CHAPTER FIVE

Image and Substance: Mrs. Thatcher and Feminism
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The final chapter of this discussion considers the political image and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership style and feminism. Although an apparently unusual topic for examination in relation to Mrs. Thatcher, the use of feminist analyses and associated information will hopefully alter, certainly add a new dimension, and perhaps completely change the outcome and the way Mrs. Thatcher was regarded and widely investigated. Continuing the theme of political image and political substance the first portion of this final debate questions why Mrs. Thatcher's political image was feminine, yet not feminist. While the second component of this chapter attempts to argue the degree of political image and substance involved in the use of mainly radical feminist models to judge Mrs. Thatcher as anti-feminist. This final increment in the debate of political image and substance of leadership style and feminism, investigates whether Mrs. Thatcher was actually a liberal feminist.

1). Why and how was Mrs. Thatcher's political image feminine, yet not feminist?

As it has already been argued, Mrs. Thatcher presented a feminine aspect in her political image. A point supported by P. Polon who exclaimed: "Thatcher is a woman, she dresses like a woman, carries a handbag, has a feminine speaking voice, and so on..." (1988, 27). Robert Harris, from the Observer, backed this view as he reported: "...she indulged in such feminine activities" as cooking for the Cabinet and was "...susceptible to masculine charms and good looks" (1989). Maureen McNeil concluded that in many image based ways Mrs. Thatcher declared she was feminine. The basis for Ms. McNeil’s conclusion
implied that the overall nature of Mrs. Thatcher's political image was not personal (1991, 224). McNeil suggested that despite the high public profile enjoyed by the Prime Minister, relatively little was known about her personal life (1991, 224). The image of the "Iron Lady" was used by McNeil to denote not only Mrs. Thatcher's flint nature, but also her depersonalised and indistinct character (1991, 224). This explanation was the basis of McNeil's contention for why Mrs. Thatcher's depersonalised character was capable of comfortably inhabiting femininity (1991, 224). These were a very basic set of supporting testimonies for the existence of a feminine component of Mrs. Thatcher's political image.

Why was Mrs. Thatcher's political image feminine, yet not feminist? This argument aims to illustrate the implausibility of the female gender being equated with feminism. It seemed that one of the major reasons Mrs. Thatcher may not have promoted anything more than a feminine facade, as part of her political image, was because she was not a feminist. This was not to say that Mrs. Thatcher was not feminine. In reference to Mrs. Thatcher's political image Kenneth Minogue made the observation "...that feminism has little to do with women..." (Minogue in Skidelsky, 1990, 134). Minogue clarified his view saying:

"It is, rather, an infatuation with a communal form of life which, being unconvincing to voters in liberal democracies, hopes about from one natural class or another in search of a base, latching upon workers, or women, or racial minorities, or any other national tribe which, not being articulate in its own right, can be spoken for without too much implausibility. Feminism is to women as Bolshevism is to Russia: an
alien parasite trying to dominate forms of life with their own inherent vitality (Minogue in Skidelsky, 1990, 134-135).

By her own admission Mrs. Thatcher was not a feminist. She believed feminism had done nothing for her and that the struggle for women's rights had been won (Young, 1989, 306). At her first press conference as Party leader Mrs. Thatcher was asked for her thoughts on "Women's Lib", she snapped, "What has it ever done for me?" (Cosgrave, 1975, 14). In addition, Mrs. Thatcher declared disadvantage for the exponents of gender issues and feminism (Young, 1989, 306). Mrs. Thatcher generally avoided open references to her sex and avowed that sex should not even enter the political arena or discussion (Young, 1989, 306). Mrs. Thatcher often crowed that she believed:

"The battle for women's right has largely been won..." and "The days when they were demanded and discussed in strident tones should be gone forever. I hate those strident tones we hear from some Women's Libbers" (Young, 1989, 306).

Young confirmed that Mrs. Thatcher was apparently feminine yet not feminist in her political image, when he stated:

"So several outward signs, from the severity of her manner to the aggression of her anti-feminist ideology, argue for taking her at what seemed like her own valuation: as a woman in a man's world neither demanding nor receiving concessions to her femininity" (1989, 306). These conclusions combined to suggest that Mrs. Thatcher effectively attempted to distract attention from her gender to obtain political equality from her male peers as a politician and leader.
Mrs. Thatcher was clearly feminine in her daily practices, as Young added: "In Mrs. Thatcher's case, leaving sex out of the picture became, as time went by, a steadily more misleading violation of the truth..." (1989, 306). Young concluded, being feminine obviously mattered very much to Mrs. Thatcher (1989, 306). Even Beatrix Campbell conceded that the feminine political image Mrs. Thatcher portrayed, though totally non-feminist, was "...none the less, very feminine..." (Campbell in Young, 1989, 306). Campbell's analysis of Mrs. Thatcher's latest memoirs in The Path to Power (1995) similarly revealed evidence that Mrs. Thatcher deliberately recreated her personal background and manufactured a new political image of herself that was feminine but definitely reflected no image based or substantial connection with gender issues or feminism (1995, 45). One explanation for Mrs. Thatcher's unusual feminine political image was based in the use of her father as a role model and major source of advice during her upbringing. Campbell summed up Mrs. Thatcher's lack of contact with her gender and feminism when she said: "Sexual politics is a silence; that means Thatcher's self is a silence" (1995, 45).

From her earliest days Young suggested Mrs. Thatcher made a clearly conscious decision to project a feminine, yet not feminist political image (1989, 311). The basis for this argument was Young's theory that Mrs. Thatcher could not have failed to be aware of the disability of her gender in the early days of her political career (1989, 311).

Beatrix Campbell echoed this view in her most recent article "The Invisible Woman" in which she reviewed Mrs. Thatcher's latest autobiographical account The Path to Power (1995). Campbell concluded that Mrs. Thatcher felt her reputation was forever burdened with her
unprecedented gender and subsequently offered this "...vow of silence on her personal history" as reasoning for the recreation of Mrs. Thatcher's personal background and changed political image from "...as a girl, as her father's daughter, to the Iron Lady of the cold war" (1995, 45). Young suggested Mrs. Thatcher's recognition of her gender disadvantage was indicated by gender references in a 1965 speech to the Townswomen's Guild, she said: "If you want something said, ask a man. If you want something done, ask a woman"; and at a Party Conference in 1969: "Once a woman is made equal to a man, she becomes his superior" (Young, 1989, 311). Young translated Mrs. Thatcher's feminine, yet not feminist comments implying that when this woman became superior to men, she remained a woman (1989, 311). He propounded that Mrs. Thatcher was best known for male qualities, such as aggression and domination, but they were necessary because of her feminine predicament to combat the aggression and domination of her male colleagues which would have subjugated her (1989, 311). In her defence it was suggested that no man, not a woman deficient in hardness ever succeeded in politics Young stated, that: "...Mrs. Thatcher possessed this universally necessary ingredient, but it coexisted with attributes men could not in fact lay claim to..." (1989, 311).

It will now be suggested that Mrs. Thatcher used a feminine, yet not feminist political image to enhance her leadership style and popularity with the electorate. This point of view came from Janet Young, an earlier generation of female parliamentarian in Britain. Janet Young, was "...sensitive to the woman's strange place in this circle", as she thought Mrs. Thatcher incorporated femininity and Conservative politics into her leadership through her spur-of-the-moment decision making ability and natural feminine anxiety about the cost to humanity
Janet Young observed Mrs. Thatcher whilst she made decisions about the economy and Falklands War. The outcome of Mrs. Thatcher's feminine, yet not feminist political image, was a rise in her ratings on most of the major issues and being predominantly judged as "...a leader and nothing else..." (Young, 1989, 312). Young concluded: "Without discarding womanhood, she had transcended it..." (1989, 312). Figures collected by the Mori Opinion polls supported Janet Young's theory; for instance, from April 1979 to April 1983 the polls found only 34% of voters thought Mrs. Thatcher "...understands the problems facing Britain" in 1979, compared with 40% in 1983 (Young, 1989, 312). Young also used the Mori findings to show how: 30% of Britain thought Mrs. Thatcher "...has a lot of personality" in 1979, compared with 41% in 1983; while 21% thought she was "...more honest than most politicians in 1979, compared with 30% in 1983 (1989, 312). Finally Young revealed that in 1979 just 26% of people believed Mrs. Thatcher was "...a capable leader" and 28% felt she was "inexperienced", by 1983 Mrs. Thatcher's approval rating leapt to a massive 56% whilst her inexperience rating fell to a negligible 3% (1989, 312). Mrs. Thatcher's ploy to enact the feminine, yet not feminist political image as a political leader was obviously a glaring success.

From this discussion it appeared that Mrs. Thatcher reflected upon her own successes - using a feminine, yet not feminist political image - when deciding to not make special concessions for women in her policy making as Prime Minister. Mrs. Thatcher made clear this view to The Economist, to whom she told she had "...no time for special pleading for women..." in reply to Labour's proposal for a ministry for women (1987, 52).
The Economist also drew attention to Mrs. Thatcher's feminine, yet not feminist political image through comments such:

"As Britain's first woman prime minister, Mrs. Thatcher has proved the most feminine and least feminist politician. Always immaculately turned out, whatever the pressures at home or abroad..." (1987, 52). In doing this Mrs. Thatcher may have thought she was best serving the gender concerns of women by not politically intervening and effecting an artificial equality? A theory born out in her statements about not establishing a special women's policy committee and special policy making to promote gender issues. Mrs. Thatcher may have thought better of promoting a highly politicised female image, deciding the projection of a more subtle feminine image was more effective because less male hostility and resistance would be confronted. A probable decision which could be seen to be supported through the sheer fulfilment of Mrs. Thatcher's political aspirations.

Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher's actions were aimed at ensuring the gravity with which gender issues were viewed in Britain's patriarchically dominated political arena. Mrs. Thatcher's very studied responses and actions in the area of gender issues could be explained as the careful treatment of policy areas too important to be put at risk in a politically insensitive patriarchal arena. Otherwise any success in the gender issue area may have been cynically devalued as merely a token political concession.

Young proffered a very interesting approach to the question of Mrs. Thatcher's feminine, yet not feminist political image. Young theorised that Mrs. Thatcher projected this type of political image because it would enable her to work and be judged as a leader who was
also a woman, rather than a woman who was also a leader. More than semantics, Mrs. Thatcher's preferred description - leader who was a woman - pictured her as a leader and Conservative politician first, before being seen as a woman. This was Mrs. Thatcher's attempt to break the gender bias which had prevailed in British politics.

From a variety of feminist theory viewpoints it will be examined whether Mrs. Thatcher's feminine, yet not feminist political image, was not truly feminine. Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher believed that her feminine facade was so politically powerful and successful that it did not need to be changed. Ros Brunt seemed to agree, she claimed that Mrs. Thatcher appeared to "disavow femininity" (Brunt in McNeil, 1991, 224). It seemed Mrs. Thatcher's supposedly feminine political image was modelled upon her father's view of femininity throughout her formative years; according to Mrs. Thatcher this was the case because of the incredible influence her father had had upon the shaping of her entire personality during her up-bringing (Thatcher, 1995). The Path to Power was perhaps the first instance where Mrs. Thatcher admitted that "...she created a new personal background..." and apparently feminine political image expressly for her personal success as leader and the realisation of her vision. Campbell agreed, saying Mrs. Thatcher's childhood was highly dominated by patriarchal forces which "...prefigured the confident construction of herself as premier" (1995, 47). Campbell suggested that Mrs. Thatcher's admissions effectively confirmed that her leadership was a personal and professional backlash to the conservative, liberal, socialist, feminine and feminist political traditions (1995, 45-47). Campbell noted that more information was gleaned from what was not said about Mrs. Thatcher's past and connection with femininity and feminism than what was actually
printed in her memoirs (1995, 45). For instance, Mrs. Thatcher's virtual
denial of her mother's existence in her personal history suggested the
insignificant impact of the role of a female figure and feminine traits
upon Mrs. Thatcher's recreated background and political image. In all of
this Campbell recognised in Mrs. Thatcher a desire to "...repudiate her
mother so to become her father, as if she were a woman born of her
father's womb" (1995, 45). Campbell implied that this repudiation of
her own mother was the basis of Mrs. Thatcher's disconnection from
being seen as a woman, this could be seen through her absentee
feminine role as a mother to her own children so as to be "...undefeated
by parenthood" (1995, 45). Hence, although it appeared Mrs. Thatcher
adopted a feminine political image, this image was not truly feminine
from a feminist theory perspective.

Further feminist arguments in support of the not truly feminine
Hugo Young suggested that Mrs. Thatcher avoided any reference to her
sexuality, adding that it remained her biggest psychological obstacle
(1989, 135). Patrick Cosgrave further supported this observation saying
that Mrs. Thatcher always recoiled from the aspect of sexual identity in
her political image steering clear of overt references to her gender
(1975, 14). McNeil even conceded that Mrs. Thatcher's feminine political
image was not whole by the incomplete manner in which she
unspecifically exercised her feminine role playing - for example as a
mother or even grandmother in her daily demeanour (1991, 224).
McNeil also implied that it seemed Mrs. Thatcher did not want to be
seen as a woman and this was why she did not want to offer much
specific character content (1991, 224). McNeil further explained this
view saying the type of femininity presented in Mrs. Thatcher's political
image was of the Conservative model and couched in what McNeil
termed "...Conventional notions of femininity..." (1991, 224). According to McNeil's appreciation of British politics Mrs. Thatcher's use of a feminine image was a very shallow representation (1991, 224). McNeil intimated that Mrs. Thatcher's use of an incomplete feminine image was indicative of the British political arena which appeared open to women but was closed in reality (1991, 224). McNeil confirmed that this was the type of reasoning behind Mrs. Thatcher's rigid reinforcement of the boundaries between the public and private spheres, as well as being the basis for her unparalleled success as Britain's first female Prime Minister (1991, 224).

Campbell similarly agreed implying that despite the political success of Mrs. Thatcher's new feminine political image it was not a very sophisticated creation and this did not allow for her to connect or even re-connect herself with the complexity of her to others' gender (1995, 47). The silences, avoidances and denials of Mrs. Thatcher's femininity littered The Path to Power (1995), as they similarly did in The Downing Street Years (1994), confirmed Campbell (1995, 47).

Another way and reason behind why Mrs. Thatcher used a feminine styled political image was through her attempts to court the female vote. This point has already been raised in earlier chapterial arguments of the wider discussion. According to Warner there was no dispute about the way in which Mrs. Thatcher differently viewed women from men (Warner in Young, 1989, 305). Ultimately Pilcher's research examined the real perceptions of a broad cross-section of Britain's women through interviews in 1989 after key elections and while Mrs. Thatcher was still in Office (1995, 496). The conclusive results of Pilcher's survey gave an accurate appraisal of the type of
impression Mrs. Thatcher gave to and about Britain's women as a Party Leader and as a Prime Minister with unique status, position and proven power. As it has already been suggested Pilcher's research revealed that, although a wife and mother herself, Mrs. Thatcher did not conform to the role she prioritised for Britain's women (1995, 496). Pilcher's research also showed that Mrs. Thatcher made calculated use of her gender; as she denied the importance of gender to her success and failed to recognise the status of women as a marginal social group in society (1995, 496).

Pilcher's study found that Mrs. Thatcher's use of her gender, particularly her femininity in her political image, was a fundamentally crucial feature that provoked women's both favourable and unfavourable responses to her leadership (1995, 496). However, Pilcher also discovered that it was from this feminine image that many British women based their beliefs and expectations of Mrs. Thatcher, her role, power as well her gender significance and position on promoting gender policies (1995, 496). Pilcher's survey found evidence that a large proportion of Britain's women interpreted Mrs. Thatcher's feminine image as being indicative of her support and high priority of gender issues and that she would use her position and power to the advantage of Britain's women (1995, 499). The conclusion from these women was one of disappointment, a sense of betrayal and doubt about the effectiveness and future of female leadership because Mrs. Thatcher had failed to fulfil her obligations to Britain's 'sisterhood' (Pilcher, 1995, 498-499). A significant number of women surveyed also commented on the false feeling they perceived from Mrs. Thatcher's feminine political image (1995, 502). Evidence implied that women truly believed their support was actively being pursued by Mrs. Thatcher's
use of a feminine image. Women seemed to recognise a real masculine orientation to the feminine image of Mrs. Thatcher that they believed was a consequence of holding such enormous powers through her interpretation of the role of leader and Prime Minister (1995, 502). Jones iterated this impression, saying that many women were vocal about being let down by the first Thatcher Government (1984, 34). However election success was not a conclusive indicator of a Mrs. Thatcher's true unpopularity, for groups - such as women - were not accurately measured in British elections. It seemed many British women definitely felt Mrs. Thatcher's feminine political image was manufactured and purposely designed to court their support.

In response, Pilcher's argument can easily be disregarded. In no way was this negative female political perception against Mrs. Thatcher registered in British elections. In fact, in consecutive elections Mrs. Thatcher's election support increased. Jones noted this occurrence, saying that after Mrs. Thatcher's first term in Government women were not so vocal about their disappointment and dashed gender issue expectations that they were expected to contribute to a major swing against her in the 1983 election which never eventuated (1984, 34). The fact that Mrs. Thatcher denounced any special policy considerations for women should have been a clear enough indication that she was not using her femininity to court female votes (The Economist, 1987, 52). Therefore, Mrs. Thatcher's use of her feminine political image to seek support of the female vote was not supported. However, the evidence propounding this view was scant in comparison to other data gathered in support of the argument.
From this superficial expression of a feminine political image it appeared that Mrs. Thatcher was signalling that there was no need for a change in her image, as it was very effective in Britain's patriarchal political system. Mrs. Thatcher's use of what could have been viewed as a rather flat, two-dimensional representation of a woman, suggested a strong scent of self-loathing and low self-image which was indicative of her limited view of women and feminine qualities. Mrs. Thatcher appeared to believe that it was politically expedient and mostly useful to project a feminine political image. Thus, suggesting that Mrs. Thatcher conversely believed that being politically identified with anything more than a feminine image - such as feminist traits - was highly politically dangerous. Hence it would seem that Mrs. Thatcher effectively cultivated and used an idealised feminine, yet not a feminist, political image to realise only her own political aspirations.

2) The usage of various concepts associated with radical models of feminism and the judgement Mrs. Thatcher as anti-feminist will be questioned.

Firstly, whether Mrs. Thatcher was truly anti-feminist in her political image and substance has to be established. The next component of this discussion debates why the radical model of feminism was mostly used to judge Mrs. Thatcher's leadership anti-feminist. This argument sets out to show how misconstrued implications of radical feminism were the basis of most anti-feminist judgements of Mrs. Thatcher.

(a) Most commentators, particularly radical feminists, who criticised Mrs. Thatcher's behaviour agreed she was not a feminist. A fact Mrs. Thatcher openly and publicly demonstrated through her political image and substance on a number of occasions. This was not a
point of contention in this debate. However, the question of whether Mrs. Thatcher's political image and political substance were anti-feminist was a very separate matter, yet it was clearly judged on the basis of the same implications of the radical model of feminism. On a variety of occasions the political substance of Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric and behaviour did imply her staunch anti-feminist political image and substance. For instance, Mrs. Thatcher used statements such as:

"The battle for women's rights has largely been won. The days when they were demanded and discussed in strident tones should be gone forever. I hate those strident tones we hear from some Women's Libbers" to proclaim her anti-feminist political image and substance (Young, 1989, 306).

Mrs. Thatcher also clarified her anti-feminist beliefs through bold declarations. An instance of this was observed during the early days of her Prime Ministership, when the press questioned Mrs. Thatcher about her opinion of Women's Lib, "...she snapped, 'What has it ever done for me?' " (Cosgrave, 1975, 14). It was fairly clear that by implication the press were also asking Mrs. Thatcher if she was against feminism or not; her reply resounded her anti-feminist position, political image and substance on the whole matter.

Jane Pilcher found that Mrs. Thatcher certainly failed to recognise the significance of gender and the feminist movement in her own public sphere successes (1995, 495-496). Campbell additionally commented that Mrs. Thatcher's successes were clearly the derivative of a "...pre-history of the modern women's movement...", yet Mrs. Thatcher continued to refuse to empathise with the challenges and complaints of gender and feminism (1995, 47). A. Smith, in her article "Women's
Most Prominent Role Model Gives an Equivocal Lead" (1990), interviewed Mrs. Thatcher asking her whether she would characterise herself as a feminist, Mrs. Thatcher replied: "No, ... I think something really rather different". W. Webster also agreed; adding that Mrs. Thatcher openly regarded feminists with disdain and was quoted to suggest that her public sphere career achievements were from her own efforts and abilities, saying: "It's not because of your sex" (1990, 66-67).

As early as 1978 Mrs. Thatcher proclaimed her anti-feminist beliefs, explaining "feminists have become far too strident and have done damage to the cause of women by making us out to be something we're not" (ten Tusscher, 1986, 77). In her article Two Cheers for Equality: Women Candidates in the 1987 General Elections, Elizabeth Vallance also concluded that Mrs. Thatcher had "...no personal feminist commitment..." (1988, 91). Tessa ten Tusscher captured the essence of Mrs. Thatcher's anti-feminist opinion in the 1981 comment: "I am absolutely satisfied that there is nothing you can do by changing the law to do away with discrimination. After all, I don't think there's been a great deal of discrimination against women for years" (ten Tusscher, 1986, 77). Ten Tusscher's analysis of Mrs. Thatcher and Thatcherism concluded that her intentions were clearly anti-feminist (1986, 67-83). This coupled with Mrs. Thatcher's open denial of the special substantial needs of women, implied she was anti-feminist (The Economist, 1987, 52).
Young also interpreted Mrs. Thatcher's view of gender equality to suggest her anti-feminism, saying:

"She was against this on principle, apparently seeing nothing in her own rise to power which might prompt her to single women out for special attention, or consciously single out herself and her sex and the special effects this might have on her political strategy. Women as a separate category of voters were not of special interest" (1989, 305).

Young put forward the belief that Mrs. Thatcher actually possessed very little comprehension of women's liberation, as she apparently declined to be sensitive in more elementary matters (1989, 306).

Authors such as Robert Skidelsky also noted Mrs. Thatcher's anti-feminist image and substance, interpreting her behaviour as being: "Disinclined to play the feminist game,..." (1990, 134). In her autobiography Margaret Thatcher: The Downing Street Years, Mrs. Thatcher also cited feminism as part of the intelligensia, along with socialism and the trade union movement of Britain as her political enemies (1993).

McNeil additionally noted what she termed "contestation" between Mrs. Thatcher's political image and substance and feminism, saying:

"At the core of virtually every aspect of the Thatcherite programme I have examined there was some contestation with feminism: the reinforcement of the public-private divide; profound individualism and devaluing of women's experience within Thatcher's image and rhetoric; ..." (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 235).

McNeil continued that Mrs. Thatcher displayed her anti-feminist political substance clearly in the way she and her regime presented a moralistic image, in this way attempting to quietly avoid a discourse of the sexual
variety which may have drawn further attention to her anti-feminist character rather than "...eliminating what she wished to destroy" (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 235). Thus, it can be concluded that Mrs. Thatcher was an anti-feminist in both her political image and substance by her own admission and from the examinations of many well known feminist and non-feminist political analysts.

(b) It must be asked why was the radical model of feminism so frequently used to judge Mrs. Thatcher’s political image and substance. One very likely reason why radical feminism was frequently used to label Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist was because the radical model of feminism seemed to be the best known strand of feminism; possibly because its exponents and their writing received the greatest degree of media attention. Hence it would seem that the weight of evidence, coupled with Mrs. Thatcher’s own testimonies, proved she was anti-feminist in her own belief.

c). The next component of this debate considers the use and appropriateness of the radical model of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist. British feminist-psychoanalysts Janet Sayers supported this notion suggesting radical feminism was more recognisable in the British community simply because it captured most attention during the Thatcher period (1985, 112-114). In addition, the general public seemed to have a reduced understanding of the issues and factors of other strands of feminism because of less media interest. Sayers also agreed with this point, saying socialist feminist struggles which involved the improvement of gender issues such as women’s income and conditions, health care and welfare have tended to be eclipsed by radical feminists struggles concerning rape, lesbianism, pornography, incest and
in vitro fertilisation (1985, 113). Sayers understanding of the British feminist scenario implied that although sexual issues were clearly important they were much less crucial to the survival and general well-being of women (1985, 113). Sayers understanding of the use of the radical model of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist was sourced in the failure of the socialist or Marxist feminist models (1985, 112-114).

"Rather than judge between one feminist cause and another - the struggles of lesbians, mothers, of women workers, and Black women - many socialist feminists welcome the diversity and reject any attempt to reduce those different struggles to a common denominator such as class politics", explained Sayers (1985, 112).

Wilson and other feminists were like-minded with Sayers about the class oriented nature of Mrs. Thatcher's political programme. Sayers summed her view in the belief that socialist feminism had refused to rank the gender issue priorities of British women, hence failing to lead women in their struggle against Mrs. Thatcher's political programme (1985, 113). It seemed "...socialist feminism fell, by default, to radical feminism..." (Sayers, 1985, 113). It could thus be concluded that it was the general failure of radical feminism to conclusively judge and publicly convict Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist and by interpretation anti-community - through its predisposition to promote extreme but directionless sectional interests - that effectively weakened the radical feminist argument against Mrs. Thatcher. On this note it appeared most people were only aware of the more radical strand feminism, and thus it constituted the basis of their appreciation of feminism and criticism of Mrs. Thatcher.
Also most critics who used the radical model of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist seemed to have only a very limited appreciation of radical feminism and the surrounding gender issues. This standpoint was born out through notoriously narrow or incomplete instances of radical feminism often used to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist. An example of this was the way Jessop et. al. used Beatrix Campbell's estimation of Mrs. Thatcher as neither conforming to traditional femininity nor feminism (Campbell in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50). Jessop et. al., among many other authors, were guilty of not communicating the wider point Campbell was attempting to convey or explaining the complexity of Campbell's combined feminist-historical-journalist approach. The fact that Campbell was actually trying to suggest that Mrs. Thatcher embodied a female power which united patriarchal and feminine discourse was lost in Jessop et. al.'s textual interpretation (Campbell in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50).

(c) The third component of this discussion considers the notion that Mrs. Thatcher was judged anti-feminist according to radical models of feminism on the basis of mere implications. It must be said that the use of notions associated with radical models of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher have been usually very isolated examples, taken out of context. In addition, most radical feminist issues used to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist were only vaguely related to the more complex overarching concepts of radical feminism they were drawn from. Thus, the actual meaning and value of the issues raised to demonstrate comparison or pass judgement on Mrs. Thatcher were almost entirely lost.
(d) A further instance of Mrs. Thatcher's anti-feminist conviction by implication was demonstrated by Jessop et. al. Jessop et. al. showed how the more radical feminists have argued that Mrs. Thatcher and her political programme were an expression of unchecked patriarchy and so belonged to the same group phenomena as fascism; hence, by implication Mrs. Thatcher was regarded the quintessential enemy of feminism (1988, 49).

It would seem that only very limited understandings of the radical model of feminism would cause Mrs. Thatcher to be judged anti-feminist. In her essay "One is not Born a Woman", radical/Marxist feminist Monique Wittig debased the use of the biologistic reductionism of radical feminist doctrine to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist, as she insists "'Women are a class' on the basis that the category woman and man are political economic categories not eternal ones" (Wittig, 1981, 70, 72-73). Wittig continued her explanation to reveal a flaw in the use of the radical feminist biologistic reductionist argument confronting the notion of natural division between the sexes, as it "...naturalises history... making change impossible" (Wittig, 1981, 70, 72-73). Wittig's radical/Marxist creed of feminism is a materialist based alternative that allows women to firstly, constitute themselves as a universal class; and secondly, to move beyond the category of sex entirely by becoming Lesbian, as it is the category which is beyond the categories of sex (man and woman)" (Wittig, 1981, 70, 72-73).

Marxist-feminist Elizabeth Wilson argued that Mrs. Thatcher was incorrectly judged anti-feminist using the radical model of feminism as a measure. Wilson suggested that the radical model of feminism was misused by critics of Mrs. Thatcher to judge her anti-feminist atop all
other manner of criticisms of Mrs. Thatcher and her political programme. According to Wilson, Mrs. Thatcher's political programme and individual policies were not specifically prejudiced against Mrs. Thatcher's political project which was class specific (Wilson in Jessop et. al., 1988, 48-49). It appeared that although women were very disproportionately and adversely affected under Mrs. Thatcher's political programme and individual policies they were not an intended target group and that Mrs. Thatcher was judged anti-feminist merely by implication. Wilson supported this view by explaining Mrs. Thatcher's political programme as a:

"...direct class attack to raise productivity, increase profits and weaken unions; she added that this had certainly widened the gap between women but this often stemmed from more general shifts and an anarchic restructuring that affected the whole working class" (Wilson in Jessop et. al., 1988, 49).

Wilson clarified her position by highlighting the limitations of using the radical model of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist, as it primarily focussed upon the adverse distributional impact of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership and political programme (Wilson in Jessop et. al., 1981, 49). In addition, Wilson extrapolated that:

"...although there may be widespread consensus on the actual costs of Thatcherism to women (the Conservatives have never attempted to massage the figures as they have those for unemployment) such facts do not speak for themselves" (Wilson in Jessop et. al., 1988, 49).

Mrs. Thatcher's indifference to altering the substance of gender issues was another area which saw many critics consider her anti-feminist. It seemed that Mrs. Thatcher may have been judged
anti-feminist using a radical model of feminism because gender issues were used to illustrate her failings; and because of the sexual base and radical feminism’s and its strong relationship with these particular political issues. For example, in the gender issues area of women's health Mrs. Thatcher chose not to make a clear decision over the controversial policy of abortion. The Economist found that Mrs. Thatcher accepted liberal abortion laws but did not express any personal opinion, suggesting her lack of interest in this individual gender policy area (1989, 17). This point was supported by Lisanne Radui in Carol Lee Bachin’s article Same Reference: Feminism and Sexual Difference, when she was quoted to suggest that feminists could be understood to be seeking the security of equal maternity benefits worldwide when they were even granted in Thatcher's Britain (Bachin in Radui, 1990, 116). Maternity Alliance also agreed with this fact, adding that since the Thatcher Government came to power the qualifying period for protection - maternity leave - had increased from six months in 1975 to two years in 1980 (Maternity Alliance, 1987, 8 in Bachin, 1990, 128). These substantiations both implied neither the personal support nor denigration of a gender related issue by Mrs. Thatcher.

However, Mrs. Thatcher's interest in the general gender issue area was provoked when the issue of the family was raised; even so, she did not take the position of extreme New Right morals crusaders - such as Mrs. Whitehouse - who advocated total anti-abortion legislation, as well as policy making to restrict access to contraceptives and sex education particularly in schools (Hall, 1983, 193). In taking this position Mrs. Thatcher was the target of gender exponents and feminists alike. However, because the radical model of feminism had such a high public profile with biological sexual politics - as a result of the popular texts
of famed radical feminist authors such as Mary Daly, Shulamith Firestone, Kate Millett and others - Mrs. Thatcher’s decision to not support pro-choice enabled her to be judged anti-feminist according to a model of radical feminism by implication. The very loose substantial basis of this claim about Mrs. Thatcher being anti-feminist in terms of the radical model of feminism, clearly demonstrated the flimsy nature of these type of implications about Mrs. Thatcher’s political image and substance.

Another instance of how implication through confusion and misunderstanding led to Mrs. Thatcher being judged anti-feminist according to radical models of feminism could spring from her use of the biologist fallacy argument. Mrs. Thatcher frequently suggested she believed sexual discrimination had been overcome. In using this argument, to avoid further involvement with gender issue debate, Mrs. Thatcher inadvertently placed herself in the midst of a very generalised interpretation of just one radical feminists treatise. In her text The Dialectic of Sex: The case for feminist revolution, Shulamith Firestone also used the biological reductionist view to iterate her "biological distinction and subsequent male domination" doctrine (Firestone, 1972 in Elshtain, 1981, 211). Hence, Mrs. Thatcher and Firestone’s common usage of this particular debate promoted the implication that Mrs. Thatcher was anti-feminist according to the radical model of feminism.

The radical model of feminism is essentially couched in biological difference. Elshtain’s estimation of the radical model of feminism bears out this preoccupation, as it begins with the most extreme sketch of the radical feminist vision of a male (1981, 205). By making females appear
as an opposing ideal gender or as victims of patriarchal domination radical feminists leave women such as Mrs. Thatcher uncatered for.

The extreme radical feminists Mary Daly, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Susan Brownmiller and Shulamith Firestone displayed this core in their respective texts. In her text *Gyn/Ecology: The Meta-Ethics of Radical of Feminism*, Mary Daly pictured men as demons and power mad, ghostly vampires and women as either “demonised, moronic, fembotic victims” or as radical feminist lesbian separatists (Daly, 1979 in Elshtain, 1981, 209). In her essay “Theories of Radical Feminism”, Ti-Grace Atkinson declared that men are “metaphysical cannibals” and women should be lesbian reproductive engineers (Atkinson in Elshtain, 1981, 206). Susan Brownmiller in *Against Our Will: men women and rape* defines “all men” are power hungry rapists, whilst “all women” are a corollary of an asexual innocent not unlike the Victorian ideology of good women (Brownmiller, 1976 in Elshtain, 1981, 203). Whilst the extreme radical feminist Shulamith Firestone in her *The Dialectic of Sex*, posits the belief that men are tyrannical oppressors and women should be victorious reproductive technicians.

Radical feminists defined that human beings could not be both “this and that”: but victims and victors, oppressed or oppressor, exploited or exploiter (Firestone in Elshtain, 1981, 212). This brief analysis of just one part of radical feminist theory suggests the very narrow, extreme and vulnerable character of various components of radical feminist theory. The above radical feminist explanation bore out this rather simplistic viewpoint of human nature is just one suggestion of why the radical model of feminism is often used and manipulated to imply that Mrs. Thatcher was anti-feminist.
From this radical feminist espousal it seemed possible to categorise Mrs. Thatcher as both the oppressed and the oppressor. She was either the oppressive Prime Minister or the patriarchal puppet as Young said: "...this controlled and controlling women..." (1989, 305). Mrs. Thatcher was also considered "both this and that" in the way she was deemed both female and male by the electorate through observations including "...the lady's preoccupation with maleness and manly virtues...", "She's not a real woman" and proving "...that she is as good as a man" (Young, 1989, 304-405). These examples show how the use of the radical model of feminism to judge Mrs. Thatcher as anti-feminist were again couched in manipulated implication, as not even Mrs. Thatcher can be both the victor and victim of her political image and substance.

A final point which suggested that the radical model of feminism was entirely inappropriate in judging Mrs. Thatcher anti-feminist was the implicit and explicit radical feminist contention that human beings must be judged not by what they do or say but by what they are (Elshtain, 1981, 506). This statement effectively means that most of the anti-feminist claims levelled at Mrs. Thatcher were hollow because they were based upon the appearance of her political image rather than based purely on the content of her political substance.

Therefore it can be concluded that Mrs. Thatcher was not a feminist according to the political image she presented and through the substance of her political programme. Debating whether Mrs. Thatcher was truly anti-feminist was found to be a highly subjectified question. It was believed the controversy was best settled by Mrs. Thatcher's own
admissions rather than the inuendo of various commentators. Furthermore, it was suggested that although to a large extent Mrs. Thatcher was judged anti-feminist because she was compared with mostly radical models of feminism; it was also found that many of the anti-feminist claims against Mrs. Thatcher were merely couched in implications and fragmented interpretations of radical feminist theory. At this stage this discussion requires investigation into whether Mrs. Thatcher would be judged anti-feminist according to other models of feminist theory, a debate carried-on in the ensuing part of this chapter.

Was Mrs. Thatcher a liberal feminist, or not?

As foreshadowed in an earlier chapter, this discussion will endeavour to consider whether Mrs. Thatcher could be deemed liberal feminist in her political image or substance. It will be argued that Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated a number of liberal feminist traits in both her political image and substance. Several of the main components of liberal feminism have been selected to debate the claim that Mrs. Thatcher was a liberal feminist. The first and basic notion of liberal feminism - role playing and changing - will open this discussion. The next point to be debated concerned Mrs. Thatcher's use of depoliticized language. Discussion about the liberal feminist doctrine of intensive individualism will ensue. The degree of liberal feminist substance and style in Mrs. Thatcher's policy making will be illustrated through gender issue examples.
(a) Role Playing

According to the analysis of Jean Bethke Elshtain in *Public Man, Private Woman* (1981, 240-247) liberal feminism is centrally defined by the portrayal of roles, particularly "socialising to non-sexist roles", "positives roles" and "role changing". This can be seen to apply with Mrs. Thatcher's use of a political image. Mrs. Thatcher applied this notion of role-playing to her personal and political image, through her recognition that she was not essentially a political leader, mother, wife or even woman, but that she was a "role-player" (Elshtain, 1981, 243).

In view of liberal feminist ideology, Elshtain suggested:

"Society is a collection of aggregates, social atoms performing roles... Each role seems equal to another in a kind of levelling process, a homogenisation of description an evaluation" (1981, 243). This liberal feminist tendency of role playing and changing images offers sound reasoning for the inconsistencies and the evolution of Mrs. Thatcher's political image. Mrs. Thatcher employed a popular image to promote herself into the role of Conservative party leader and then attain and maintain the position of Prime Minister. Mrs. Thatcher often presented the image of an asexual political figure to ensure the continued support of her Party and the electorate.

Young recounted that Mrs. Thatcher indicated her gender as a chief political disadvantage:

"Being a woman was still a disadvantage, she was sure. In a country so socially conservative as Britain, a female leader remained peculiarly vulnerable to jibes and doubts. Who could be sure how deep an affront she offered to atavistic prejudices, both male and female?" (1989, 135).
Mrs. Thatcher most recently admitted this belief in her latest autobiography, *The Path to Power* (1995), where she implied that her gender had forever burdened her reputation. From these admissions it seemed that Mrs. Thatcher recognised the patriarchal image, nature, structure and prejudices of the British political system and concluded that success would probably follow from the promotion of a suitably masculine political image. It was from this kind of analysis of British politics that Mrs. Thatcher incorporated certain masculine traits - such as ruthless determination and an aggressive, warrior-like approach toward opponents - into her new political image (Young, 1989, 311).

Young suggested that Mrs. Thatcher was best known for her male qualities such as aggression and domination, adding these were necessary to combat her feminine predicament and to demonstrate her power and authority to surrounding males (1989, 311). Young added that Mrs. Thatcher certainly changed roles like the typical liberal feminist, as she discarded "...most of her significant gender traits and became for all practical purposes, an honorary man to best fit into the male dominated arena of British politics" (1989, 304). Young explained the intelligibility of this liberal feminist analysis, saying:

"Politics is a male world, and nobody can succeed in it without some of the qualities commonly associated with masculinity. In one sense, she could not help becoming an honorary man from the moment she became leader if the party, a condition aptly symbolised by her admission, after considerable grumbling among the baffled clubmen to honorary membership of the all-male conservative stronghold, the Carlton Club" (1989, 311).
Another supporter of the argument that Mrs. Thatcher was a liberal feminist because of her use of the tactic of role playing to enhance her political image was Beatrix Campbell. Campbell explained how Mrs. Thatcher distinguished: "...between gender and sexuality, judging that while the former is important the latter, the real heart or the feminine, is concealed to the point of conscious insignificance" and applied this theory of liberal feminist role playing in her new political image (Campbell in Young, 1989, 304). Campbell explained that "...while plainly remaining a woman, she used womanhood merely as a helpful device. She shows how much femininity is a production" (Campbell in Young, 1989, 304).

Campbell was able to expand upon her analysis of Mrs. Thatcher through her dissection of Mrs. Thatcher's latest memoirs, The Path to Power (1995). In her article, "The invisible woman", Campbell suggested that Mrs. Thatcher adopted the role of a masculine traited female, saying "...she was a woman born of her father's womb" (1995, 45). Campbell went on to explain how Mrs. Thatcher chose not to participate in the traditional mother/daughter role and relationship; she repeated this pattern through the modification of the mothering role and relationship with her own children in favour of a more masculine and Conservative model saying,

"Her own disconnection from mothering is repeated with the birth of her twins. Thatcher does not remind us of her resolution, formulated on the very birthing bed, to be undefeated by parenthood. Her participation in parenthood was minimal" (1995, 45).

Mrs. Thatcher went so far to agree in The Path to Power, she revealed herself to be a distant and dour parent whose children were managed by firm handed nannies rather than enjoyed (1995).
Even the sympathetic biography of Penny Junor confirmed that Mrs. Thatcher was a formal parent in more ways than one. Campbell's analysis concurred and extended to suggest that Mrs. Thatcher exploited traditional female roles, such as mothering, as part of her liberal feminist political image. In so doing Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated her capability to function as a woman, whilst enacting the masculine-oriented drive and autonomy of staunch liberal feminist traditions, stating: "Insofar as she was challenged by her children, it was only to cement her commitment to unencumbered autonomy" and being "...undefeated by parenthood" (Campbell, 1995, 45). This point was corroborated by Barbara Castle's observations of Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist embrace of leadership and forgotten motherhood: "...when she became leader she was falling in love - with power" (Castle in Campbell, 1995, 47). A point carried forth by Mrs. Thatcher's own comment: "Nothing about the experience of real motherhood matches a rare revelation of pleasure here: 'antique shops cast a dangerous spell over me' " (Thatcher in Campbell, 1995, 47).

Campbell's search to disclose the liberal feminist nature of Mrs. Thatcher's new political image through role playing indicated the pro-Thatcher chronicles of Penny Junor and Patrick Cosgrave as an insight into what Campbell termed "Thatcher's gendered history" (1995, 47). Campbell believed Junor and Cosgrave provided the first clues to Mrs. Thatcher's gender evasions as well as her tactical mobilisation of femininity as propaganda. It seemed that Mrs. Thatcher had effectively severed any real ties with her gender through her exploitation of femininity and liberal feminist role playing. Campbell repeated the notion that Mrs. Thatcher had disconnected herself from the complexities of her gender (1995, 47). Thus, it appeared Mrs. Thatcher
had become so embroiled in her liberal feminist role playing that she transcended the political image and had become a liberal feminist.

Loretta Loach noted the same kind of masculine traits and role playing in Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist political image, describing it as:

"Unlike the stereotypical female, she could not be wooed; her head could not be turned. She displayed, 'female triumphalism': She is a woman who can sustain the conflicting qualities of drive and femininity and still be part of the world - not loved or like as women feel they need to be, but successful, assured and admired" (1987, 26).

Loach went onto add that Mrs. Thatcher applied the masculine trait of staunch individualism in the way she suggested she and other women should approach all political and economic enterprises, saying:

"Thatcher has welcomed the spirit of the modern go-getting woman who has been made feel guilty about her desire for success. The Prime Minister is their model..." (1987, 24).

Marina Warner concurred with this espousal implying that Mrs. Thatcher's new liberal feminist political image and role playing emphasised a de-eroticised quality, saying:

"Mrs. Thatcher has tapped enormous source of female power: the right of prohibition. Her toughness, her flintness her piercing quality ... to prove that she is a good man ..." (Warner in Young, 1989, 305).

The new Thatcher image won wide spread approval and afforded her much political success. Thus the political image Mrs. Thatcher portrayed as leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister was an example of her liberal feminist role-playing tendency.
Campbell wrote Mrs. Thatcher adapted her political image through role playing in order to be successful and it was in this way she was able to give back to women an image of woman, an image deployed in Thatcherite ideology and explored in the Tory Party’s longer trajectory (Campbell in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50). Stuart Hall argued that Mrs. Thatcher’s use of gender was crucial in her new political image and the development of her attempts to mobilise politics about gender issues and women’s identities (Hall in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50). Campbell’s interpretation of Hall’s Authoritarian Populist (AP) implied that Mrs. Thatcher used the AP component of Thatcherism to rally support for gender issues through: (i) the role of the “housewife as a populist ideological construct to popularise monetarism, to emphasise women’s domestic duties and to draw a contrast with the masculine world of unionism; and (ii) the ways in which Mrs. Thatcher presented and promoted her dual image as both mother/carer and warrior (Campbell in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50). Beatrix Campbell summed up her observation of Mrs. Thatcher’s liberal feminist preoccupation of role changing by saying: “...uniquely among politicians, in the public mind she belongs to one sex but could be either” (Campbell in Jessop et. al., 1988, 50). Thus, it would seem clear that Mrs. Thatcher fulfilled the liberal feminist trait of role playing.

Another liberal feminist trait associated with role playing was Mrs. Thatcher’s political image as a liberal feminist role model. As already seen, Loretta Loach’s research suggested that, as part of the political image, Mrs. Thatcher appeared as a liberal feminist role model to enterprising, individualistic, career women; as she said “The Prime Minister was their role model” (1987, 24). Mrs. Thatcher also clearly demonstrated she was a liberal feminist role model through her public
commemoration of the outstanding work of another liberal feminist Margery Ashby, in July 1982 (Young, 1990, 306). Mrs. Thatcher dedicated her speech to Margery Ashby likening her pioneering efforts to the suffragettes, noting:

"...they had the inestimable privilege of being wives and mothers and they pursued their public work against the background of full and happy domestic lives. They neglected no detail of those lives... The home should be the centre but not the boundary of a woman's life..." (Thatcher, July, 1992 in Young, 1990, 307).

In this way Mrs. Thatcher extolled the traits of liberal feminism, showed her public advocacy and applause of the political efforts of liberal feminists, whilst allowing herself to be recognised as a public role model of the qualities of liberal feminism at work in Britain.

Liberal feminists Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Elizabeth Janeway concurred with the view that Mrs. Thatcher not only appeared as a liberal feminist, by working with the male dominated arena of British politics to realise success for herself, but also provided women with a positive liberal feminist image or role model (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 243). Janeway and Epstein explained that by going public Mrs. Thatcher showed women the way to take on new roles, to become "role-breakers and thus to become integrated into the standards of the public world" (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Janeway went further to state "'Role-breakers' in turn, are "role models" and as such help others to 'break roles' " (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). However, Janeway did qualify her standpoint by saying that although the social structures do not change, the 'role breakers' show that women's roles can as they move out and up within the structures whilst pursuing this individual ends and purposes
Janeway and Epstein's doctrines very accurately described the liberal feminist tendencies demonstrated in Mrs. Thatcher's political image. For instance, in the earlier years of her working and political careers Mrs. Thatcher utilised a political image which pushed the notion that women should strive to enter the workforce in particular a political career in Parliament and public office (Young, 1989, 305). It was therefore clear that Mrs. Thatcher presented a political image of encouragement to women to enter the public sphere through her own activities, as well as through her liberal feminist political image. Mrs. Thatcher did not limit her appearance to being only a liberal feminist role model.

Although it has been earlier foreshadowed and debated in the Thatcherism chapter of the wider discussion, it must be mentioned that Mrs. Thatcher could be seen as a liberal feminist role model and role player through the way she appeared to be a modern liberal rather than conservative politician. In this way Mrs. Thatcher's libertarian and liberal feminist styled behaviour, seen through the major political traits of her political image and substance, could be interpreted as the recurrent and inter-related themes of her role playing. In providing British women with a role model of success, against the pressures of the public sphere, Mrs. Thatcher was enacting the liberal as well liberal feminist notion of self-reliant and responsible pursuit of her own goals in the public arena (Bellamy, 24-30 in Eatwell and Wright, 1993). Bellamy also indicated the corresponding liberal/middle class values of Mrs. Thatcher's role modelling which was clearly visible to the gender issue-secure women of the middle and upper-middle classes (Bellamy, 29 in Eatwell and Wright, 1993). Hence, it would seem Mrs. Thatcher's
relationship with liberalism and liberal feminism was evident in her role playing.

(b) Depoliticised language

Mrs. Thatcher also engaged with the terms and language of liberal feminism: "For example, she used the language of rights, individualism and of equal opportunities particularly in terms of her promotion of the enterprise culture as an arena in which women were invited to take up equal citizenship with men..." (Franklin, et. al., 1991, 43).

(c) Individualism

Finally, the argument that liberal feminism is based upon individualist assumptions and the liberal belief that it is up to each person to make the best of his/her own life to the detriment of a group and its needs applied to Mrs. Thatcher's political behaviour. Mrs. Thatcher was of the opinion that she had single-handedly realised her public sphere career goals and consequently believed that everyone else should exhibit the same kind of self-reliance and espoused that anyone should be able to do the same. In an interview to W. Webster - "Not a Man to Match Her" (1990) - Mrs. Thatcher said that, "...if you get anywhere, it is because of your ability." (Webster, 1990 in Pilcher, 1995, 496). This kind of liberal feminist individualism was similarly expressed by Betty Friedan in The Feminine Mystique (1963), she also believed that gains won by the earlier feminists meant that the door to freedom had been opened and that women could now join men in pursuing careers in the public sphere. This belief was also imparted by R. Rowland in "Women Who Do and Women Who Don't Join the Women's Movement"(1984), she suggested that Mrs. Thatcher fitted into the "Queen Bee" category (Rowland, 1984 in Pilcher, 1995, 496).
As Rowland's Queen Bee, Mrs. Thatcher illustrated the achievement of career success in a man's world, whilst being married and raising a family (Rowland, 1984, in Pilcher, 1995, 496). In addition, Mrs. Thatcher showed how she enjoyed both professional and social success as Prime Minister of Britain (Rowland, 1984 in Pilcher, 1995, 496). And finally, as a Queen Bee, Mrs. Thatcher expounded an individualistic liberal feminist styled philosophy of self-reliance and independence using her own successes as examples of how any woman could do the same through her gender-unsympathetic speeches and policy making (Rowland, 1984 in Pilcher, 1995, 496). Thus it can be concluded that according to Bryson's discussion Mrs. Thatcher certainly appeared to be a liberal feminist not only through her political image, but also through the substance of her political behaviour seen through the intense individualism she exercised as Party Leader and Prime Minister.

Mrs. Thatcher's use of the liberal feminist tenet of individualism will be now be put forward by liberal feminist Elizabeth Janeway. It must be added that this view was mostly upheld by more extreme liberal feminists, such as Elizabeth Janeway. Janeway's intensive individualist strategy directed liberal feminists to join with others to form a pressure group (Janeway and Epstein in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Mrs. Thatcher followed this liberal feminist plan of action by only assuming the top position and not allowing other women into adjacent positions of power or authority. Young iterated this point as he implied that Mrs. Thatcher was wary of other competent women around her (1989, 16). The very nature of Mrs. Thatcher's political style and the structure she imposed upon the whole government and Parliamentary Party was authoritarian. Mrs. Thatcher created a power structure where
she alone gathered and wielded immense political powers. Through the liberal feminist individualist style of politics practiced by Mrs. Thatcher she effectively challenged the patriarchal nature of the British political system, eventhough she did not overtly change or displace the patriarchal status. Mrs. Thatcher's individualistic style and political image was highlighted through her challenge to the political establishment in the way of new contrasting policies which emphasised the out-dated dependency culture ethos of her opponents, intimated Franklin et. al. (1991, 44). Proof of this was the way Mrs. Thatcher only admitted one female into her Shadow Cabinet Mrs. Sally Oppenheim (1970) and then only Minister Janet Young to her Cabinet when she was leader of the House of Lords from 1981-1983 (1975, 1 and Young, 1989, 307). Franklin et. al. noted Mrs. Thatcher's desire to be seen as an intensively individualistic leader through the way she always promoted modern and forward-looking ideas in her political image (1991, 44). It was in this way that Mrs. Thatcher's political activities and political image reflected Janeway's notion of the "individualist solution to the feminist dilemma" (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Like Janeway's "solution" Mrs. Thatcher's practices and political image did not imply threatening the given (patriarchal) status quo (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Hence, Mrs. Thatcher did appear to express intensive individualism as part of her liberal feminist political image.

In Roger Eatwell and Anthony Wright's *Contemporary Political Ideologies* (1993), Valerie Bryson considered modern liberal feminism in contemporary democracies. They found that the central premise of liberal feminism was (female) individualism, and as such women are entitled to full human rights, that they should be free to choose their
role in life and compete equally with males in politics and paid employment (Bryson in Eatwell and Wright, 1993, 200). Individualism could clearly be observed in action in Mrs. Thatcher's political character, through her selection of the public sphere career of politician, as well as through her decision to adopt an idealised political image to better promote and help realise essential political goals.

As part of her chapterial discussion Bryson considered the ongoing criticisms of the success of liberal feminism in terms of its individual-based goal theory. From Mrs. Thatcher's standpoint these arguments served to substantiate her status as a true liberal feminist. Liberal feminism and its exponents are accused of failing to not truly appreciate, promote the collective needs of women or provide a strategy for their liberation (Bryson in Eatwell and Wright, 1993, 201). Mrs. Thatcher embodied this criticism, as she was widely accused of not truly understanding or promoting the everyday gender issue needs of British women, and not providing any substantial strategy for the improvement of their circumstances. A point upheld by the results of a survey of British women's attitudes to Mrs. Thatcher's leadership conducted by Jane Pilcher. Pilcher found that British women felt Mrs. Thatcher had failed to recognise the importance of gender; and that she had not fulfilled their expectations of a woman in power who would prioritise and promote gender issues as well as use that advantage to help other women (1995, 496-499). This notion was likewise supported by Sylvia Bashevkin in her article "Confronting Neo-Conservatism - Anglo-American Women's Movements Under Thatcher, Reagan and Mulroney" (1994, 278). Bashevkin found that despite having a "...female parliamentary leader, the assent of Margaret Thatcher was unlikely to assist feminist policy"; she added that Mrs.
Thatcher rejected any collectivist notions of promoting gender issues and possessed no empathy for the aims of greater democratisation and empowerment from political rights and freedoms (1994, 278).

K. D. Ewing and C. A. Gearty, in their test *Freedom Under Thatcher: Civil Liberties in Modern Britain*, made a similar point in their argument. Mrs. Thatcher enacted this strong liberal feminist tendency of individualism through the way she blocked the vote and introduction of a European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Ewing and Gearty put forward the view that Mrs. Thatcher blocked this legislation, laws which would have made enormous political in-roads especially for groups such as women, on the basis that it may have reduced the huge political powers Mrs. Thatcher had amassed for herself as Leader and Prime Minister (1990, 2-4 and 264). Thus, through her intense individualism Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated she was a liberal feminist.

Mrs. Thatcher’s liberal as well as liberal feminist notions of intense individualism operate especially through her belief that every individual should be self-reliant and totally responsible for themselves (Bellamy, 24 in Eatwell and Wright, 1993). Mrs. Thatcher promoted notions of individual liberties - seen in her quest to retain immense individual political powers - as part of her intensely individual liberal and liberal feminist style of leadership (Gamble, 1989, 79). Mrs. Thatcher exhibited the intense individualism of both mainstream liberalism as well as liberal feminist theory in her leadership.
(d) Gender policies

In response to claims that Mrs. Thatcher did make some policy changes that showed active support of gender issues, such as repealing and equalising the age of retirement, there is unfavourable receipt of these actions. According to critical feminist debates, the goals of liberal feminism were considered meaningless to everyday women; as they only benefited the middle-class career women and ignored the realities of a competitive hierarchical society in which class and race impinge and women were mostly the losers. This was the case with this repealed law of Mrs. Thatcher's government. For most British women this law meant little: as many did not have employment; if they did it meant they had to work more years before retirement, before being able to obtain the aged pension and receive NHS benefits; in effect it meant they were a greater source of tax revenue through their extended income earning years; and they were less of a resource and financial burden on Mrs. Thatcher's Government's welfare budget. Again, it would appear Mrs. Thatcher was truly a substantial liberal feminist.

Another point of liberal feminism found in Mrs. Thatcher's leadership was her confusion as to the eco-patriarchal nature of state power over gender issues. Mrs. Thatcher also showed the liberal feminist difficulty of understanding many issues of gender inequality (Walby, 1990, 5). This notion could be seen in action through Mrs. Thatcher's policy making and fervent belief that women did not have special policy needs, and that the needs of women were met through all her policy making. This view could be seen through Mrs. Thatcher's NHS budget cutbacks. Mrs. Thatcher was well aware of the overwhelming public need for the subsidised health services.
provided under the NHS; however, she slashed the NHS budget because she wanted to bolster the more popular defence budget. Thus, Mrs. Thatcher seemed to be an exponent of this issue of liberal feminism.

Yet Mrs. Thatcher exhibited the central liberal/liberal feminist component of promoting entrance and employment in the public sphere, through her political image. Elshtain explained that one of the core tenets of liberal feminism is that the basis of most of women's woes is their privatisation and seeing that their salvation lies in going public (1981, 241). In Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury and Jackie Satcey's essay, "Feminism, Marxism and Thatcherism", the 300 Group claimed that Mrs. Thatcher's success was indeed a success for feminism because she was able to access male power on its own terms (1991, 42). Such feminist groups suggested that by entering politics and seeking public sphere employment, winning a seat in parliament and becoming Party leader Mrs. Thatcher effectively increased the number or women in the public sphere (Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). Other feminists, such as Ros Brunt acknowledged Mrs. Thatcher's political success, conceding that "...she did not let the team down, as it were" (Brunt, 1987 in Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated this liberal feminist principle in the way she disproved the sexist assumption that women are incapable of holding high political office, whilst showing other women the way to entering public sphere employment (Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). As a female Mrs. Thatcher was also well aware of the liberal feminist significance of her success for everyday British women, knowing how important her 'first' status was (1995, 495-496). Even the surveys of Pilcher revealed that British women saw Mrs. Thatcher's successful entry into public sphere employment and politics as a
resounding achievement for women (1995, 495). Pilcher recorded the favourable response and broad implication that Mrs. Thatcher's becoming the first woman to hold the office of Prime Minister was an achievement for women in general (1995, 497-498). Pilcher also noted that an overwhelming percentage of women made the point that Mrs. Thatcher's success was significant for women over the last few decades in that she became a female and feminist role model for other women, a source of inspiration and encouragement (1995, 498). Women believed that in response to questions about how men's and women's jobs and work roles had changed was directly related to Mrs. Thatcher's gender and leadership (Pilcher, 1995, 498). Hence, it seemed that Mrs. Thatcher exhibited the liberal feminist trait of promoting female entry into the public sphere leading British women by her own example.

The substantive component of Mrs. Thatcher's policy making clearly represented the liberal feminist - as well as liberal - principle of equality in labour. Franklin et. al. offered substantiative evidence proving the reality of Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist status. Feminist Elizabeth Wilson suggested that Mrs. Thatcher furthered women's options in the paid labour force on liberal feminist terms and through the incorporation of liberal feminist language in her Government's policy-making (Wilson in Franklin et. al., 1991, 43). Wilson believed Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated her liberal feminist policy-making in areas such as the promotion of women's training schemes, her support for equal opportunities programmes and through other contemporary gender oriented labour concerns (Wilson in Franklin et. al., 1991, 43).

McNeil also acknowledged the fact that Mrs. Thatcher substantially promoted liberal feminist ideology in her policy-making. McNeil
claimed that Mrs. Thatcher incorporated liberal feminist doctrines into her policy-making through the complex re-working of a variety of strands of feminism within her political programmes (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). This point was evidenced by Mrs. Thatcher's unusual engagement with the terms of feminism. McNeil implied that Mrs. Thatcher was influenced by feminist principles through her attempts to apply the ultimate level of equality to women through the re-working of feminist terms by non-affirmative policy-making (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). In this way McNeil intimated that Mrs. Thatcher successfully politicised a number of gender issues (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). It seemed Mrs. Thatcher wanted British women to enjoy the same sense of certainty about the reality of their public sector successes that she felt as Party leader and Prime Minister in preference to deserved but quota or token based public sector promotion and recognition.

In response

(a) In response to the view that Mrs. Thatcher was a liberal feminist because of the way she adopted role playing a part of her new political image, it will be debated that her use of role playing was not a strict interpretation of liberal feminist political beliefs.

To begin, it is suggested that Mrs. Thatcher's use of role playing was not "non-sexist". A premise Elshtain explained was an essential component of liberal feminist doctrine and public life practice (1981, 240). Mrs. Thatcher's new political image clearly possessed a feminine perspective. A point echoed in Young's interview with Gordon Reece, Mrs. Thatcher's leading image maker. Reece confirmed that he had honed the overly feminine aspects of Mrs. Thatcher's physical
appearance so that although she retained a feminine maternalistic component in her new political image, it was not so overt and politically negative for her career (Young, 1989, 124-125). Beatrix Campbell seemed to agree with this notion as she wrote, “Femininity is what she wears, ...” (Campbell in Young, 1989, 306). Barbara Castle supported Campbell’s observation and added that Mrs. Thatcher’s image of femininity “...was, none the less, very feminine”, as she could not conceal her detailed interest in feminine concerns (Castle in Young, 1989, 306-307). Patrick Cosgrave made what is often described as a scientific inquiry into Mrs. Thatcher’s feminine image; he found that she possessed a ‘...shrewd understanding of her particular female constituency” and this was the background for the political image she employed (Cosgrave, 1975 in Young, 1989, 306). This point was also upheld in Loach’s study of the liberal feminist aspects of Mrs. Thatcher’s role playing in her political image. Reservations were noticed in Loach’s research about Mrs. Thatcher’s representation of “female triumphalism”; even Loach recognised that this revelation was couched in, “...collective identity but then disregards it at the point where it is marginal to power” (1987, 24).

Young suggested that Mrs. Thatcher’s use of the liberal feminist tendency of role changing in her political image was however a glaring weakness, as she over-used the feminine aspects of her image until it appeared tired and superior to the British public (1989, 312).

Another problem associated with Mrs. Thatcher’s use of a feminine aspect in her political image was that it was often politically misunderstood. *Who Weekly* reporter Cathy Nolan made a similar study of the use of feminine role playing through the political image projected
by French separatist-feminist Shere Hite (1994, 40-43). According to Nolan's findings even a politically empowered woman can not always successfully project a feminine political image because: "Still people don't look at her work, they look at her. They don't see the strength and the concentration that goes into her work" (1994, 40-43). Hence, Mrs. Thatcher's continued use of a feminine component in her new political image suggested she did not successfully demonstrate the image of a liberal feminist.

In reply to the argument that Mrs. Thatcher displayed liberal feminist trait of being a role model through role playing - such as promoting public sphere entrance - in her political image; it will be shown that Mrs. Thatcher did not promote public sphere entrance to the female electorate. Mrs. Thatcher did not use her entrance into the public sphere as part of her political image in a consistent manner throughout her public sphere life. For instance, Mrs. Thatcher only put forward her entrance into the public sphere as a role model in the earlier years of her pre-leadership political career. It seemed once Mrs. Thatcher became Party leader and Prime Minister she no longer used her successful entry into the Party as a role model for others to follow in her political image. This point was echoed in the way Mrs. Thatcher accepted public sphere male concession for herself - through being allowed to be the first female given membership to the Carlton Club because she was Prime Minister - but did not demand the same concession for other women (Young, 1989, 304). Young qualified this view when he explained that Mrs. Thatcher made no effort to lead a crusade for other women to realise the same public sphere success (1989, 305).
Young drew further attention to this point through the conclusion:

"When she had reached the top, a change came over the balance of her rhetoric. She became a lot more ready to praise the Conservative model of the housewife and mother" (1989, 305).

Another side to this argument calls for consideration of the liberal feminist tenet of devaluing the private sphere and women's place within it. Mrs. Thatcher did not appear to advocate this facet of liberal feminism in her political image. In fact, Mrs. Thatcher promoted the private sphere and the role of women as traditional wives, mothers and carers within the sphere through her political image. Mrs. Thatcher frequently used the house wife, mother and carer image to push the private sphere and associated roles to the British female electorate. Mrs. Thatcher's aim was to create substantive support for her push to reduce unemployment figures, created by public sector vacancies for males; and help cut the welfare and NHS budgets by placing increased carer burdens upon wives and mothers. Issue has also been take with the use of Mrs. Thatcher's July 1982 lecture which made reference to the British suffragettes in support of the argument that it was evidence of her being a liberal feminist. This speech actually highlighted Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric, through her support of the private sector and associated female roles (Young, 1990, 306). In the lecture Mrs. Thatcher praised the female role of domesticity, focusing upon the home lives of the suffragettes, by noting:

"...they had the inestimable privilege of being wives and mothers and they pursued their public work against the background of full and happy domestic lives. They neglected no detail of those lives..." (Young, 1990, 306).
Her emphasis upon the domestic life and its positiveness for women was somewhat suspect, especially from a woman who was supposedly ardent liberal feminist role model. Thence, Mrs. Thatcher was not truly a liberal feminist because of the highly problematic and inconsistent projection of a liberal feminist political image and clear recognisability as a liberal feminist role model.

From a slightly different angle this opposing discussion about Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist role playing will consider her personal beliefs. From the material gathered it seemed plain that Mrs. Thatcher was not a liberal feminist by personal conviction. Instead evidence strongly implied that although Mrs. Thatcher may have appeared to possess certain liberal feminist traits in her political image, she did not support this image with political substance or conviction of her policy-making. The balance of data presented suggested that the political image of liberal feminism promoted by Mrs. Thatcher was in fact more coincidence than an intentional component of her new political image. Jessop et. al also agreed some elements of Mrs. Thatcher's political image was liberal feminist, concluding that her image "...co-existed with Conservative feminism because of its roots in liberalism..."; however, Jessop et. al. added that the nature and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's policy-making was not liberal feminist, as it was "...diverse and contradictory..." (1988, 51). Therefore, it appeared that Mrs. Thatcher was not truly liberal feminist in the substance of her policy making.

(b) The liberal feminists preoccupation with the use of depoliticised language was another point which implied Mrs. Thatcher was not truly liberal feminist in the expression of her political image. Mrs. Thatcher's use of gender laden terms and phrases in reference to
herself, such as "handbagging" and "handling the economy like a house
hold economist by making ends meet" showed she was not truly a
liberal feminist (Campbell in Young, 1989, 306). This would seem to
refute the notion that Mrs. Thatcher's political image was thoroughly
liberal feminist in practice. It thence appeared Mrs. Thatcher's use of
the liberal feminist trait of role playing was at least not very well
implemented in the political image and through the politicised language
she used.

Another liberal feminist trait associated with role playing was
Mrs. Thatcher's political image as a liberal feminist role model. As
already seen, Loretta Loach's research suggested that, as part of the
political image, Mrs. Thatcher appeared as a liberal feminist role model
to enterprising, individualistic, career women; as she said "The Prime
Minister was their role model" (1987, 24). Mrs. Thatcher also clearly
demonstrated she was a liberal feminist role model through her public
commemoration of the outstanding work of another liberal feminist
Margery Ashby, in July 1982 (Young, 1990, 306). Mrs. Thatcher
dedicated her speech to Margery Ashby likening her pioneering efforts
to the suffragettes, noting:

"...they had the inestimable privilege of being wives and mothers
and they pursued their public work against the backdrop of full and
happy domestic lives. They neglected no detail of those lives... The
should be the centre but not the boundary of a woman's life..."

In this way Mrs. Thatcher extolled the traits of liberal feminism, showed
her public advocacy and applause of the political efforts of liberal
feminists, whilst allowing herself to be recognised as a public role model
of the qualities of liberal feminism at work in Britain.
Liberal feminists Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Elizabeth Janeway concurred with the view that Mrs. Thatcher not only appeared as a liberal feminist by working with the male dominated arena of British politics to realise success for herself, but also provided women with a positive liberal feminist image or role model (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 243). Janeway and Epstein explained that by going public Mrs. Thatcher showed women the way to take on new roles, to become "role-breakers and thus to become integrated into the standards of the public world" (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Janeway went further to state "'Role-breakers' in turn, are "role models" and as such help others to 'break roles' " (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). However, Janeway did qualify her standpoint by saying that although the social structures do not change, the 'role breakers' show that women's roles can as they move out and up within the structures whilst pursuing this individual ends and purposes (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Janeway and Epstein's doctrines very accurately described the liberal feminist tendencies demonstrated in Mrs. Thatcher's political image. For instance, in the earlier years of her working and political careers Mrs. Thatcher utilised a political image which pushed the notion that women should strive to enter the workforce in particular a political career in Parliament and public office (Young, 1989, 305). It was therefore clear that Mrs. Thatcher presented a political image of encouragement to women to enter the public sphere through her own activities, as well as through her liberal feminist political image. Mrs. Thatcher did not limit her appearance to being only a liberal feminist role model.
(c) In reply to the contention that Mrs. Thatcher's political image expressed the liberal feminist ideology of intensive individualism, is the notion that Mrs. Thatcher was not consistently individualist. In the earlier years of her political career Mrs. Thatcher was not as intensively individualistic in her activities and the political image she projected as liberal feminist ideology prescribed. This point was born out in Mrs. Thatcher's early career resolution to be appointed as "...junior pensions minister, although being admirably qualified for the job and accept being viewed by Senior male ministers - such as John Boyd-Carpenter - scornfully, considered as "a little bit of a gimmick" and deemed an attempt to "...brighten up the image of the MacMillan Government" (Young, 1989, 47). These were not the actions or the reflections of an intensively individualistic liberal feminist political image.

The personal opinion of extreme liberal feminist Elizabeth Janeway must also be known, she implied misgivings about Mrs. Thatcher's true status as a liberal feminist, saying as a:

"feminist solution it has to be added that it was questionable whether Mrs. Thatcher's political image could be inferred as living up to the liberal feminist doctrine of 'threatening the order of the universe' " (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Hence, in this specific instance Mrs. Thatcher did not mirror the whole liberal feminist tradition of thought.

As an overall comment of the intensive individualist doctrine of liberal feminism it has to be qualified that it was believed that Mrs. Thatcher's failure to possess all these liberal feminist traits was not a clear indication of her not projecting a liberal feminist political image.
The particular area of liberal feminist teaching raised in this argument was only expressed by an extreme minority of liberal feminists. A point supported by the ambiguity of Janeway's explanation of how she expected intensively individual role-breakers to mount and achieve their challenge to the universe (Epstein and Janeway in Elshtain, 1981, 245). Franklin et. al agreed with Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist political image as they explained that she did not advocate a "return to the home for women" (Thatcher, 1981, in 1991, 43). Franklin et. al. further supported the notion of Mrs. Thatcher's liberal feminist political image, saying:

"Thatcher argued that women can have both meaningful lives as housewives and mothers and make a significant contribution to their families and society by entering paid labour or public, professional life, as she had done" (Thatcher, 1981, in 1991, 43).

Hence it seemed, from the evidence expounded, that Mrs. Thatcher did present a liberal feminist political image. For the most part Mrs. Thatcher projected the main visible traits of the political image of liberal feminist even if she was not fully aware of the feminist significance of this aspect of her new political image.

(d) Feminist Janet Sayers also suggested that the substantive content of Mrs. Thatcher's policies was not liberal feminist in practice, despite the superficial appearance. Mrs. Thatcher's policy programme aimed to minimise public spending and refused to increase present funding in areas such as health, education and welfare in-line with inflation (Sayers, 1985, 105). Through this policy Mrs. Thatcher effectively eroded the State provision of welfare subsidies for women in need; a policy area feminism had continually sought to increase (Sayers, 1985, 105). A policy Sayers believed Mrs. Thatcher enacted with the
view that the liberal feminist principles of individual freedom and the reduction of the State’s sexist and authoritarian character were being combated (1985, 105).

The view that Mrs. Thatcher displayed liberal feminist political substance in her policy making will further be discounted. Although a number of the policies implemented under various Thatcher Governments were deemed liberal feminist in image, it has to be added that the overall substance of Mrs. Thatcher’s political programme effectively disadvantaged British women. A variety of Thatcher analysts, including Franklin et. al., have implied that Mrs. Thatcher propounded the feminist mainstay of equality for women in the labour force. In response to this implication it must be added that any associations Mrs. Thatcher may have had with this liberal feminist principle of employment equality were unqualified, unclear and sometimes smacked of double-standards. Tessa ten Tusscher proffered a 1960 example of Mrs. Thatcher’s double-standard policy-making:

"It is possible, in my view, for a woman to run a home and continue with her career provided that two condition are fulfilled. First, her husband must be in sympathy with her wish to do another job. Secondly, where there is a young family, the joint incomes of husband and wife must be sufficient to employ a first class nanny-housekeeper to look after things in the wife’s absence. The second is the key to the whole plot" (ten Tusscher, 1986, 79).

Even Franklin et. al. conceded ten Tusscher’s point as they added that Mrs. Thatcher did not want women to remain or return to work (1991, 43). It seemed Mrs. Thatcher was only referring to a very select set of upper middle class women when she spoke of women returning to
work, as only the wealthier woman could afford to pay another woman
to perform her domestic roles (Franklin et. al., 1991, 43). Hence, it was
clear that Mrs. Thatcher was not a liberal feminist because of the lack of
real liberal feminist substance in her policy making.

Mrs. Thatcher was not a liberal feminist in political substance
because of the double-standards she exhibited in her policy making.
Franklin et. al. characterised Mrs. Thatcher as a "post-feminist careerist"
(1991, 43). Mrs. Thatcher was publicly known from the opinion that
feminism was unnecessary throughout her post-leadership and Prime
Ministerial years (ten Tusscher, 1986, 77). In 1981 Mrs. Thatcher
openly stated that feminism had done little or nothing for her career. A
claim demonstrated in Mrs. Thatcher's assertion: "After all, I don't think
there's been a great deal of discrimination against women for years" (ten
Tusscher, 1986, 77). Brunt agreed with the view that Mrs. Thatcher was
not a liberal feminist in substance, she believed considering Mrs.
Thatcher as a liberal feminist was a contradiction in political terms
because her policy making in no way benefited women (Brunt in
Franklin et. al., 1991, 42). Jessop et. al. backed the view that the
political substance of Mrs. Thatcher's policies "... hit women
disproportionately and seemed to confirm the old stories that women
worked only for pin money or should stay at home and care for their
husbands, children, sick or elderly relatives" (1988, 48). Franklin et. al.
also conceded that Mrs. Thatcher and her policy programme was
representative of a retrenchment of traditional conservative attitudes,
such as anti-feminism, racism, anti-socialism and homophobic (1991,
42). McNeil added that the increase of attention and Government
tolerance afforded men's rights groups and fetal rights advocates under
Mrs. Thatcher's Government was a plain indication that she was not a
liberal feminist in the substance of her policy making (McNeil in Franklin et. al., 1991, 42).

Conclusion.

Therefore it can be concluded that a large degree of evidence pointed to various fundamental features of liberal feminism in Mrs. Thatcher's political image. The presence of components of liberal feminism observed in Mrs. Thatcher's image were not equally found in the substance of Mrs. Thatcher's policy making. That is to say, although some of Mrs. Thatcher's policy making was seen to be in concert with the substance of liberal feminist political traditions, the motivation behind her policies was not empathetic of liberal feminism. This distinction of Mrs. Thatcher's true political motivations was found to be an essential part in measuring the real substance of her policy making. In addition, Mrs. Thatcher in no way viewed herself or aligned her policy making with any strand of feminism. This lack of self identification with feminism was a very significant factor in judging that the substance of Mrs. Thatcher's policy making was truly not liberal feminist, and any resemblance to liberal feminist substance was merely the result of Mrs. Thatcher's political machinations.

The second part of this debate investigated whether Mrs. Thatcher was only judged anti-feminist because she was compared with radical models of feminism.

In final conclusion of this chapter it is suggested that the comparison of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership with feminism was certainly required. The findings of the discussion have been very interesting and often unexpected. In the final portion of this discussion certain features
of Mrs. Thatcher's political image and substance were examined to find whether she may have been a liberal feminist. It was discovered that Mrs. Thatcher actually demonstrated a number of the better known traits of liberal feminism in her political image and even to an arguable degree in the substance of some of her policy making. This revelation was at first quite shocking and unexpected. The question "Was Mrs. Thatcher really a liberal feminist?", remained. A closer analysis of various liberal feminist's teachings was required. In conclusion, it was found that Mrs. Thatcher was as much a liberal feminist as the evidence selected was designed to uphold. It was finally implied that because Mrs. Thatcher did not identify herself, her political image nor the substance of her policy making with any doctrines of liberal feminism she was not truly a liberal feminist.
CHAPTER FIVE

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CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion
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Conclusion

This concluding discussion will be opened with a brief evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses observed in each of the chapterial investigations, in view of the findings, the degree to which the assumptions of the chapter were completed, how far it was achieved or why it failed as well as questions raised from these matters. This will be followed by an overall commentary of recommendations about the merits and failings of this research. This will be followed by a discussion of the implications of this research upon past, present and future Thatcher and associated issue research.

An evaluation of the chapters.

Chapter One.

Chapter One of this discussion contained the Introduction. This chapter followed the traditional Introductory format; setting out the subsequent chapter topics and broad questions, aims, implications, key definitions, and technicalities of the thesis.

Chapter Two.

Chapter Two set out to open the debate surrounding Mrs. Thatcher's employment of a political image and to foreshadow issues to be later discussed in-depth in latter chapters. This investigation presented a very lengthy yet compelling argument supporting Mrs. Thatcher's extremely radical interpretation and unusual expression of the role of Prime Minister and leader of Britain, albeit the greater British political system. This argument highlighted
Mrs. Thatcher's behaviour which showed her immense political powers and uncommon political strength as Prime Minister and head of the British political structure as well as the extraordinary political freedom she assumed through her unique interpretation and exercise of the role of Prime Minister. A point demonstrated through Mrs. Thatcher's freedom to adopt a new political image at will. A view which conversely proved that Mrs. Thatcher was not pressured or controlled by the structures or conventions of the British political system to adopt an image or play a role. Detailed examinations of Mrs. Thatcher's interactions with the Conservative Party, the parliamentary party and civil service, were concrete examples of her strength and controlling capabilities over the said structures and the wider British political system.

In addition, Mrs. Thatcher's strength and controlling role as Prime Minister was supported by her over riding input and decision making role in policy making. This debate considered Mrs. Thatcher's policy making which was examined in terms of the four gender issues. Mrs. Thatcher's policy making role was found to be equally powerful to her role as Prime Minister and again implied her political strength and political freedom as Prime Minister. This example also highlighted Mrs. Thatcher's free use of her political image in policy making. As she was seen to use the purportments of her political image, rather than political substance, in policy making in gender issue related areas. Her leadership was examined in terms of her policy making role and noted to have had a damaging rather than ambivalent impact of these policy areas upon British women.
This argument went a long way towards implying that
Mrs. Thatcher was mostly but not entirely responsible for her
assumption of a new Prime Ministerial political image. It seemed
Mrs. Thatcher was certainly very willing and co-operative in the
determination and acceptance of a more Party oriented and electorally
popular political image; however, it was additionally noted that the
Conservative, and indeed the Parliamentary, Party had input that was
significant in substance albeit not necessarily in major quantities.

Chapter Three.

Chapter Three dealt with the political image and substance of
Thatcherism. This examination of Thatcherism was limited by its
narrow focus of what some critics might conclude as a contextual
analysis. However, in response to such criticism it would be suggested
that this study provided a unique opportunity to investigate the topic in
great detail from a less common perspective. Arguments considered
the phenomenon of Thatcherism. The importance of Mrs. Thatcher to
Thatcherism and the degree of political image and substance in
arguments. The specific affect of Thatcherism upon the four gender
policy areas suggested very unsophisticated and generalised substantial
nature of this "ism". In terms of the gender issues raised, Thatcherism
proved to be largely dependent upon Mrs. Thatcher's personal biases
mixed with a smattering of the Party's substantial directives.

It was found that this chapter was not completely capable of
addressing the material it included. In attempting to answer what was
the nature and composition of Thatcherism. The discussion did,
however, open up a different approach to examining and understanding
of Thatcherism. The argument about whether there was Thatcherism
Chapter Four

Chapter Four attempted to take up the challenges which emerged at the end of Chapter Three. That Mrs. Thatcher used her political image beyond winning party leadership pre-selection and campaign mode, carrying it over into her Prime Ministerial career leadership and policy making style - which was termed Thatcherism. Chapter Four aimed to examine the theoretical as well as everyday practical nature of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership. This discussion set out to analyse the extent to which Mrs. Thatcher's leadership was the result of her political image or based in political substance and foreshadow issues to be raised in the ensuing debate about feminism and Mrs. Thatcher's leadership. As well as its affects upon the four gender issues.

In dealing with this topic the evidence collected strongly intimated that Mrs. Thatcher had actively changed her political image of leadership. The four gender perspectives from which the political image
and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership were questioned were vigorously contended. The first arguments, considered whether Mrs. Thatcher had created a political image expressly for the mass media market, a more positive public image and to ultimately aid in the popular promotion and implementation of her personal policy programme.

The second part of the discussion examined how incredibly self-motivated Mrs. Thatcher was in the creation of her political background and the creation of her historically recycled political image. The next argument sought to extend this discussion of image and substance to the realms of theoretical debate. This discussion examined the works of a number Thatcher analysts who likened the political image and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership with the Machiavellian-styled leader. Whether Mrs. Thatcher was considered liberal or Machiavellian-styled leader, was additionally investigated. This component of the Thatcher leadership deliberation served to introduce albeit new and very stimulating theoretical variables to the debate. This led into the final section of this argument which considered whether the political image or substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership was controlled by patriarchy or not. This chapter was also grounded in political ideologies, particularly feminist, conservative, liberal and Machiavellian theory which set the tone and issues for debate in the final chapter investigations of Mrs. Thatcher and feminism respectively.

Both supporting and counter arguments concerning the sale of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership to the mass media established sound reasoning. However, the supporting discussion was overwhelming and attained quite a high level of achievement toward suggesting that
Mrs. Thatcher's political image was expressly generated for the consumption and sale to the mass media, whilst assisting the promotion of harsh and unpopular policies and programmes. The second argument questioned the degree to which Mrs. Thatcher was self-motivated in the re-writing of her personal history and political image. The level of assumption achieved in this discussion was also quite convincing. By the chapter end it was clear that Mrs. Thatcher had borrowed from female political images and characters of the past to detail and enhance her re-created personal history. By way of demonstrating this point it was also possible to strongly imply that Mrs. Thatcher had acted as a free political agent in the construction and use of her political image. The last part of this discussion considered the views of political analysts who used Machiavellian references to compare selected areas of the appearances and realities or the political image and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership. In looking at this theory-based point it was implied, only at a very general level, that Mrs. Thatcher's leadership closely resembled the Machiavellian style in certain areas of both her image and substance. Thus, the debate proved incomplete and would require more in-depth and widely sourced research and examination to draw a more definite conclusion. The overall investigation opened up the topic to questions of feminist and patriarchal influences upon Mrs. Thatcher's leadership which were raised in the following chapter.

Chapter Five.

Chapter Five attempted to deal with the political image and substance of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership style and its relationship with feminism. This chapter broached unusual ground as it tried to make tangible links and draw together the subtle implications and earlier
foreshadowed issues raised throughout the thesis discussion. This discussion attempted to deal with the relationship between Mrs. Thatcher's leadership and some aspects of feminist theory, as well as some feminist issues. The four gender issues were also considered in this debate, in terms of attempting to take account of the different forms of gender inequality existent in Mrs. Thatcher's behaviour and policy making.

This discussion did not go a long way toward conclusively solving the questions raised, instead it cast aspersions and promoted further issues for research, including: why Mrs. Thatcher's was so anti-feminist?

The second part of the debate suggested the importance of appropriate selection and use of political models of comparison and evaluation. The third debate implied the high level of incongruence between using political image and substantially based evidence when attempting to reveal Mrs. Thatcher's true political make-up. This was the case in attempting to ask such a highly complex question about Mrs. Thatcher and whether she was a liberal feminist or not; particularly in view of the conservatism versus liberalism debate briefly raised in the previous chapter.

In terms of the four gender issues, and this feminist debate about Mrs. Thatcher's leadership, it was implied that her negative attitude towards feminism adversely affected her policy making in these areas. However, it was also found that Mrs. Thatcher had liberal feminist tendencies which were substantially reflected in her gender issue policy making. On the whole this chapter only realised a moderate level of conclusion from the questions posed, but it did raise some very
interesting points of contention about Mrs. Thatcher's relationship with feminism.

The wider thesis discussion.

The aim of this discussion was to reveal the true nature, whether political image or substance, of Mrs. Thatcher's political character in terms of: her being the first female Conservative leader and Prime Minister of Britain; Thatcherism; her leadership style; and feminism. At the same time this discussion considered the impact of the Prime Minister's career upon British women in four chief gender issue concerns. This debate additionally hoped to raise the profile of gender issues and highlight the generally poor state of affairs and low degree of financial provision and political attention these areas received.

In attempting to argue the true political nature of Mrs. Thatcher two main categorical terms political image and political substance were selected to question and demonstrate the political realities involved. The use of these two main terms/areas was found to be adequate, but still problematic as a tool, and the basis for argument as well the means of exacting much of the information concerning the various questions posed in each of the chapter discussions about Mrs. Thatcher.

It was originally hoped to argue the substantial notions of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership using gender issues to illustrate the debate. The harshest criticism of this chapter was that it was too literary and did not include enough debate. However, it was quickly found that although adding a very interesting component to the overall discussion the continual use of each of the four gender issues proved too large a task for consistency in this discussion. And although gender issue
research and debate was considered a highly significant part of this
discussion, it was regretfully sacrificed to cover the leading questions of
this debate. Thus, further questions and research in this area are
warranted in future.

Maintaining an even treatment of the four gender issues
throughout the discussion was also found to be a very difficult and
copious task. This was found to be due to the variable amounts of
material available in each of the gender areas in relation to the
chapterial areas of the wider discussion, and because of the changing
dynamics of the arguments and questions posed in each chapter. Each
discussion aimed to ask and answer progressive and organically
generated questions for debate.

Throughout this study of Mrs. Thatcher's political career and her
use of political image and substance this analysis aimed to raise
awareness of the incredible significance of political image making,
projection and mass audience perception. As a result, this research
found that incredible importance was placed upon high public profiles in
national and international political arenas by many political figures.
This conclusion suggested why political figures, such as Mrs. Thatcher,
saw the need for and the application of political images in their
everyday public and personal lives as career politicians. A major
finding of this thesis was that it seemed Mrs. Thatcher's Prime
Ministership was largely political image based; whilst also being the
substantial product of selective personal political bias and Party
directives, as seen in her policy making and programming.
For Mrs. Thatcher the political image seemed to become more prominent
and preferable to the actual substance of her own personal history and
personality. As it reached the point where the line between the political image and political substance - as well as the reasons behind the original implementation of her image - had become so blurred that it was unclear even to Mrs. Thatcher that her earlier political self ceased to exist and another political persona was created. It seemed Mrs. Thatcher over-indulged in her use of a political image to the extent that it was a major contributing factor in the ending of her political career in a spill in favour of John Major as Prime Minister. In effect it seemed, Mrs. Thatcher's excessive use of a political image lulled her into a false sense of complacency and distanced her from the true sentiments of the electorate and her Party colleagues.

Perhaps one of the most unexpected and paradoxical conclusions to emerge from this research and the expression of the results was through the unanticipated difficulty of dealing with so much written work on Mrs. Thatcher. As noted in the earliest discussions of this thesis, Mrs. Thatcher was one of the most well covered literary topics of the period, she still remains the most written about politician. The vast amount of information found about Mrs. Thatcher proved almost too large a task to sift through, in terms of quality and usefulness, for the purposes of this discussion. In addition to this difficulty was the conclusion that although such a massive quantity of material had been produced much of the material was detail saturated, yet conclusion free. In many cases it seemed data had been collected and reproduced, reviewed and recycled with little interpretation of the facts, and often with only superficial treatment of the events at hand. Although strong attempts were made in this discussion to interpret the facts gathered by authors with the aim of drawing real conclusions, it is feared that much of this discussion suffers from the same flaw. This variable alone made
keeping a tight argument about Mrs. Thatcher's political image and substance an incredible challenge; let alone, attempting to maintain a concise debate in terms of examples from four gender issue policy areas. The overwhelming nature of this topic has clearly revealed an underestimation of the task, as well as the need to develop a more mature approach, more sophisticated methodology and more workable structure to make such an investigation and the treatment of the topic more successful.

Although this thesis was thought to be carefully planned, the discussion developed an organic quality that became an irresistible force in the progress, flow of issues and questions raised in the discussion. This was an interesting element, yet it was a difficult dynamic to successfully incorporate into the remaining traditional structure of the wider debate. The flow of this discussion was prompted by the main questions raised from each chapter discussion which served as the foundations for questions for following chapters. This organic or natural development of the discussion proved ineffective. As by the final chapter there were fewer answers than questions rising from the last chapter and the overarching debate.

Thus, the overall level of achievement - in terms of finding conclusions - throughout the thesis was unfortunately low. However, some individual areas of debate in the various chapters was of a higher and more successful quality; as indicated in the individual chapter evaluations.
The implications of this discussion.

The implications of this discussion for previous and present research on Mrs. Thatcher's political image, Thatcherism, her leadership style and the relationship between her leadership style and feminism. As earlier foreshadowed, in the thesis introduction as well as subsequent chapters, the aim has been to open-up thought in some new combination areas of Mrs. Thatcher's political career. It was found that although an incredible amount of research had been printed on Mrs. Thatcher's political career much of it was in similar areas and drew few to similar promotional and condemning conclusions. This discussion produced an inconsistent and incomplete conclusion on the affects of Mrs. Thatcher's political career upon women and gender issues. However, it was generally found that Mrs. Thatcher's career as Prime Minister had little positive substantial impact, as compared to a large negative political image and substance affect upon Britain's female population. The conclusion that Mrs. Thatcher's political career was more image than political substance based was truly considered as a possible explanation for the quandaries apparent in Mrs. Thatcher's leadership, in Thatcherism and in her relationship with feminism in this period of British politics. An intended outcome of this discussion was for it to be used as a spring-board into further and better directed areas of research on this topic. In the course of this discussion and research were indications of the need for: the evolution of a more sophisticated instrument of examination; a stronger structure; and the creation of better questions that would be more capable of teasing out the facts and arguments necessary to draw concrete conclusions about Mrs. Thatcher and the affects of her political career.
In considering the implications of this discussion the purpose of the debate, questions asked and the outcome of the chapterial and overall debate must be put forward. This function could have been more clearly and better expressed in this discussion. As for the practicality and the application of this research, it was again not clearly stated from the outset. However, this research was aimed at raising awareness about the plight of British women and their concerns and exposing the political image and substance of Mrs. Thatcher; as well as highlighting the impact of a female's Prime Ministerial career. This position became clearer as the discussion proceeded.

The implications this thesis has for present understandings and studies about Mrs. Thatcher and the link with gender related issues is not contradictory or profound. For example, Mrs. Thatcher was one of the most ardent Conservative British leaders, and apparently not an advocate of the average British woman and her gender related concerns. This statement is based upon what is generally known information. The findings of this discussion do not aim to put forward a revolutionary standpoint; instead this study hopes to draw attention to a long standing concern about Mrs. Thatcher's treatment of British women. At the same time this discussion hoped to elevate the prominence of the gender issues referred in this examination. It is hoped these issues will be raised to a greater status of political concern, rather than being just generally acknowledged information as at the present. Thus the tone of this thesis was highly critical of Mrs. Thatcher's Prime Ministership.

The legacy of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership and Government upon Britain is still present in 1990's with her opinions still being heard and valued in some conservative and Party circles. For others, the impact of
Mrs. Thatcher's Britain still lingers as a painful, even bitter reminder of how socio-economic, politically depressed and stressed modern Britain could become. The effect of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership and term in Government for Mr. Major's leadership and Government was initially supportive. In more recent times, however, it has been characterised by attacks from Mrs. Thatcher. According to Charles Moore's article, "What Margaret could mean for Major", Mrs. Thatcher was for the most part surprisingly supportive from the outset of Mr. Major's leadership, even if in a parental fashion (1995, 7). In The Downing Street Years Mrs. Thatcher stated that she saw securing Mr. Major in the role of new Party Leader and Prime Minister as her final duty (1993). It seemed Mrs. Thatcher envisaged Mr. Major as her successor because she believed he was the man to safeguard her legacy and take Party policies forward (1993). Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher also believed she could see some of herself in Mr. Major, saying "John was his own man..." and "...I wanted - perhaps I needed - to believe he was the right man..." (1993).

However, in more recent times Moore implied that Mrs. Thatcher, and even Mr. Heath, believed Mr. Major was not fulfilling his role as leader by failing to enact the Party's chief principle of "preventing discontent from poisoning the nation" (1995, 7). Other Party stalwarts seemed to share Mrs. Thatcher's concern writing in "Who Governs Britain?", the leader must 'reassure the nation' (Moore, 1995, 7). For instance in 1995, Mrs. Thatcher had taken every opportunity to publicly ridicule Mr. Major's leadership, as well as his Government's activities and policies about Europe, public spending, mortgage, interest tax relief, among other policies. Mr. Major tended to think and draw solace from those who shared the view that Mrs. Thatcher and her older
Party ilk were simply former statespeople political posturing to rekindle their former glory and justify their previous actions and beliefs (1995, 7). Moore went on to add that Mr. Major contented himself with the belief that splitting the differences was the same as winning the argument (1995, 7). Thus, if someone as New Right as Mrs. Thatcher was critical then the "broad centre" of the Conservative Party must have been reasonably satisfied that specific Party policies were being pursued and thence would think his leadership and policies were "about right" (1995, 7).

In the wake of Mrs. Thatcher's autobiography The Path to Power (1995), Moore pondered what Mr. Major's memoirs might reveal about his style of leadership (1995, 7). It must be remembered that Mr. Major's beliefs and style of leadership will never be like Mrs. Thatcher's. Moore indicated Mrs. Thatcher's visionary passion for Britain, as well as Mr. Major's lack of such a passion, as examples of their different natures and types of leadership (1995, 7). Their styles of leadership were worlds apart, Moore concluded (1995, 7). Moore suggested, Mr. Major lacked the timing of a successful leader - unlike Mrs. Thatcher who was able to extract election victories from the combination of some genuine beliefs with well sighted and exploited political opportunities (1995, 7). Mr. Major's policies are not the problem, it seems he lacks the political finesse and skills of a seasoned politician to inspire hope in sufficient of the population to win a majority in the House of Commons, explained Moore (1995, 7).

"The middle class-farmers, small businessmen, mortgage holders, doctors, nurses, service men, butchers, bakers, etc,... - have apparently lost hope in the Major Government", explained Moore (1995, 7).
This view was summed up by Conservative journalists in articles such as, "Does John Major want for me what I want for myself? Does he know what I want for myself?" (Moore, 1995, 7). Moore finally added that Mrs. Thatcher's criticism of Mr. Major's stance on the Conservative tenet of strenuously defending liberty was pointless, and possibly based in shallow jealousy and vindictiveness. She could, however, have more constructively criticised Mr. Major as a Party elder and gracious former leader. Mrs. Thatcher could have commented on Mr. Major's behaviour by giving him valuable advice on the more serious business of how to secure needed votes (1995, 7).

Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher's response to Mr. Major's style of leadership said more about herself and her own leadership style? From this kind of recent behaviour Mrs. Thatcher showed the self-righteous, highly individual style, untiring drive and determined attitude of her career days as a leader. Her ability to sight the vulnerability of an opponent and the opportunity for her to advance, what she may still view as, a possible opening for her re-entry to the British political arena. It also demonstrates Mrs. Thatcher's failure to learn lessons and recognise how out-of-touch she and her political image were and still are in Britain in the 1990's.
CHAPTER SIX

Bibliography


## APPENDIX ONE

Table of Margaret Hilda Roberts Thatcher's Political Background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mrs. Thatcher's Details</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Margaret Hilda Roberts.</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.O.B, 13 October</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second daughter of Alfred and Beatrice Roberts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Church of England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address: Robert’s Corner Grocery Store.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Scholarship to grammar school</td>
<td>1936-1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantham Girls’ School and Kesteven Girls’ Grammar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No critical school reports)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Entry into Sommerville College - Oxford University.</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(age 18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Joined the Oxford University Conservative Association (OUCA)</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* President of OUCA</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Importantly learned effective speech making)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Graduated from Oxford University</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Science with Honours (2b), majoring in chemistry</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>* Worked as research chemist for BX Plastics, Colchester and J. Lyons &amp;Co.</td>
<td>1948-1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Adopted as first female Conservative candidate for Dartford.</td>
<td>1950-1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dartford was an educational experience, Mrs. Thatcher was defeated)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Marriage to wealthy, upper-class business man Denis Thatcher</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Proprietor of family chemical and paint firm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Passed Bar Finals - specialised in Tax law 1953

*Practised as Tax lawyer. 1959
Won seat of Finchley at General Election,
Entered House of Commons as Member for Finchley.
Finchley remained Mrs. Thatcher’s seat, whilst Prime Minister.

*Mrs. Thatcher received first Conservative Party role as Parliamentary Secretary (Junior Minister) in the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. This seat was the first step towards the Front bench and the rest of her political career.

*First major Party posting in Heath Government - Secretary of State for Education and Science 1970

*Led Opposition on Finance Bill 1970

*Conservative Party leadership
(aged 48) 1975

*Mrs. Thatcher’s Conservative Party won Government (aged 52) 1979

*Won General Election. Remained Prime Minister. 1983

*Tenth Anniversary as Prime Minister 1989
4 May,

*Last day in Office of Prime Minister 1989
28 November,
APPENDIX TWO

This appendix supports the discussion about Mrs. Thatcher's use of historical female figures in the creation of her new warrior/mother carer political image in Chapter Four, "Image and Substance. Mrs. Thatcher's Leadership" and Chapter Five, "Image and Substance Mrs. Thatcher and Feminism".

The following are examples of Mrs. Thatcher's use of historical or mythological female warriors/figures, such as Britannia, Boadaecia and other militaristic personas in the creation of her new political image as interpreted through the political commentary of cartoonists impressions of her recycled political image as depicted during the 1980's and 1990's.

An example of Mrs. Thatcher's use of historical or mythological female warriors/figures in the creation of her new political image, interpreted by cartoonists of the 1980's and 90's.
An example of Mrs. Thatcher's use of historical or mythological female warriors figures in the creation of her new political image, as interpreted by cartoonists of the 1980's and 90's.
An example of Mrs. Thatcher's use of historical or mythological female warriors/figures in the creation of her new political image, as interpreted by cartoonists of the 1980's and 90's.