

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature on women in politics is extensive. Although there is a lack of conclusive evidence that sex is a determinant of political behavior, many studies have shown that sex should be considered a major factor in analyses of individual behavior in political systems.

A continuing question, and one to be addressed by this study, is whether women in legislative bodies have characteristics and attitudes significantly different from their male counterparts. The literature suggests several differences.

#### Research Related to Family Background

Family is one of the most important agents of political socialization. Dawson and Prewitt hypothesized that the "exaggerated and prolonged dependency of children on their parents is the most important characteristic of the human family."<sup>1</sup> Langton said that it is "within the social setting of the family" that "the individual first forms his self-concepts."<sup>2</sup> Hess and Torney lent support to a theory of psychological dependence. According to their analysis, "the family unit, especially the parents, participates in the socialization of political perceptions and attitudes in three ways. First . . . the

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<sup>1</sup>Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 21.

family reinforces other institutions. . . ."<sup>3</sup> In this regard, the family may help children acquire feelings of loyalty, respect for symbols of government, and compliance to law. The family may also transmit idiosyncratic attitudes, or those which represent differences of opinion within the community. Secondly, the family serves as a model which the child may emulate or identify with. This is seen to be the case when the child identifies with a political party. He does not know much about the parties, so he tends to identify with the party of his parents. Finally, family experiences may be generalized to political experiences later on in life and establish "a frame of reference by which to approach systems he will later encounter."<sup>4</sup> Finally, Hyman arrived at the idea that the total family structure has a greater impact on the degree of activism than the ideology or set of attitudes eventually adopted by the child. He cited a study by Stark, which showed that:

politically active respondents were significantly more likely to have active fathers, active mothers, and active siblings. . . . If an index of a "politically active family" is obtained by scoring respondents as to whether more than one member of their family was active, it is found that the active respondents are more likely to have come from families where several members were active.<sup>5</sup>

According to Roderic Camp, director of Latin America Studies at Central College, Pella, Iowa, family ties may be a passport allowing easy

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<sup>3</sup>Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1967), p. 109.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>5</sup>Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 65-66.

access into the highest political echelons.<sup>6</sup> Currell also mentioned that women are involved in politics because of their family ties with political activities.<sup>7</sup> Jaquette indicated that female politicians in Latin America, who have gained national prominence, gained access to politics through marriage or kinship ties with male politicians.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, Kearney found the same to be true in Sri Lanka:

Of the seventeen women who have been elected to parliament since 1947, more than half were elected (or first elected) to parliament as the replacement for a husband or a father who had died or who was barred from contesting for legal infractions. In addition, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, although she did not contest a seat in Parliament until 1965, in 1960 succeeded her assassinated husband, after a short interval, as head of the SLFP and as prime minister, she was appointed to the Senate to enable her to serve in the latter post.<sup>9</sup>

Although Jennings and Thomas did not find such ties to be important for state female political leaders,<sup>10</sup> Werner found such ties to be important for fully half of United States Congresswomen from 1917 to 1964.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Roderic A. Camp, "Women and Political Leadership in Mexico: A Comparative Study of Female and Male Political Elites," Journal of Politics 41 (May 1979): 430.

<sup>7</sup>Melville E. Currell, Political Women (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc., 1974).

<sup>8</sup>Jane S. Jaquette, "Female Political Participation in Latin America," in Women in the World: A Comparative Study, ed. Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross (Santa Barbara, California: American Bibliographic Center--Clio Press, 1976), p. 70.

<sup>9</sup>Robert N. Kearney, "Women in Politics in Sri Lanka," Asian Survey 21 (July 1981): 737.

<sup>10</sup>Kent M. Jennings and Norman Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," Midwest Journal of Political Science 12 (November 1968): 479.

<sup>11</sup>Emmy E. Werner, "Women in Congress: 1917-1964," Western Political Quarterly, 19 (March 1966): 20.

In Women in the World: A Comparative Study, Riddell noted that female political elites in Mexico have long-term experience in politics.<sup>12</sup> For example, two of the women in high national leadership posts in Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party) both described their interest in politics as stemming from a history of family involvement in politics.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Merriam pointed out that a family history of political activism may be a main factor in the female rise to political power.<sup>14</sup> For example, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, is a granddaughter of Motilal Nehru, who twice served as President of the Indian National Congress, and her father, Jawaharlee Nehru, was a leading fighter for Indian independence and later became the Prime Minister of that country.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Jahan indicated that male and female Parliament members in Bangladesh in 1973 differed significantly with respect to their family backgrounds.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that Jahan also added that the women in the Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 were generally full-time housewives with no employment experience.<sup>17</sup> This, in a poor country where women traditionally share the family

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<sup>12</sup> Adaljiza Sosa Riddell, "Female Political Elites in Mexico: 1974," in Women in the World, ed. Iglitzin and Ross, p. 263.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Allen H. Merriam, "Indira Gandhi: Prime Minister," in Women in Politics: Studies in Role and Status, ed. Marian B. McLeod (Sydney: Wentworth Press, 1974), pp. 1-7.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Rounaq Jahan, "Women in Politics: A Case Study of Bangladesh," in Asian Women in Transition, ed. Sylvia A. Chipp and Justin J. Green (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), p. 230.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

workload, along with the higher female educational levels among female parliamentarians, suggests they come from a wealthier family background than their male counterparts.

#### Research Related to Socioeconomic Class

It is almost universally true in the developed countries that the more prosperous people are more likely to be active in politics and to vote proportionately in greater number than the less prosperous. This relationship is supported by Tingsten,<sup>18</sup> Campbell et al.,<sup>19</sup> and Lane,<sup>20</sup> among many others. Several reasons are given for this. The richer persons are more likely to come in contact with those who are active in politics; this is unlike the lower status persons who tend to avoid social contact in mixed groups and who generally reveal a lack of self confidence. The more prosperous are also likely to possess those characteristics which facilitate comprehension of politics. For example, they are more likely to have attended schools and colleges and received higher education. Furthermore, the more affluent are also likely to have received more political stimuli through exposure to mass media. This would be especially true in a developing country like Thailand where only the economically secure persons can subscribe to newspapers or buy radios. As such, a positive relation exists between socioeconomic level and the following dependent variables: interest in politics, discussing politics, and trying to influence decisions.

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<sup>18</sup> Herbert Lars Gustaf Tingsten, Political Behavior: Studies in Election Statistics (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1937), pp. 144-148.

<sup>19</sup> Campbell et al., section IV.

<sup>20</sup> Lane, chapter 16.

While the above was true for people in general, the existing literature tends to suggest such relationships are even more significant for politically active women. Boneparth suggested that female political participation is strongly correlated with high socioeconomic status.<sup>21</sup> Riddell stated that Mexican women who actively engage in politics come from families of a high socioeconomic status.<sup>22</sup> Jaquette mentioned that female political leaders, in Chile and Peru, come from the middle or upper classes.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Camp indicated that women political leaders in Mexico come from middle and upper-class families in greater numbers than men.<sup>24</sup> Douglas suggested that the built-in constraints on a woman's time and energy at the lower economic levels effectively preclude all but those from the upper socioeconomic class from engaging in political activity.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Jahan asserted that women members of the Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 significantly differed from their male

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<sup>21</sup>Ellen Boneparth, "Women in Campaigns: From Lickin' and Stickin' to Strategy," American Politics Quarterly 5 (July 1977): 290.

<sup>22</sup>Riddell, p. 266.

<sup>23</sup>Jaquette, p. 68.

<sup>24</sup>Camp, p. 429.

<sup>25</sup>Stephen A. Douglas, "Women in Indonesian Politics: The Myth of Functional Interest," in Asian Women in Transition, eds. Chipp and Green, p. 178.

counterparts in their socioeconomic backgrounds.<sup>26</sup> All in all, the review of the literature revealed not single deviation from this general consensus.

### Research Related to Education

One of the most widely documented research findings in political science is that participation in political activities increases as the educational level of respondents rises. Among the demographic variables usually investigated in social science research--age, income, sex, occupation, place of residence, etc.--education has been found to have the greatest effect on political behavior. Clearly, the educated person is a different kind of political actor than the person who has only limited education or none at all.<sup>27</sup>

There are a number of reasons for this. The most important reason, of course, is that differences in educational attainment are associated with differences in other social characteristics. Persons with higher education are more likely to be males, have higher income, live in better localities, occupy higher status positions, and so on. The more educated persons also possess greater information about government and politics; they are also likely to possess a higher incidence of feelings of political efficacy. All these characteristics have a significant positive relationship with political participation.

In The Civic Culture, Almond and Verba have done the most thorough research on the relationship between education and political participa-

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<sup>26</sup>Jahan, p. 234.

<sup>27</sup>See Milbrath, pp. 122-124, for research findings that support this relationship.

tion. According to their investigation the positive relationship between education and political participation holds true in all the five nations they studied. In each nation:

the educated classes are more likely to be aware of politics (to be aware of the impact of government, to have information about government, to follow politics in the various media); to have political opinions on a wide range of subjects; and to engage in political discussions. The more highly educated are also more likely to consider themselves competent to influence the government and free to engage in political discussions. This set of orientations, widely distributed among those with high education and much less widely distributed among those with low education, constitutes what one might consider the minimum requirements for political participation. More complex attitudes and behavior depend upon such basic orientations as awareness of the political system, information about it, and some exposure to its operations. It is just this basic set of orientations that those of limited education tend not to have.<sup>28</sup>

Because formal schooling is so strongly related to political attitudes, Almond and Verba believed that education provides the shortest route to the creation of a modern political culture. The greatest advantage of education is that "skills that may take years to develop for the first time can be passed on much more easily once there are some who possess them." For these reasons Almond and Verba have called education "the most obvious substitute for time."<sup>29</sup>

Another noted social scientist, Lerner, regarded education as one of the most important steps in the political development of a nation. Using UNESCO data from fifty-four countries, Lerner found strong correlations between literacy and urbanization, between literacy and mass media, and between literacy and political participation. On the basis of these data, Lerner concluded that literacy was the basic personal

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<sup>28</sup> Almond and Verba, pp. 318-319.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 370.



skill that underlies the whole modernizing process.

With literacy people acquire more than the simple skill of reading. . . . The very act of achieving distance and control over a formal language gives people access to the world of vicarious experiences and trains them to use the complicated mechanism of empathy which is needed to cope with this world. . . . Literacy becomes the sociological pivot in the activation of psychic mobility, the publicly shared skill which binds modern<sup>30</sup> man's varied daily round into a consistent participant lifestyle.

As compared to their male counterparts, according to Jahan, the women members of the Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 were definitely more highly educated and came from families who were more highly educated.<sup>31</sup> For example:

80 percent of the women members of the Parliament were college graduates and the remaining 20 percent were at least high-school graduates but only 69 percent of the men were college graduates and nearly 4 percent did not finish high school.<sup>32</sup>

Also, female political elites in Mexico, according to Camp, came from well-educated professional families.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, he indicated that women political leaders will have higher levels of education than their male counterparts.<sup>34</sup>

In the classic study, The Civic Culture, Almond and Verba found that those women who were active in political activities were from highly educated groups.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Riddell also found that female political

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<sup>30</sup> Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Jahan, p. 229.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Camp, p. 431.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 432.

<sup>35</sup> Almond and Verba, p. 396.

elites in Mexico are well educated.<sup>36</sup> Jaquette confirmed that female political leaders in Chile and Peru have taken university training.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Burrell indicated that female political participants tend to be highly educated.<sup>38</sup> Finally, Freeman pointed out that the more education the woman has, the more likely she is to participate in politics.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, as with the income-politics relationship, the education-politics relationship appears to be especially significant when the actors are women.

Research Related to  
Urban Backgrounds

Many political scientists have presumed that urbanization is associated with the level of political participation. In many American studies, it has been found that rural dwellers are less likely to become active in politics than city dwellers.<sup>40</sup> Lerner perceives urbanization

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<sup>36</sup>Riddell, p. 263.

<sup>37</sup>Jaquette, p. 68.

<sup>38</sup>Barbara Burrell, "A New Dimension in Political Participation: The Women's Political Caucus," in A Portrait of Marginality, ed. Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), pp. 241-257.

<sup>39</sup>Bonnie Cook Freeman, "Power, Patriarchy and 'Political Primitives,'" in Beyond Intellectual Sexism: A New Woman, a New Reality, ed. Joan I. Roberts (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976), p. 244.

<sup>40</sup>For a discussion of the literature which supports this finding, see Milbrath, pp. 128-130, and Lane, Political Life.

as the key step in a society's march toward the status of modern nationhood. He also conceives urbanization to be the first step which is closely followed by higher levels of literacy, mass media, and finally political development. He writes:

The secular evolution of a participant society seems to involve a regular sequence of three phases. Urbanization comes first for cities alone have developed the complex of skills and resources which characterize the modern industrial economy. Within the urban matrix develop both of the attributes which distinguish the next two phases--literacy and media growth. There is a close reciprocal relationship between these, for the literate develop the media which in turn spread literacy. . . . Not until the third phase, when the elaborate technology of industrial development is fairly well advanced, does a society begin to produce newspapers, radio networks, and motion pictures on a massive scale. This, in turn, accelerates the spread of literacy. Out of this interaction develop those institutions of participation (e.g., voting) which we find in all advanced modern societies.<sup>41</sup>

This tends to suggest that, in general, urbanization is a prerequisite for mass political participation. However, Inkeles also found that urban residence had very little effect on "participant citizenship." If there is a positive association, it is the result of such other factors as education, income, and media exposure. In the words of the author, ". . . Our most striking finding is precisely that urbanism, despite its high zero-order correlation, fails to meet the test of being an independent school of citizenship. Neither urban origins, nor the numbers of years of urban experience after age 15, produce significant increases in active citizenship when other variables

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<sup>41</sup>Lerner, p. 60. For a modified confirmation of Lerner's causal thesis in the Western nations, see Gilbert R. Winham, "Political Development and Lerner's Theory: Further Test of a Causal Model," American Political Science Review 64 (September 1970): 810-818. Some emphasis on urbanization is also evident in the works of Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr. See their Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), pp. 93-94.

are controlled. This is confirmed by many special matches."<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, in an extensive analysis of survey data from six political systems, i.e., the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and India, Nie, Powell, and Prewitt found no significant correlation between urbanism and the level of political activity.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, by using election data at the subnational level from five nations: France, India, Mexico, Switzerland, and the United States, Cameron, Hendricks, and Hofferbert came to a similar conclusion by stating that urbanization is not positively associated with political

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<sup>42</sup>Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review 63 (December 1969): 1120-1141. The quotation is at page 1140. This article is part of the research program of the Harvard Project on Social and Cultural Aspects of Economic Development. The "participant citizen" is a person who is informed and interested in politics, is more likely to identify with the State in competition with the primary social units, participates in civic affairs (the participation scale does not include voting), and supports the use of rational rules as a basis of government. Inkeles found that education and factory experience were very importantly related to participant citizenship.

<sup>43</sup>Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kenneth Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Development Relationships," Parts I and II, American Political Science Review 63 (June and September 1969): 361-378 and 808-832. This article presents the most thorough and most comprehensive investigation of the effects of socioeconomic factors on the level of political activity. The data on the U.S., the U.K., Germany, Italy, and Mexico are taken from Almond and Verba's The Civic Culture. The data on India are from Sidney Verba, Rajni Kothari, and Bashir Ahmed's cross-national research program on "Social and Political Change." Political participation in this article includes these items: talking politics, contacting local authorities, contacting national authorities, involvement in election campaigns, membership in political organizations, and political parties. It does not include voting. The best predictor of political participation, according to the authors, is organizational involvement, followed by social status. This finding holds true in all the six countries.

participation.<sup>44</sup>

The glaring inconsistency between Lerner, on the one hand, and Inkeles and Nie, Powell, and Prewitt, on the other, apparently develops, not from conflicting data, but rather from differences in operationalizing the term "participation." The former equated it with "voting," while in the latter studies voting was not even a relevant part of the criteria. The same cannot be said to be true for the contradiction between the findings of Lerner and those of Cameron, Hendricks, and Hofferbert. In both the chapter on "Results of the Questionnaire" and that on "Analysis of the Data" a distinction between the two terms has been made so as to insure this study's usefulness for comparative purpose.

As compared to the male parliamentarians, according to Jahan, the women members of the Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 were definitely more urbanized and came from families who were more urban-oriented.<sup>45</sup> Also, according to Camp, female political elites in Mexico have been born in urban areas, that is, in a community of five thousand or more persons.<sup>46</sup> Finally, he added that women political leaders in Mexico came from more urbanized backgrounds than their male counterparts.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>David Cameron, J. Stephen Hendricks, and Richard Hofferbert, "Urbanization, Social Structure, and Mass Politics: A Comparison within Five Nations," Comparative Political Studies 5 (October 1972): 259-290.

<sup>45</sup>Jahan, p. 229.

<sup>46</sup>Camp, p. 431.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 440.

Thus, the literature tends to suggest that while there may not be a significant causal relationship between urbanization and political participation in general, there may well be one when the actors are female, at least in less developed countries.

### Research Related to Age

Many studies all over the world have found that, up to a point, people participate in politics as they grow older. Lane suggested several reasons:

In maturity certain things occur in the normal lifetime which tend to increase motivation and the pressure to take part in the political life of the community. A person acquires property, hence one of the most important forces politicizing the local citizen comes to bear upon him--the question of the assessment and tax on his house. Then, too, the family includes children who need playgrounds and schools and therefore the mother finds new stakes in politics. Because of the children . . . the parents become conscious of themselves as civic models. . . . They are geographically less mobile. . . . Dreams of solving status and income problems through rapid personal mobility may suffer erosion, and a more solid alignment with class and ethnic groups emerge. Vocational interests become more salient. The increased economic security associated with middle age provides freedom of attention and psychic energy for political matters often not available at an earlier stage in life.<sup>48</sup>

The most active political participants are holders of public office, and Matthews found that:

The "average" senator is in his mid-fifties, and was in his late forties or early fifties when first elected or appointed to the chamber. . . . True, a handful became senators while still in their thirties, a few were over seventy-five before they were elected . . . there are many fewer thirty-years-olds in the Senate than in the population at large meeting the chamber's age requirement, and about the same proportion of senators as ordinary adults are over sixty-five. It is the late forties and fifties that are "over-represented"

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<sup>48</sup>Lane, p. 218.

in the "most exclusive gentlemen's club in Washington."<sup>49</sup>

Lehman found that the "average age of United States Senators has remained in the 50's (sic) since about the turn of the twentieth century."<sup>50</sup> In that same study, Lehman noted that "the average age of members of the House has tended to be lower than the Senator's (sic), but it too was higher in the twentieth century than at any time in the past."<sup>51</sup>

Backett and Sunderland noted that the ages of legislators in Washington State averaged between the late forties to the early fifties during the ten year span examined in their study.<sup>52</sup> Werner found a similar pattern for women in state legislatures in the United States. The average age of the women in state legislatures at their first election to office was the late forties.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Donald Matthews, U.S. Senators and Their World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 13, as quoted in Wendell Bell, Richard J. Hill, and Charles R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1961), p. 57.

<sup>50</sup> Harvey C. Lehman, "The Age of Eminent Leaders: Then and Now," American Journal of Sociology 52 (January 1947): 342-356, as quoted in Bell, Hill, and Wright, p. 57.

<sup>51</sup> Lehman, as quoted in Bell, Hill, and Wright, pp. 57-58.

<sup>52</sup> Celeste Sunderland, "Washington State Lawmakers: Some Personnel Factors in the Washington Legislature," Western Political Quarterly 10 (March 1957): 180-202, as quoted in Bell, Hill, and Wright, p. 58.

<sup>53</sup> Emmy E. Werner, "Women in the State Legislatures," Western Political Quarterly 21 (March 1968): 46.

The same pattern does not seem to exist in other countries. In examining women elected to the Norwegian national legislature, the Storting, Means noted that the average age for women was about fifty in that body of formal officeholders--lower than that found for men in the United States Houses of Congress.<sup>54</sup>

In developing nations, within-country differences were more evident than in the United States. As compared to their male counterparts, the women members of the Parliament of Bangladesh in 1973 were definitely younger in age.<sup>55</sup> For example:

53 percent of the women members as compared to 35 percent of the men are less than 35 years of age and only 13 percent of the women are more than 46 years of age while 27 percent of the men are over 46.<sup>56</sup>

Camp also indicated that Mexican women elites were younger than their male elite counterparts,<sup>57</sup> and Burrell asserted that female political participants tend to be "fairly young."<sup>58</sup> Thus, significant cross-national differences seem to exist, not only in the age of female political actors, but also in male-female age differentials across nations.

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<sup>54</sup>Ingunn N. Means, "Political Recruitment of Women in Norway," Western Political Quarterly 25 (September 1972): 503. Of further interest in Means' other article, "Women in Local Politics: The Norwegian Experience," Canadian Journal of Political Science 5 (September 1972): 365-388.

<sup>55</sup>Jahan, p. 229.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Camp, p. 426.

<sup>58</sup>Burrell, pp. 241-257.



Research Related to Attitudes

There is evidence in the literature that women are different from men as political actors.<sup>59</sup> In their study of the Michigan delegation to the 1964 conventions, Jennings and Thomas found differences among men and women regarding occupation, education, behavior, and decision-making.<sup>60</sup> Men were more apt to behave in office-seeking and office-holding patterns and to agree that delegates should "use their best individual judgment" to make decisions. King and McAuliffe found women office-holders more likely to seek information from others in making decisions, although they argue that this may be due to women's greater willingness to admit that they do not know and greater openness than to lack of confidence and dependence.<sup>61</sup>

Costantini and Craik found differences among political party leaders in California regarding education and income, orientation toward national and state political offices, and motives for party involvement. Women were motivated by public-service considerations, while men wanted to run for other offices and achieve power.<sup>62</sup> Kirkpatrick cited a similar

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<sup>59</sup>Susan G. Mezey, "Women and Representation: The Case of Hawaii," Journal of Politics 40 (May 1978): 369.

<sup>60</sup>M. Kent Jennings and N. Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," Midwest Journal of Political Science 12 (November 1968): 469-492.

<sup>61</sup>Elizabeth G. King and Joan McAuliffe, "Women County Supervisors: Are They Different?" (Paper presented at American Political Science Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 1976).

<sup>62</sup>Edmond Costantini and Kenneth H. Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Background, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," Journal of Social Issues 28 (1972): 217-236.

finding regarding motives from her study of successful female state legislators, and finds their major areas of concern are likely to be in the area of social welfare.<sup>63</sup> Among Hawaiian politicians, Mezey found women more apt to approve of women in the political system and the possibilities of merging career and family life than men.<sup>64</sup> Gehlen, in her study of female members of the House of Representatives, pointed out that much of the debate concerning the role of women in politics is based upon the "expectation . . . that electing or appointing women in political system."<sup>65</sup>

For years studies have demonstrated slim but persistent differences between men's and women's political attitudes.<sup>66</sup> According to Jahan, male and female Parliament members in Bangladesh differed significantly with regard to their attitudes toward political issues.<sup>67</sup> For example, in the interviews with the members of the Bangladesh Parliament, Jahan asked each to list three major problems facing the country and to suggest three solutions to the problems listed.

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<sup>63</sup> Kirkpatrick, Political Women.

<sup>64</sup> Susan G. Mezey, "Women Politicians and Women's Issues: The Case of Hawaii" (Paper presented at American Political Science Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 1976).

<sup>65</sup> Frieda Gehlen, "Legislative Role Performance of Female Legislators," Sex Roles 3 (February 1977): 2.

<sup>66</sup> Marjorie R. Hershey, "The Politics of Androgyny? Sex Roles and Attitudes Toward Women in Politics," American Politics Quarterly 5 (July 1977): 261.

<sup>67</sup> Rounaq Jahan, "Women in Politics: A Case Study of Bangladesh," in Asian Women in Transition, ed. Sylvia A. Chipp and Justin J. Green (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), p. 233.

Women's answers most frequently mentioned population (53 percent), education (46 percent), law and order (37 percent), food (37 percent), and the economy (37 percent), as major problems facing the country. Men's answers, on the other hand, emphasized law and order (41 percent), and economy (41 percent), food (39 percent), and fall in production (15 percent), as the major problems. Only 14 percent of the men perceived population and education as major problems.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover, Freeman found that the more education the woman has, the more likely she is to participate in politics. A significant relationship was also shown to exist between higher education and the tendency to be more "liberal."<sup>69</sup> She also pointed out that the majority of the female delegates to the 1972 Democratic Convention were active in the women's movement and a majority of the delegates said that they had been affected by the movement.<sup>70</sup> In addition, they were more "liberal" politically than the men at the convention.<sup>71</sup> This women's bloc "constituted a political% ly distinct group with identifiable interests and issues, visible leaders, publicized meetings, press releases, and convention strategies."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Jahan, p. 233.

<sup>69</sup>Bonnie Cook Freeman, "Power, Patriarchy and 'Political Primitives,'" in Beyond Intellectual Sexism: A New Woman, a New Reality, ed. Joan I. Roberts (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976), p. 244.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>71</sup>Freeman, p. 255. It should be noted, however, that Freeman failed to qualify this finding. One obvious possible cause would be that most of the women present at the 1972 Democrat Convention were there only as a direct result of the liberalized rules governing delegate selection (the McGovern Reforms) that mandated enhanced female participation. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that those that benefited from a "liberal" movement would themselves tend to hold more liberal attitudes than their male counterparts.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

Soule and McGrath found that men and women at the elite level in the United States in 1972 differed sharply on public issues, e.g., U.S. should give foreign aid, favoring Vietnam withdrawal, favoring amnesty for draft evaders, and favoring equal rights for women, with women appearing significantly more "liberal."<sup>73</sup> Gruhl, Spohn, and Welch also found that women are slightly more "liberal" than men on numerous issues.<sup>74</sup>

Costantini and Craik indicated that males and females in the political elites not only have somewhat different background characteristics, but also that they play rather different roles. Males, their data revealed, are more likely to be concerned with personal enhancement and career advancement; women are more often motivated by concepts of public service and policy issues.<sup>75</sup> More over, their research showed that females leaders in the American Democratic Party in 1960 and 1964 appeared significantly more "liberal" than male counterparts, but there were no significant differences within the Republican samples.<sup>76</sup> Staudt showed in her study that Philippine women were slightly more "liberal" than men in the area of social services.<sup>77</sup> Burrell indicated that female politi-

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<sup>73</sup> John W. Soule and Wilma E. McGrath, "A Comparative Study of Male-Female Political Attitudes at Citizen and Elite Levels," in A Portrait of Marginality, ed. Githens and Prestage, pp. 178-195.

<sup>74</sup> John Gruhl, Cassia Spohn, and Susan Welch, "Women as Policymakers: The Case of Trial Judges," American Journal of Political Science 25 (May 1981): 309.

<sup>75</sup> Costantini and Craik, pp. 217-236.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>77</sup> Kathy Staudt, "Politics and Philippine Women: An Exploratory Study," Philippine Journal of Public Administration 17 (October 1973): 475-476.

cal participants tended to be not only "fairly young" and "highly educated," but also "ideologically liberal."<sup>78</sup>

Thus, although the various authors made no attempt to insure that the term "liberal" was operationally equivalent to that used in the other studies, they all reached the same conclusion: the attitudes of female political actors tend to be more "liberal" than those of their male counterparts.

### Summary of the Literature

The review of the literature suggests that there are significant male-female differences when it comes to political participation. Not only are these differences important in affecting who is likely to enter politics, but their importance also varies across political systems. "Truisms" that are accepted in the modern capitalist and communist economies appear in need of modification when attempting to apply them to developing societies in the Third World.

Of the chosen indicators, the literature suggests that only "urban background" may not prove to be significantly correlated with political participation. However, while "urbanization" is evidently not believed to be an independent variable related to political participation, it may well emerge as a necessary prerequisite for other variables from which causal inferences can be drawn as regards participation in the political process (e.g., can one have a high education and high exposure to the mass media without living in an urban environment when all the universities, radio and T.V. stations, and newspapers are located in the major

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<sup>78</sup>Burrell, pp. 241-257.

city/cities?). For this reason, "urban background" has been maintained as an indicator, and analysis of the data will help determine its relative significance.

Finally, the literature suggests that not only is sex an important determinant in deciding who is or is not a political participant, but it also tends to imply that sex may be an important determinant in the formation of political attitudes.