



American FLOTUS - Melania and Michelle: First Ladies in a New Era with Dr. Tammy Vigil

Alan Lowe: Welcome to American FLOTUS: a program created by a partnership of the podcast American POTUS and the First Lady's Association for Research and Education, or FLARE, and I'm your host, Alan. Thanks so much for joining us. Our guest today is Dr. Tammy Vigil. Tammy is an Associate Professor of Media Studies at Boston University's College of Communication.

With her master's and Ph. D. from the University of Kansas, Tammy has focused her research on the rhetorical analysis of political communication and popular culture. She's been widely published, and among her several books is the one we're going to discuss today titled *Melania and Michelle: First Ladies in a New Era*.

Tammy, thanks so much for joining us on American FLOTUS.

Tammy Vigil: Thank you for having me. This is one of my favorite topics talking about first ladies.

Alan: Mine too, thankfully! Let's go back in time a bit and talk about the early years of both Michelle Obama and Melania Trump. What types of experiences did you find they perhaps had in common in those formative years?

Tammy: Well, it's interesting because most of the time when you talk about Melania Trump and Michelle Obama, the public at large tends to be one-sided, either direction. And so most people would say there's nothing that these two women possibly have in common, other than having resided in the White House. And that's just not true.

In fact, both women as young ladies, were ambitious, eager to build better lives for themselves and their families and they took risks and challenges in order to be able to do that. For Michelle Obama, it was very much the formal education route that she took. She left home from Chicago and moved to Princeton [New Jersey], so that she could go to Princeton [University] as an undergrad. Then, of course, Harvard Law after graduating from Princeton with honors.

Melania Trump had a different route. She sought her fortune in fashion, and so she left home as well at an early age in order to be able to build a career as a model. She did attend college for a short period of time but then decided that modeling was going to give her a little bit more opportunity in life and broaden her world in a way that the formal education helped broaden Michelle Obama's world. So, the two of them both had these formative experiences of having loving families but leaving them in order to build their own lives and to be ambitious women.

Alan: They both married ambitious men who entered the world of politics. And you talk about that first presidential campaign for both the Obamas and the Trumps. What were the similarities and differences you found in how both women were depicted in those first campaigns and how they then engaged in them?

Tammy: Well, I think one of the most interesting things about the similarities between the two, in the campaigns that they were in, with Michelle Obama in 2008 and Melania Trump in 2016, was that they were both depicted very politically. We don't always see first ladies being depicted that way. We did with Hillary Clinton in '92, but oftentimes, they sort of are just the "loving spouse". In Michelle Obama and Melania Trump's cases, in both situations, they were both depicted very politically and people's perceptions of them were, very much, based and rooted in how they felt about their husbands and how they felt about the parties that their husbands represented. So, they both faced a lot more criticism than some of the previous first ladies. Again, always excepting Hillary Clinton because she received a lot of her own criticism too. But one of the things that is interesting about the two of them, but is different though, is that Michelle Obama was much, much more active and played a bigger

role in the key decision-making in the Barack Obama campaign. In fact, there are stories about how Michelle Obama wanted to see a full campaign strategy before she would give her blessing to Barack Obama running for president.

Melania Trump was a lot more set back. She, in some ways, some people have argued, was simply a prop in Donald Trump's first campaign in 2016, she was akin to the American flag in the background. She didn't say a whole lot. She didn't do a whole lot. And she didn't assert herself until really the conventions, when she gave her first big speech of the 2016 campaign. That was very unusual for contemporary First Ladies.

Alan: They were compared during that first campaign for the presidency to former First Ladies sometimes. How did you find those comparisons? Were they valid comparisons?

Tammy: In some ways they were valid comparisons, in other ways it's never quite valid to compare, because every First Lady, or every would-be First Lady, faces different kinds of challenges and has different skill sets that they bring to the table. So, both of these women, Michelle and Melania, each were compared to Jacqueline Kennedy. Jacqueline Kennedy was well known for her attire, for her demeanor, and her stylishness. Both of these women were compared in that way.

With Melania Trump it was kind of interesting because, a few years prior to her husband actually running, when it was teased that he was going to run, some reporters had asked her who she thought she would be like as a first lady and she said, Jacqueline Kennedy and Betty Ford. So, I think, the Betty Ford comparison is a little tricky because Betty Ford was well known for not conforming to her husband's wishes and perspectives all the time and Melania Trump, especially in that first campaign, didn't really speak out against anything or didn't speak differently about issues than Donald Trump did.

Michelle Obama did though. She certainly spoke her own mind at times, and it did get her into some trouble.

Alan: You talk about the tradition of new First Ladies meeting with the outgoing First Ladies, which is a tradition. It has to be awkward at times.

Tammy: Yes.

Alan: When did that tradition start? And then let's talk about the transition between Laura Bush and Michelle Obama and Michelle Obama and Melania Trump.

Tammy: Well, putting a particular date on the actual start of that tradition is difficult because in the earliest days of the United States, the First Ladies, as they were transitioning, a lot of them were friends. They'd been to the White House multiple times or, like in the case of Dolly Madison, she had actually acted in the place of the missing First

Lady for Thomas Jefferson, because he was a widower. She knew what she was doing, and she knew a lot about it. So, it's hard to pin down because some of that was done informally.

But we really start to see stories in the press about those exchanges starting really in 1960 with Mamie Eisenhower and Jacqueline Kennedy. That was one that got a lot of press because it was not very friendly. Jacqueline Kennedy had just given birth through a C section, and so her doctor had requested that the tour be very short and that she'd be given wheelchair access so that she wasn't straining her body, and Mamie Eisenhower sort of did some of the things that the doctors had asked, but really was a lot more forceful with Jacqueline Kennedy than people probably would have found polite among the first ladies, especially the sisterhood, the sorority of first ladies. They were not exactly friendly and we've seen more examples of the sort of unfriendly ones as you alluded to; surprisingly enough, one of the most vitriolic ones was the exchange between Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, which is surprising because, being of the same party, you would think that they would have been a lot more cordial, but apparently it was quite tense.

Alan: I was the director of George W. Bush Library for a while down in Dallas, Texas. Great place. What about the transition of Laura Bush and Michelle Obama? How did that meeting go?

Tammy: Apparently, from all the stories that I've heard and not having been there myself unfortunately, it was one of the most cordial and friendly ones on record. They apparently were trying to pick out which bedrooms the girls should have because having had the twins in there, the Bush twins, and then having the Obama girls coming in, it seemed like it was one of the friendlier exchanges and so very thoughtful from all of the stories that I've heard about that one. So, one of the most pleasant and friendly. Laura Bush seems just that kind of a woman to be so friendly.

Alan: She is, I can say that from personal experience. Michelle Obama going into it with Melania Trump coming in after Donald Trump's victory. Can you characterize that meeting?

Tammy: Well, that one, I think, had a little bit more tension and there were a lot more eyes on that exchange, particularly since Michelle Obama had been campaigning on behalf of Hillary Clinton and had said some things that were not particularly kind or gracious about the incoming Donald Trump. So, there were some concerns that it would be a tense meeting. But from most reports, it was very friendly, more businesslike than, probably, the Laura Bush-Michelle Obama exchange, but still very cordial.

Alan: You talked about, I remember this, at the beginning of that first Trump administration, some pundits raising concerns because Melania didn't come and stay in Washington right

away. She stayed in New York so her son could finish school, but you show that that wasn't unprecedented. Can you tell us about that?

Tammy: Yes, one of the things that's challenging for first ladies is that they are balancing the sort of social aspects of life and the familial aspects. And so in the past, Michelle Obama, who was toying with the idea of not moving to the White House right away and letting her kids finish out the school year in Chicago—because there's going to be so much other activity around the children anyway that that uprooting didn't seem kind to the kids or beneficial to them—ultimately, she ended up moving at the same time, at the beginning, but there were serious questions about that. But we've had First Ladies that weren't spending a whole lot of time in the White House in the past. I think the most obvious example is Bess Truman. According to most records, she spent more time back home in Missouri than she did in Washington D.C., and she liked it that way. So, it's not uncommon for folks to spend time in other places. I think part of it though is that, when people are looking for something to critique about a First Lady, especially an incoming First Lady, they'll look for almost anything. Then you got the sort of two-sidedness of it too. For some people, Melania Trump not moving in was a sign of her being a really good mother. For other people, it was a sign of her being a bad first lady or unsupportive wife. But she really did seem to fulfill all of the required or necessary duties that were expected in those first few months, even when she wasn't in residence full time.

Alan: I just can't imagine a life under the microscope like that all the time and everything you do being questioned. So, First Ladies in the modern era, at the very least, have taken leadership roles on a variety of issues. We talk about that a lot on American FLOTUS. From literacy to drug use to mental health. What were the main issues that Michelle and Melania addressed, and how were they received?

Tammy: Well, Michelle Obama focused a lot on children's health and also on getting girls educated, so she had the Let's Move campaign, she also had the Let Girls Learn campaigns; her health initiatives included things like the White House kitchen garden: inviting students to participate in the planting or the harvesting of that garden, using that food in healthy ways and then she did a lot of public appearances around the idea of activity and action and so it was not unusual for her to show up on TV shows and throw out a couple of push-ups or do a few burpees or something like that which, for some people showed that she was incredibly active and engaged and felt very sincerely about helping children to be healthy and being a good role model in that way. For other folks, it seemed like maybe she was being less ladylike than they would have liked. So as a first lady who's supposed to be a representative of American womanhood, some folks took that as not her best look. So again, most of the time that kind of ran straight down party lines, so you rarely

got somebody who was a Democrat who was saying that was bad or a Republican that was saying it was good.

With Melania Trump, it was a little bit different. She took quite a while to start her campaign. Her initiative, which was titled Be Best, didn't start for over a year after she became first lady. The Be Best campaign, I think, was a bit challenging and the reason why I think it was challenging is because people didn't really understand what she was trying to do. She talked about particular kinds of initiatives, drawing attention to the problems related to opioid addiction, trying to help kids use social media more safely and effectively, and so trying to protect children from excessive screen time and things like that. And I don't think there's a single thing in her Be Best initiative that anybody would necessarily complain about, the problem was that instead of actually having an initiative of her own, that she could clearly say, "these are the steps that we're taking," Melania Trump, instead, was focusing on drawing attention to the actions of other people.

So, she was trying to use her media spotlight to accentuate what other people were doing and not everybody kind of got that. And so she didn't get as much attention for it, people joked about the name "Be Best" because it didn't quite sound as grammatically correct as one might expect and it also played upon some questions that people had about her being a foreigner and her accent and things like that and so she got criticized for what she was trying to do because it wasn't very clear. I think part of that was her staff not being as effective as they probably could have in getting out the messaging effectively. But I also think it was part of the use of Melania's strengths. Melania's past experience had been using herself to draw attention as a model to products or to fashion icons and things like that, but she wasn't really the one that was pushing the persuasive messages. She was an avenue for persuasion. Michelle Obama, on the other hand, had an entire career that had been built on being persuasive: first as an attorney and then in public relations kinds of realms for the University of Chicago hospitals and things like that. And so she knew more about message construction, audience appeal, and those kinds of things.

So with Melania, Michelle, and their two different initiatives, when folks compared and contrasted the two against each other, if you don't take into consideration each woman's strengths and experiences, then that comparison is really going to be problematic, mostly for Melania Trump but it doesn't do any service to anyone who's really trying to understand what either or both of these women were trying to accomplish.

Alan: Just very different models of how they were doing what they were doing with very important topics they were addressing.

Tammy: Oh, absolutely.

Alan: So, in addition to those very important topics, one of the responsibilities to fall upon the First Lady is to act as the national hostess and, of course, part of that is hosting state dinners. Can you compare the experiences of Michelle and Melania in hosting those dinners and how would you compare them to what's happened in the past?

Tammy: Well, I think both women were commended a great deal about, at least, their first state dinners after they moved on from there. Everybody pays really heavy attention to the first one because they want to see how each of the women will perform in this very traditional role. It's a role that evolved really since the time— not as state dinners per se, but as hostesses, national hostesses—since Martha Washington.

And so, these two women both did interesting things with their first state dinners. With Michelle Obama, her first state dinner was a massive event. She hosted the event in a tent on the White House lawn. She had tons and tons of celebrities, hundreds and hundreds of people, and it was very well put together. She used food from the culture of, I believe it was, the Indian prime minister that they were hosting, and so she really incorporated a whole lot of U. S. and Indian culture together in order to create this event that was massive, that was huge, that was star-studded, people said, and so it was by most accounts pretty successful. Of course, her detractors tended to complain that it was over the top, that it made the US president seem more like a celebrity and a star than a political figure, and that it just cost so much money, that the American public shouldn't be having to pay for all of that. But most people would say that she actually did a really good job of putting together a classy and classic kind of meal just, very big.

With Melania Trump, what Melania did was she actually kind of took the state dinner back to its origins. She pulled it back indoors. Her first state dinner was for the president of France, and so she did a whole lot of stuff around French and American cuisine. She had some really excellent chefs that came in and really did a nice job of putting together a great meal. The menu was extraordinary. I mean, I would read it to you, but I'm having to look it all up. It was really, really quite fantastic. What she really did that was interesting for Melania Trump, was that she studied first ladies' state dinners of the past and she studied First Ladies, in order to really put it together in a classy way that gave nods to multiple eras of the White House. She had China settings that included the Clintons' pieces and the Bushes' pieces. She used Jackie Kennedy's classic round table set-up in the state dining room in order to create a smaller feel and a more intimate setting for the guests. This guest list was way smaller than Michelle Obama's first state dinner, but certainly there were big nods to the first ladies. In fact, she even used in the dessert that night: she used the honey from Michelle Obama's apiary that had been up on the White House roof. So, there were

bits and pieces of lots of first ladies there. They also had cherry blossoms as part of the table settings, which was a nod to Helen Taft.

And so, Michelle Obama did a good job of doing a big blowout event. Melania Trump did an excellent job of creating a very intimate, historically accurate, historically important event that was welcoming if smaller and they didn't have quite as many stars or well-known people at that event. Melania Trump—her best and highest favorability ratings came after that first state dinner, when she really showed her strengths in a very public way.

Alan: So, a lot of kudos for those; but still, a lot of criticism coming toward both of those First Ladies. So, I was just wondering, in general, what were their strategies on responding to those criticisms when they were first lady?

Tammy: Well, I think one of the things that I would say is Michelle Obama, she tends to be more responsive than Melania Trump was to the criticisms directly. Obviously, neither of them would address every criticism, there just honestly were too many of them. But Melania Trump tended to mostly ignore the criticism. She did occasionally get in trouble for complaining about the level of criticism that she received, following the infamous wearing of the green jacket— the “I really don't care, do you” jacket. When she and her staff started to say that it was a critique of the criticism the press had been placing on her, that was kind of an interesting challenge. So sometimes when she spoke up or when she did the ABC interview where she complained about being the most bullied person in the world, those kinds of moments when she did try to speak in defense of herself, it usually didn't go very well for her. So, most of the time, she just didn't really speak up about the criticisms. She just took it on the chin and kept going about her life and going about the things that she wanted to do.

With Michelle Obama, it was a different kind of level of criticism. I think she approached some of the criticism effectively; in the first campaign when she got criticized for saying she was proud of her country for the first time and then trying to explain that away caused her some problems but it did also gain her some fans and some support, because it gave her an opportunity to talk about her experiences growing up in the United States and the racism that she experienced. But then there was a lot of criticism that Michelle Obama kind of had to ignore, and I can't imagine how painful it would have been because there were times when the racist criticism against her was just extremely ugly. She was called an ape at times, or a monkey, made to be inhuman, just not a human being. There were lots of folks who would do things like Photoshop pictures of a penis on her and pass that around the internet, trying to say that she had been a man or that she was still a man, neither of which is true, but that doesn't stop people, that does not stop the internet trolls. So, for that

kind of a thing, she just really had to have a very thick skin and be able to move on with the confidence of who she is.

I think that's really true for both women, both Michelle and Melania, pretty much any first lady who is in that position. You get so much criticism that you just have to be able to have confidence in yourself, who you are, and the decisions that you're making and try to, as best you can, ignore those kinds of ugly things that people will say.

Alan: If you don't have a thick skin, you have to develop it pretty quickly to live through that. Now, you mentioned a bit about Melania using fashion to make a statement. More generally, how did they both utilize fashion during their times as First Lady? And how did the press and pundits then evaluate their fashion choices?

Tammy: Well again, it's always going to end up being quite partisan the ways that they get evaluated, but I think both women did interesting things to try to create a sense of the fashion icon moment of the First Ladyship.

With Michelle Obama, what she did often was she would wear clothing that was made by American fashion designers, especially folks who were new and up and coming, or folks who were minority shop owners so that she could really draw a spotlight to those people and help elevate the American conversation around fashion. She dressed, I think, in some ways a very relatable fashion, and then in some ways a very elegant fashion.

I think she always, or I should say almost always, seemed to hit it on the head when she was picking what kind of fashion to wear. I think the only time she really didn't do that very well was a family vacation where she was a little too dressed down for a trip to the Grand Canyon or something like that. But most of the time, I think she did a really nice job. Of course, she got complaints mostly for wearing sleeveless dresses and tops. She had amazing arms, that's one thing that most people would agree on, but whether or not she should be showing them, people would complain. If you were trying to be a little more conservative, it was like you should throw a sweater over that sheath dress or something like that. So, there were some complaints about that. She also at one point wore a white dress with black splatter print on it to tour the Gulf after an oil spill, so a lot of folks said that she was kind of mocking the oil spill and so she wasn't always doing a great job of picking her clothes. But I think most of the time she did a pretty good job of being relatable, being appropriate and being fashion forward.

With Melania Trump, she was certainly, certainly well known for her fashion choices. Melania Trump, I think with her clothing, she faced some challenges early on because of the tensions about her husband and the way he won the presidency. Some fashion designers wouldn't actually dress her, they wouldn't offer her the same kinds of

opportunities to wear their clothing as Michelle Obama, or Laura Bush or even Nancy Reagan, so I think that she faced some challenges starting out that she didn't anticipate on that front.

But she tended to be an incredibly well-dressed first lady, however she made some choices that I think a lot of people questioned early on. One of them was, of course, the green jacket. I think that is one of the most iconic fashion faux pas. She was doing something that was well supported that people thought she was making a really good bold choice to go visit the children at the border, the children who'd been separated from their families, and she was taking a political stand, but then she changed the entire message, which had been very positive about her, to something very negative. That stole a lot of her thunder in what could have been a positive way, because of her fashion choice in that moment. Another example of when she didn't do so well with her fashion was when she wore a jacket to the G7 Summit in Milan, which was a Dolce Gabbana coat. It was a bejeweled coat and it cost more than the average income of an American family, just for the jacket. So that didn't seem like a very sensitive kind of thing to have worn at that moment. So while I think she's generally incredibly well dressed, she does have a few moments here and there where she doesn't make quite the best choices; or wearing the pith helmet to tour Africa, not realizing the kinds of social stereotypes and historic meaning that that kind of carried, and I think there was an imperialism that she kind of forgot about on that front. But most of the time, I think she is an incredibly elegant woman who tends to make really interesting, bold, and usually very appealing choices.

Alan: Now, most of these First Ladies took part in re-election campaigns. Now Melania, twice. When you looked at those experiences versus their initial runs with their husbands, what did you see that was different? What had they learned that second and, from Melania, the second and third time around?

Tammy: Yeah, well, I think that most first ladies who are in the White House while their husband is running for re-election have a lot of advantages that they don't have the first time around. They have their own staff to help control their schedules. They have their own platforms and their own public persona that's already established that they can build on, that they can use in the campaign if they so choose. We saw a lot with Michelle Obama and the way that she supported Barack Obama in the 2012 campaign. We see it with a whole lot of folks.

Melania Trump has been a bit of an anomaly when it comes to campaigns. Both her first one and then also the subsequent couple, because she's been a lot less verbal than most first ladies even and when she was in the White House, she had one big disadvantage during the 2020 campaign and that's one that everybody had and that was COVID. She

couldn't really have been out on the campaign trail if she'd chosen to do that, but she didn't choose to participate very actively in the 2016 campaign, the 2020 campaign, and almost not at all, in the 2024 campaign. She's made a conscious choice to be a lot more quiet than most of the other first ladies that are in reelection campaigns that are really much more active and engaged. But it's not that she didn't do anything in any of those campaigns. Instead, for example, in 2020 Melania Trump focused on COVID. She was putting out video-recorded messaging and social media messaging to try to encourage people to take COVID seriously and to wear masks. A lot of her messaging, in that regard, was actually contrary to what her husband was saying. But she was very much trying to be active and trying to appeal to audiences in a different kind of way with a different kind of focus. So, she was continuing to do some of what the customary expectations of a first lady are and also raising her own profile in those moments. In 2020, she also did give a Republican National Convention speech that, I think personally, was one of the best speeches she's ever given, politically speaking. It was mostly about her and not her husband, but it was very interesting, insightful, and it was well put together. It was probably one of the longest speeches I've ever seen her give as well. So, she was active, just not super active.

In 2024, however, she was honestly much quieter than I thought she would be. She didn't have the White House support that she had in 2020, in terms of having the office of the first lady staff working for her. But she certainly had opportunities to speak up if she wanted to. For example, she chose to break with tradition and not give the spousal speech at the Republican National Convention. Instead, she just showed up, waved, and was there in a supportive capacity, but not in a way that she was actually asserting herself. It was kind of interesting because people made a lot of assumptions about her and what was going on there. Whether or not she was upset about the legal battles that were happening and some of the stories that were coming out related to Donald Trump's legal issues, whether she really wanted to go back into the White House or whether she was simply just living her own life and making her own choices. I think really that was what it came down to is she was making the choices to be a deliberate person in what she wanted to do, to do things intentionally in engaging when she wanted to but not engaging when she didn't want to.

Alan: So as Donald Trump was successful in that most recent election, as we tape this episode, it's fairly early still in that administration. Though it's already been packed full of action.

Tammy: Yeah.

Alan: Can you tell us if so far Melania is taking the same approach to her role as First Lady she did the first time, or is there any great difference from what she did in the first Trump administration?

Tammy: It's an interesting thing because she has spoken more about her sort of philosophy of being first lady, especially during the transition time. But I haven't seen a lot from her per se. For example, I keep looking every once in a while to see what is her staff shaping up to be, because I think the way she builds her staff is going to say a lot about what she actually does as first lady. Her first time in the White House, her staff was made of a lot of people who were very strongly connected to the Donald Trump campaign and had a lot of affinity and loyalty to Donald Trump, and they had a lot of party planning experience and things like that, but not much strategic communication experience. So, when she was talking about being first lady again, she talked about being much more intentional, which I think she really should be and she talked about building a staff that was more loyal to her, which I think would do her a world of good. But I haven't seen her working, at least very publicly, at doing those things quite yet. But as you say, it's still pretty early in, and she might be just trying to decide what exactly she wants to do.

But I do hope that she'll be a lot more intentional and proactive for her own choices. I know a lot of people complained about Melania Trump in the first Trump administration that she didn't do enough, or she didn't do things quite the right way, or that she stayed out of the public eye too often for what they expected first ladies to do. But for my mind, I think that Melania Trump choosing not to be as conventional of a first lady as people expect her to, is not necessarily a bad thing.

I think that what happens is that, for some reason here in the United States, Americans seem to think that because the first lady's husband got elected into an office that we all automatically have a right to her free service, being the emotional caretaker for us and that we should get to have her sort of as a bonus for free, but only in particular kinds of ways, she can't overstep particular bounds and I think, when Melania Trump chooses not to be some of those things, she is reflecting on some of what first ladies of the past have done, the long past and not the contemporary past. But she's also opening up the opportunity for future first ladies to say, "I'm gonna do what I want to do". So, in some ways you could argue that Melania Trump might be making a more sort of feminist approach to the first Ladyship in opening opportunities for women to make choices when they're in that role, as opposed to just getting pushed into the expectations from the past.

Alan: Really a fascinating perspective on both Michelle and Melania. Tammy, thank you so much. What's next for you? What are you working on right now?

Tammy: Well, actually, I just finished a book that just came out in January. It was at the 2020 conventions and how COVID interrupted a lot of the traditions and expectations there. So right now I'm working on building a new plan for my next project. So, it'll very likely be First Lady oriented because I'm very intrigued by the power that First Ladies assert in

this role that has no real formal power. So how do they create a sense of authority? How do they create a politically powerful position out of something that is not constitutionally mandated and isn't really well delineated anywhere? So, I'm still sussing that out since I'm kind of coming off of my previous books. So, you know, trying to figure it out.

Alan: Well, you know, when you finish you need to come back on American FLOTUS and talk with us, please.

Tammy: Oh, sure. I would love to.

Alan: Well, thank you Tammy for a fascinating conversation about two really fascinating First Ladies. I learned a lot. And I'm going to thank all of you for listening and for your support. To find more American FLOTUS episodes and to learn more about the partners producing this podcast, please check out flare-net.org and AmericanPOTUS.org. Thanks so very much, and I'll see you on the next American FLOTUS.