As the model illustrates, alternative spheres access the “dominant” public sphere (in this study, the government) and the media through “speak” and “discourse.” Additionally, the model is designed to illustrate the flexibility of the spheres. None of the spheres are impervious. They are now more open and accepting. They interact with and impact each other. It is through an understanding of Habermas’s and Arendt’s concepts, as well as criticisms of these concepts, that a new model can be formed to analyze women leaders in the public sphere.

As the public sphere slowly changes shape, it appears that women may inhabit the public sphere. The case studies indicate that women can participate in discussions of war in the public sphere. However, they must abide by masculine and feminine standards—with a sort of female masculinity. As the sphere changes, so does the question. Instead of asking, can women inhabit the public sphere, we must now ask, is it meaningful? Is this participation changing the shape of the male-dominated public sphere as we know it?

CONCLUSIONS

The case studies of Rice and Clinton in *Time* have implications for gender in both the public and private spheres. Rice and Clinton are two women who are helping (even if it is not their goal) to create a *new* space that allows for a female masculinity where it is acceptable for women to participate, if they adhere to masculine characteristics and expectations (including being seen as aggressive and tough). The media’s role in this process is very important. It is their portrayal of women that allow us to see and understand how the public sphere is changing. These new spaces depend on a sort of

hybrid identity where gendered expectations are more fluid and cross lines. Any break with white masculinity offers an opening in the public sphere.

It is these case studies that also allow us a more nuanced understanding of the private sphere. Clearly women are no longer restricted to the private. If they are able to perform correctly (perform masculinity, discuss violence and war), the media and society will allow them access. They will even allow them access to powerful positions like Senator, Secretary of State, and presidential candidate. However, the media continue to negotiate women's roles in the public sphere by finding ways to link them back to the private sphere. By positioning Rice as a daughter and Clinton as a wife, the images of the women are acceptable. They can occupy positions in the public sphere if they also occupy private sphere.

Although I did not analyze men in these case studies, men's relationships to women are equally telling about gender's relationship to the public and private spheres. By examining the images of relationships between people in the public sphere, men in the public sphere are not connected to the private sphere. In fact, it is difficult to force powerful men into the private sphere. *Time's* image of George W. Bush's relationship with Dick Cheney indicates that Cheney is the "wizard" of the administration. He is able to manipulate Bush into agreeing with his decisions. Meanwhile, the image of Hillary and Bill Clinton's is even more telling. Hillary was running for the most powerful position in the country, arguably the world. She was successful in creating an image of female masculinity. However, images of Bill Clinton as a first spouse were more difficult for *Time* to negotiate. Both positions, the president and the first lady, have been constructed on gendered terms and are inherently linked to the public and private spheres. The presidency represents the masculine public sphere and the first lady position represents the feminine private sphere.

Bill Clinton did not and/or could not perform the male femininity to potentially occupy the feminine private sphere. Images of relationship between the two Clintons indicate that women can move into the public sphere, but men cannot move into the private sphere. When Hillary Clinton performs masculinity, it opens a space for her to occupy that space. And it is acceptable for women to occupy those spaces in the media. It is not acceptable for men to move into positions of the feminine private sphere. Women have long occupied both spheres, doing double duty: performing tasks in the private sphere and occupying positions in the public sphere.

Although these women were required to “perform” masculinity to access powerful positions in the public sphere, they are creating new spaces for women in the public sphere. By occupying these positions, they are opening more spaces for women. And as more women occupy these spaces, the less they will have to perform certain aspects of masculinity, particularly a masculinity that promotes violence and war. Gender, in this respect, is becoming more fluid. And as it becomes more fluid, the media and other social and cultural institutions must negotiate gender in the public and private spheres. There is no doubt that while *Time* linked both women back to the private sphere as focusing on their images as a “daughter” and a wife, both women had a certain amount of agency in the public sphere. Any break with white masculinity creates discussions about gender in the public sphere. At some point there is a tipping point when it is no longer strange or worthy of discussion about women’s positions in the public sphere.

I am hopeful that women will no longer face the “toughness conundrum” when they participate in the public sphere. Rather, all issues of public importance (including feminine issues) will be given equal credence. When this happens, we may begin to build genderless spheres.

LIMITATIONS AND FINAL THOUGHTS

Although I used case studies to examine a larger phenomenon in the media, the results of my analysis cannot be generalized to all women leaders who discuss war in the public sphere. These women's images are rooted in an American experience, which is different than the experiences from women around the world. In fact, it is imperative to examine and analyze media coverage of more women leaders before making any conclusions about how women's power is represented in the public sphere. That is one limitation of using case studies to analyze social phenomenon.

Additionally, I do realize that the media is not solely responsible for using, promoting, or even creating gender stereotypes. Rice and Clinton both provided images to the media that aligned with these stereotypes. Their images are rooted in interpretations of reality. Both women had a certain amount of "control" over their images. Clinton, as a presidential candidate, had more freedom to define herself because, as a candidate, she was inherently newsworthy. A more detailed analysis would examine the women act and how these actions and opinions influence the way they are portrayed in the media. For example, Hillary Clinton clearly understood the perception of the president as a strong commander-in-chief. Because she was most often connected to feminine issues, she made a concerted effort to build her foreign policy resume. Yet even she could not overcome the media's, and the public's, ambiguous ideas about how much powerful space women can occupy.

In terms of images of race, a more detailed analysis of how race played into the coverage of both women would be beneficial. Clearly the women's identities are tied to their gender and their race. It would be interesting to understand more about how this aspect of their identities factored into their participation in the public sphere and the media's coverage of their roles in the public sphere.

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