

The Real Hillary Factor

By Deborah Tannen

STANFORD, Calif.

While I was a guest on a radio talk show discussing how women's

and men's differing conversational styles could lead to misunderstandings, a man called to say that he and his wife got along very well because they agreed there could be only one boss in the house and he was it.

The host responded that she did not see why anyone had to be boss: relationships are, after all, partnerships; both partners share equally in resources and rights.

When she was done, pleased with the self-evident rightness and clarity of her statement, she took another call. It was from a man, who said: "That's what's wrong with you women. You want to dominate us."

She replied: "Excuse me for a moment. I'm going to scream." She then did, right into the microphone: long, high-pitched and wordless. It was a scream of frustration and bewilderment. It was a scream about the Hillary Factor.

The Hillary Factor, when the phrase was coined, referred to the question: Will Hillary Clinton help or hinder her husband's chances?

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But the real Hillary Factor is the double bind that affects all successful or accomplished women — indeed, all women who do not fit stereotypical images of femininity: women who are not clearly submissive are seen as dominating and are reviled for it. Women who do fit the images are not

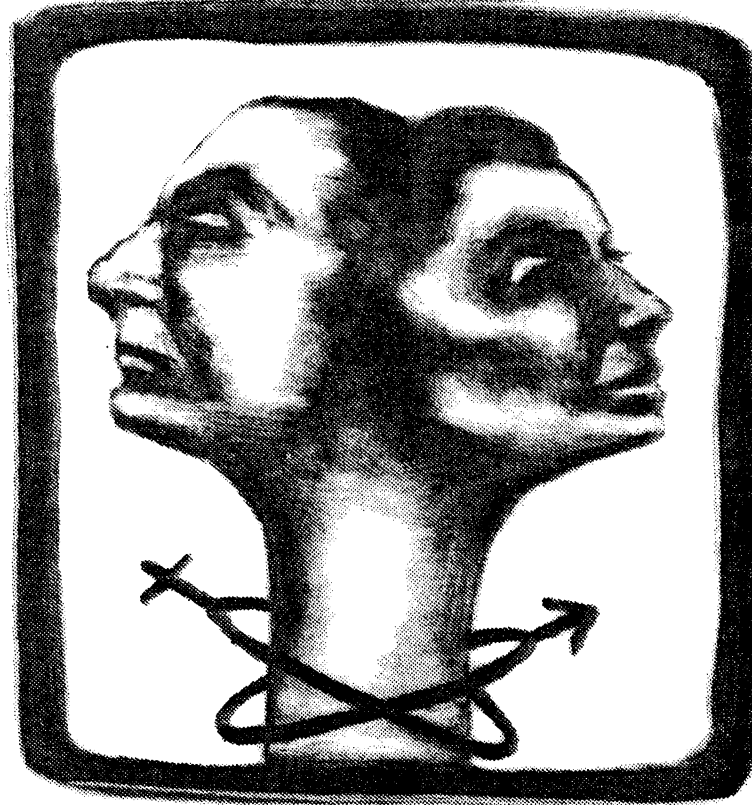
taken seriously. Like Hillary Clinton, you are damned if you do and damned if you don't.

When the Clintons protected their daughter, Chelsea, by keeping her away from campaign publicity, opinion polls showed that people thought they were childless, a damning aber-

ration for which the wife is held responsible. When evidence accrued that Hillary Clinton was a devoted mother, Time magazine found her guilty of "yuppie overdoing on her daughter."

No woman can escape the Motherhood Bind. If you're not a Mother, you're a Failed Woman. If you are a Mother, you can't have enough attention to pay to serious work. If you are paying attention to serious work, you must be a Bad Mother.

We heard Hillary Clinton called a "hard-headed careerist." What exactly is a "careerist"? On the model of "sexist," is it someone who dis-



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Serious women
still aren't
taken seriously.

criminate on the basis of careers? Or like "feminist," is it someone who supports the rights of careers? Or, more likely, is "careerist" just a meaningless word that brings to mind the negative image of a woman who has a career — negative simply because she works in a profession where she shows commitment and expertise rather than in a job she doesn't care that much about?

I live with the Hillary Factor. I have often been told at conferences: "You're nothing like what I expected. You're softer and nicer." I ask, "What made you think I'd be anything else?" The answer: "Because you've published so much." A woman who succeeds, people seem to assume, must be tough and mean, unfeminine and unlikely.

It is reassuring that the Republican attempts to make Bill Clinton's wife into "Willary Horton" failed, but it is instructive that the attempt was made. It forced us to ask: By what logic could it be scary rather than comforting for a President's wife, who everyone knows will have his ear, to be unusually intelligent, knowledgeable and accomplished? And to answer: By no logic at all. The hope was to incite emotions — fear and anger — that confront women who do not conform to the old molds.

Though the Hillary Factor apparently has been laid to rest in the Presidential campaign, it is good to have a name for the double binds women will be grappling with for a long time to come.

The Sky Is Not the Limit

By Daniel M. Kasper

BOSTON

The British Government is pressing the Bush Administration to approve a \$750 million investment by British Airways in USAir.

By using the proposal as leverage to secure the elimination of British trade barriers, the Administration can build on last month's open-skies agreement with the Netherlands and establish a strong foundation for a truly global and highly competitive airline industry — one where airlines, not governments, determine the routes served, the flights offered and the rates charged.

But approving the British investment without obtaining major changes in the existing air services agreement could reward British protectionism.

U.S. approval of the plan to significant concessions by Britain. This gives the impression that our Government is not serious about overhauling the existing aviation agreement. As a result, Britain has offered little.

The proposed investment by British Airways would allow the combined airlines to fly throughout the U.S. and to many cities in Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean. Overall, British Airways-USAir would have more than 12,000 markets open worldwide — considerably more than any U.S. airline alone has access to.

Under the existing U.S.-Britain aviation agreement, American carriers

for a U.S. airline to acquire a European carrier. Under European Community rules, the European airline would lose its status as a "community carrier" and thus its access to the internal European market. Since certain features of the British proposal cannot be approved without changes in U.S. law, the Administration could offer to propose such alterations in exchange for community concessions. That approach would give Britain a continued incentive to press for liberalization in Europe.

Such subjugation of U.S. economic interests is neither necessary nor desirable. USAir's survival does not depend on the British investment. A strong balance sheet, a talented new management team and recent wage concessions from its employees have revived its fortunes.

Similarly, competing efforts by Air Canada, Mexicana, SAS and Lufthansa

Foreign airlines
should open their

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