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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF KOREA: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY FOCUSING ON ROLE ANALYSIS OF FEMALE POLITICIANS.  

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

DECEMBER 1975

By

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staff spent a great deal of time and effort helping me arrange interviews with several of the U.S. Congresswomen. Ms. Shirley Elder of the Washington Star relayed to me her very clear and knowledgeable impressions of the various female members of the Congress, and Mr. Ki Sang Kil, Director of the Rules Bureau of the Assembly Secretariat of Korea, supplied me with many relevant documents and personal comments regarding the National Assembly of Korea.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation, consisting of ten chapters, is a study of legislative roles with particular attention being paid to the role strain felt by legislators today: specifically, female legislators of the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea and the 93rd Congress of the U.S. House of Representatives. The main purpose of this study is to explore one of the important issues of this generation: the growing demands of women for self-development, both individually and collectively. To see how these demands might be properly planned and utilized, we look at the female members of the aforementioned bodies.

This comparative study is based on in-depth interviews of the female legislators of the U.S. House of Representatives and of the National Assembly of Korea. Very little study has been done which includes the role of women in world politics and very little systematic research has been done which includes all the women who have served in the U.S. Congress. Literally no research at all has been done on women in the National Assembly of Korea.

The role of women has changed in the twentieth century. The development of technology has brought about some of these changes, such as the extension of life-span, population control, increasing the level of women's higher education, and so on. For these, and other reasons, women find
themselves left with leisure time, and often with potential capability, and it is quite natural that they go out to look for ways to utilize their abilities. Here arises a central conflict, characteristic to women, career or family oriented. Women in the twentieth century who want to be successful in professional fields more or less tend to reject their societally-given psychological predisposition as women, because of the prejudiced expectation society has for them. In other words, there are conflicts between ascribed status and achieved status; many women feel role strain because they are women. In this study this characteristic is referred to as "role strain." Those who are involved in politics feel more role strain because the world of politics is often regarded as a predominantly male prerogative. As a specific way of illustration, we examined a group of female legislators who, as pioneers in this field, feel role strain due to incongruence between their career (politics) and their ascribed role. Despite all their disadvantages as female politicians they develop their own techniques for reducing role strain in coping with a situation and surviving in the system; it varied according to the role perception of the individual legislators.

Four female legislator-types are developed according to their values (as women) vis-à-vis the role of women in society, and their actions in their own behaving situation. Those types are Conformist, Idealist, Liberationist, and Feminist. Female legislators in Korea are either Conformist
or Idealist; in the U.S. 93rd Congress, there are no Idealist types. Idealist types and Feminist types legislators feel more ascribed role strain than the other two types of legislators because they feel incongruence between their behaving situations and their values. Feminist type legislators are those who overcame their role strain by informal group meetings, and official trips and committee assignments. Their efforts help the other U.S. House of Representatives female members to reduce or negate their role strain. The female members of the U.S. House of Representatives feel almost no role strain in the legislature because, I believe, they are much more qualified than their predecessors in the Congress.

On the other hand, female members of the National Assembly of Korea feel role strain both within and out of the legislature. They have special role expectations—to institutionalize equality between sexes by combining representation of women's groups with their law-making function. Their situation is similar to that of early twentieth century U.S. female members of the Congress.

Female members of the U.S. Congress feel role strain in the recruitment process, as most of them ran on their own—they did not have party support. This is one of the reasons for the small number of women in the Congress. On the contrary, female members of Korea had party support in the recruitment process.

This empirical exploration of female legislators' role analyses is primarily based on private interviews, tape-
recorded with the subjects' consent. Interviews, observations and document collection were carried out both in Seoul and in Washington, D.C.
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While I was in Korea researching a part of this dissertation, I made an appointment with the Spokesman of the Democratic-Republican Party, and requested a 15 minute interview. I brought along my tape recorder and interview schedule, as usual. The only difference in "form" may have been that I acted more deferentially, or humbly, than when I interviewed male members of the U.S. House. I have noted that I have developed a "double standard" in my personal behavior with respect to Korean and American cultures.

In the United States I might have behaved on a more "equal" basis, which has become possible for me after living in America for five years. However, within the Korean-American subculture (in the U.S.), or in Korea (while visiting), I am always conscious of being a Korean woman.

In any case, I sat down in his office, and the first thing the Spokesman asked me was, "Are you married?"

"No," I answered.

"Before answering your questions," he said, "I will tell you one thing--consider it fatherly advice: I would like to see you throw away this tape-recorder and these papers and get married."

I looked at him and asked, "Do you have a daughter?"

"No."
"That's good," I continued, "in that case I will ask your advice as a daughter. Until I graduated from college, I thought that I would face the situation that I'm in now. I majored in political science because I wanted to be a diplomat. But I wear a dress instead of pants. So I had to give up that ambition, and became interested in the political problems of women, including myself--maybe I was too conscious of being a woman."

"I decided not to marry, and to study hard, in order to overcome the limitations of my sex and succeed in politics. (You may think I am too aggressive for a Korean woman)."

"I began to talk to friends of mine, and to many successful Korean women, and found that I was not the only woman around who was frustrated. But most of them have become wives and mothers."

"I think I am frustrated and confused because of my education. But in the world, whether my society wants it or not, thousands of women graduate every year, with degrees and ideas. These women also feel the conflict and frustration which results when western education is combined with our traditional society."

(Later, I found that western education combined with modern western social customs produces the same conflicts and frustrations.)

"You can't just erase these problems. If there were only a few women who experience these problems, it would
be alright, but this is a problem for thousands of women, and is the root of much of the trouble in our society today. Educated women try to overcome their frustrations."

"As an example, look at the (Korean) P.T.A. The members are from middle and upper-middle classes, and are well educated." (The Korean P.T.A. has had a history of demonstrations, protests, etc. These women see their problems as intensely personal.)

"Those women who work to help support their families are often struggling to merely survive. They also want to develop themselves, but they also see their problems as personal rather than societal."

"What can you do about this, as a party leader?"

The fifteen minutes interview became a 2-1/2 hour discussion on how women in this world face a series of role strain situations because of their ascribed role as women.

At different times I asked myself, "Am I doing the right thing? Why am I suffering, when I might be happy, or happier, as a wife and mother?" I have never met a man who has expressed a desire to quit his ambition so he could become a husband and father. In addition, when asked, I sometimes hate to say that I am studying political science; this is a non-feminine area, and reactions are similar in the two cultures.

When I came to the United States and read Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*, I fully understood and agreed
with her on the problems faced by women, and society must change, but we disagreed on tactical questions.

However, I now believe that without radical action, and strategies of the type used by NOW (picketing, demonstrations, and speaking out on everything), women cannot and will not attain equality. The problem is whether or not this strategy is possible in my home country--traditional, closed, static, Confucian, and hierarchical society.

This is why I chose this for my graduate study area and dissertation subject. I decided that before I go out and start shouting I should know something about the women--Korean and American--who seem to have achieved their goals of political success. The interview schedule and hypotheses may be biased by my personal experiences and perception, but I have found that these problems are common to other women in this world, especially those who seek success through professional careers.

Still, though, I wonder if the radical women's liberation movement will function in Korean society. It is my belief that although it will take time, the movement must be patient and indirect instead of impulsive and direct. Others, as well as myself, worry about the possibility of such a thing abolishing the beautiful family system of Korea. Therefore, the women's liberation movement should be initiated only with the understanding that the traditional family system remain intact. That is a difficult condition
considering the broad, conservative effects that the family system has had on Korean history, and will necessarily continue to have.

I am willing to work within this limitation, and will do my best to change laws and educate, train, and enlighten women in Korea in order to help them move toward equality.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This is a study of legislative roles with particular attention paid to role strain probably felt by female legislators today. The main purpose of this study is to explore one of the important issues of this generation: the growing demands of women for self-development individually and collectively. To see how these demands might be properly planned and utilized we will look at female legislators. This comparative study was carried out by interviewing in depth all the female legislators of the U.S. House of Representatives and of the National Assembly of Korea.

The role of women has changed in the twentieth century. The development of technology has brought about some of these changes, such as the extension of the span of life, population control, increasing the level of women's higher education, and so on. For these, and other reasons, people find themselves left with leisure time, and often with potential capability, and it is quite natural that they go out to look for ways to utilize their abilities. We will focus our concerns on women, for here arises a central conflict, characteristic to women, of "career or family." The cause of this conflict is not external obstacles: there appears no longer the hostile public opinion with which
pioneer career-women had to contend; nor is there a lack of opportunities for women to work. Today the conflict has become "internalized" and continues as a psychological problem which may, and often does, assume different variations and shades. This conflict has become more complicated in women's minds, as today there is no absolute necessity to choose exclusively, either career or family. The pull in two directions goes on practically throughout a woman's life.

This psychological tension is added to when situational changes lead women to an expected fulfillment of an achieved role which was not expected of them before. As part of the thesis of this study, we expect to find a conflict between ascribed status and achieved status. Women tend to have psychological predispositions as women. When they face congruence among these sets of values, and the behaving situation, it is predicted that there will be less strain because of ascribed role.¹ Women in the twentieth century who want to be successful in professional fields will more or less tend to reject their societally given psychological predispositions as women because of the prejudiced

¹According to Ralph Linton (The Study of Man: An Introduction, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, pp. 115-116), ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted from the moment of birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort.
expectation the society has of them. In other words, there will probably be conflicts between ascribed status and achieved status. Therefore, they feel role strain because they are women.

Among the women in conflict between career and family, and between the ascribed role or achieved status, it seems that those who are involved in politics feel more role strain than those in other activities. For one reason, the world of politics is often regarded as a predominantly male prerogative. As a specific way of illustration, we shall examine a group of female legislators who, as pioneers in this field, feel role strain due to incongruence between their career (politics) and ascribed role.

Interestingly (and encouragingly) enough, this presumption has proven to be true in a previous pilot study done by the author on two female state legislators in Hawaii (Patsy Young and Jean King) and retired congresswoman Catherine Norell of Arkansas. Yet, despite all their disadvantages as female politicians they survived in the system. It is hypothesized, therefore, that in coping with a situation of maximizing congruence and striving for success, women might be able to develop their own technique for reducing role strain.

Female politicians also have other role strains as a lawmaker as well as those as women. For instance, female legislators in Korea and the United States are given special
sets of role expectations and are encouraged to attempt to organize women as a pressure group to influence the political system to improve the status of women. This role assignment results from the assumption that female legislators play a more effective role than male legislators as far as the issue of changing the status of women is concerned. They are expected not only to convince, educate, train and assist women to participate in politics, but to change the political system to eliminate discrimination against women and provide some measure allowing them to work hand-in-hand with men in this world.\(^2\) We imagine these pressures to be great, especially where there is a law-making function at hand, through which these female legislators can attempt to institutionalize equality between the sexes; and this is still another role strain.

The problem this study focuses on will be how women, as typical incumbents of a role usually considered as a man's, have formed the ascribed characteristics important in modifying the usual achieved role expectations. We will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What kind of role strain do females face as legislators (Chapter VIII)?

\(^2\)In 1973, sixty-one women's organizations in Korea united and organized the Pan-Women's Committee for Promoting the revision of Family Law to reform their Civil Code and petitioned to female legislators in Korea to pass The Proposed Revision in the Civil Code Relating to Discrimination Against Women.
2. How do they overcome these strains? What kind of strong reducing techniques do they develop (Chapter VIII)?

3. How would these reducing techniques vary according to their role-perceptions? (A role-perception matrix has been developed and presented in Chapter VII, section 1).

4. What are the effects of sex roles and occupational roles on the recruitment and behavior patterns of female legislators (Chapter VIII, section 2).

5. Do research questions 1 through 4 (above) change under different settings? (namely, Korea and the U.S.?).

In Chapter VII, section 1, four types of female legislators appear according to (i) their beliefs (values) of the roles women should play and their action in the behaving situation.

The methodology will be that of a comparative study of the female members of the U.S. House of Representatives interviewed during the 93rd Congress and the National Assembly of Korea during the 9th Assembly. To the author's knowledge, there have been no systematic efforts to explore the elected female elites, especially in a comparative framework. This is one of the important reasons for this research.

Four basic criteria of country selection were considered in deciding to study the U.S. and Korea: administrative convenience, maximizing similarity, maximizing diversity, and access. Since the author was a student at the University of Hawaii, from Korea, there were not many problems of administrative convenience and access. It is also helpful to point out that the United States has a long history
of democracy, Korea does not. (It is the 93rd U.S. Congress we will be studying, while it is but the 9th Assembly for Korea.) Secondly, the United States is a so-called developed country, Korea a developing country. Third, the procedure of women's political participation is entirely different. In the United States women began to fight for their rights and participate politically many decades ago, as witnessed the suffragette movement in the nineteenth century. In contrast, women in Korea were only recently given the right to participate in politics; with the introduction of democracy after World War II, both men and women in Korea were able to vote. Fourth, the two countries have radically different cultures. Korea is hierarchical in nature, an Oriental (or Eastern) country influenced only recently by Christianity, whereas America tends to be a country noted for less hierarchical governmental structures, with a strong sense of Western Christian values often of a Christian nature.

Along with these diversities, the two countries also have some similarities. First, there are only a small number of women in the legislature. In terms of numbers, women in both the U.S. and Korean legislatures make up less than 5 percent of the respective bodies. Because of this similar ratio it is believed that female legislators should face roughly the same ascribed role strain, across the two cultures, with the primary difference being one of degree.

Although top female executives such as Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, and Bandaranaike Sriminavo might seem the best
examples for a study of key decision-makers, because of their inaccessibility, small numbers, and other problems involved, our study population here will be comprised solely of female legislators. Female legislators can be assumed to have successfully accepted their achieved role by election or appointment by the party in a male dominant system. Also, they have in the law-making function a potential springboard through which they can attempt to institutionalize equality between sexes by the legislative process.

In summary this study will be a comparative analysis of the role of female legislators in the U.S. House of Representatives 93rd Congress and the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea. It will also focus on the similarities and dissimilarities of the functions of the two legislatures, as a comparative study of developing and developed countries. Specifically, the following characteristics of the two legislatures will be the focal point of this research: recruitment process (Chapter VIII, section 2), committee assignment (Chapter VIII, section 3); legislators' role-perceptions (Chapter IX).
CHAPTER II
THEORY OF ROLE-SET: APPLYING MIDDLE-RANGE THEORY

The theory of role-set which we will borrow heavily from in this study is a case of middle-range theory which begins with an image of how social status is organized in the social structure. Middle-range theory combines serious attention to empirical evidence with speculative formulation of explanatory models. However, one of the unanticipated consequences of promoting middle-range theorizing is that disciples of this approach shun large ("grand") scale social phenomena in favor of small-scale phenomena. Among sociologists, middle-range theorizing has tended toward concern with social-psychological problems, since these phenomena are, concretely, smaller than many other social problems.

The theory of middle-range lies between the minor but necessary working hypotheses¹ that evolve in abundance during day-to-day research and the all-inclusive systematic efforts to develop a unified theory that will explain all the

¹According to James B. Connant (On Understanding Science, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, p. 147): 'a working-hypothesis' is little more than the common-sense procedure used by all of us everyday. Encountering certain facts, certain alternative explanations come to mind and we proceed to test them.
observed uniformities of social behavior, social organization and social change. ²

Middle-range theory is principally used in social science to guide empirical inquiry. It involves abstractions, but they are close enough to observational data to be incorporated in propositions that permit empirical testing. Middle-range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena, as is indicated by their labels.

According to Nieuwenhuijze, the take-off point of the middle-range theory is generally claimed for Francis Bacon. ³ Nieuwenhuijze elaborates that the middle-range theory has two main aspects:

One is that it tries to bridge the historically grown gap between macro and micro conceptualizations. In so doing it is clearly meant to save the social sciences from being torn into two basic approaches neither of which is viable without some sort of reference to the other.

Another is that it represents an attempt to establish the relevance of abstract theory to spatiotemporal reality: to specific given manifest conditions. ⁴

Merton asserts that:

It is significant that a general theorist, such as Parsons, acknowledges 1) that in fact general


⁴ Ibid., p. 51. It thus seems natural to plunge into the matter by reading Bacon, if someone would go further into the theory.
sociological theory seldom provides for specific hypotheses to be derived from it; 2) that, in comparison with a field such as physics, such derivations for most hypotheses are remote objectives; 3) that general theory provides only a general orientation and 4) that it serves as a basis for codifying empirical generalizations and specific theories.\(^5\)

Once all this is acknowledged, the sociologists who are committed to developing general theory do not differ significantly in principle from those who see the best promise of sociology today in developing theories of the middle-range and consolidating them periodically.\(^6\)

The discussion of middle-range theory in social science is intended to make explicit a policy decision faced by all sociological theorists. Which shall have the greater share of our collective energies and resources: the search for confirmed theories of middle-range or the search for an all-inclusive conceptual scheme? Merton believes that "theories of middle-range hold the largest promise, provided that the search for them is coupled with a pervasive concern with consolidating special theories into more general sets of concepts and mutually consistent propositions."\(^7\)

Middle-range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena, as is indicated by their labels. One

\(^5\)Ibid., pp. 74-75.


\(^7\)Merton, op. cit., p. 52.
speaks of a theory of reference groups, of social mobility, of role-conflict and of the formation of social norms just as one speaks of a theory of prices.

The theory of role-set is another case of middle-range theory which begins with an image of how social status is organized in the social structure. As with all middle-range theories, however, the proof is in the using, not in the immediate response to the originating ideas as obvious or odd, as derived from more general theory or conceived of to deal with a particular class of problems.

Despite the very diverse meanings attached to the concept of social status, one sociological tradition consistently uses it to refer to a position in a social system with its distinctive array of designated rights and obligations. This tradition consistently uses it to refer to a position in a social system, exemplified by Ralph Linton; the related concept of social role refers to the behavior of status-occupants that is oriented toward patterned expectations of others. Linton, like others in this tradition went on to state the long recognized and basic observation that each person in society inevitably occupies multiple statuses and that each of these statuses has its associated role.

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9 Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), see chapter 8, "Status and Role."
It is at this point that the imagery of role-set theory departs from this long-established tradition. The difference is initially a small one--some might say so small as to be insignificant--but the shift in the angle of vision leads to successively more fundamental, theoretical differences. Role-set theory begins with the concept that each social status involves not a single associated role, but an array of roles. This feature of social structure gives rise to the concept of role-set: that complement of social relationships in which persons are involved simply because they occupy a particular social status. Thus, a person in the status of political science student plays, not only the role of student vis-à-vis the correlative status of his or her teachers, but also an array of other roles relating him or her diversely to others in the system.

Notice that the role-set differs from what sociologists have long described as "multiple roles." The latter term has traditionally referred not to the complex of roles associated with a single social status but to the various social statuses (often, in different institutional spheres) in which people find themselves--for example, one person might have the diverse statuses of legislator (female), wife, mother, elected politician for her district, member of her political party, church elder, etc. This complement of distinct statuses of a person, each with its own role-set, is a status-set. This concept gives rise to its own array of analytical problems.
According to Thomas and Briddle, role-set and status set is defined as follows:

This concept (role set) refers to the complement of specializations characteristic of each behavior. In some types of social situations, specializations will be diffused among a number of specializations will accrue to one or two individuals. The concept of role set and division of labor are related, for a listing of role sets for each person in the system would add up to the division of labor for these persons.

"Position set," "status set," and sometimes the words "role set" have been employed to refer to the particular complex of positions in which an individual holds simultaneous membership.

Every individual has his own particular set of such positions to which he belongs, referred to here as the individual position set. This concept and that of role set are probably closely related, although they are independent concepts.10

Again, Merton differentiated the two concepts as follows:

The status set refers to the complex of distinct positions assigned to individuals both within and among social systems. Just as there are problems of articulating the role-set, so there are problems of articulating the status-set. In some measure, these problems are similar, though not identical, in structure.11

Up to this point, the concept of role-set is merely an image for thinking about a component of the social

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structure. But this image is a beginning, not an end, for it leads directly to certain analytical problems. The notion of role-set at once leads to the inference that social structure confronts men with the task of articulating the components of countless role-sets— that is, the functional task of managing somehow to organize these so that an appreciable degree of social regularity is obtained, sufficient to enable most people most of the time to go about their business without becoming paralyzed by extreme conflicts in their role-sets.

We depart from the traditional concept by assuming that a single status in society involves, not a single role, but an array of associated roles, relating the status-occupant to diverse others. Second, we note that this concept of role-set gives rise to distinctive theoretical problems, hypotheses, and to empirical inquiry— one basic problem is that of identifying the social mechanisms which articulate the role-set and reduce conflicts among roles. Third, the concept of the role-set directs our attention to the structural problems of identifying the social arrangements which integrate as well as oppose the expectations of various members of the role-set. (The concept of multiple roles does, on the other hand, confine our attention to a different and no doubt important issue: how do individual occupants of statuses happen to deal with the many and sometimes conflicting demands made of them?) Fourth, the concept
of role-set directs us to further question how these social mechanisms come into being; the answers to this question enable us to account for the many concrete instances in which role-set operates ineffectively. Finally, the logic of analysis exhibited in this sociological theory of the middle-range is developed wholly in terms of the elements of social structure rather than in terms of providing concrete historical descriptions of particular social systems. Thus, middle-range theory enables us to deal with the problem of a theoretical conflict between the general and the altogether particular, between generalizing sociological theory and historicism. Because of this, we shall make use of the theory of role-set in the study of female legislators' roles with the purpose of exploring their ascribed role strain.
CHAPTER III
COMPARATIVE LEGISLATIVE ANALYSIS

Only a little cross-cultural research exists that is truly comparative and at the same time is theoretically comparative legislative role study oriented. Most studies remain descriptive and manifest a rather static conception of legislative process. Especially in the so-called Third World countries, knowledge about legislatures, and their relationships to their respective political institutions and processes is extremely limited.

Packenham noted that comparative legislative studies are disproportionately focused on American legislatures—especially the U.S. Congress—and ignore the Third World countries.¹ Sisson suggests that the reasons for the meager amount of scholarly attention directed at Third World legislative institutions are as follows:

The discovery of the new states by scientists helped to encourage the retreat from institutional analysis and the adoption of analytical formats presumed applicable to politics irrespective of culture or time. Fashionable research in recent years has stressed system, functions and social basis of political action rather than political institutions as discrete units. Students of political development in the New States became concerned with the nonpolitical

detenninants of political behavior in rebellion against the parochial and formalistic tradition of political inquiry. Students of legislative process and behavior until recently have been steadfast in their attention to the American situation.  

In a similar fashion, Loewenberg concludes in his recent article that generalizations about legislative behavior have been limited to the narrow field of United States experience, and cross-national variation remains not only unexplained but unexplainable.  

But the limited knowledge of the world's legislatures suggests that the principal function of most of these bodies is not decision making. Most of them do not allocate values, or at least do not appear to have this as their principal function. Other functions, i.e., legitimation and recruitment, and socialization to other political roles seems to be more important. Thus this research will focus on the differences of these functions of the two legislatures, the U.S. House of Representatives and the National Assembly of

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4Packenham, op. cit., p. 522.
Korea as a comparative study of the American Congress and a Third World legislature.

The National Assembly of Korea has seldom been a "strong" legislature from its institution in 1948 up to the present. Although the Republic of Korea is formally a democratic country, with a constitutional political system largely patterned after that of the United States, the National Assembly of Korea has seldom if ever been as powerful as that of the U.S. Congress, even though its influence varied during this period. Th's, however, is probably true of most of the legislatures in developing countries.

The contribution of legislatures to political development depends upon what functions the legislatures have in their countries. These bodies can contribute to and serve to further promote political development by fulfilling the following formal legislative functions: Channelling inter-group conflict, representing the several social groups in a society, enhancing the rule of law, ratifying and legitimizing public policies, strengthening the responsive administration of government programs, and helping to promote national integration and the development of a national identity.

Packenham asserts that, where successfully achieved industrialization and economic growth is present, legislatures do have these functions which contribute to political development. But in developing countries, if the legislature maintains these functions to a strong degree, it may be dysfunctional to political development. In other words,
strengthening legislatures in developing countries would probably impede the capacity for change which is often crucial for "modernization and economic development."\(^5\)

On the contrary Huntington defines political development as "the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures,"\(^6\) and strongly argues that modernizing societies failed to develop their countries because the social forces were relatively much stronger than political institutions. Legislatures and executives, public authorities, and political parties remained fragile and disorganized, and the development of the state lagged behind the evolution of society.\(^7\)

Since much of its activity takes place in public, the legislature is a central institution in the political system: its members tie voters to decision makers. This is one of the reasons for this study.

Recently, in the work of Huntington, Eisenstadt, Polsby, and Sisson, institutionalization has received more self-conscious and analytical treatment. Each has a somewhat

\(^5\)Ibid.

\(^6\)See the works of scholars such as Gabriel Almond, Samuel Huntington, Alfred Diamont, Joseph Lapalombara and S. N. Eisenstadt to name a few.

different conception of the problem, and they suggest
different ways of measuring the process.

In Huntington's conception, institutions are "stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior."\textsuperscript{8} Institutionalization refers to the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability.\textsuperscript{9} The level of institutionalization of any given unit is conceived in terms of its adaptability, structural complexity, autonomy, and coherence. His term "adaptability" is measured by chronological and generational age as well as by complexity of its goals and goal displacement. Structural complexity is measured by both multiplication of organizational subunits, hierarchically and functionally, and by differentiation of separate types of organizational subunits. The greater the number and variety of subunits, the greater the ability of the organization to secure and maintain loyalties of its members. Autonomy can be measured by the extent to which political organization and procedures exist independently of other social groupings and methods of behavior. The final criterion is coherence; Huntington asserts that at a minimum there must be substantial consensus on the functional boundaries of the group and on the procedures for resolving disputes which come up within those boundaries.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., p. 11. \textsuperscript{9}Ibid., p. 12. \textsuperscript{10}Ibid., pp. 18-22.
Eisenstadt defines the process of institutionalization as the organization of a societally prescribed system of differentiated behavior oriented to the solution of certain problems inherent in major areas of social life. Critical to the process is the extent to which any given system of social stratification and organization is capable of continuous expansion and differentiation, so as to minimize the undifferentiated and ascriptive tendencies of holders of power, wealth, and prestige. Given these preconditions Eisenstadt conceives institutionalization in terms of the following criteria: (1) the criteria and definition of norms regulating behavior; (2) the regulation of the flow of resources between units; (3) the existence of sanctions for the maintenance of norms; and (4) the maintenance of institution boundaries.

Polsby posits a series of traits which characterize institutionalization and applies them to the U.S. House of Representatives, but he does not advance a formal definition or conceptualization of this process. His general model of institutionalization is different in that sense from that

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12 Ibid., pp. 235-236.
of Eisenstadt or Huntington. The measurements Polsby used are: (1) institutional autonomy defined in terms of ease of identification of members, difficulty of entry, and internal recruitment of leadership; (2) complex internal organization defined in terms of role specificity and widely shared performance expectations, regularized recruitment to roles, and regularized patterns of movement from role to role; and (3) universalistic criteria applied in the conduct of internal business and impersonal codes that supplant personal preferences as prescriptions for behavior.\footnote{\text{14}}

Sisson defines political institutionalization as the creation and persistence of valued rules, procedures, and patterns of behavior which make possible the successful accommodation of new configurations of political claimants and/or demands within a given organization whether it be a party, a legislature, or state.\footnote{\text{15}}

Whatever the term institutionalization means, it is obvious that institutions are important for furthering development. Figure 1 shows the interrelationships among leaders, legislators, administrators, institutions, legislature, administration and community, and political development. We borrow the definition of the term "political

\footnote{\text{14}}\text{Ibid.}, pp. 164-166.

\footnote{\text{15}}\text{Sisson, op. cit.}, p. 19.
Figure 1. Schematic Summary of Inter-Relationships Between Legislator and Political Development
development" from Lucian Pye, that is political development as mass mobilization and participation.\textsuperscript{16} It stresses the role of citizenry and new standards of loyalty and involvement, especially where this process of mass participation exerts some significant influence on choice and decision.

In this research, we will emphasize the interrelationships among legislators, legislatures and political development. In other words, as you can see in Figure 1, we will focus on legislators who might change, redistribute and allocate power, value, equity, and role for furthering political development through legislatures by mass mobilization or participation. More specifically, as you can see in Figure 2, our research focuses on comparative legislative study as a comparison (1) between societies (Korea and the U.S.), and (2) across time within the legislative process; specifically, socialization, committee assignment and role perception. In addition we will pursue the question, "Are sexual differences (male-female) emphasized within the legislature?" and if so, how and to what extent?

Jewell suggests several reasons why across-national legislative studies may be useful. One, research in this area can help illuminate the process by which legislatures become established and develop into strong, viable institutions,

A comparison will take place (1) across societies (i.e., Korea and the U.S.) and (2) across time within the legislative process (i.e., as illustrated in the vertical "movement" of the figure).

*A comparison will take place (1) across societies (i.e., Korea and the U.S.) and (2) across time within the legislative process (i.e., as illustrated in the vertical "movement" of the figure)*

[A comparison will take place (1) across societies (i.e., Korea and the U.S.) and (2) across time within the legislative process (i.e., as illustrated in the vertical "movement" of the figure)]

Figure 2. Cross Cultural Scheme of Research Focus*

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especially as institutionalization relates to the development of widely accepted and clearly understood norms. (See, for example, Stauffer's study of the Philippine Congress).\textsuperscript{17}

Another purpose of comparative legislative studies can be to determine what functions legislatures serve in different political systems. These functions differ widely from one nation to another and legislative functions that are familiar to Western democracies are not likely to be duplicated in developing nations. In this study, in order to identify these functions legislators were asked broad questions about how they perceive their job as legislators.

Jewell also emphasizes the value of role analysis in cross-national legislative studies because it provides a means for studying the legislature as an institution and its relationship to the political system and culture of which it is a part: its development as an institution, its relationship to other organs of governments, and its impact on its own members. Role analysis is one means for exploring theoretically interesting questions about the


functions of legislative bodies and the demands made on them in various political systems. It is a flexible technique, tested in previous research, and appropriate for comparative analysis. 18

Thus, this study focuses on the functional differences of two legislatures, the U.S. House of Representatives and the National Assembly of Korea as a comparative study of developing and developed countries.

18Jewell, op. cit., p. 500.
CHAPTER IV
WOMAN AND THE NOTION OF ROLE STRAIN

Women today experience common and fundamental role strain because of their ascribed role—defined here as ascribed role strain—which will be conceptualized as follows: perceived role difficulties which result from sex based role demands. In this chapter we will discuss the nature of women's ascribed role, how it is changing, how it relates to women's social role, and how and why it leads to role strain.

In modern society women are guided by two apparently conflicting aims: On the one hand, they naturally desire to develop their personalities to the fullest and to take an active part in social and economic affairs within the limits of their individual interests and abilities. On the other hand, most women want a home and a family of their own. When most social and economic life was carried on at home these aims did not generally conflict with each other.

In pre-industrial times women were secure in and content with their position; their lives were spent in the care of their families, and their world was bounded by the walls of their homes. As the family home gradually lost its position as the locus of social and economic activity, a resolute minority followed this trend and entered, or tried to enter, the world of business and social public affairs.
The extent to which they succeeded was directly proportional to the degree to which they were willing to turn their backs on the home-and-family-tradition.

Those pioneering days are now over. With them has gone the need for women to make a fatal decision between irreconcilable alternatives. The technical and social developments of the last few decades have given women the opportunity to combine and to integrate their two basic interests: home/family life and personal fulfillment.

What are the characteristics generally attributed to the occupant of the feminine status-position? One of the key traits can be described in Parsonian terms: She is expected to be oriented more toward the emotional-expressive pattern of behavior than toward the instrumental. For instance, in speaking of college-age women and their problems of adjustment to a set of conflicting role expectations, Komarousky describes in general terms this characteristic of the feminine role.

While there are a number of permissive variants of the feminine role for women of college age (the "good sport," the "glamour girl," the "young lady," "the domestic home girl," etc.), they have a common core of attributes defining the proper attitudes to men, family, work, love, etc., and a set of personality traits often described with reference to the male sex role as "not as dominant, or aggressive as men" or "more emotional, sympathetic."

Alice Rossi, whose own view of what should be differs rather radically from what she sees as the actual current situation, says

... in the larger society women are seen as predominantly fulfilling nurturant, expressive functions and men the instrumental, active functions. When this viewpoint is applied to American society, the intellectually aggressive women or tender expressive men are seen as deviants showing signs of role conflict, role confusion, or neurotic disturbance. They are not seen as a promising indication of a desirable departure from traditional sex role definitions. In a similar way, the female sphere, the family, is viewed by social theorists as a passive, pawnlike institution, adapting to the requirements of the occupational, political or cultural segments of the social structure, seldom playing an active role either in affecting the nature of other social institutions or determining the nature of social change.2

A Gallup Poll reported in 1962 is a composite picture of the American woman, she perceives herself, at least in the aggregate, as primarily interested in home and family and "someone to care and someone to care for." There is little disagreement by anyone that the cultural ideal of the feminine role is a "soft" one.3

A man's basic identification in the urban, industrial world of today is his occupation or profession, by definition a competitive and instrumental role.

It is perhaps not too much to say that only in very exceptional cases can an adult man be genuinely


self-respecting and enjoy a respected status in the eyes of others if he does not "earn a living" in our approved occupational role. Not only is this a matter of his own economic support but, generally speaking, his occupational status is the primary source of the income and class status of his wife and children.4

For the woman, on the other hand, primary status characteristic is the role of wife and mother, and that role is institutionalized in the extensive concept of "home," where the instrumental attitude is least functional and where the major emphasis is on the particularistic and emotional-expressive aspects of life.

Whether such differences are the result of biology, or cultural conditioning, or of adaptation to the primary occupational role, i.e., "housewife," is here of less consequence than the fact that this is a definite aspect of what is regarded to be a part of the "feminine role" in society. There are, of course, those who do not conform to this model, but they are generally viewed as deviants—not as acceptable alternatives—behavior role models.

A second set of characteristics taken to be a part of the female role expectation is that identified as "subordinate-passive." Again, Parsons comments that even in a situation where the woman takes on an occupational role—an instrumental role—it is normally one that does not put her in competition with those men most closely associated with her life.

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In the case of feminine role the situation is radically different. The majority of married women, of course, are not employed, but even of those that are a very large proportion do not have jobs which are in basic competition for status with those of their husbands. The majority of "career" women whose occupational status is comparable with that of men in their own class, at least in the upper middle and upper classes, are unmarried, and in the small proportion of cases where they are married the result is a profound alteration in family structure. 5

Most women would probably not put it quite as bluntly as did a New Jersey housewife, but the theme that she expressed is not uncommon. "A woman needs a master-slave relationship whether it's husband and wife, or boss-secretary. This shows she is needed and useful. Women who ask for equality with men are fighting nature: they wouldn't be happy if they had it. It's simply biological." 6

The Gallup Poll did reveal, however, that American women themselves espoused the idea that they should be subordinate . . . [the] man must be the leader; he cannot be subservient to the female. Repeatedly women told us, "The man should be Number One." "A woman needs a husband to lean on," An Arizona mother told us, "Being subordinate to men is a part of being feminine." 7

In Komarovsky's study of the cultural role contradictions of college women, she indicates that one of the basic conflicts comes when the girl knows that she can out-accomplish a male, but that to be feminine she must not do so.

5Ibid., p. 609.
6Gallup and Hill, op. cit., p. 28. 7Ibid.
Sixty-one, or 40%, of the students indicated that they have occasionally played dumb on dates, that is concealed some academic honor, pretended ignorance of some subject, or allowed the man the last word in an intellectual discussion. Among these were women who "threw games" and in general played down certain skills in obedience to the unwritten law that men must possess these skills to be superior in degree. 8

The idea of female subordination has strong cultural support from other societal institutions as well, especially from the church. Both Catholic and Protestant theologies, drawing largely from the writings of St. Paul, have emphasized women's role as the "head of the house." Giving official sanction to this idea are the words of Pope Pius XII in his statement on the role of women in the civic and political sphere (at least by implication): "Associated with men in civil institutions, she will apply herself especially to those matters which call for tact, delicacy and maternal instinct rather than administrative rigidity." 9

Only recently has it been common in the traditional marriage ceremony for the term "obey" to be dropped from the bride's vows.

This characteristic is not, of course, exclusively one of Judeo-Christian tradition. According to the Confucian Concept, a woman in Korea must follow her father in her

8Komarousky, op. cit., p. 187.

childhood, her husband in her marriage, and her son in her old age—this is known as Samjonchi-Do (three principles of obedience). The subordinate role of women is reflected in the following proverb: "When a hen cries, it is a bad omen for the family." Women are not to be independent or active in running family affairs. If a woman acts in such a way as to dominate the home, she destroys it; her intelligence and capability must be restrained in order to fit herself into the proper, submissive role demanded by tradition.

The tradition of female subordination has also long been supported by the tenets of law, by which a girl was under her father's jurisdiction until marriage, i.e., until the time at which she became legally tied to her husband.\textsuperscript{10} While tremendous modifications in the legal structure have occurred since colonial times, any of the values associated with that type of status still remain. For that matter, so do some of the legal restrictions. The President's Commission on the Status of Women reports:

Under the commission law brought to the United States from England, married women were virtually legal nonentities. A wife could not administer her own property, enter into contracts, sue or be sued in her own name, engage in business in her own name, act as surety or fiduciary, receive her own earnings, or dispose of her property by will. . . . Some remnants of past centuries still remain. In some states a married woman does not have legal capacity to become surety or guarantor. A number of states limit the right of a married woman to serve in a position of

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid.
trust. A few states still limit her right to sue or be sued in her own name. Although some of the community property states permit the wife to receive and control her earnings, in Texas her earnings become part of the common property and as such subject to the control of her husband. . . .11

In conjunction with the legacy of the legal and religious definitions of a woman's place in society, it remains true that in most situations today she is dependent upon her husband to establish her social status in the community. Her status remains largely a function of occupational role, even if she acquires an occupational role of her own.

In the last half century or so another basis has been found, and very effectively used, to explain and legitimize the passive and subordinate status of women. Derived in large part from Freudian psychology, the idea of functional differentiation has become widespread in psychoanalytic thought. In brief, and somewhat distorted fashion, this can be described as the idea that the psychological and sexual difference of the sexes is, and should be, carried over into all, or at least most, other segments of their respective roles as well. It is the development of this philosophy that Betty Freidan discusses and condemns in The Feminine Mystique.12 In its more or less extreme form this


philosophy argues that the fact that the woman is biologically the one who bears and nurtures the infant is indicative of her true interests and status in life. She attains maximum fulfillment in caring for and being nurturant to the rest of her family, rather than through independent expression in some other field. Consequently, her interest in her other areas of life, according to functionalism, must be related to the family and to her natural role as wife and mother and guardian of the good.

More flexible adherents to the functional theory recognize the right of women to work outside the home, to take a part in civic and social life and in political affairs, but suggest that they confine their activities to problems of motherhood, education, and the family— to what might be described as "homepolicy."¹³

There is little argument that the American woman has, in fact, concentrated at least her voluntary energies, and even to a great extent her working time, on issues and activities that are closely related to home and family concerns. The point of disagreement in the literature moves from the empirical level of what is to what is natural or rational, at times based on this, to what is desirable. The question is whether these attitudes and activities are

restraints, or guides, imposed on women by contemporary society to "keep them in their place," or rather the natural result of physiological sex-related activities.

To some extent functionalist ideas have infiltrated the ranks of those who consider themselves to be in the vanguard of contemporary feminism. The resulting syntheses is the idea that there is a very legitimate, and even desirable, difference between the sexes, but that the difference should not be reflected in a superordinate-subordinate arrangement, nor should opportunities for complete expression of one's interests be discriminately supplied. This view holds that for too long the feminist movement equated equality with sameness, and that they are not equivalent terms: "... We feel that to admit women are different from men is somehow undemocratic. We have fought so many years in the feminist movement to be just like men that we have overdone it a little. Equality of opportunity is not identity or sameness of opportunity . . ."14

Most worldwide women have agreed up until now that home is women's first concern, loyalty, and interest--and that it is "their place."

There is a paradox in all of this. Although women's place is said to be in the home, never before has it been

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seen as being so exclusively in the home, a view which is in direct conflict with the fact that women of the underprivileged classes work today whether they want to or not. Women today constitute more than one-third of the labor force in most industrialized nations, including Korea and the United States. But that one-third is primarily made up of poor women who, not surprisingly, are working in jobs accorded the least prestige in their societies. The problems of poor women are part and parcel of the general problem of poverty, one of the key concerns of our era, but they affect all women, including the prosperous and the highly educated.

Women's talents are under-utilized and often repressed by the society irrespective of social class. Even when women of high education and social class work, they, like the less educated and poor, tend to find themselves confined to the lower end of the occupational range, while men from the elite classes become professionals or managers. But no matter what sphere of work women are hired for or select, they seem to settle to the bottom. The tiny minority of

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According to the 1969 Handbook of Women Workers (Department of Labor: Women's Bureau Bulletin 294), women were 37 percent of the labor force in United States employment in 1968. There were over 29 million women and this is 42 percent of all women of working age.

In Korea, women workers are more than men workers in total number. In 1968 statistics, the number of women workers was 9,269,000, men 8,164,000. The percentage of women workers was a little less than 53 percent (Dong-A Year Book, 1970, p. 987.)
women in occupations of high regard and reward--managerial and professional--will be studied through close analysis of a prominent subgroup of this class: female national legislators.

It has been charged that American society pays a high price for "keeping women down," yet it cannot be shown that a conspiracy or a grand design actually exists to keep them so. The situation in Korea is approximately the same.

In spite of these barriers to their full development, some women do not impressionistically feel that society has dealt with them unfairly, nor are they regarded by society as a particularly disadvantaged group. Their battles for legal equality have been won. They vote on an equal basis with men; they hold and trade property; they have access to educational opportunities. Only a few, although their numbers have increased, seem to be concerned with what they regard as the waste of women's talents and with dissatisfactions stemming from years of nonproductive activity after their children are grown. Most of these are regarded as malcontents and nonconformists; i.e., "burn-the-bra types who couldn't get a man anyhow."

It is the main concern of this paper that female legislators have special role expectations in these situations pushing them to change the system.

We must consider the typical role strain from which today's women suffer. However specifically feminine their dilemmas may be, they are symptoms of a general contemporary malaise.

Many women feel that, as women, they have been singled out by providence to cope with an almost insoluble conflict of aims. Yet their position at the crossroads is by no means as eternal as it appears to its unfortunate victims. It is not the result of a "Law of Nature," but of contradictory trends and ideals within our societies.

The situation has become so tantalizing for the very reason that there are so many new roads open to men and women today; and the problem is particularly important since it affects one half of civilized humankind.

The characteristic feminine dilemma of today is usually summarized under the heading 'Career and Family.' The struggle for the right to work in the U.S. is no longer directed against external obstacles; no longer is there the same hostile public opinion to overcome with which their grandmothers had to contend, nor is there a lack of opportunities for women. Today the conflict has become "internalized" and continues as a psychological problem which may assume many different variations and shades; and just because there is no longer an absolute "either-or" to be decided on at the beginning of adult life, the pull in two directions goes on practically throughout a woman's life.
It is no surprise to any observer of modern life that the image of the perfect woman, the values and norms revolving about the female role, and the very participation of women in the professions is contradictory, ambiguous, and a source of personal strain (see Preface).

The primary source of this strain is ambivalence conceptualized as sociological ambivalence. Merton and Barber\(^{17}\) see this as the social state in which a person, in any of his or her statuses (as wife, husband, or legislator, for example), faces contradictory normative expectations of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior which specify how any of these statuses should be defined. Each of the contradictory expectations is often as legitimate as the next. This ambivalence, rooted in the social structure and not a product of any individual's personality problems, can severely undermine training, aspiration, motivation, and planning and make difficult the definition of future roles. Social roles--sets of interconnected relations--change over time, each adjusting in varying degrees to the personalities

of the participants or to the circumstances under which their component relations are developed. If they change greatly, they may be redefined as a new type of role. 18

Descriptions of social roles contain explanations and justifications of their functions, of the goals they are expected to achieve. A mother, for example, is expected not only to give birth to a child but to care for it physically and to socialize it to be a human being capable of participating in the ongoing life of the society. It is on the basis of social roles that the total society is able to function. The economic, political, recreational, religious, educational, and family spheres of modern life are carried out through roles such as farmer, miner, manufacturer, textile worker, president, senator, legislator, voter, baseball player, moviegoer, fan, monk, golfer, hippie; nun, teacher, student, dean; wife, husband, mother, grandmother, son. These and many other roles exist in society, each comprising the persons who bear the title and relate to others

18 The study of the evolution of social roles was considered by Znaniecki to be an important task of sociology because it contributes to the understanding of not only these sets of relations but also social groups and societies. Florian W. Znaniecki, Social Relations and Social Roles: An Unfinished Systematic Sociology (San Francisco: Chandler, 1965).

This theoretical framework was a major interest to Znaniecki, who used it in his presidential address for the American Sociological Association: "Basic Problems of Contemporary Sociology," American Sociological Review 19 (October, 1954), pp. 519-542.

A segment of a social role as viewed by Znaniecki is somen, somewhat similar to a single role within Merton's
who grant rights and receive duties. In the case of some roles, only a few such sets of relations are simultaneously involved; in the case of others, there are millions. Some roles encompass as few as three people, with two of them forming the social circle, as in the case of a lover, his mistress, and the landlord who rents them a room. Others take in great numbers of cooperating and interacting individuals, for instance, the role of legislators or the roles of the Presidents.

Each human being is involved in many roles, simultaneously or in sequences, determined by others or achieved by himself. Each role requires only a part of his personality and calls forth only those qualities and actions which fulfill the set of duties and the rights of the role. The fact that the total individual is not called forth in each role is signified in the sociological concept of the "social person." For example, Patsy Mink or Ok Sun Kim as a "total individual" relates to people within many social circles, entering each one with different sentiments and behaving differently. Each circle sees her through a different set of perspectives, as a mother, a wife, a legislator, or a customer. As a total individual she may relate to another total individual through Role-Set. The former conceptualization has the advantage of enabling analysis of the role as a unit of interdependent components, whereas the latter focuses upon each section as a more or less isolated relation.
several separate roles, that is, as several persons. She relates to husband as a wife with a quite different set of traits from those she displays when she interacts with him as a mother of their children. She has different duties in each role and she receives different rights from each. Because of the complexity of relations between these two individuals, each must be careful not to confuse any situation in indicating incorrectly within which role he or she is functioning. Conflict between people often arises when their relations are fitted into a diversity of roles calling for mutually exclusive behavior, without clear indication of separation and transition.

The concept of social role is basic to the analysis of the sets of relations in which women who are legislators are involved, because it recognizes that each individual performs more than one role. Thus it makes consistent analysis possible. One of the characteristics of modern society is an expanding number of diverse social roles available to and participated in by woman where before they were not accepted. Mirra Komarousky and Ruth Benedict, among others, have found that these roles are often contradictory and mutually discontinuous.¹⁹ The net result is the existence of

individual role strain, and in the case of women, a more intense role strain.
CHAPTER V
PAST FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE TWO LEGISLATURES

In this chapter we will briefly examine the history of female legislators who have previously served in the two countries, primarily on a group basis, but with some attention given to outstanding individuals within each group. We will focus on marital status, party affiliation, and legislative experience.

Very little systematic research has been done which includes women in politics in the world. Similarly, little systematic research has been done which includes all the women who have served in the U.S. Congress.¹ Literally no research has been done on women in the National Assembly in Korea.

¹There have been several books published which present short biographical sketches on individual congresswomen in the U.S. Congress, none in Korea. They are: S. Breckenridge, Women in the 20th Century: A Study of their Political, Social, and Economic Activities (New York: McGraw Hill, 1933), which makes reference to the women who served in the first eight congresses; A. Paxton, Women in Congress (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1945), which provides biographical sketches on the women in the 78th Congress; E. Roosevelt and L. Hickock, Ladies of Courage (New York: Van Rees Press, 1954), which highlights the contributions of a few outstanding women politicians on the national, state and local levels; and L. M. Young, Understanding Politics (New York: Pellingrini and Cudahy, 1950), which provides a survey of the political world from the standpoint of women voters and an assessment of their participation up to 1950.

Young has also written an excellent bibliographical review in which she stresses the fact that as of 1962 no
Since this is a case study of a particular position in a particular institutional setting, it is advisable to trace, at least to some degree, the development of that role through history. Role expectations do not immediately arise through a process of spontaneous generation as a new position is created, or when a new type of incumbent is found for a pre-existing position. Expectations may be based on what one knows of the incumbent's other position, particularly ascribed roles; or, if the new position is one of special consequence one may simply act in terms of the expectations already held for the position—regardless of the type of incumbent. The set of expectations that have been built up because of her predecessors may well be a role strain in itself for some women.

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thorough investigation of the nature and scope of the American woman's direct and indirect participation in political life had been attempted by historians or political scientists. Additional references which have a bearing on this report are the May 1947 issue of The Annals of The Academy of Political and Social Sciences entitled "Women's Opportunities and Responsibilities" edited by L. M. Young and Marian M. Sanders' The Lady and the Vote (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, Riverside Press, 1956), in which she stresses the need for women to be more aggressive in seeking to participate in party activities.

Recently two articles by Emmy Werner in The Western Political Quarterly, 1966, "Women in Congress: 1917-1964" (March) and "Women in the State Legislatures" (June), review the social economic background of women in the U.S. Congress and the State Legislatures. In 1971, the Library of Congress published a booklet, "Women in the United States Congress" edited by Morrigene Van Helden, which includes biographical sketches. The Western Political Quarterly has another article on "Recruitment of Women for Congress: A Research Note" by Charles S. Bullock III and Patricia Lee Fideley Heys, concentrating on how women did get into Congress: filling vacancies or through regular elections, from 1914-1970.
Considering the small number of women who have served in either legislature (only 86 women have served in the United States Congress and 16 women in the National Assembly of Korea), it might well be argued that it would be impossible to generalize—that the impact of the individual personality would outweigh other factors in explaining the emergence of role expectations. Certainly it is true that there have been some rather forceful personalities as well as the many who were less colorful.

It is equally true that there are certain questions that can profitably be asked about the group in more general terms—questions relating to such areas as the length of tenure, the type of resignation, the marital status, and the areas included in the electoral district, as well as

on local, state, and national level. There is one conference report on "Women State Legislators: Impressions from a Conference," by Ida F. S. Schmertz, which was prepared for the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders 1972 Year Book. Even though it is not directly related to national level congresswomen it presents some important ideas.

Peggy Lamson wrote a book named Few Are Chosen: American Women in Political Life Today, which gives us brief analyses of the careers of Senator Margaret Chase Smith and female legislators such as Martha Griffiths, Patsy Mink and Margaret M. Heckler; it also includes information on other women political figures, such as Esther Peterson.


Research in the International Index of the past years (1943-1973) uncovered no studies which deal with women in
committee assignments and general image with regard to "women's interests." Consequently, both approaches will be utilized on some of the outstanding women, particularly of the early years, and a detailed look at the totals and trends regarding other questions in both countries will be included.

**United States Congress**

Since 1917, when (Miss) Jeannette Rankin was elected Member-at-large from the State of Montana, 86 women have served in the United States Congress. Seventy-six women have served in the House of Representatives and 10 have served in the Senate; Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith is the only woman to have served in both houses, and in the 93rd Congress there are no women in the Senate. In no Congress have women constituted more than 3.7% of the total membership.

All 10 women Senators were first elected or appointed to congress to fill the unexpired terms of men who resigned or died in office. Mrs. Smith was elected to full six-year terms in the Senate.

positions of political leadership. Hope Chamberlain's *A Minority of Members, Women in the U.S. Congress* contains brief biographical sketches of all but two female Representa­tives and Senators who served in the U.S. Congress between 1917 and 1974 (93rd Congress). (The two excluded legisla­tors, Representatives Lindy Boggs and Cardiss Collins, were elected to fill their husbands' vacancies after Chamberlain had completed her study.) Martin and Susan Tolchin, *Clout-Womanpower and Politics* concentrates on the barriers which today's female candidate must confront.
In the House of Representatives, 34 women were elected to fill vacancies caused by death or the resignation of their husband or father, including two women who were elected to fill the vacancies of their husbands in the 93rd Congress--Mrs. Lindy Boggs and Mrs. Cardiss Collins. Twenty-four women completed the terms of their late husbands, and three others although not completing their husbands' terms were elected to the first complete term after their husbands' deaths. Mrs. Winnifred M. Mason Huck was elected to fill the term left vacant by the death of her father.

Outstanding Individual Personalities

In the 65th Congress (1917-1918) Miss Jeannette Rankin was the only female member, and the next Congress contained no women (66th Congress: 1919-1920), but the 1920 election brought in four female members. Miss Rankin was the only woman to serve prior to the final passage of the nineteenth amendment, which made woman suffrage universal in the United States. In one sense she was precisely the embodiment of what one would have expected to come out of the suffragette movement and into politics. A representative from Montana, Miss Rankin was a pioneer in many ways. Relatively young (she was 36 years of age when first elected), ambitious, and career oriented, she did graduate study in social work and served as a social worker both in the United States and New Zealand. Her vote against United States entry into World War I during that one term in the House is considered
to have been at least partly responsible for the fact that she did not succeed in her bid for the Senate in 1918. She did, however, return to Congress as a Representative years later, serving in the 77th Congress during 1941 and 1942. She again voted against the United States participation in a world conflict and gained what is one of the most distinguishing marks in legislative history as the only person in the House of Representatives to vote against entry in both World Wars.

Whereas Jeannette Rankin had first come to the House at the age of 36, Alice Robertson was not elected until the age of 66, after a long career of serving in political and administrative posts. Again she was a single woman, from the West, well educated (with an earned M.A. and an honorary L.L.D.) and a feminist worker. She was elected in 1920, but does not seem to have been the militant type of feminist associated with the period. Known among her colleagues as "Aunt Alice," she was described by them as "that nice old lady with white hair and clear blue eyes." She failed in a bid for reelection in 1922.

It seems, perhaps, that the logical type of woman to run for a congressional seat was single, unencumbered by the necessity to care for a family, and particularly well educated, in order to intellectually hold her own among men. However, during that 67th Congress, in which Miss Robertson served, the beginning of a new pattern emerged: the election
of a female to replace her deceased husband or father. The first instance was a daughter, although in succeeding election it tended to become the lot of the congressman's widow. Representative Mason of Illinois died during the session of the 67th Congress and his daughter, Winifred Mason Huck, campaigned for and was elected to fill his seat for the remainder of the term. Although she was defeated in her later bid for a full term and was not in the House long enough to leave much of a legislative mark, there is a record of her own impressions of her position.

Shortly after Mrs. Huck's election a similar phenomenon occurred when Mrs. Mae Nolan was elected to her late husband's seat for the remainder of the 67th Congress and for the entire 68th Congress. She thus became the first of a long line of congressional widows who have succeeded their husbands in office. The reasons behind such a move were undoubtedly complex, but it would seem that an appeal to sentiment was at least a part of the motive. One reporter observed that:

Mrs. Nolan was elected partly as a compliment to her deceased husband, partly on account of her own abilities, and partly because it was good politics to recognize the claims of woman voters.

Mrs. Nolan had only a high school diploma and no particular political experience outside of helping her husband in his career. She served only the one session and then retired from office. This action of voluntary retirement after only one election becomes a pattern which the majority of widows have followed. She was the only woman to serve in the 68th Congress.
Mrs. Mary Norton was elected at the age of 49 and served for 13 terms, or a total of 26 years. Mrs. Norton set several precedents and records. She was the first married woman to win election: the first (at that time, the only) woman to serve as chairman of a standing House Committee (the Labor Committee), the first female Democrat in Congress, and the first woman to serve from the East Coast area. She had worked on a volunteer basis with the party organization before her election, and was persuaded by Mayor Hague of Jersey City to run for the Congress. She was, in effect, a politician of the machine variety.

Ruth Hanna McCormick, was the daughter of Senator Mark Hanna and widow of Medill McCormick, who had served in both the House and the Senate. A suffragette, and well schooled in the practical aspects of politics by both father and husband, she managed her wealth and her world very well. She understood and followed the rules of building a grassroots organization, and she built hers well. She served only one term in the House, however, resigning in favor of a try at the Senate. Although she lost the race for the Senate, Mrs. McCormick fought it in the best political style that money and ambitious effort could provide.

Later additions to the female contingent included several more widows who served only the remainder of a term and then retired, but also included were an increasing number of women who were married at the time of election. In terms
of a few of the more unusual or outstanding personalities it included: Kathryn O'Loughlin, a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School who, once she had won the election, married the man she had defeated in the primary; Margaret Chase Smith, who succeeded her husband in the House and later was elected to the United States Senate; Clare Booth Luce, a well-known writer who was articulate and sarcastic on the floor and who became the United States Ambassador to Italy during the Eisenhower administration; and Reva Bosone who had served as the Speaker of the House for the Utah legislature and was later appointed as Head of the Judicial Division of the United States Post Office Department. Female legislators of the 93rd Congress will be discussed in a later chapter.

Some Statistics as a Group

The total number of women serving in Congress is a factor to consider since the smaller the percentage of the whole that they constitute, the smaller the probability that any will acquire positions of much influence. Party alignment could feasibly make some difference, for if a large majority of female members come from only one party they might make more of an impact on the leadership, or in such areas as committee assignments, than if they are about equally divided between the parties.

Since the dominant status position for women in American society is that of wife and mother, and since this normally
involves a certain commitment in time and energy above that expected of the man in his role of husband and father, knowledge of the marital status of the women members who have served may give some clue to the kinds of roles developed. Marital status, especially current marital status, might also be a clue to other behavioral characteristics, especially when considered in relation to the legislator's age. Whether this presumption is true or false, if a majority of the women are single, career-oriented, and highly educated a different set of expectations is anticipated than if the majority are either currently married or widows, and family or home-oriented.

**Total Membership.** To begin with, it is important to note that numerically the female members have never been more than a very small minority. From 1917 through 1974 there were 86 women who were appointed or elected to the United States Congress; among the 86 were 10 women elected as United States Senators. Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith served in both Senate and House but was counted as one. Table 1 shows that the largest number of women to serve in Congress at any one time was 20, in the 87th Congress (1961-1962). Next in total number were the 86th (1959-1960) and 84th (1955-1956) Congresses, with 19 and 18 respectively (see below). The average (mean) for those sessions which contained any females (1917 to 1974) is 10. For a time there was a trend toward a constantly increasing number of women
Table 1

Number of Women in Congress, 1917-1974

(including women elected or appointed but not sworn in)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>Inclusive Dates</th>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>93rd</td>
<td>1973-1974</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92nd</td>
<td>1971-1972</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91st</td>
<td>1969-1970</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90th</td>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89th</td>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88th</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>87th</td>
<td>1961-1962</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>86th</td>
<td>1959-1960</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>84th</td>
<td>1955-1956</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17*</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83rd</td>
<td>1953-1954</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12*</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82nd</td>
<td>1951-1952</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81st</td>
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<tr>
<td>79th</td>
<td>1945-1946</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78th</td>
<td>1943-1944</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77th</td>
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<tr>
<td>75th</td>
<td>1937-1938</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74th</td>
<td>1935-1936</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73rd</td>
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<tr>
<td>72nd</td>
<td>1931-1932</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71st</td>
<td>1929-1930</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>70th</td>
<td>1927-1928</td>
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<tr>
<td>69th</td>
<td>1925-1926</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>68th</td>
<td>1923-1924</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>67th</td>
<td>1921-1922</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66th</td>
<td>1919-1920</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65th</td>
<td>1917-1918</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes the delegate from Hawaii. Mrs. Elizabeth Farrington, Republican, who was the delegate from Hawaii, was not a bona fide representative, since her term of service preceded Hawaiian statehood.
members, but this was arrested by a sharp decline after the 87th Congress.

While there were fewer Republicans than Democrats among the female members (see Table 2), the difference was not great, especially when one considers that the Democrats held control of the House for much of the period under consideration. The total of eighty-six female legislators breaks down to 33 Republicans and 53 Democrats. Although in the early period there were more Republicans than Democrats, we notice that the tendency is reversed around the time of the 84th Congress, and the 93rd Congress contains both the largest number of Democrats (14) and the largest difference in party affiliation (12).

The Years of Legislative Experience. Table 3 shows, by group, the length of terms of the female members of Congress. The "Years of Legislative Experience" breakdown of female Congresswomen and Senators leads to three general observations: First, there was a great deal of variation in length of service, which was also true for men. However, it is doubtful that anywhere near the same percentage of men served terms comparable to the very short "filler" terms of the congressional widows. The second point of note is that while a few served quite long terms, most had a very short stay in the Congress; this is significant when one considers the importance of seniority in that body. The third fact is that the average length of years of
Table 2
Party Affiliation (House and Senate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Difference Between Parties</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>93rd</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92nd</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>91st</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>90th</td>
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<td>83rd</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>70th</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>69th</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>67th</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-64th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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Table 3
Number of Years Served by Female Legislators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of years served</th>
<th>Number of female legislators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 2 years</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 3-5 years</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 6-10 years</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 11-15 years</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 16-20 years</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 26-30 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legislative experience appeared to be increasing which is hardly remarkable when one starts from a base point of zero.

With regard to the first observation, the length of years experienced in the legislature varied from two months to 33 years. In at least one case the elected female member was not even sworn into office because the Congress was never in session during her term. This unfortunate woman was Miss Gladys Pyle (Republican) from South Dakota. She was elected November 8, 1938 to fill the Senate vacancy caused by the death of Peter Norbeck; never sworn in, and never able to take a seat in the Senate, her term expired January 3, 1939. The record for longevity is held by Mrs. Margaret Chase
Smith, who was elected to the 76th Congress in a special election held June 3, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, Clyde H. Smith, and served four more terms in the House. She was elected to the Senate in 1948, and held her seat until January 3, 1973. Table 3 does not show that anyone accumulated 33 years of congressional service. Mrs. Smith's time is shown divided between House and Senate.

**Marital Status.** Looking at the women with regard to their marital status, one sees what appears to be a fundamental contradiction. First, the single career woman has never been an important segment, numerically or otherwise, of the women in Congress. Of the total number of 86 female members, only nine were never married. Second, almost two-thirds of the women members including the nine single women were unencumbered by a spouse during their sojourn in the Congress. This is especially notable with respect to the 10 Senators: one was single and nine were widows of Congressmen. Also, as none were divorcees at the time of their initial election, the category of "widow" is a major source of female legislators.

In Table 4 we can see that the category "widow of congressman" is just short of being the most numerous group. When "other widows" and "single" are added, we see that 51 out of 86 Congresswomen did not have husbands during their congressional years.
Table 4

Marital Status of Female Members of U.S. Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow of a Congressman</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Widows</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Assembly of Korea

Individual Personalities

Compared to the United States Congress, the National Assembly of Korea has had a very short history--only 27 years, beginning with the constitution of the Republic of Korea. As in the United States, the number of female legislators who have served in the National Assembly has been a very small percent of the total; only 19 have been elected or appointed over the past 27 years.

The Constitution of 1948 guaranteed full adult suffrage, male and female. In the first general election under the new Constitution, 18 women campaigned for seats in the National Assembly; none were successful (see Table 5). The first successful candidate was Young Shin Lim, who ran in a
Table 5

Women in the Korean National Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assembly</th>
<th>Number of female Candidates</th>
<th>Number elected</th>
<th>Number of freshmen elected</th>
<th>Number not appointed</th>
<th>Number of appointed (elected)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Election</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Election</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
special election in 1949, filling a vacancy left by a presidential appointment. (She was one of three women who campaigned for offices left vacant following a series of appointments to the ministry.) In the general election of 1950, two women were elected to the Assembly--11 had campaigned. Mrs. Lim was reelected, and Mrs. Soon Chun Park became the first woman to enter the Assembly through a general election.

There has been a total of 68 female candidacies, 14 of which were successful. These 14 are divided among six different women. In addition, 13 women were appointed members-at-large by their parties between 1967 and 1973. One woman was appointed to the 8th Assembly and was elected to the 9th Assembly in her own right; in the table she is counted as "elected."

Mrs. Young Shin Lim was the first woman to serve in the Assembly. She won a special election which was set up to fill the vacancy left by Chung Hyun Mo's appointment as provincial governor in January 1949. Having failed to win in the general election of 1948, she was appointed Minister of Department of Commerce by President Syngman Rhee. She later won a full term in the 1950 general election; in 1952 and in 1960, she was an unsuccessful candidate for vice-president.

Mrs. Lim was born in Kumsan, Choongchung Province, on November 20, 1899. A graduate of U.C.L.A., and a professional educator, she was the founder and first president of Chugang
Table 6

Marital Status and Party Affiliation of the Female Legislators of the National Assembly of Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Party Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

University. She was a president of the National Organization of Educators, and is currently chairman of the Board of Trustees of Chungang University.

Mrs. Lim helped organize a women's party, Yeoja Kookmindang (Peoples Party of Women), and encouraged women to run for office during the time when the Republic was being organized. She strongly believed that women's interests could not be properly represented without women themselves participating in politics; that is, that men were inherently unable to represent properly women's interests.

Mrs. Lim was especially active during Syngman Rhee's term of office; she had been a close friend of the president while they were both students in the United States, and Rhee helped her to continue her political endeavors.
Mrs. Soon Chun Park. Mrs. Park was first elected in 1950 to the Second Assembly, along with Mrs. Lim. She had lost the first general election and later lost in the third election. She was successful in running for Assemblies Four to Seven, and is the only woman to have served as Head of the Opposition Party in the Korean Republic.

Mrs. Park graduated from the Japanese Women's College in Sociology, and during the Japanese colonial period was active in the national liberation movement. She later helped organize, and served as president of the Korean Young Adult Women's Political Caucus. Rep. Park is now 76 years old and retired.

Mrs. Park was interviewed by the author in May, 1974. According to the interview, she had originally been unwilling to involve herself in politics, preferring instead to work in other areas of women's affairs. According to her, however, since other women were also generally unwilling to run for political office, it appeared that key opportunities would be lost. Rather than let this happen, for the good of future generations of women Mrs. Park decided to become politically active, and won election to the legislature.

She believes that her activity in the national liberation movement was the key to her early political success. Her name was well-known to the public even before she ran for office, and she had little trouble securing campaign funds. In addition she maintains that because of her war-time
activities her male colleagues in the legislature tended to consider her an "equal," at least moreso than they would otherwise.

Nevertheless, she says, she has always been conscious of her status as a woman among men: she never laughs loudly or wears colorful clothes, in order not to attract attention. (By way of contrast, the author has noticed that American Congresswomen tend to dress colorfully.) Mrs. Park also mentioned that she acquired the habit of not drinking much water or soup while at the Assembly since for many years the chambers were not equipped with women's rest rooms.

While serving in the legislature Mrs. Park concentrated largely on educational and social affairs: she served on the Education Committee, and worked for the passage of laws regulating women's employment and revising aspects of family law in the Civil Code. Rep. Park was also an advocate of the novel but unsuccessful plan to have President Rhee designate 10 districts which would have been required to elect women representatives in order to guarantee a minimum number of female representatives in the Assembly.

Mrs. Chul An Kim. Mrs. Kim was first elected in 1954, and was the only woman to serve in the Third Assembly. She had been an unsuccessful candidate in the First and Second Assembly elections, and was later re-elected to the Fourth Assembly.
Rep. Kim was a housewife by occupation, and she studied through correspondence courses from Meiji University in Japan. Her political career began with her work as an organizer for the Liberal Party in Keum Chon district, and was later active in that party's Women's Bureau.

Mrs. Kim campaigned unsuccessfully for the Fifth and Sixth Assemblies, and at age 63 she is now retired from politics.

Mrs. Yun Suk Mo. Mrs. Mo is a famous poetess and graduate of Ewha Woman's University. She started her career as a teacher at Gando Myung Shin Girls' High School, after which she became publisher of Moon Yae Magazine. During the organizational period of the Republic she became involved in diplomatic affairs, and was a member of the Korean delegation to the first United Nations Assembly in June, 1946.

Mrs. Mo was appointed to the Eighth Assembly as a member-at-large, and did not serve another term. She has apparently foresaken politics in order to devote all of her time to writing and poetry.

Mrs. Hyun Suk Park
Representative Park was elected to the Fourth and Sixth Assemblies, temporarily losing her seat in the Fifth Assembly.

She is a graduate of Soong-i Girls' High School at Pyongyang, and at an early age active in the National Liberation Movement to the extent that she was once put in jail by Japanese Colonial Administrators.
After liberation, she was active in Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party and became director of its Women's Bureau. Following her service in the Assembly, she was appointed minister-without-portfolio and special secretary to the president.

Mrs. Park is now also retired from political life.

Mrs. Mary Yi. Mrs. Yi was appointed member-at large to the Seventh Assembly, and served only that one term. She is a graduate of the University of Hawaii School of Social Work and later became a professor of Social Work at Ewha Woman's University.

She was active in the organizing of the Democratic Republican Party, and later served as both a member of the Steering Committee and as chairman of Women's Committee. Mrs. Yi is now retired, and holds honorary degrees from Ewha and Bishop Universities.

General Observations. Of the 10 female members of the 9th Assembly, two were elected on the New Democratic ticket, and eight were appointed by the Democratic-Republican Party.

The two elected representatives can be classified as career politicians; the others have diverse backgrounds in education, medicine, party affairs, and community activity.

Three are single and seven are married; the youngest, Mrs. Young Hee Suh, is 36; the oldest, Miss Sook Chong Lee, is 69; the mean age is 48.
Four have graduate degrees, four have undergraduate degrees only, and two finished their education with high school.

Seven identified themselves as middle class, two as upper class, with one abstaining. Nine were raised in the city and one was brought up in a small town.
CHAPTER VI

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF THIS CASE STUDY

As a case study this research centers around 21 particular individuals, the 12 female members of the U.S. House of Representatives, 93rd Congress and the nine serving in the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea. The impact of their individual backgrounds and temperaments seem too important to be glossed over. Consequently, although this is not intended to be a personality study or a series of biographies, these 21 persons will first be presented individually in short descriptive statements, each statement being in terms of personal background. The order of presentation will be the chronological order in which they appeared as members of their legislatures.

These biographical sketches are based primarily on interviews conducted by myself, supplemented by biographical data provided by the legislator's respective offices or published in the Congressional Directory.

Female Members of the U.S. House of Representatives

The House of Representatives contains 16 females—14 Democrats and 2 Republicans; seven of the sixteen are in their first term. I was able to personally interview 12 of the Congresswomen, and background sketches of these 12 are presented below, in the order in which the legislators were interviewed.
1. Leonor Sullivan

Mrs. Leonor Sullivan was first elected to the 83rd Congress in 1952 and has served continuously through the 93rd Congress as Democratic Representative from Missouri.

Mrs. Sullivan is the widow of Representative John B. Sullivan, who died during his fourth term in office. She decided that she would like to succeed her husband in order to continue his programs, but the local Democratic organization refused to support her. According to Mrs. Sullivan, their response to the idea was "No, because you are a woman and we want to win." Following this rejection by party leaders, an effort was made in her behalf to have Mrs. Sullivan appear on the ballot as an independent candidate. She herself halted the petition drive, saying no, please stop, "I am not an independent, I am a Democrat, and I want to run as a Democrat. Since I can't run in a primary now I will just wait, come back next election . . .," which she did.

The candidate who was nominated by the Democrats in lieu of Mrs. Sullivan promptly lost a solidly urban, working class district, in the heart of Missouri, to a Republican.

Mrs. Sullivan said she became politically motivated because she had "married into it," and her marriage to Representative Sullivan had been significantly delayed by the demands of his political career.

Leonor Sullivan is a native of St. Louis, Missouri, was educated in its public and parochial schools, and took
night classes at Washington University in the city. Not married until her late thirties, she had had sustained work experience on her own, including teaching business arithmetic and accounting at the St. Louis Comto-meter School, where she also served as Placement Director. She and John Sullivan were married in 1941, and he was first elected to Congress in 1942. "Having no children to keep her at home," Leonor served as his administrative assistant and almost invariably traveled with him in his political campaigning.

Despite her career-type background, Mrs. Sullivan does not fit the stereotype of the career-minded, equal-rights feminist. She seems to sense the limits to which she can go and still appear feminine and she stops short of that limit. She was the only female member of Congress to vote against the Equal Rights Amendment.

She is one of the few women who is known as a real expert in a given legislative area—in this case, consumer affairs. While her legislative interests have not been limited to consumer affairs, they seem to fall for the most part into those areas which by definition could be considered "feminine": education for exceptional children—both retarded and gifted, the food stamp program, and equal pay for equal work.

Her committees are Banking and Currency and Merchant Marine and Fisheries; she is chairperson of the latter. The assignment to Marine and Fisheries appears to be reasonably
functional, since her district includes the St. Louis Mississippi river port facilities.

On Banking and Currency, Mrs. Sullivan chairs the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, and from 1957 to 1972 chaired the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal.

2. Edith Green

Mrs. Edith Green and Mrs. Martha Griffiths were both first elected to the 84th Congress, and both are known as effective and "hard-nosed" politicians, though personally quite different.

Mrs. Green (D-Ore.) was elected in 1954, was sworn in and seated January 5, 1955 and has served continuously through the 93rd Congress.

No one doubts that she is immensely capable, both intellectually and politically. She is, in a word, considered by most to be a "tough" politician. She is ambitious, seldom putting in less than a 70 hour work week, and in the words of one of her colleagues, "She is absolutely married to the Congress."

She was married at the time she arrived in Washington. For her first session her husband, who had been operating a trailer court in Oregon, and her two sons accompanied her. The boys, who were of junior high and high school ages, remained with her. Her husband, Arthur Green, did not stay long in Washington, returning to the west coast to go back into business. After some time apart the separation was made.
legal and a divorce followed. Mrs. Green has publicly stated that the divorce has nothing to do with her public life.

The House seat was her first elective office, although she had two years earlier run unsuccessfully for the office of Secretary of State in Oregon. But she had always been occupationally active. She was educated in the public schools through high school and then attended Willamette University in Oregon for two years. In her late twenties she went back to school and got her B.S. degree at the University of Oregon and later did some graduate work at Stanford. Her occupa­tional pursuits included teaching school for a number of years, doing commercial radio work, and free lance writing for a few years after World War II, serving as program director of the Multnomah County Cancer Society, and finally Director of Public Relations for the Oregon Educational Association.

In the House Mrs. Green currently sits on the Appropriation Committee. According to her, she requested the assignment, "since they control the money." She was a member of the Education and Labor Committee from her first session (the 84th Congress) until the 93rd Congress. She now sits on the Appropriation's subcommittees on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and on Legislation. She has been a member of the Interior and Insular Committee (84th, 85th Congress), Merchant Marine and Fisheries (88th-90th Congress) and Select Committee on House Beauty Shop (the 90th-93rd Congress).
The Education and Labor Committee was her major interest, for she is also considered a legislative expert on higher education. In recent sessions the Education and Labor Committee has become much more active and influential than it had been for some time previously, and by the 92nd Congress she had acquired enough seniority to become a rather influential member as well.

Particularly, she used her position as chairperson of the Subcommittee on Special Education to good political advantage. She talks on the floor as much or more than any of the other women, but her comments are generally related to her committee work.

3. Martha Griffiths

Mrs. Griffiths was first elected to the 84th Congress in 1954 and has been continuously reelected since. In February 1974 she announced that she would not run in the next election, even though she had earlier during the course of her interview, expressed the desire to run for another term.

She is a Democrat from Michigan and a lawyer. A native of Missouri, she met her husband while they were both attending the University of Missouri. He subsequently passed up a chance to attend Harvard in order that they could go to law school together at the University of Michigan. As far as they know, they are the only married couple to graduate together from that law school and the only couple to have
served as judges at the same time. Since he maintains their law firm in Detroit, they are necessarily separated during the week, while Congress is in session. For this reason Mrs. Griffiths returns home most weekends. When she does not do so, her husband usually comes to Washington. They have no children. Mr. Hicks Griffiths serves as her campaign manager and brags that it was he who originally pushed her into running for office.

As is true for other women members of the Congress, Mrs. Griffiths works at maintaining an attractive and feminine appearance, and is conservative in dress. Observers see her primarily as an effective, efficient, and hard-working member who does not ask or expect attention as a woman. It is often mentioned that she asks very important and penetrating questions on the floor and in committee, and that she doesn't usually speak out unless she really understands the subject at hand.

Consequently, among her colleagues there is a great deal of respect for her ability as a legislator.

She was one of the few women ever to sit on the Ways and Means Committee, and she is on the prestigious Joint Economics Committee as well. Although appointment to the Ways and Means Committee was not officially made until John McCormack became the speaker of the House, Mrs. Griffiths claims that she had the support of the late Sam Rayburn for the position, which was no small accomplishment.

Mrs. Griffiths' primary committee assignments have involved monetary and fiscal matters. Her first committee
assignment was Banking and Currency and Government Operations Committee (84th-87th Congress). In the 87th Congress she began to sit on the Joint Economics Committee, and in the 88th Congress she became a member of the Ways and Means Committee. Also, she is chairperson of the Select Committee on the House Beauty Shop, and serves on the Select Committee on Crime.

As a legislator she has initiated some permutations of her own in behalf of the country's self-supporting women. She had not, she says, been fully aware of the large number of legislative inequities which militated against the working woman until she sat at a Ways and Means Committee meeting listening to a discussion of social security payments. According to her she is the one who put the word "sex" in the U.S. Constitution. She identified herself as being in the vanguard of women's interest.

As far as background, education, and previous political experience are concerned, Martha Griffiths holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Missouri and a law degree from the University of Michigan. After graduation she and her husband became partners in a law firm that included former governor G. Mennen Williams, a classmate in law school, during World War II.

At the age of 28 she became a contract negotiator for the federal government and negotiated all War Department ammunition purchases in Michigan and, later in the war, all
wheeled vehicle contracts as well. From 1948 to 1952 she served in the Michigan Legislature, and in 1953 the then Governor Williams appointed her as Judge and Recorder of the Recorder's Court of the City of Detroit. She had set her sights on Congress before accepting the judgeship, having campaigned unsuccessfully against labor opposition, in the Democratic primary for the 17th district. In 1954 she tried again and won and has always resisted the image of a labor-candidate.

4. Julia Butler Hansen

Mrs. Julia Butler Hansen was first elected to the 86th Congress, in 1960, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Russel V. Mack and has served continually since that time. She announced on February 11, 1974 that she will not seek a ninth term in the U.S. House of Representatives. The 86th Congress was not in session between the time of her election and the expiration of the partial term; she was sworn in and seated January 3, 1961, in the 87th Congress. She is a Democrat from the 3rd Congressional District of Washington (State).

Mrs. Hansen is known as more than just an "ordinary" woman, however that is defined. Perhaps more frequently than any other woman in the House, she is given what her male colleagues evidently consider to be the highest accolade: she thinks and politically acts like a man; i.e., she is a completely logical and rational person.
Mrs. Hansen grew up in the Northwest in a family that was long established in the territory. Born in 1907, she had the usual education through high school, and a couple of years of college, before going out to work.

After being out of college for about three years she returned, and in 1930 she received her A.B. degree from the University of Washington, studying home economics and journalism. She has used her journalism major professionally --today she writes her own newsletters--but the home economics study has been utilized primarily on behalf of her family.

After receiving her degree she went back to Cathlamet and into business again, also engaging in civic activities and politics, and by 1936 she was Democratic chairman of Wahkiakum County. According to her official biography, 1934 was a banner year for the future Congresswoman: first Singing Paddles (Binfords and Mort, Portland), her child's history of the Northwest was published and won a national award. Second, it was the year that she married Henry Hansen, a logger several years her senior. Third, it was the year that she was elected state vice-chairperson of the Young Democrats, and was first elected to the House of Representatives of the State of Washington.

In the state legislature, where she continued to serve until her election to the U.S. House in 1960, she was noted for two particular interests. One, education, was perhaps a traditional concern for women, but the other, highways, she maintained was important to her because her brother died
after a highway traffic accident. She served as committee chairwoman first of the Education Committee and later of the House Roads and Bridges Committee on Highway Policy Problems of Eleven States. While giving some indication of her leadership qualities and political know-how, these chairmanships do not give the entire picture, for Mrs. Hansen is one of the very few women to break the usual barriers against women leaders by becoming a part of the elected party leadership of the legislature. From 1955 to 1960 she served as Speaker Pro Tempore of the State House of Representatives.

In the U.S. Congress Mrs. Hansen was first assigned to the House Education and Labor Committee where she served on its subcommittees on Education, National Labor Relations, and the impact of imports and exports on American Employment. She was also on Interior and Insular Affairs, a logical choice considering her district. One mark of the degree of esteem in which she is held by the leadership is that in the 88th Congress, after serving only one full term, she was assigned to the Appropriation Committee and its subcommittee on the Department of Interior and Related Agencies.

In one sense she was lucky, for the vacancy was created by the defeat of a fellow Washingtonian, and Appropriations is concerned with geographical balance. But she herself must be given a great deal of credit for the appointment.

Her years of work in politics and especially her service in a leadership role seem to have made her aware of the value
of cooperating with the leadership and the need for party loyalty. Consequently she tends to support the party and its leadership quite faithfully. Home and business seem entirely segregated in the Hansen household. Reportedly, Mr. Hansen never goes to the office even to see her sworn in. He is now retired from the logging industry because of both age and injury, and has moved to the Capital along with their son, David.

5. Patsy T. Mink

Mrs. Patsy Takemoto Mink was first elected to the 89th Congress November 1964, and has been continuously re-elected through the 93rd Congress, from Hawaii, as a Democrat. When Mrs. Mink was elected to the House of Representatives in 1964, she was the youngest member of the Congress, representing the youngest state in the Union, and as such her arrival in Washington was marked by more attention than is usually accorded to freshman Representatives. Her image is that of a serious and reserved young woman.

Mrs. Mink was born on Maui (Island) and attended Maui High School, where she was student body president and valedictorian, got her B.A. from the University of Hawaii in 1948, and law degree from the University of Chicago in 1951. When she came home with her degree from the University of Chicago she wanted to gain experience working in a government office. She tried the territorial government offices, the City and County, the prosecutor's office, the governor's
office, and then ten or twelve private law-firms but was unable to get a job. According to her, they asked

"Q. Are you married?
A. Yes
Q. Have any children?
A. Yes
Q. Go take care of your children
A. My daughter is well cared for.
Q. You might have another."

Apparently they refused to consider her other attributes, so she started her own practice which she maintained from 1953 to 1964. Representatives (1956-1958), Territory of Hawaii Senate (1958-1959) and a member of the State of Hawaii Senate (1962-1964).

In the early fifties Hawaii was still a one-party entity: since annexation, Republicans had thoroughly controlled the territorial legislature. Patsy Mink and other young people, many of whom were returning from the mainland with wider horizons, and college degrees, were Democrats--young, idealistic, eager for reform, impatient for more recognition and a greater involvement in the affairs of the territory.

Although Mrs. Mink opened an office to practice law and accepted an appointment as a lecturer in business law at the University of Hawaii, the main thrust of her activity was political. She was so successful in organizing the Young Democrats of the territory into a strong active group that
in 1954 she became charter president of the Oahu Young Democrats, and of the Territory of Hawaii Young Democrats in 1956.

Patsy Mink's father, Suematsu Takemoto, is a civil engineer. Orphaned as a small boy, he worked his way through school, the Mid-Pacific Institute (then called Mills School), and graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1922. He was a land surveyor. Her husband, John Mink, was from the beginning intensely interested in every step of his wife's public career. Rep. Mink said, "I wouldn't have even tried except for the fact that he was always encouraging me to be active since he was confident that I had a contribution to make." The Mink's have one daughter, Wendy, who is attending the University of California at Berkeley. Mr. Mink is Vice-President of Earth Sciences, Inc., in Washington, D.C.

Education was one of Mrs. Mink's early interests, as was Interior and Insular Affairs, a result of Hawaii's peculiar location. She is a member of the Education and Labor Committee and Chairman of the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining. In addition to her own committee work she feels dual responsibility as a female legislator to represent both her district and American women in general. She said, "With so few women in Congress, I feel an obligation to respond to the needs and problems of the women in the nation. Because I am so interested in getting more women active in politics and community affairs and in really fulfilling their civic
responsibilities, I accept as many speaking engagements as I can to large gatherings of women, both in and out of Washington."

6. Margaret Heckler

Mrs. Margaret Heckler was elected to the 90th Congress November 8, 1966, was sworn in and seated January 10, 1967 and has since been re-elected continuously, as a Republican from Massachusetts.

Her career in government began in 1962 with her election to the Governor's Council in Massachusetts to which she was re-elected in 1964. She was the first woman ever to be elected to the Council and at the time was a practicing lawyer in Boston.

Her educational background includes Albertus Magnus College (A.B.) and Boston College Law School (LL.B.), where she edited the Law Review. After receiving her law degree Mrs. Heckler attended the University of Leiden in Holland, as U.S. student representative.

Through her work with the House Committee on Veteran's Affairs, Rep. Heckler has displayed a special concern for the problems of Veterans. As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, and its subcommittees on Housing, Small Business, and Consumer Affairs she is deeply involved in housing and urban problems, and among her other interests is an announced concern for women's issues, especially the problem of child care. She perceives her role as a female
legislator as one requiring her to advocate women's issues in general. She identifies herself as an issue-oriented and reform-minded legislator.

She is married to John M. Heckler, stockbroker and they have three children. The children stay with their mother in Washington, D.C., and Mr. Heckler usually travels to the Capitol for the weekend.

7. Shirley Chisholm

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm was first elected to the 91st Congress, November 5, 1968, was sworn in and seated January 3, 1969 and has held her seat through the 93rd Congress. A Democrat from New York, she was the first Black woman to be elected to the U.S. Congress.

A native of her Congressional District, Shirley Anita St. Hill Chisholm was the eldest of four girls. She graduated from the Girls High School in Brooklyn, N.Y., and went on to obtain a B.A. from Brooklyn College, and an M.A. in Education and diploma in Administration and Supervision from Columbia University.

As a schoolteacher and director of a day nursery, Mrs. Chisholm became deeply involved in all aspects of day care and education for children; her responsibilities included planning for community facilities programs and in-service training. It was during her early years in this environment and working in the background of local politics that she met her husband, Conrad Q. Chisholm. They were married in 1949.
He has since given her much encouragement and practical help both in her campaigns and Congressional duties. The Chisholms have no children.

In the 91st Congress, Rep. Chisholm was assigned to the Veterans' Affairs Committee because, according to her it was relevant to her constituency. When the 92nd Congress convened Mrs. Chisholm was assigned to the House Education and Labor Committee, which is her primary field of concentration and interest. She serves on the Select Education, General Education and Agricultural Labor Subcommittees. She is also a member of Congressional Black Caucus.

Mrs. Chisholm has written two books: The first, entitled Unbought and Unbossed was published in 1970 and is an autobiography, covering early childhood through her election as a U.S. Representative. Her second book, The Good Fight, recounts the experiences that Mrs. Chisholm encountered as a presidential candidate. In The Good Fight she states that "Of my two handicaps, being female put many more obstacles in my path than being black." She is the only woman ever to declare herself a major party presidential candidate.

8. Majorie Holt

Mrs. Majorie Holt was elected to the 93rd Congress, November 7, 1972; she is the first woman from Maryland to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on the Republican ticket.
Mrs. Holt has served on the executive board of the Legislative Committee of the Maryland Clerk's Association, has been a member of the Maryland Governor's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, and served on the Housing Committee of the Anne Arundel County Human Relations Commission.

She attended Jacksonville University and the University of Florida Law School, receiving her J.D. in 1949. Her husband, Duncan, is an engineer, and they have three children and three grandchildren.

Rep. Holt is a member of the Armed Services Committee and is treasurer of the Congressional 93rd Club (for freshman representatives). She has been active on issues relating to crime and stresses her opposition to cross-district school busing.

9. Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs

Mrs. Lindy Boggs is the widow of the former Majority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, Hale Boggs, who in October, 1972 was killed in an airplane crash in Alaska. She succeeded her husband, and is the first woman in the history of Louisiana to be elected to the House of Representatives, where she serves on the Banking and Currency Committee.

Since her husband, Hale Boggs, was first elected to Congress in January 1941, Lindy has been active on many fronts, not only for the National Democratic Party, but also for Mr. Boggs in Louisiana.
During this period Mrs. Boggs achieved another first, as the only woman in U.S. history to serve as Co-Chairman for the Inaugural Balls of two presidents: that of the late President Kennedy in 1961, and of the late President Johnson in 1965.

Mrs. Boggs is a graduate of Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, and first met her husband while he was editor of the school newspaper, The Hullabaloo. (She was on the staff as a woman's editor.) After graduating from Newcomb, and prior to her marriage in 1938, she taught history and English at public schools in St. James Parish, Louisiana.

In Washington, she was active in countless other political and civic events and organizations. Mrs. Boggs is a past President of the Woman's National Democratic Club and of the Democratic Congressional Wives Forum, and has been active on the Boards of Family and Child Services, Goodwill Industry, American Field Service, and Friendship Settlement House on Capitol Hill. Rep. Boggs has three adult children, all of whom are active in politics.

10. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke.

Mrs. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, a Democrat, was elected to the 93rd Congress November 7, 1972, and was sworn in and seated in January 1973. She was the first woman in California to be elected to the House. She was a practicing attorney for ten years (1956-1966) during which time she
served as a Deputy Corporation Commissioner, a Hearing Officer for the Police Commission and as an attorney on the staff of the McConne Commission which investigated the Watts riots.

In 1966, Mrs. Burke was elected to the California State Legislature from the 63rd Assembly District, Los Angeles. During the 1971 and 1972 sessions, she was Chairperson of the Assembly Committee on Urban Development and Housing, while at the same time serving as member of the Health and of the Finance and Insurance Committees. After three terms in the Assembly, aided by the television exposure she received as Vice Chairperson of the 1972 Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach, Florida, she captured a newly created congressional district in Los Angeles.

A native of Los Angeles, Mrs. Burke graduated from Manual Arts High School, received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from UCLA, and her J.D. from the USC School of Law in 1956. She was admitted to the California Bar the same year. While a law student she was a member of the Moot Court for Appelate Arguments and received other campus honorary awards.

Immediately after her election to Congress in November, 1972, Mrs. Burke was selected by Harvard University as a Fellow in the Institute of Politics, which is a part of the John F. Kennedy School of Government. As a Fellow, she was involved in seminars and informal meetings with the instructors
and students of Harvard, offering insights and observations regarding government and the political process.

She is interested in and an articulate advocate of consumer and environmental protection and women's and minority rights. Her current committees are Public Works and Interior and Insular Affairs, dealing with legislation on highway construction, land use planning, and energy research and development.

She was married during the campaign and was the first Congressional Representative ever to take a maternity leave.

11. Cardiss Collins

Mrs. Cardiss Collins, Democrat from Illinois, was elected June 5, 1973, to fill her husband's unexpired term.

Mrs. Collins was born in St. Louis, Missouri; her family later moved to Detroit, where she graduated from the Detroit High School of Commerce. Mrs. Collins later moved to Chicago, where she attended Northwestern University.

She began her governmental career as a stenographer with the Illinois Department of Labor, was promoted to secretary with the Illinois Department of Revenue, and then to accountant in that department. Eventually she attained the position of Revenue Auditor, where she remained until announcing her candidacy for the House.

She is a committeewoman for Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization, and was deeply involved in her late husband's successful campaigns for U.S. House of
Representatives. She was not only his most trusted con-
fidant, but was well known as her husband's chief ally and
behind-the-scenes strategist while he served in Congress.

Her committee assignment is Government Operations and
she serves on the Subcommittees of Legal and Monetary Affairs
and Governmental Activities.

12. Pat Schroeder

Mrs. Pat Schroeder, a Democrat was first elected
to the 93rd Congress, and is Colorado's first woman representa-
tive.

She graduated as a Phi Beta Kappa member in three years
from the University of Minnesota and received her law degree
from Harvard. She spent some time teaching and worked as an
attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. She is 33
years of age, and the mother of two children, ages seven and
three. Her husband, James Schroeder, is an attorney in
Washington, D.C.

She regrets the fact that she is unable to spend more
time with her family, saying, "I sometimes think politicians
have families only so that their picture can appear on their
campaign posters."

Mrs. Schroeder is a member of the Armed Services Com-
mittee, an assignment she justifies as follows:

Everyone is always talking about our defense efforts
in terms of defending women and children, but no one
ever asks the women and children who are being pro-
tected what they think.
She also sits as a member of the Post Office Committee and the Civil Service Committee of Investigations.

**General Observations**

Of the 93rd Congress 16 female legislators, 12 were interviewed, but the following statistics will cover all sixteen.

Only 2 members (Mrs. Heckler and Mrs. Holt) are Republican; the other 14 are Democrats. Of the 16 two (Elizabeth Holzman and Barbara Jordan) are single, 14 are married. Two were elected to fill the vacancies of their husbands: Mrs. Lindy Boggs and Mrs. Cardiss Collins. Seven of the women are in their first term in Congress. Nine are attorneys. All the first term female legislators are attorneys except for the two who were elected to complete their husbands' unexpired terms.

All have attended college, and 11 members hold either graduate or law degrees. The youngest is Miss Elizabeth Holtzman (32) and the oldest is Mrs. Leonor Sullivan (72).

Of the twelve who were interviewed:

--Eight identified themselves as middle class; one as upper middle class; three don't believe in class designations

--Eight of the women were raised in cities, three in small towns and one (Mrs. Boggs) on a plantation

--Eleven of the interviewees considered themselves "active" as students
--Eight were the eldest or only child in the family
--None except the two Congressmen's wives thought
that they had received strong party support.

**Female Members of the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea**

The 9th Assembly of Korea is entirely different from the first eight assemblies. On October 17, 1972, President Park imposed Martial Law on all of South Korea and dissolved the National Assembly. Ten days after the imposition of Martial Law, an amendment to the constitution--in fact, a new constitution--was proposed, and was approved (91%) in a National referendum, on November 29, 1972. The new constitution gives President Park virtually continuous powers of martial law for the election for the National Assembly on February 27, 1973, two-thirds of the membership was chosen by direct popular election; the remaining one-third was appointed by the President, and approved by the National Conference for Unification and Self-reliance on March 7, 1973.

Under the new constitution two females were elected out of the 144 elected members, and eight women were among the 73 members appointed by the President and approved by the National Conference for Unification and Self-reliance. Thus, 10 of the 217 members of the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea are women.
Individual Personalities

1. Miss Ok Sun Kim

Miss Kim was first elected to the 7th Assembly. She appeared to have lost the election, but appealed the results, charging her opponent with corrupt practices. Her court case was successful, and she was seated in the Assembly. She had been an unsuccessful candidate for the Fifth and Sixth Assemblies, and lost in her bid for re-election to the Eighth Assembly. She later campaigned successfully in the 9th Assembly elections.

Rep. Kim is a graduate of Choonang University, where she majored in political science. She established the Everettcel Social Welfare Center for orphans and widows, and served as principal of Jungi Girls' High School and Woni Boys' High School in Sousan, Chungchung Province.

Her main legislative interest is education and welfare, and in the Seventh Assembly she served on the Education and Public Information Committee. She is currently a member of the Agriculture and Fishery Committee, and is a leader of the New Democratic (opposition) party, which she serves as director of the Women's Bureau.

Rep. Kim is 40 years old, and in addition to her legislative activities, is enrolled as a doctoral student in political science at Chungang University.

During her interview, Miss Kim stressed the fact that as a legislator, she felt handicapped by her sex. Thus she
dresses and grooms herself (quite successfully) to look masculine. In addition, she believes that it is important for a legislator to be unmarried; to be successful, one must be self-sacrificing and devoted only to national service, and a family would only interfere with her work as a public servant.

Miss Kim prefers to identify herself as a representative of the people or nation as a whole, rather than an advocate of women's interests. Being a good representative of the people is difficult, she believes, because she is forced to "combine and compromise Christian ethics and politics." Rep. Kim is a dedicated Christian, and as a member of the Morning Prayer Group, she is the only female member of any semi-formal caucus in the legislature.

2. Mrs. Moo In Huh

Mrs. Huh was appointed member-at-large to the Ninth Assembly by the Democratic Republican (government) party, and served on the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee.

Mrs. Huh is from Pusan, and a graduate of Kyongnam Girls' High School. She was the first woman to be elected to the Pusan City Council, and served as chairman of its Education and Social Committee. She was also a member of the City Education Board, and was a pioneer in the Pusan Sae Maul (New Village) movement.

Mrs. Huh offers a somewhat different concept of the role of the legislator: since voters generally do not understand issues, it is the duty of a representative to work for the
policies of the government and/or the party; service in the legislature is a type of high-level community work. Thus, she appears well suited to fulfill the role of party-appointed legislator. (Note: Mrs. Huh died in December, 1974, while this dissertation was being prepared.)

3. Miss Ok Ja Kim

Miss Kim was first appointed to the 8th Assembly to fill the seat vacated by Rep. Jae Ho Kil (who retired for political reasons), and was reappointed to the Ninth Assembly. A graduate of Seoul National University School of Law, Miss Kim worked for the Seoul Newspaper before joining the staff of the Democratic Republican Party. A member of the party at its birth, she worked at the Secretariat, rising to the position of Director of the Women's Bureau and later to Assistant Director of the Department of Organization.

In the Eighth Assembly Miss Kim served on the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee and in the 9th Assembly became the first woman ever to serve on the Finance Committee.

In the Assembly, Miss Kim is known for her tendency to avoid informal political relationships and alliances. She believes that "It is obvious that female members are somewhat restricted in the legislature, but it is still possible to be active without participating in informal group meetings."

She believes that being a woman does not necessarily handicap her in the Assembly, and she resents being classified primarily as a "female" legislator. She added, "People tend
to stereotype female members, but they cannot be stereotyped, because they have all had different socialization processes, and they are all different individuals."

Rep. Kim said she should represent women's interests because women are not treated as equals in Korean society, and that men have not in the past, and are not now representing women's interests in the legislature. She believes that the situation women face can only be changed when all women become conscious of their equal status as human beings, and act accordingly.

4. Mrs. Yoon Duk Kim

Mrs. Kim was first appointed to the 8th Assembly as a member-at-large by the New Democratic Party. She was later elected to the 9th Assembly on New Democratic ticket, as representative from the Kwangsan-Naju District. Mrs. Kim served on the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee in both assemblies.

A graduate of Sunggunkwan University Law School, Rep. Kim worked as a party functionary prior to her legislative appointment. She and her husband, a businessman, have six children.

Mrs. Kim does not believe that it is impossible to combine a professional career and a family. "I rarely miss dinner with my family," she says, "My main concern is my six children and my husband. That's why I work two or three times harder than other women. I am doing my job as a mother
and wife as well as a legislator. It is hard but I do it without having enough sleep."

Unlike Ok Sun Kim, she believes that it is important for a woman to appear feminine. Unlike her colleague, Mrs. Kim believes that all women should marry, and that given the minority status of women in the legislature, it is important that she represent specifically women's interests. In short, she believes that she was elected as a women, to work for women's issues, and that it is her duty to fulfill this mandate; in this respect she contrasts sharply with Rep. Ok Sun Kim, who is the only other truly elected female legislator in the assembly.

5. Mrs. Im Hoe Koo

Mrs. Koo was appointed member-at-large to the 9th Assembly by the Democratic Republican Party, and is a member of the Social and Welfare Committee.

Prior to her appointment, Mrs. Koo was active in party affairs. She is a medical doctor (graduate of Seoul Women's Medical School), a specialist in work with retarded children. Rep. Koo is 55 years old, and she and her husband have three daughters.

She has some experience in women's organizations, and has developed definite and articulate ideas on women and politics. Regarding the small number of women in the Assembly, she says, "I think we have a good number of women compared to other national legislatures, and I also think that we have a
shortage of women qualified for such positions." Or, if women are qualified, "they are not as ambitious as men are in politics. Many tend to think of a job of any sort as a waiting room for marriage."

She believes that in the current situation, women are limited due to lack of education and political socialization. Before this can be corrected, she says, women must overcome the role strain which results from the restrictive and often conflicting tenets of Korean family life, and this is necessarily an individual matter--she thinks ascribed role strain has nothing to do with social norms or systems. Therefore, the burden of proof is on the individual woman, on her attitude as a human being.

6. Mrs. Bum Joon Lee

Mrs. Lee was appointed by the Democratic Republican Party as a member-at-large to the 9th Assembly. She is a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and she was a R.O.K. delegate to the U.N. General Assembly in 1973, and to the international Parliamentary Union Convention in 1974.

Rep. Lee graduated from Kentucky State University (political science) and received a Ph.D. in International Relations from American University. Before her appointment to the legislature, Mrs. Lee taught international relations at Ewha Woman's University.

She is married to Dr. Jungsoo Park, former Vice-Minister without portfolio and now a professor at Kook Min College. They have one son.
Rep. Lee relates that she has experienced a great deal of personal difficulty in her role as a legislator. Her husband unsuccessfully sought nomination for a seat in the 9th Assembly; she had refused a nomination to the 8th, but her husband later insisted that she accept nomination when it was again offered, for the 9th Assembly. She had refused once because of him, and then accepted at his insistence. According to her, their son has asked her such questions as "why are you a legislator and daddy a teacher?" She says that it would not be as difficult, if her husband was not interested in politics, but he is, and dislikes the inevitable comparisons. Therefore, she suggests, it would be an advantage, at least personally, for a woman politician to remain single, and she would probably be better able to function as a legislator.

Mrs. Lee also related an incident which she feels indicates the problems a woman has within the legislature. Members of the U.S. House of Representatives were invited to a joint conference with delegates of the Korean Assembly. As one of the two Assemblywomen who spoke English, Mrs. Lee was appointed to help entertain the wives of the Congressmen. She complained to the vice-speaker, and as a result she and the other English-speaking Assemblywoman, Young Hee Suh, were reassigned as delegates to the conference. "This is exactly how most male politicians originally perceive our functions," she said, "but when I complained, they listened."
She believes that she had to work extra hard in the Assembly in order to be accepted as a colleague. "There are no differences in ability or qualification," she says, "but our activities in the legislature are limited because we are women. (Maybe I am just showing my inferiority complex as a woman)."

7. Mrs. Young Hee Suh

Mrs. Suh is another appointee of the Democratic Republican Party, and sits on the 9th Assembly's Committee on Construction.

Rep. Suh attended Ewha Women's University, where she majored in French, and later studied at Missouri State University and at the Graduate School of Communication, Seoul National University.

She is 36 years old, married, and has no children.

Mrs. Suh says simply, "We spend most of our energy fighting discrimination against women, and are unable to direct our energies toward positive programs which would really be helpful--to women and everyone. That is the disadvantage inherent in being a woman in the Korean Assembly."

8. Miss Sook Chong Lee

Miss Lee was also appointed to the 9th Assembly as member-at-large by the Democratic-Republican Party. She is a member of the Education and Information Committee, and her legislative activity has focused mainly on educational and women's issues.
Rep. Lee is a graduate of the Japanese Women's Art College and of the Tokyo Imperial University, College of Arts and Science. She is the founder of Sungshin Women's College, served as the first Dean of that institution, and is currently chairman of the Board of Trustees. In addition, Mrs. Lee is president of the National Organization of Women.

In her interview, Miss Lee stressed one particular problem she encountered which might serve as an example of one of the difficulties forced by reform movements of all types: ideals v. practicality.

Rep. Lee was appointed to the Assembly because she is a recognized women's leader. In addition to the above, she is chairwoman of the Pan Women's Committee to Revise Family Law in the Civil Code, a group which contains 61 member organizations. It appeared to her that the revisions devised by the Committee were too radical to be accepted by the Assembly, so on her own initiative she asked a team of family-law scholars to revise the revision without consulting other leaders. When confronted with complaints about her action, Miss Lee replied that laws should be formulated and proposed by legislators, not interest groups. She added, "Since I found the revisions too radical to be passed by the Assembly, I thought I should alter them in part, and I did." As a result several organizations withdrew support for the committee. In order to maintain solidarity she submitted the original, radical plan instead of the more moderate one, and predictably it failed
to pass in the Assembly. She has since submitted the moderate plan. Miss Lee hopes to retire after the current session.

9. Mrs. Jung Ja Park

Mrs. Park was appointed to the 9th Assembly by the Democratic-Republican Party, and currently sits on the Agriculture and Fishery Committee. She previously worked within the party, and has served as director of its Women's Bureau.

Rep. Park is a graduate of Ewha Woman's University (fine arts) and of Yonsei University School of Business Administration. Prior to her political career she taught at Samchunpo Girls' High School and was active in the Y.W.C.A.

Mrs. Park is 47 years old, is married to a businessman, and is the mother of five children.

Mrs. Park stated that the reason that she asked to sit on the Agriculture and Fisheries Committee is that she does not want to be identified with other woman legislators, and wants to avoid building stereotypes. (She believes that the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee is a "Woman's Committee."

In a way, however, her committee is also a sort of "woman's committee," as women are the major labor source in the agricultural and fishing areas of Korea. One might say that she is working for women's issues on the grass-roots level. She is, in addition, involved with the New Village Movement, which is aimed at improving the living standards of women in the countryside.
CHAPTER VII
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will discuss the role perception matrix developed for the purpose of studying female legislators, the guiding hypotheses, the method of data collection, and how these data relate to the hypotheses and plan of analysis.

**Model to be Tested**

**Role-Perception Matrix of Female Legislators**

The matrix which classifies female legislators according to their role perceptions will be used. There will be four types of female legislators classified according to (1) their beliefs regarding the roles women should play, and (2) their action in the behaving situation. Role strain will vary among the four legislator types, which have been designated Conformist, Idealist, Feminist and Liberationist.

The matrix shown below (Table 7) was developed to help visualize a juxtapositioning of the two variables with which we are concerned: the legislator's beliefs on the proper status of women in society (either dependent or independent), and that legislator's behaving situation. Whether she works for or represents women's interest to be of dependent or independent nature. According to these two variables four female legislator types will be classified: Conformist,
Table 7

Four Female Legislator Types
(classified according to their values (as women) concerning the role women should play in society, and their own actions in the behaving situation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Her belief of women and women legislators should be</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Idealist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Liberationist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The term "feminist" is usually used to describe a person who supports the theory of the political, social and economic equality of the sexes, and/or one who is active on behalf of women's rights and interests. We are using a different definition--see page 109.
Idealist, Feminist and Liberationist. We would expect our respondents to divide into categories that reflect different styles of personal behavior in the legislatures, and role strain should vary according to type. A legislator who perceives congruence between her values and behaving situation, it is predicted, will be subject to less strain as a consequence of her ascribed role. Here Conformist and Liberationist will feel less role strain because there is considerable congruence between these two variables. Likewise, the legislators whose profile indicates considerable incongruence between these two variables— that is Idealist and Feminist types—will feel more ascribed role strain than will their colleagues of the same sex.

Guiding Hypotheses

The female legislators who adhere most closely as female to the social norm will encounter the least ascribed role strain among the four types. Precisely, the female legislators who maintain both the role-perception "dependent" and congruence between values and the behaving situation will face least ascribed role strain (this is the Conformist type); and, secondly, the female legislator who perceives congruence between "women as independent" values and the behaving situation (Liberationist) will face less ascribed role strain than will the two classes whose values and behavior are relatively incongruent. Thus, we can derive the following hypotheses.
Hypothesis 1.

All female legislators of the two countries will have some role strain. Consequently, they will probably develop their own techniques for reducing this role strain, which varies according to legislator type. That type experiencing the highest congruence between values and behaving situation will face the least ascribed role strain. Furthermore the four legislature types can be ranked by degree of experienced role strain as follows (low to high): Conformist, Liberationist, Feminist and Idealist.

1. We experience that some of the techniques female legislators probably use in reducing role strain will be: reducing family responsibility (single, divorced or no children), choice of occupations (becoming a teacher, community leader, etc. before they became legislators), legislative behavior (committee assignment: to less exclusive committees or to female-related committees), and age (to enter politics at a more advanced age than is normal for men). These will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

2. Even though they try to have their own techniques to reduce ascribed role strain, they will still face this role strain in various fields, such as allocation of official trips as legislators or accessibility to informal groups within legislatures. (This hypothesis will be covered in Chapter VIII.)

3. Female legislators in the U.S. will have more role strain than female legislators in Korea. Korea will have more Conformist, and U.S. will have more Liberationist types (Chapter VIII will deal with this hypothesis).

Dominant cultural norms in most countries, East and West, minimize the participation of women in political life by a system of social role perception, which operates to restrict the motivations of women to participate in political and economic societies. The existing literature, dealing almost exclusively with women as members of mass publics, indicates that the critical difference between the sexes in
the political world is that women are basically less competitive than men.

Hypothesis 2

For those females who have become legislators, a distinct, i.e., highly politicized family background and socialization process may be prerequisites for later involvement. This may help explain why there are so few women in politics.

1. A higher proportion of female legislators than male legislators will lower their initial interests in politics during childhood or adolescence in both countries. Because politics is not normally regarded as a female's field of interest, they may have been motivated by unusual events or situations. (This will be discussed in the next chapter.)

2. A higher proportion of female legislators will come from politicized family backgrounds than will male legislators in both countries. (Chapter VIII, section 1, will cover this hypothesis.)

Operationalization of the Concepts

For purposes of this study, the following definitions have been employed:

ascribed role - being a female

role strain - felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligation as legislator because of being female

male or female - simple biological division of sex (value-free)

men or women - division of sexes with certain expectations by society (value-laden)

sets of value - female legislators sex role-perception of women as dependent or independent with respect to men and to various institutions

behaving situation - female legislators behavior patterns with respect to women's issues. She might behave (vote or prepare and pass bills) as a representative of women's interests; this behavior might reinforce either independent or dependent aspects of women's status.
dependent - female seen as good wife and worthy mother first. Belief that male and female have job and/or role distinctions.

independent - female seen as good wife, worthy mother and capable of further attainments. Belief that males and females should have no job or role distinctions.

Conformist - female legislator who perceives congruence between sets of values and behaving situation, with the female as dependent.

Liberationist - female legislator who perceives congruence between sets of values and behaving situation with the female as independent.

Idealist - female legislator who perceives incongruence between sets of values and behaving situation. She believes females should be independent but she votes or works for women as dependent ends.

Feminist - female legislator who perceives incongruence between sets of values and behaving situation. She sees the female as dependent but she votes or works as a member of the vanguard of the movement for women's independence.

Data Collection

This empirical exploration of female legislator's role analyses is primarily based on private interviews, tape-recorded with the subjects' consent. Interviews, observations, and document collection were carried out both in Seoul, Korea and Washington, D.C., from January to May, 1974.

Interview

In-depth interviews were conducted with 49 people and varied in particular techniques from one situation to another.
Following are the general categories of interviewees and a brief description of the style of the interview.

1. Female legislators: The critical group from which to gain data is, of course, the female legislators themselves. Letters were sent to each of the female legislators briefly explaining the project and sponsorship and requesting an interview. I was asked by letter to contact their administrative assistants (or secretaries) when I arrived in Washington and Seoul. In both Washington and Seoul I contacted appointment secretaries, made appointments, and had interviews with female legislators. Semi-structured interview schedules were prepared in both Korean and English for the two-person interview situation with long probes, many opportunities for discussions, and open-ended and situational kinds of questions.

The interviews have been tape-recorded with permission of the respondents. In the U.S. House of Representatives 12 female members were interviewed out of a total of 16 female members. I failed to interview four members for the following reasons: Representatives Elizabeth Holtzman and Barbara Jordan were busy as members of the House Judiciary Committee on "Watergate"; Representative Ella Grasso was running for governor of Connecticut and spent most of her time in her home state. Two appointments were made with Representative Bella Abzug, but she failed to keep either. Her appointment secretary asked me to leave the questionnaire with the empty cassette tape, but neither were returned.
In the National Assembly of Korea nine out of 10 female members have been interviewed. I was unable to interview Representative Bok Hyang Chung due to her absence. Instead, I was fortunate to be able to interview (retired) Representative Soon Chun Park, who was the first woman to ever serve as opposition party leader.

The tape-recorded interviews lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to about about one and a half hours, averaging 50 minutes.

2. Administrative assistants and legislative assistants: The purpose of these interviews was to gain more information from the staff members, especially from the staffs of those legislators whom I failed to interview. Some members (Edith Green, Cardiss Collins) suggested I interview their administrative assistants or legislative assistants prior to their own interviews in order to save their time. In those two cases only some essential questions were asked of the members at the U.S. House of Representatives; the remainder were answered by assistants. In five other cases, assistants provided useful additional information. In Korea, only three secretaries were interviewed (legislators usually have one or two assistants, and refer to them as secretary).

3. Miscellaneous interviews. In addition to the female legislators and their legislative assistants (or secretaries) I conducted several supplemental interviews:
male legislators, newspeople, an assistant to the Democratic Study Group (U.S. Congress), and the director of the Rules Bureau of the secretariat of the National Assembly of Korea.

Five male members of the U.S. House, including (former) Chairman of the Armed Services Committee Edward Herbert were interviewed; 7 members of the Korean National Assembly were interviewed, including two vice-speakers.

Observation

Another technique was that of observation, including some participant-observation as an office staff member. Several days were spent both in the House and in committee hearings to aid in a general understanding of practices and atmosphere of the House (Assembly), and specifically to observe the female member at work. Since the National Assembly of Korea had recessed during the period I visited Korea (March to May, 1974) I was unable to observe the Assembly as a whole but I did observe several committee hearings. Because the Assembly is entirely controlled by the President and Ruling (Democratic Republican) Party, the Assembly is usually in a state of recess; the exceptions are those occasions on which the administration wants some law passed.

Documents

A third major technique was that of using documents of various sorts for several kinds of data for both countries
such as The Congressional Quarterly, The Congressional Record, Congressional Digest, National Assembly Review, and the like was also used. In the U.S., the reports of the Congressional fellows of the female members were collected through the American Political Science Association.

Also, articles and books which were written by and about female legislators were reviewed. These materials provided a background, but I emphasized the long, loosely structured interviews with female members which has been done by the author during the field work.

**Plans of Analysis**

In order to identify the female legislators' role-perceptions (either dependent or independent) (see Table 7), question number 23 of the interview schedule was used: "Do you think that you have a special task (or role expectation), because you are a female legislator, compared to male legislators? If you think you have a special task, what is it? How do you think you have done so far as a legislator?" In other words, question 23 was used to identify the legislator's beliefs on the general role of women: that is, dependent or independent.

Question 22-b ("What is your opinion of the women's liberation movement? How do you define it?") was also used to help determine beliefs on "women as dependent/independent."

The behaving situation (see Table 7) was identified through
questions 22-a and 22-c which were presented as follows.
22-a) "What is your opinion of the Equal Rights Amendment (or Revise Family Law in the Civil Code)? How did you vote?"
22-c) "Is there any other bill you have specially proposed for women? (If so, what was it?)"

According to the concepts defined above, question 23 was coded as either "yes" or "no" (yes is regarded as independent and no is regarded as dependent). However, if a female legislator answered "yes" to question 23, but her ideas about woman's liberation contain the belief that males and females should have job or role distinction, her beliefs were classified "dependent."

In order to determine the behaving situation, a female legislator who proposed (or voted "yes" on) a bill specifically for women was regarded as "independent"; if she did neither of the above she was regarded as "dependent." If a legislator proposed or voted "yes's on a bill for women which tended to reinforce their secondary protected or dependent status, her behaving situation was regarded as "dependent." (For example, bills related to cosmetics, etc.).

Specifically, the legislator types were classified as shown in the chart below. The characteristics of the four legislator types will be discussed in Chapter IX.
The Congressional Quarterly, Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Congressional Record Index were reviewed to determine the female legislators' voting behavior and committee activities with respect to women's issues. Unfortunately in the 93rd Congress, the House of Representatives did not consider any bills pertaining specifically to women's affairs.

The 9th Assembly of Korea met for only about one month after being sworn in and seated (in effect having been prolonged by the government party) and had no opportunity to consider women-related issues. The review was intended as a means of testing the respondents' adherence to various statements made in the interviews.
CHAPTER VIII
FEMALE LEGISLATORS AND THE PHENOMENA OF ROLE STRAIN

The smoke-filled rooms, Giseng-party, poker or whatu-Korean games exclude women from the fellowship and cronyism that seal the bonds of power. Then how can these female legislators survive in their political environments without these relationships? We will explore what kind of role strain the female legislators feel and how they develop strain-reducing techniques. First, we will review general problems and second, we will look at the legislator types.

It is my assumption that female legislators face role strain in the recruitment process, committee assignments, informal group meetings and the socialization process.

The recruitment process of female legislators is different from that of male legislators in both countries. In the U.S. House of Representatives, as Bullock and Hays have stated,¹ 41 percent of women entered by filling vacancies created by the death of their husbands. The remaining female legislators filled mid-term vacancies but are not widows of previous incumbents. In the 93rd Congress,

only two out of 16 female legislators were elected after their husbands were killed (in plane accidents): Lindy Boggs of Louisiana and Cardiss Collins of Illinois. Female legislators who enter politics this way often turn out to be fine candidates and politicians and may well, as Martin Gruberg has noted, become more prominent than their husbands. Another difference is that female legislators generally have no party support for nomination. Recently, women's chances for nomination have increased in what are known as "throwaway districts," districts in which the candidate is expected to lose, either because of a strong incumbent, a strong machine, or a combination of both in the opposition. Pat Schroeder of Colorado might be a good example of the "throwaway districts" nomination. Representative Leonor Sullivan from St. Louis, Missouri said during her interview, "The hardest thing for a woman is to get nominated . . . It's difficult for a woman to get in . . . It's the same now as twenty years ago."

In the Korean National Assembly the situation is entirely different from the U.S. House of Representatives. Most female legislators are elected as members at large. After the Martial Law Proclamation of 1972, according to the New Constitution the National Assembly would be composed of

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members elected by the citizenry and of members elected by the National Conference for Unification. (Practically all are appointed by the President, because the National Conference for Unification only approves the Presidential nominees.) One-third (71) of the members were appointed by the President and approved by the National Conference for Unification. The National Assembly of Korea has 10 female members out of 217. Among the 10 female legislators only two were elected (both of them in the opposition party) and eight female legislators were appointed by the President.

Socialization Process and Social Background of Female Legislators

Many scholars\(^3\) have indicated that the greater personal resources afforded by higher income and educational attainment might be necessary for a female to overcome (or reduce) the role strain presumably created by sex-role typing in the United States. Our study supports such an indication and demonstrates that it is also true in Korea.

Female legislators in both countries come from the middle class or upper middle class. In the U.S. House of

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Representatives, eight members identify themselves as middle class, one as upper-middle class and three members reject the question, asserting that they don't believe in class, but in equality. In the National Assembly of Korea, seven were identified as middle class and two as upper class.

The educational backgrounds of legislators in both countries include graduation from either college or graduate schools except for one female legislator in Korea. In her case she was appointed as a legislator for recognition of her community work (especially the Saemaul movement), and is only a high school graduate. In the U.S. House of Representatives five are either graduates or attended colleges and seven are graduates of law school or have other advanced degrees. In Korea, all have advanced degrees except for the one member whose formal education stopped at high school. For female legislators in both countries the educational levels are higher than those of their parents.

Their ages ranged greatly in both countries, in the U.S. Congress from 31 to 72 and from 34 to 71 in the National Assembly. Formerly, female legislators were older than male legislators, but according to our research the mean age of females is 45, compared to 52.9 for males in the U.S. 93rd Congress. In the 9th Assembly of Korea, the average age of female legislators is 49.4 compared to 49.96 for males. Therefore, age differences are gradually changing, and the gap between male and female mean ages is becoming insignificant.
Comparing male and female congressional experience in the U.S. 93rd Congress, female members on the average have 10.3 years, while male legislators average 12.09 years of congressional experience. In the 9th Assembly of Korea, male legislators average 6.3 years experience compared to 2.4 years for female legislators.4

The female legislators in the U.S. are all married, except for two, Barbara Jordan and Elizabeth Holtzman, whom I was unable to interview. Three of them are widows of former congressmen, one is divorced and eight of them have husbands. In Korea, three are not married, one is a widow and five have husbands. All female legislators in the U.S. have fewer than three children, but in Korea they have more, with one female legislator in Korea having six children. When female legislators were asked about marriage in relation to running for office, all of those in the U.S. 93rd Congress agreed that it doesn't matter, but in Korea one single female legislator strongly believes marriage can be a hindrance to a legislator, and another legislator, who is married, insists that everybody should marry in order to understand the real world and to be a successful legislator. Most of them, however, agree the marital status doesn't matter much any more. In the U.S. they believe married

women can have a better chance to be elected, but in the 93rd Congress there are two young single first-term congresswomen.

Representative Marjorie Holt responded to the question as follows:

Interviewer: Do you think marital status is one of the [most] important factors in order to be elected as a legislator? Why? What status might be the best? (single, married, widow, etc.). Is it the same with men as with women?

Marjorie Holt: No, I don't think that's true anymore. It might have been true at one time but I think today a lot of the stigma of being unmarried or childless has passed. If you looked at some of the successful women, I think you found frequently they are unmarried. I think it's not a stigma anymore. I think it is one of the things which comes out of women's lib.

Martha Griffiths: Once we had widows, then we had married women and now we have singles.

When the Eagleton Center had a Conference on Women State Legislators, the state legislators agreed many women voters react negatively to the single female candidate. According to the report, "one unmarried legislator distributes recipe size index cards printed with her picture and political information on one side and favorite recipes on the other." Another joined the country club to further her "I'm just like you girls" image.


\[6\] Ibid.
But as Representative Holt mentioned, the "single" stigma may be entirely ignored today because of women's liberation in the United States. In Korea there was a tendency to favor a single woman over a married one in professional fields. Early female educators, for example, were all single. At one big woman's university the president is supposed to be single and all the students are expected to be single. Therefore, the situation in the two countries has been entirely different, but it is gradually changing and marital status may not be an important factor for election to public office.

If a woman is married, however, the support of her husband apparently is a most important factor. Most women legislators in the two countries who are married have had strong support from their husbands. This might produce another role strain for female legislators. Representative Griffiths pointed out that the reason for the small number of women in legislatures is the importance of the husband for the female's success.

Interviewer: Could you tell me, what is the reason for the small number of women in the legislature?

Martha Griffiths: Not every woman has my husband.

A story about Representative Coya Knutson can represent a case of failure as a female legislator without a husband's support. Representative Coya Knutson (D-Minnesota) served two terms (84th and 85th Congresses) and ran for a third term
but her husband, Andrew, publicized the phrase, "Coya come home. Our home life has deteriorated to the extent that it is practically nonexistent." She was defeated.

All the female legislators in both countries had occupational experience of more than 10 years except that a couple of them were elected or appointed as young congresswomen in the 93rd Congress or the 9th Assembly. Their occupational experiences are in various fields in Korea, but in the U.S. 93rd Congress there are more attorneys than in any other Congress. There are nine attorneys in the 93rd Congress; of seven first-term congresswomen who came to the 93rd Congress, five are attorneys, and two are widows of late congressmen, elected by special elections.

In the U.S. Congress about two-thirds of the legislators are attorneys; before the 93rd Congress there were only a few attorneys among the female legislators but in the 93rd Congress the proportion is roughly the same as for male legislators. Table 8 shows us the key occupational backgrounds of the members of the 93rd Congress, with most of them in law and public service/politics. Since the Congressional Quarterly which conducted the survey, suggests they check more than one occupation, most of the lawyers also checked public service/politics. I surveyed female legislators in the 93rd Congress, qualifications of the female legislators are on the whole equal to, or stronger than, those of male legislators in the U.S. 93rd Congress.
Table 8

Key to Occupation*

(parentheses indicate number of female members)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or Banking</td>
<td>72(3)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>155(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>41(4)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>59(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>16(1)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Leader</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>137(7)</td>
<td>84(2)</td>
<td>221(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Enforcement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service/Politics</td>
<td>201(9)</td>
<td>152(2)</td>
<td>353(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veteran</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For most of the appointed female legislators in Korea, involvement in public office is an extension of community volunteer work of their professional field, because they were appointed in recognition of their successful professional or community work. As is true with U.S. Congresswomen, most of them were motivated to enter politics by special, identifiable influences or experiences.

The socialization process of female legislators in Korea is different from that of male legislators. They didn't have as much political orientation as men, except for the two elected legislators. As noted before, they were appointed to the Assembly in recognition of successful careers in their own fields. It can be said that they have more experience, or better education, than male legislators in their own professions. Especially in the 9th Assembly, there are more retired generals, former members of the cabinet and military academy graduates, because of involvement of military officers in politics after the military revolution. Therefore, in qualifications, female legislators are better educated and come from a higher economic class.

All the female legislators in the two countries grew up in a big city or small town, except for one U.S. Congresswoman, who was brought up on a plantation owned by her family.

Only one member from each country is motivated in politics according to her interest. We find, according to
our hypothetical expectations, that most of the female members in the two countries are either brought up in the politicized family or have a special reason to be so motivated. As an example of "special reason," three widows of the former U.S. Congressmen said, "they married into it." To them, without their marriages, they would not now be involved in politics. These three are Representatives Cardiss Collins, Leonor Sullivan and Lindy Boggs. They became politically motivated because of their husbands' political involvement.

  **Interviewer:** What made you interested in politics? When did you become interested? Were there any special reasons for you to be interested in politics?

  **Leonor Sullivan:** Marrying into it. I put off marrying the man I was in love with, because he was in politics. Finally when he went to Congress I married.

  Representative Sullivan was politically motivated by her husband and she is the only female member who is a chairman of a full committee in the House of Representatives. In similar fashion, Representative Cardiss Collins, who came late to the 93rd Congress as widow of the former Congressman answered as follows.

  **Cardiss Collins:** Interest of politics came with the time when I met my husband who was already involved in grassroot politics. I met him, my interest was auxilliary to his. I had no intention ever of running for public office. I was perfectly satisfied in the State of Illinois as an auditor. But when my husband died, many of my friends started calling and asking me whether I would be interested in running. At first, I was hesitant. When time went on, mail came in and the ministers--particularly the minister in my community--they thought if I would run, I could do the job well, and when the party asked me if I might run, so, "yes." That's what happened.
Examples of the influence of politically "aware" families are Edith Green and Julia Butler Hansen, whose mother and grandmother were involved in politics.

Edith Green: We grew up in a family where my father was interested in politics, with discussion around the dinner table. He never ran for office but he was involved in campaigns for several other candidates. So I grew up in that kind of background. And after my two sons grew up I began to actively be involved in politics, and various civic groups.

Another group of female legislators can be identified as having been politically motivated by their school teachers; they were encouraged to be interested in civic affairs and become lawyers. Representatives Bum Joon Lee and Marjorie Holt are in this category.

Most of the female legislators in both countries agree that the main reasons for the small number of female members are the traditions that a woman's place is in the home and that her job is housekeeping. And this tradition has been accepted by women themselves. That tradition gave women a lack of desire to be involved in the political system. Some female members believe that the initial responsibilities rest on women and others believe that the society as a whole has the burden of responsibility. We will review the opinions of the female members, in both countries, on the question of the small number of women in the legislatures.

Interviewer: Could you tell me, what is the reason for the small number of women in the legislature?

Marjorie Holt: I think it's their lack of recognition that they can do the job, their lack of desire to get involved in the system. I think they helped to perpetuate prejudices.
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Im Hoe Ku: I think it's because women have no qualification or motivation to be involved in politics. Women tend to be easy going, they don't take their job seriously. They tend to take their job as a waiting room before they get married.

Leonor Sullivan: Yes, I think it's mostly from women themselves. When they realize the sacrifices they have to make and weigh it, they just aren't willing to do it. That is true to all of them. All of them don't want to do it. Look how few women there are here. If she is married, does she want to have her husband follow her, her career, or want to live apart from him? It all depends upon a woman, I think, as you measure it up, the woman does not want to make the sacrifice.

We have plenty, very able women who have never married and are holding good jobs in her own area, but you don't see any of those women. It's a rare thing, if a single woman, who has had good experience, offers herself for election.

Lindy Boggs: I think it emanates from our classical social structure; somehow the belief still exists where usually the woman is second to the man in the family, and the capital is so far distant from many districts, that it's difficult for a woman to be a member of the national legislature and leave her husband, her family, the family law firm, store, or business or whatever, to come to Washington; but that pattern is changing.

This year we have Pat Schroeder, from Colorado and her husband has an office here . . . they have very young children, and of course Yvonne Burke became the first woman who delivered a baby while a legislator . . .

Julia Hansen: I think it is easy to understand. The problem is defining their lives personally. As I mentioned earlier, you know, to accommodate their personal lives with public service. Your children are small and it takes a lot of courage to stay on in public office and come off to work everyday. That's one reason.

The second thing is the adverse feeling against getting into mudslinging.

The third thing is the very different job of getting, of raising money.

The fourth thing is, you know, the press will say, will usually mention a woman last, or something like that. Name familiarity—you know and have a constituency of 533,000 people, and it's quite a chore to be known to all those 533,000. On the other hand when you come here you're one woman out of not too many, and you do have a chance to do a job, and get some respect, and so on—the average man comes back here and he's just another one of those four hundred men.
Jung Ja Park: I think there are three reasons for the small number of women in the legislature; if these three reasons are removed or changed there will be more women members in the legislature. One is the attitude toward women in the society, second is developing women's potential and their consciousness as citizens. Lastly, the support and encouragement of men to women in politics.

Edith Green: I think this is true around the world. In any of the countries I have visited, women are in a small minority and the traditions are very hard to overcome and its always been accepted in this country, as in others, that women's place is the home.

Interviewer: Do you accept the idea that women's place is home?

Edith Green: Well, I think that the first Russian woman cosmonaught probably proved it as dramatically as anybody could prove that women's place is not exclusively in the home. And I firmly believed that women ought to have choice. Those women who choose, really to make a career in the home, they have as much right to do that and I defend that right. I don't like to see pressure group established to try to persuade every woman that she is somehow inferior if she decides to spend her full time as a wife and mother. What I would fight for is the opportunity to make the choice.

According to the female legislators interviewed, the relationship of political socialization to women in the legislature(s) is as follows: One, women are basically not interested in politics per se because of a body of traditions and social norms which, in the aggregate, does not encourage, or discourages, serious political activity by a woman. Most women, during both childhood and adulthood, are not encouraged toward or exposed to political involvement. In order to overcome this, as we have seen, a "push" may be required; this can come from, or be caused by a politician/husband, an early-family exposure to political involvement, or the influence of specific teachers, religious leaders, etc.
Finally, she must be able to overcome normal, "current" family-based restraints: what will be the net reaction of her husband (if she has one) or children (if applicable) if she campaigns, and if she is elected to Congress. Men and children are no more socialized into thinking of women as political leaders than are women themselves.

This may be described as "discrimination" of a very broad type, and of a negative rather than positive character. A more accurate term may be "underlying disadvantage," or something similar.

Assuming that the basic disadvantages (previous experiences and current family-based restraints) are overcome, in that a woman makes a clear decision to become politically active, she faces a more direct discrimination; that is, making herself a viable candidate for office. According to interviewees, the most difficult aspect of running for office was the lack of monetary and party support. In other words, they had difficulty convincing other politically-active people that they were serious candidates and potentially good legislators.

Recruitment Process

In Chapter I we hypothesized that the recruitment process for female legislators would be significantly different from that of their male counterparts, and that these differences are an important aspect of the political experiences of the female legislators.
Most females in the U.S. House of Representatives had no party support when they were first elected; the exceptions are two wives of deceased Congressmen. In contrast, in the 9th Assembly of Korea all female legislators, both elected and appointed, had full party support. The party caucuses of Korea tend to seek out qualified women to support for the election, because women tend not to seek party nominations for political offices. Because they prefer to be, and usually are, appointed (member-at-large), their roles and activities are minor and rather ceremonial; the elected female legislators are different in this respect.

The following diagram shows the differences in recruitment process for the female legislators in the two countries. All female members of the National Assembly of Korea had party support; in the U.S. House of Representatives, only 25 percent got first-election party support. My criteria for "party support" were the responses of individual legislators to the question: "Do you think women had a harder time getting party support?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Korea</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party support for women</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no party support for women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Among 86 female legislators who served up until the 93rd Congress, 34 female legislators were either elected or appointed to fill vacancies caused by the deaths of their husbands or fathers. Fifty-two female legislators were elected "on their own."

Unlike previous Congresses, the 93rd Congress originally contained no females who were specially chosen to succeed their husbands. There were five first term congresswomen who were all elected on their own and the nine incumbent female legislators had all been elected on their own and the nine incumbent female legislators had all been elected in their own right. Later on, two legislators were added by special election to succeed their recently deceased husbands (Lindy Boggs and Cardiss Collins).

All of the female legislators agreed that they didn't have party support. They worked on their own before gaining party assistance; some of them had broad community support, and party backing followed. (Especially, the League of Women Voters has supported many women in the early stages of campaigning for the primary.)

Leonor Sullivan is the widow of the late Congressman John B. Sullivan from St. Louis, Missouri, who died while in office. She wanted to succeed her husband and continue his work but, the party didn't support her, and lost the ensuing election by supporting another male candidate. Their
reason was that they just wanted to win, and did not consider her to be a viable candidate. She worked hard, and contested the primary election against six male candidates, was nominated, and was elected as a Democrat in 1952, and has been continuously re-elected through the 94th Congress (1975-1976). She is now Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. She remembers her early experiences with the party as follows:

The only reason that I ran was because my husband died while he was a member; then my request was to the party leaders, would they support me for the special election? . . . Their answer was "No--because you are a woman and we want to win." So in a special election you don't have primaries--the candidates were named by the two parties and then the election is held very soon. There was a month of campaigning . . . when the party leaders wouldn't take me, then many people in the district got together and started petitions and wanted me to run as an independent. I said 'please stop that because I am not an independent. I am a Democrat, and I want to run as a Democrat.' Since I can't run in a primary now I will just bide my time and come back next election, which I did . . . Since the Democratic Party wouldn't let me be the candidate our party lost, and a Republican was elected. So, I worked in Washington for one of the Missouri members of Congress; he knew I would work until the following May, when I wanted to start campaigning . . . I ran in the primary with six men, no party support . . . I called upon my friends and former students to volunteer to help me. This is the way I beat the slate and won over six other men.

Even though Mrs. Sullivan had difficulty getting party support because of her sex, she still said that she was not discriminated against, and that men have an equally hard time getting party support. She thinks women just work a little harder at getting a party's nomination.

Interviewer: Do you think women have a harder time getting party support, compared to men?
Leonor Sullivan: I don't think so.

Interviewer: Then, do you think men have just as hard a time getting party support as women do?

Leonor Sullivan: Oh, I think they do; you're never going to have an easy time. No politician is welcome. The men have just as hard a time getting party support as women. Maybe then, when they really declare themselves, they'll be accepted more readily. But I watched my husband attempt to get in and they didn't say, "come in, we want you." You've got to fight your way to get in. And women just have to fight a little harder and be determined. They are not going to beg you to come in.

This is how Leonor Sullivan started the campaign which got her elected. As we examine the careers of other female legislators, they also usually had no party support at the beginning of their campaigns. Representative Patsy Mink said the reason for the small number of females in the legislature is "because it's so hard to get here; before we get here we are discriminated against. Once you get to Capitol Hill, they become friends, suddenly. The members of the Congress have to accept and respect us as equals. Nobody will help to get us here. Just hard work, 10 times harder than men." Representative Mink continues, "Voters do not discriminate, but political parties and organizations discriminate against women. Since the whole organization is controlled by men, they feel more comfortable with men. If they work with women they feel nervous and overwhelmed. Once you get in they have to deal with it. Nobody helps women to run." According to Shirley Chisholm, "We never had a discussion with anyone in the party."
We discussed with people in the community. Although I ran in the Democratic Party and I am a Democrat, the stimulation and initiative for me to be a standard bearer never came from the political powers or the Democratic Party. They saw me constantly in terms of being a good worker, envelope stocker, not as a standard bearer. But, because of the support I have from people in the community, the Democratic Party went to the polls and looked at it differently. They began to realize the importance. People in the community said, "regardless of the Democratic Party, we will support you..." So, the Democratic Party accepted it.

Interviewer: Who are the people in the community?

Shirley Chisholm: Community people are Urban League, Parent-Teachers Association, League of Women Voters, NAACP, etc.

Interviewer: What do you think is the reason for the small number of women in the legislature?

Shirley Chisholm: Because men don't project them and men hold the moneybags, hold control of the executive committee that determines who is going to run for office. Women are lost. You don't have money if you don't have men who suggest that they run. This is the main reason. They don't have money unless men select them.

One of the most important reasons for the small number of women in the legislature is that it is so hard to get party support. Most of the U.S. female legislators agreed that to get party support is to them the hardest part of the electoral process. Once they have party support, and get elected to the legislature, they are treated equally by men.

Interviewer: Thinking back to the time when you began to think about running for or accepting appointment to legislative office: give me a description of your first conversation with someone in the party about your possible nomination. What was it that you first said to a party official about the nomination? How did that conversation go? What did he say? What did you say?

Marjorie Holt: When I first started to think of running, that was two years before I got my present seat. I talked with a lot of party members and got all sorts of advice. Some
people felt strongly that I had a good chance, but others felt that a woman wouldn't have a chance.—I set up some sort of a trial balloon, so I issued some press releases indicating that I was interested in the issues and tried to listen to the responses I got from them. Based on that, I felt that I did have a good opportunity to do it.

I had to work very very hard to get the party's support. I had to be in the front all the way to convince them that I could win, and make myself strong so that nobody else wanted to challenge me.

Patsy Mink: I ran, as I said, without my party. I talked to the party members about the possibilities of running, and they laughed. They thought it was a big joke and this is true of women everywhere in this country who want to run for political office. It is very very difficult. They are terribly discriminated against. But, once they succeed, once you get elected, once you get there, they really help you and say you are the greatest, you are fantastic.

A party may, however, support a female candidate when the possibilities of winning are slim. The story of Representative Patricia Schroeder from Colorado affords a good example. The Democratic Party originally supported her because no one else wanted to run on the ticket; it was widely believed to be a sure loser. Speaking of Mrs. Schroeder, one female legislator said, "One women's organization in her district (League of Women Voters) suggested to her to run, and the party simply deferred in her case because nobody thought they could win and so if dumb, fool women want to try, well, okay."

No men were foolish enough to make the effort because they figured it was a losing proposition. Nobody, no person could win this district against the Republican who was in there as an incumbent. Therefore it was a lost cause. They love to think that women are lost causes. As I recall Pat Schroeder's situation, that was the situation she found herself in. Nobody gave her a chance of winning. When she won, it was really a fantastic thing she accomplished. Even up to the last minute election night, I remember that the reporter said they didn't think she had much of a chance and I kept
saying, "Gee--wouldn't it be great if Pat could win." And I talked to some Colorado people around here "Oh she doesn't have a chance." But she won. You see. People said "Barbara Jordan is a cinch." "Yvonne Burke is a cinch," people said Elizabeth Holtzman "has no chance," but when she won the primary she became a cinch. But nobody said "She [Pat] is a cinch." But once you have won, you are a cinch.

When Representative Schroeder was asked about the situation, she answered:

What really happened was everybody who was a 'politician' felt that it was a year they couldn't possibly win, so they didn't want to run. Everybody who had a better chance than I would have didn't want to . . . because they thought they couldn't possibly win. So the one guy who was going to run (and we had a primary) was a nice guy but I felt what he was going to try to do was move the party way to the right, which I felt would have been a real disaster, and that was going to be his option to run. I thought, well, I had been teaching students for years they ought to get into a party so they have a choice among candidates at the primary level. If I don't get in there won't be a choice because no one else will get in. So I got in never thinking I could win--but, that's what happened--just because no one else would do it . . .

Recently women's chances for nomination have increased in what we know as "throwaway districts," districts in which the candidate is expected to lose, either because of a strong incumbent, a strong opposing machine, or a combination of both in the opposition. Representative Schroeder's case is a good example of nomination in a throwaway district, but one which was successful. She was reelected to the 94th Congress.

The consensus among the legislators is that they, as women faced their strongest discriminatory challenges early in their careers, specifically, from local interest groups and party organizations, and the most difficult aspect of
getting elected to Congress is to secure bona fide party support. (The reason for this lack of party support may be that the parties, on the local level, are accustomed to thinking of and using women as low level, volunteer workers.)

Also, by consensus, once they have successfully negotiated the recruitment process, the female legislators find themselves in an advantageous position. It is recognized that they have overcome severe obstacles; they are visible; they are treated differentially by their male colleagues. Therefore, if able and qualified, once elected they have the potential to be very successful legislators.

National Assembly of Korea

In the 9th Assembly of Korea, the recruitment process was entirely different from that of other Assemblies. President Chung Hee Park reformed the constitution in 1972 and the National Assembly is now composed of members elected by (1) universal, equal, direct and secret election by the citizens and (2) of members elected by the National Conference for Unification. Two-thirds of the National Assembly members were elected by the citizens and one-third of the members were elected by the N.C.U., these candidates were nominated by the President. In the 9th Assembly, two female legislators were elected by the citizens and eight were elected (appointed) by President Park and approved by the N.C.U. In Korea, there is a strong tendency for women to prefer to be appointed by the President or party because they
don't want to take the risk of actively campaigning for office. According to officials of both parties, they want to nominate qualified women for the general election, but have difficulty doing so because of the lack of willing candidates.

Representative Bum Joon Lee's case is an example of this. It was suggested (by the Democratic Republican Party) that she run in one district for the general election to the 8th Assembly. She declined, but accepted for the 9th Assembly, because she would be an appointed candidate.

Another similar case is that of Mrs. Yoon Sook Mo, who was appointed to the 8th Assembly as member-at-large. She had been asked to run in the election and requested certain favors as conditions for running; she and the party could not reach a compromise and she refused to run in the election. During the campaign, President Park had promised the female electorate four (appointed) seats; after the election, he was faced with a shortage of females eligible for the promised seats, and appointed Mrs. Mo despite the earlier disagreement. This situation is entirely different from that of the United States. All the female legislators had full party support either for election or appointment. As a result, female legislators of the National Assembly of Korea tend to have a ceremonial, "women's" role in the Assembly. The reason for the appointment of a certain percentage of women to the Assembly is that in the course of
the Presidential election, promises are made for certain number of seats for women, in order to gain the women's vote. After the election the President keeps the promise; as a result, three or four female legislators are appointed. In the 9th Assembly, the number was increased to eight appointed female members, perhaps because the President recognized the growing contributions of women in both the labor market and the problems of economic development. Over one-third of the laborers in Korea are women, especially in the textile and wig manufacturing factories. In addition, the Saemaul (New Village) Movement largely depends on the efforts of country women. Therefore, at least three members of the 9th Assembly were appointed because of their contribution to the New Village Movement.

On the other hand, the two elected female legislators were active and were elected by their hard work, and these two had been active in (opposition) party affairs.

The National Assembly of Korea is still male-dominated because, (1) only a few qualified women want to be active in politics, of any sort, and (2) the current political culture has severely tainted the idea of political activity. Many women who are generally active and qualified tend to serve and work in the neutral, status field of education.

Legislative Activities

In the legislature committee assignments are significant because they determine how much and what type of help it is
possible to give to one's constituents. Also, some committees are much better bases for leadership positions than are others. If Congressional (or Assembly) leaders do not want female members to participate fully in the Congress or Assembly, one of the best ways to accomplish this is to refuse them important committee assignments. Our initial hypothesis is that it is difficult for female members to secure appointment to major committees; instead they are more likely to be assigned to "women's work": child care and education, health and welfare, beautification and culture, consumers' rights and so on.

Another important legislature activity which is carried on outside of the forum proper is participation in various informal groups; issues are discussed, and friendship and influence are often developed in the course of these informal meetings. Male legislators in both countries convene informally during card games, while drinking, or at Giseng parties, and it is well known that in the U.S. House a good deal of work is accomplished at the gymnasium. Exclusion from these informal groups may contribute to the role strain of female members: this also is a major hypothesis of my study. In this section we will discuss the behavior and reactions of female legislators when confronted with these problems, which arise from male-dominated situations in both countries.
In the U.S. House of Representatives the influence of an individual member depends heavily upon his or her committee assignment and committee seniority, and although the seniority system has undergone some changes in the 94th Congress, it is still a very important factor. Assignment to a particular committee, or committees, is of major consequence to a member of the House; to be assigned to an exclusive committee means both prestige and access to power, which in turn allows greater input on important issues and leads to influence with people who can be useful to his or her constituents.

In the 93rd Congress there are three female members who sit on relatively exclusive committees: Edith Green and Julia Butler Hansen sit on Appropriations and Martha Griffiths sits on Ways and Means. Mrs. Griffiths started out with assignments to both Banking and Currency and Government Operations. She served eight years before being promoted to Ways and Means, which is a fairly standard time lapse for male members as well. A surprising case is that of Julia Butler Hansen, who served only two years, or one term, on the Education and Labor and the Interior and Insular Committees before being placed on Appropriations, which was a much shorter apprenticeship than most men have served for this committee. Undoubtedly, Representative Hansen's rapid promotion was influenced by the fact that she had learned a
great deal about legislative politics before she came to Capitol Hill, and in addition had made the key political contacts during her tenure as a state legislator.

Since Mrs. Green came to the Congress with strong labor backing, she was naturally assigned to the Education and Labor Committee. After nine terms (18 years) of service on this Committee she moved into the Appropriations Committee for the 93rd Congress. The Education and Labor Committee has recently become involved in a wide range of programs and handles a great deal of legislation, and Representatives Patsy Mink and Shirley Chisholm sit on that committee. Lindy Boggs and Margaret Heckler sit on the Banking and Currency Committee.

In general it is assumed that assignment to one of the exclusive committees is preceded by anywhere from six to 10 years service on some other committees. Beside that, the three factors which Master found to be most often considered, at least in selection for major committee, are: (1) legislative responsibility, (2) type of district represented, and (3) geographical area represented, and the most crucial of these is the first.

Those committees and subcommittees which were most obviously female-oriented were the Consumer Affairs and

Housing Subcommittees of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Hospitals Subcommittees of Veterans Affairs, the Special Subcommittee of Education and Labor, and so on. In the 93rd Congress each female member sits on the Committee(s) she chose, and these committees are more diverse in nature than the "acceptable" women's committees of previous Congresses: there does not appear to be any discrimination in current committee assignments.

Observers on the House—both members and assistants—agreed that Mr. Sam Rayburn really did not approve of women in the Congress, much less their placement on powerful or exclusive committees. His own Southern heritage and bachelor status may have been as much the reason as anything else. Speaker McCormack, on the other hand, was evidently considered to have been much less biased in this regard. In her interview Edith Green said, "I think it was obvious that Speaker Rayburn—when I came he was the Speaker—obviously felt that such matters as appropriations, taxes, were not for, and are beyond the women's mind. We were already concerned about welfare, education and nursing."

In the previous Congresses another reason for restricted committee assignments might have been that women generally did not have backgrounds which might have qualified them for important or exclusive committees. They did not know enough about finance to be of use on the Ways and Means or Appropriations Committees; they did not usually have legal
training and were therefore not eligible for the Judiciary Committees, which are by tradition composed exclusively of lawyers. Obviously, they knew little about military affairs, highways, construction, and other strongly male-oriented areas. In the past, these deficiencies in background caused women to be excluded from influential committees, but in the 93rd Congress, comparatively speaking, the women members have better backgrounds and are more qualified to sit on the committees of their choice.

When female members of the Congress were asked how many informal groups they meet with, three answered "none" and nine said that they do not meet with many, but with a few, informal groups. And, actually those groups are "formal" rather than "informal": Democratic Study Group, Black Caucus, 93rd Club, etc.

Most of the women said that they don't have time to be involved in informal group meetings and they emphasized that it is not necessary. Instead of being involved in informal group meetings with other members, they agreed that they usually work harder than male members. (Nine women agreed that female members work harder than male members and three answered that it depended on the individual. Most of the women's legislative assistants agree that female members tend to work harder than male members, and Representatives and assistants maintain that they are more responsive to the requests of their constituents. Representative Yvonne Burke
said, "They (women) are afraid of being criticized."

Representative Margaret Heckler said, "They work harder than men. Women are aware that they are few and they are visible; they have a stronger desire to be effective, therefore they work harder."

In any event, female members usually are not involved in informal group meetings. According to the Women State Legislators' Conference Report, 8

Everyone who spoke of the matter agreed that there were certain types of socializing in which she did not engage with her male colleagues, such as their heavy drinking sessions and poker parties. These are frequent occasions when legislative deals are made, although it was pointed out that there are some important male members of the legislature who do not engage in these sessions. When deals are made in these "social sessions," important members of the legislature who were not present may be consulted the following morning before the group goes ahead with its plans.

It is obvious that female members do not attend the evening social activities; instead they might work harder for constituents in order to be reelected.

Another role strain female members used to have was that which resulted from official trips. According to this pilot study, retired female members indicated trips as a source of role-strain: when they went on official trips they used to be entertained by women's groups while the male members discussed the subject matter. This question was asked of the current female members, but they have not had this experience. Edith Green agreed and said, "I told them I am (as much) a member of Congress as my male colleagues,

8Schmertz, op. cit., p. 20.
and if they are meeting where substantive matters are discussed, I intend to be there as a member of Congress. I don't intend to be entertained by some women's group."

Because of these experiences by the former female members, and the fact that they eventually overcame this role strain, the 93rd Congress treats female members as full participants on official trips.

When asked if they had any "rules of the game," as either legislators or females in the legislature, all except Representatives Hansen, Burke and Heckler replied "no." The exceptions:

Hansen: I always try to be a lady and forget that I am a woman.
Interviewer: "What does that mean?"

Hansen: I try to have good manners, try to be courteous, I try to be thoughtful and at the same time I don't serve, using a woman's approach. I try to have the fullest amount of knowledge and ask no quarter, so to speak, from the men. I mean, I don't ask them to give me special favors or anything.

Representative Yvonne Burke said:

One thing, I do try not to go over to other districts and go into what is their responsibility, or interfere in their district. I believe that before I try to challenge anyone who is another politician on a particular issue they are supporting, I tell them before what I will do. If I say I will do something I always try to keep my word—that way I can have cooperation from other members of the legislature.

And, Representative Margaret Heckler has a rule of the game, which she said is an old women's political slogan. That is "Act like a lady, think like a man and work like a dog."
In some aspects female members might function differently than male members; when asked about this, only four of the women agreed, and eight disagreed. Some female specialists believe that women politicians tend to be issue-oriented and men power-oriented, but there is no proof of this.

Interviewer: Do you think that men and women legislators function differently?

Leonor Sullivan: I think she can work as men could do . . . I think there is a difference in the way we act, and the way we think. And I think we go deeper into the problems, as a woman than the average man does.

Interviewer: Could you explain what you mean by 'deeper'?

Leonor Sullivan: We just don't go on the surface. We want to dig down to see how it works. I feel that in watching women work and seeing results of what they've done, I think they've done homework much better than men. And take it much more seriously . . . they don't loaf as much . . . I think the women are much more serious than men. They seem to be doing homework.

Shirley Chisholm: Yes I do. Priority is different, women tend to be more organized for the day. Women tend to be a little bit more organizational by nature, as a whole. That's my feeling. I might be wrong.

Most seem to agree that male and female legislators have the same functions and the only differences are those normally found in any group of individuals.

It was our assumption that to be a female member of Congress might be disadvantageous, but six of the female members of the U.S. 93rd Congress said that to be a woman is favorable or advantageous. The other six have mixed feelings: to be a female member means both advantages and disadvantages.
In a way, to be a female legislator can be advantageous if she proves she is qualified and capable. Most of the female members are capable and prove themselves to be equal or better than their male colleagues; they seem to have advantages as female members. We will review below the answers of female legislators about this very important question.

Interviewer: Are there any special favors, problems, or disadvantages being a woman legislator compared to a man? If so, why is it?

Yvonne Burke: I think it's favorable; for one thing women get much more attention in terms of the public eye, and one who is effective in her job, I think she has much better opportunity.

Patsy Mink responded the same way as did Yvonne Burke; she believes women have advantages instead of disadvantages, but she agrees that before women come to Congress they definitely are discriminated against as women, but once she gets there (Capitol Hill) she has advantages: her voice is ten times louder than a male member is.

Patsy Mink said:

No. If you ask me are there any problems? No. . . . I think it's a distinct advantage to be a woman member of the Congress because we're so unique. Our voices speak ten times louder than any male voices in this Congress, because we are so few. The recognition is that we don't speak just for our constituents . . . When I get up to speak on a general issue not related to Hawaii I am listened to as a spokesman of all the women of America. There is no man who has that kind of potential. Because when they speak they are speaking for the 14th District of Chicago, or the 12th District of New York, or their constituencies who will pay heed to what they say. Now, the only other people who would be way ahead of us in terms of impact of our comments, would be the committee chairmen. If committee chairmen get up and speak against the bill that came out of another committee, they're listened
to because they are chairmen of the committees. Their importance in the House, and their seniority, that's another matter, it's not because of their constituency, it is because of their place in the House. But if you remove that element, and if you take everybody just as people then I would say that our voices as women in Congress are far more effective because we have this dual role, and it also means problems for us, we have two roles, and in a sense we have larger responsibilities. I don't just speak for women in the State of Hawaii, I speak for all the women of America when I take a stand on an issue. And therefore I have to be that much more careful. In addition, we also have to respect and be responsive to this larger constituency. So when they have national conventions of women's organizations, I can't ignore their need to have me at their convention. I can't say I only owe my votes to Hawaii and therefore I only accept Hawaii invitations. We can't have that luxury. All of these women's meetings across the country, I have to take a certain percentage of them as my extra job, and so our load is that much higher. We have to answer the mail from all across the country from women's organizations on various women's issues, because they look to us for this kind of representation. This is why I said this is not a case of any problems, disadvantages or difficulties because of sex. Rather, it's just the opposite, our roles are much more significant and therefore, our responsibilities are greater.

In similar fashion, Marjorie Holt said that to be a female member is an advantage: if she has a personal problem, it may be no different than those faced by men. She indicates that female members have advantages because male members are kind. Mrs. Holt agrees that before she became a legislator she was discriminated against because of sex (and this still holds for others), but as a legislator in the Congress, she believes female members are at an advantage. And, also, she indicates that things have really changed during the last two years.
Marjorie Holt: I don't think so—I think women tend to be a little paranoid about it and try to read into it, but that's the danger that we have to face. When you run into obstacles you think Because I am a woman. But you can watch the men; they run into the same obstacles that we do. So I don't think there are any disadvantages. People open the doors for you more often compared to men—that's my advantage.

Interviewer: But as you said earlier, when you discussed about your running, some of the party members mentioned that you won't have much chance because you are a woman. Don't you think that's a disadvantage of being a woman?

Marjorie Holt: Yes, certainly that's a disadvantage in politics. I think that was a very big prejudice, and I think maybe the women's movement overcome that to a certain extent. I don't mean to imply women don't have some disadvantages. Look at the credit situation. Here I earn the salary of a congressman, and I can't do anything without my husband's permission. That's definitely a disadvantage. But, I mean based on being a legislator, what I can accomplish here, I don't feel it's a disadvantage.

Interviewer: But before you became a legislator you had disadvantages?

Marjorie Holt: Yes, but that was two years ago. I think that's been overcome. That's my feeling—my timing was right.

Interviewer: (same questions as above)

Leonor Sullivan: I don't think we get any special favors at all. I think the men have always been very gallant. I think you get what you ask for. If you are going to try to be like one of the men, then they will treat you as a man. If you're going to be yourself, what you are, I think you will be treated with respect. I think they respect most women.

Interviewer: Do you think you have problems being a woman legislator?

Leonor Sullivan: No, I think there are advantages rather than problems. Not unless you feel slighted in not being invited in the places other men are invited. I will tell you what the disadvantages are, with me, cause I don't have a wife to take off a lot of these burdens that wives take off their husbands. I have to
do the social part, the work--it's just my individual problem . . . it's difficult; a wife is watching out, and doing many little things in the political way, as well as that way of helping her mate; this is good, this is what I did when I was a wife. I was always in the background, but I preferred to be in the background, because I don't think there could be two prima donnas in one family . . .

Interviewer: Can you remember any occasion on which you have had to remind yourself that you are a woman, during your legislative activities?

Leonor Sullivan: Not particularly, except that in the role which I have played over these years, when I spoke on legislation, especially in my field of consumer problems, the men listened to me, because they felt she has more experience than we have in this, she does her homework, she knows what she is talking about. That's where I think we are terribly important.

There are many, many things where women have a different attitude and different feeling, at least women of my generation, and the women I know. Today's women, I think are thinking differently. But if they do, then I think they lose the big thing, the big value of being a woman legislator.

Because (I don't mean when men listened to me they always voted with me), but they listened because they knew I knew what I was talking about, wouldn't be up there on my feet. I think this is the advantage of being a woman. Because there are so few of us, we stand out a great deal more than a man does.

Mrs. Sullivan said she has disadvantages because she has no husband. All the female members agree that they have the advantage of being small in number; other members also indicate that there can also be disadvantages. Martha Griffiths indicates an interesting point.

Interviewer: Are there any favors in being a female legislator?

Martha Griffiths: No, I don't think so. I think one of the things a woman has is if she speaks, people listen to it. I often thought that they expect her to make a mistake and are sure to hear it. But as a result you get more attention.
Interestingly enough she differentiates "women" and "people," instead of using the words "men" and "women." Also, she said women have no advantage as women. But she suggests that being a woman can be beneficial, if she is capable and qualified, because she will be listened to.

Therefore, if a female member is qualified and able she can make her disadvantage into an advantage. She is highly visible; if she is not qualified, this also can be seen more easily. Therefore being a female member has both advantages and disadvantages. Pat Schroeder discussed this at some length.

Oh, sure, they treat you differently, they don't know how to relate to you, because most of the men here haven't worked with women, but once you break through that, which is hard—then they're all right; I don't tend to think of that as different because the legal profession is the same way, and law school is the same way . . . I suppose, I don't see that as anything new and unique to the Congress, because everywhere I've been has been the same thing, and you just assume that your first job is to convince them that you are a person, that they can treat you like anybody else, then they can treat you like anybody . . . And, also, advantages, too: They all know who you are. You're not lost in a crowd; so, it cuts two ways. There are burdens and there are benefits.

Julia Butler Hansen also agrees female members have both advantages and disadvantages, but she thinks this is just a personal problem not a general legislative one:

I suspect women have certain advantages and disadvantages. . . .

The disadvantages are, probably—this is a personal problem really—not a legislative one. It's that most women have difficulty arranging their personal lives to give the hours of service to the public. It's difficult, because you see, my son was born when I was
in the legislature and he has grown up through all the years of my public life. And it's very difficult you know, and I think women have a special horror of the job of fund raising, and that's because it's not an easy task.

Interviewer: The advantage?

Many times you can tell men what you think of them when they wouldn't take it from another man.

Shirley Chisholm said it is a problem of male members, and that female members have disadvantages because male members do not treat women as "standard bearers." Rather, male members tend to accept women as volunteers or as helpers in the political process:

Well, it is a problem only from the standpoint of a gentleman. Gentlemen can't see women functioning in the political arena. Men have very different hang-ups about women functioning in certain areas of endeavor in this country. One of the surveys in politics said, they use women in-behind the scenes of politics, giving card parties, pouring tea, and doing all the things that help to make politics move, but to be a standard bearer, no! It's very difficult for men to accept. But the women who get into the arena as a standard bearer and begins to pull for herself and is not shy, and asserts herself and people realize she has ability, you don't have any trouble, I have no trouble now . . .

Thus, female members have both advantages and disadvantages, but disadvantages can be made into advantages by the woman's qualifications and capabilities. Since there are so few females in the legislature she can be seen easily and clearly if she proves herself as capable and qualified; likewise, incapability and poor qualifications are equally visible, and are often attributed to her status as a woman by male colleagues in legislative activities. Female members
of the 93rd U.S. House of Representatives have less role
strain than their predecessors, and are little different than
their male colleagues in this respect. Most of the female
members agreed that the last couple of years have seen
tremendous change and improvement in the legislature's treat­
ment of female members. Once they are elected, women have
no role strain, but it is very difficult to get elected and
women are discriminated against in the recruitment process.

National Assembly of Korea

(Committee Assignment)

In the National Assembly of Korea most of the female
members tend to sit on "women's committees," which are
Education and Public Information, Public Health and Social
Affairs, and Home Affairs, with a few exceptions in the 9th
Assembly. Up until then all female members sat on those
Committees except for Mary Yi, who sat on the Committee of
Foreign Affairs, since she spent most of her life in Hawaii
and had had many contacts with Americans.

Representative Soon Chun Park stated that she sat on the
Committee of Public Health and Social Affairs in order to
work for women's issues. Others indicated they believe that
they are the representatives of women, and they should work
for women. In a way, female members want to sit on those
committees, and in doing so they just conform to the norms of
the system and society.
In the 8th Assembly there were four female members out of a total of 204. Three females were assigned to the Education and Public Information Committee. According to Representative Ok Ja Kim, "In the 8th Assembly, they just assigned female members to the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee because we are women. So I had no option to be assigned to another committee." Now, in the 9th Assembly she sits on the Finance Committee.

The 9th Assembly of Korea contains an unusually large number of females compared to earlier Assemblies; there are ten out of a total of 217 members. They have different educational and occupational backgrounds, because government appointed members were considered to be representatives of a variety of interests. Therefore, they assigned all the female members to different committees, but party leaders still consider female members to be women's representatives on these committees. One example of this is an experience reported by Representative Young Hee Suh:

I applied for the Committee on Education and Public Information because I was a professor at the University and majored in communication, but they needed a woman in that committee, because the Committee on Construction deals with housing problems. So here I am.

In Korea legislators usually sit on only one Committee. The only exception to this concerns the Steering Committee, which consists of one representative from each of the other committees. In the 9th Assembly because one-third of the
members, those who are appointed by the President, have no districts or constituents. Since the function of the 9th Assembly itself has been more or less to 'rubber stamp' or act as a servant of the government, individual members of the Assembly are not as influential as they were in other Assemblies, unless they are the top party leaders. Even if a legislator is assigned to a powerful committee, he or she is not as powerful as before. Most Korean Assemblymen are known as Geosoogi (literally, "raising hands"); this term is used to describe legislators who raise their hands in agreement with the party leaders who decide all the policies and effectively order other members to vote according to party decision. Although they were known as Geosoogi in earlier assemblies, they did have influence in the government and with other institutions so that they could work for their constituents. But in the 9th Assembly they either don't need that influence because one-third of them have no districts, or they cannot effectively represent their districts because of the degraded status of the Assembly as a whole. (The term Ai na bonda [babysitter] is, as of the 9th Assembly, replacing Geosoogi as a synonym for "legislator." It is claimed by many that legislators now spend the majority of their time at home, babysitting; by Korean tradition, this is a non-masculine and degrading activity.) Therefore, one can say that Committee assignments are not now as significant in the Korean Assembly as they are in the U.S. Congress.
In the 9th Assembly there are three females on the Committee of Public Health and Social Affairs. Representative Yun Duk Kim is the Committee representative of the opposition party. She said, "I wanted the Committee on Public Health and Social Affairs because I want to be an expert in this field. I sat on this Committee in the 8th Assembly."

Since Mrs. Im Hoe Ku is a medical doctor and active in medical societies and women's organizations, she automatically was assigned to the Public Health and Social Affairs. Representative Moo In Huh was active in community work--especially in the New Village Movement--and was therefore assigned to the same Committee.

Two female members sat on the Agriculture and Fisheries Committee: Representative Ok Sun Kim said she asked for that committee in order to acquire broad experience in the Assembly through different Committee work. She sat on the Education and Public Information Committee in the Seventh Assembly, she asked the party leaders to put her on Agriculture and Fisheries; she said she will ask for another committee in the next Assembly. Mrs. Jung Ja Park said she requested that Committee because she doesn't want to be regarded as a typical female legislator sitting on the Public Health and Social Affairs Committee, and she wants to work for the people in the country areas. So, although she is avoiding one women's committee, she sits on another women-related committee. She believes that she should work for country
area women, and that is why she asked to sit on Agriculture and Fisheries. Mrs. Park was also active in the Saemaul (New Village) Movement when she was Director of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic Republican Party. Representative Bum Joon Lee sits on the Foreign Affairs Committee because she has a Ph.D. in international relations. She said she has found that it is an advantage to be a woman in the assembly, assuming one has a strong background.

In the 9th Assembly of Korea, female legislators sit on a wider range of committees compared to earlier assemblies, and most of them sit on committees they chose. But female members themselves are conforming to the expectations of norms of their society, and they are not too anxious to sit on the more influential committees. Instead, party leaders have taken the initiative in placing female members on different committees. In the current political situation in Korea, party leaders are looking for women qualified to run for office and become expert in certain areas of the Assembly. I think the problems of role strain, if there is any, are due to women themselves, because they are either not qualified, or have little desire to be active, and therefore they do not feel role strain in Committee assignment.

(Informal Meeting)

With one exception, female legislators in Korea are not generally involved in informal group meetings--Representative Ok Sun Kim is a member of the Morning Prayer
Male legislators are known to get together at Giseng (Geisha) parties and discuss politics there, but women are excluded from these parties.

According to Ok Ja Kim, "It is obvious that female members have limitations in the legislature but it is still possible to be active without participating in informal group meetings." Apparently, female members do not involve themselves in informal group meetings, and without these relationships they try to overcome their strain through formal legislative activity. In any event, the political culture of Korea in the 9th Assembly is very different from other assemblies because most of the members, either male or female, cannot really participate in the decision making process. Most of the decisions are made by very few party leaders or by the administration. Therefore it does not matter, in a sense, whether they participate in informal groups or not, and to be a female member might not be a very big difference in the 9th Assembly. Most of the male members said that in the 9th Assembly they rarely go to Giseng parties and when they do they don't discuss politics, perhaps because they have no subject matter to discuss.

Representative Bum Joon Lee said other members of her committee (Foreign Affairs) complained to the chairman because she preferred not to go to Giseng Houses, where it is necessary to take off one's shoes. So, most of her committee's lunch or dinner meetings are held at western restaurants.
The retired female legislator who was an opposition party leader, Soon Chun Park, said she always participated in the informal drinking parties, and did not leave until most of the members began to get drunk. But at the 9th Assembly, most of the female members do not participate in drinking parties or informal group meetings. In any event, female members of the Korean Assembly have different roles than male legislators, and they prefer to conform, or accept their position as women in the legislature and fulfill the expected role.

(To Be a Female Member)

In the 9th Assembly of Korea, all the female members believe that women in the legislature are at a disadvantage. Representative Young Hee Suh says simply that "We spent most of our energy fighting discrimination against women, and are unable to direct our energies toward positive programs which would really be helpful to women and everyone. That is the disadvantage inherent in being a woman in the Korean Assembly." Mrs. Jung Ja Park said, "When I face a discriminating situation, because of being a woman, I laughingly say I would like to be a man or wear a man's suit as Representative Ok Sun Kim does," but she also said, "In a way we have advantages as women because we have different views and we can suggest our views to the legislature." Other members said that they do feel role strain as women, which may be because their number is so few.
Representative Bum Joon Lee said, "I definitely say that women have disadvantages in being women. Especially, when I first came to the Assembly I really felt frustrated because they treated me as a woman, not as their colleague. I showed them and proved to them I am one of their colleagues. Now I overcame this role strain." She continued and said, "if women members are qualified, I think it can be rather advantageous; personally I think I have an advantage and get more favors now. But it was hard until I proved it."

Mrs. Im Hoe Koo said, "We have disadvantages from the beginning because we have a different socialization process and different education. We didn't have enough education to be a politician. That's why we should study harder. But I found that we get more information from women constituents; in this aspect maybe we have an advantage."

Representative Ok Sun Kim said, "We definitely have disadvantages as women. They do not treat women properly and they are reluctant to appoint them to important party position. They just appoint a woman as a committee member—not as spokesman, floor leader or head of the Party, even if she is qualified. In the case of Soon Chun Park, men were competing with each other and they didn't know what to do, so they elected her as a figure head of the party. But when we have campaigns we can shake hands with both men and women voters; I think this will be an advantage, but other than that we have more disadvantages."
Most of the female members of the 9th Assembly of Korea believe that being a woman is for the most part a disadvantage; only minor advantages were noted. None of the female members of the 9th Assembly of Korea have special "rules of the game." It can be said that female members of the Korean Assembly primarily identify themselves as representatives of women, or identify politics as an extension of Community Service—except for Miss Ok Sun Kim who has successfully assumed a male character.

In other words, female politicians in Korea use their community service as a reducing technique. After a long period of community service and attainment of recognition, they become legislators. The status of professional politician is like a reward for their effective contributions to their community or party. Representative Ok Sun Kim is an exception, because she ran for office more than three terms and lost, starting in her early twenties.
CHAPTER IX
FEMALE LEGISLATORS ROLE PERCEPTION TYPE

General Characteristics

According to the matrix we developed, four female legislator types are isolated on the basis of role perception v. behavior; that is the types are classified according to (1) their beliefs regarding the role(s) women should play, and (2) their action in the behaving situation. By these two variables the four female legislator types are labeled Conformist, Idealist, Feminist and Liberationist.

There are no Idealist types in the 93rd U.S. House of Representatives and in the 9th Assembly of Korea there are no Liberationist or Feminist types. We had 12 interviews (out of 16 female members) in the U.S. House; five female members are classified as Conformist, three are Feminist and four are Liberationist. In the 9th Assembly of Korea, nine female members were interviewed out of 10: five are classified as Conformist and four are Idealist.

Conformist types are 10 (U.S. - 5, Korea - 5) members out of our total of 21 interviews. They are all married except for Ok Sun Kim, who delicately imitates male behavior. Their ages vary. In the United States, they are either wives of deceased Congressmen or first-term Congresswomen. In Korea, two of the five are legislators, the others were appointed by the government.
The Idealists (four) are the only Korean female legislators who are well-educated and highly qualified and appear to experience incongruence between value-sets and behaving situation; by definition, they suffer role-strain. Two of them now married, and two have never been married; they are all appointed members.

The Feminist category turns out to be made up of the only three U.S. 93rd Congress women who are over 60, and they each have at least 20 years experience in the House. All are married, sit on exclusive committees, work very hard for the women in the United States, but agree that women's place should first be the home, and that there should be role distinction between the sexes. They have faced many discriminatory situations during their careers, to become successful legislators.

Liberationists are the middle-aged U.S. 93rd Congress female members who strongly believe in equality between sexes and feel a responsibility to represent broad women's interests in the Congress as a special (or added) duty. They average about eight years of experience in the House of Representatives.

**Conformist Type**

On the basis of our interview analysis we found 10 Conformists: five females in the U.S. House (Lindy Boggs, Cardiss Collins, Marjorie Holt, Pat Schroeder, and Leonor Sullivan) and five from the 9th Assembly of Korea (Moo In Huh, Ok Sun Kim, Yun Duk Kim, Im Hoe Koo, Jung Ja Park).
The Conformist type of female legislator is one who conforms, in belief and behavior as a woman, in the legislature, according to the society's norms vis-à-vis women. They are female legislators who perceive congruence between sets of values and behaving situations; i.e., the female is dependent. One sub-group within the Conformist believes women and men should have significant role distinctions and that women's place is primarily (though not exclusively) at home. Another group of Conformist female legislators are those who think of themselves as "independent" because they are "special," i.e., different from other women. They don't feel responsibility toward women's issues or women's representation, and they are theoretically as well qualified and educated as male legislators; as representatives, there is little to distinguish them from males. A third group of Conformist type female legislators are those who believe women should be equal to men, but that women are not ready to be treated equal because they are not "aware." It will take time, they believe, but it is foreseeable. As legislators, their success in their own field may serve as an example, and change the attitudes in the direction of equality.

Most of the Conformists are in the first category (those who believe women's place is home and men and women have different roles). They believe they represent women's interests but, toward secondary or dependent status, in order
to maintain traditional family life. In other words, they represent women's interests, but in the traditional way—as dependents, to be protected from easy divorce, alimony problems, etc. Leonor Sullivan said, "Well, my main thrust was there are only a few women. We need it—women's thinking and women's voice and I am a woman. We think differently, we act differently than a man. I felt that with the thinking of both, we could come to a better compromise on the kind of laws that would affect the family. I am thinking (and I am old fashioned), I am thinking of the responsibility of wife and mother. These are the things I think women must think of before she runs." She was the only female legislator who voted against the Equal Rights Amendment in the 92nd Congress, and she is the only woman since 1954 to chair a full congressional committee. (She is the third chairwoman in the history of the U.S. Congress. Representative Mary Teresa Norton (D-N.J. 1925-1950) headed the District of Columbia Committee from 1931-1936 and then the old House Labor Committee from 1937-1946; Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R.-Mass. 1925-1960) chaired the Veterans Affairs Committee from 1953-1954. Mrs. Sullivan chairs Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in the 93rd Congress.) When she was asked her opinion on the Equal Rights Amendment she answered as follows:

I've already voted against it because, number one, I do not want to erase by one amendment, all of the privileges and protective legislation which have been active for women. I still think that they need it.
I worked and worked hard to see all the discrimination was erased for women who were seeking jobs and in anything they were doing and also to get equal pay for equal work. We don't need the Equal Rights Amendment to get amendment, it's on the books now. What we need to do is to change attitudes and change the minds of those who enforce the law. The law is being enforced a little more. But I think women have different functions in life. I don't think any women should be kept from getting into any kind of career she thinks she is qualified for. And I think all that discrimination should be erased. But you don't just do it by a law. And there are other things, if this is ratified by all the states. Men are going to have the privileges women have. Men are different creatures. I don't ever want to be like a man. I think this is the way many more women feel. The idea--just liberating--equal what? I laughingly said, I am not going to settle fifty-fifty; give me ninety-ten. Because I have this feeling, I believe in family life, I believe that if women take the responsibility of marriage, husband, children--that is her first responsibility. Now if she is able to do that and have a career too, so be it. But I don't want to force a woman to have to do this.

This sub-group of Conformist female legislators includes those who succeeded their husbands and they were politically motivated by their husbands. They apparently were not interested in politics before they married. When they were asked about motivation, they answered as follows:

Interviewer: What made you interested in politics?

Cardis Collins: Actually, interest in politics came with the time when I met my husband, who was already in grassroots politics. I met him, my interest was auxiliary to his, I had no intention ever of running for public office, I was perfectly satisfied in the State of Illinois as an auditor. But when my husband died, many of my friends started calling and asked me whether I was interested in that job; first, I was hesitant. When time went on, mail came in and the ministers, particularly ministers in my community, they thought if I would run I could do the job well, and the party asked me if I might run, so I said 'yes.' That's how it happened.
Leonor Sullivan: Marrying into it. I put off marrying the man I was in love with because he was in politics.

The last category of female legislators within the Conformist group consists of those who believe and act as women, but who think that they are different, that they are exceptional for having overcome discrimination, and that other women may not be ready for forced socio-political equality.

Interviewer: Do you play the role of women or not?

Marjorie Holt: I am Marjorie Holt, whatever that means. I really don't think that we gotta be called congressperson—things like that to be treated equally. I think that I can be Congresswoman Marjorie Holt. And do my job as anybody else can. I can respect my fellow men.

Interestingly enough, she said she doesn't like the term "congressperson," but she said she is congresswoman Marjorie Holt. Most female legislators call themselves "congresswomen" whether they accept the terms "congresswomen," "chairperson," or other similar terms in other circumstances.

Marjorie Holt continues,

I think people like myself who have been active and who have been liberated all their lives, liberated by their fathers, liberated by their husbands, by their own attitudes, and I think that women's movement is part of all of those things. The reason that I was able to run for Congress in 72 (1972) was definitely a result of that movement, awareness of women as people, as capable people.

And the third category of Conformist female legislators does not accept the idea of the special responsibility to represent women's issues. They think their job is to be representative of their district.
Interviewer: Do you think that you have a special task (or set of role expectation) because you are a woman legislator, compared to a man?

Ok Sun Kim: No, I do not accept that at all. I represent my district which is Puyo-Suchon-Boryung District. I suppose about 50% of my constituents are male and to say that my special interest is women, I think I would be a misuse of my office. Same as if one of my male colleagues said that his main interest is male issues. I think I do not like that.

Pat Schroeder: I don't think so. I just represent my district.

"In Korea," Ok Sun Kim, one of the two elected female legislators said, "to be elected as a woman is really difficult, almost impossible, especially as an opposition party woman (which is my case)." She wears men's clothes and in appearance is exactly like a man. In a way, it can be interpreted that she conformed to society's norms and just adopted a male behavior pattern, but it tells us how difficult it may be to be elected as a woman in Korea.

As we noted earlier, Korea has had only six female members elected during the last 27 years. The 9th Assembly has only two female legislators who were elected by general election. They are all of the opposition (New Democratic) party. The other Korean female legislator who was actually elected is Yun Duk Kim. She behaves like a typical Korean woman, always wears Korean dress, and strongly identifies herself as a woman. She is married and has six children and a husband. According to her, the only way to be successful in politics is to work harder and specially identify herself
as a woman. She never forgot her role as a woman, mother and wife. In a similar fashion, Marjorie Holt said,

I think they [children] were the most important thing in my life. They come first to my husband and to me.

I think I've done the thing everybody advises a woman to do, and moved to other interests.

And Ok Sun Kim said "we need more women to participate in politics but I believe if I am successful and outstanding in politics as a woman, the result can be helpful to women. I think that is better. In other words, if more individual women succeed in politics it will help women in general and change the attitude toward women in general, gradually." She believes it will not be changed in a day, that it takes time. She thinks that to be a woman legislator is definitely a handicap, as does Representative Yun Duk Kim.

In the U.S. 93rd Congress, the Conformist legislator types are either first-term Congresswomen or the wives of deceased Congressmen. Perhaps as first-term congresswomen, they thought it better to align their values closely to society's norm in order to be re-elected, which they did. Wives of former Congressmen usually adopt their husbands' behavior pattern or policies, and they might lack the idea of being representative of women's interests.

The Conformists sit on various committees, mostly either semi-exclusive or non-exclusive; their ages vary from 33 to 72.
In the 9th Assembly of Korea, two elected female legislators and three appointed legislators are included as Conformist types. They sit on either the Agriculture and Fisheries Committee (2) or the Public Health and Social Affairs Committee (3). Those committees seem to be directly related to women. Their ages are varied, like U.S. Conformist female legislators, but they are all over 40; all except for Ok Sun Kim are married.

**Idealist Type**

There are four female legislators in the 9th Assembly of Korea who are classified as Idealist type legislators. In the 93rd Congress, there are none so classified. Idealists are those who perceive incongruence between sets of values and behaving situations in that they believe females should be independent but vote or work for women in ways which reinforce their dependent status.

The four Korean legislators are well educated, successful in their own careers, and were appointed by the President as representatives of women in various fields.

They believe women should be equal to men and that laws should be changed to equalize and enhance the status of women. Representative Young Hee Suh said, "I hate to hear that we [women] are representative of women. I believe that attitude should be changed. I sometimes encounter the attitude toward us [female legislators] that we are representatives of women; then, I argue with them--'Are you a
representative of male groups?' I think those people are the ones who physically exist in the 20th century modern world but they live in the 18th century." Representative Bum Joon Lee, who received her Doctorate at American University in International Relations and stayed in the United States over 13 years, a beautiful young former college professor said, "When I first came to the Assembly everybody treated me as a woman, not as a legislator. When time passed and they watched my behavior and activities in committee work [she sits in the committee on Foreign Affairs], they treated me as one of their colleagues. When I face those (discriminatory) situations I even hate myself. Maybe this is our complex, as women."

Among the four Idealists, Representative Lee is the only woman who has a (teenage) son, the other two have never married and Representative Young Hee Suh is married but has no children. Representative Ok Ja Kim sits on the Finance and Economy Committee, Sook Jong Lee sits on the Education and Information Committee because of her long experience as a professional educator, and Young Hee Suh sits on the Construction Committee.

When asked about her legislative experiences, Representative Ok Ja Kim said, "Since there are so few women in the legislature they tend to stereotype female legislators. I think that has problems because every woman has a different socialization process, family background and so forth, we
cannot be stereotyped 'either, or.' When there are as many as female legislators in the Assembly these hangups toward female legislators will be gone."

Representative Bum Joon Lee responded as follows:

Interviewer: Could you remember any particular occasion that you should remind yourself that you are a woman during your legislative work? What was the occasion? Why?

Bum Joon Lee: Remember? Did you read the newspaper a couple of weeks ago?

Interviewer: Oh, yes.

Bum Joon Lee: When U.S. House of Representatives were visiting Korea last week I and Representative Young Hee Suh were assigned to take care of the wives of the congressmen just simply because we are female legislators who can speak English, even though we ourselves are legislators. So, I talked with Mrs. Suh and we went to see Vice Speaker Chin Man Kim and complained about our discrimination. He agreed and he put our names in as Conference Delegates. That is a good example of how we are treated in the Assembly. I am a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Representative Suh's case might be different. She is a representative as well as the wife of a representative. But I am different.

Interviewer: I remember the incident and I read about it in the newspaper. I think the interesting thing is they accepted your complaint and corrected it.

Bum Joon Lee: He just agreed and apologized to us and made us conference participants.

When the same question was asked of Representative Young Hee Suh, she said, "That's it, that is exactly how we were treated. I think they treat us exactly the way they treat their wives. Maybe they don't know how they should behave. Because they were brought up that way."

The Idealists are frustrated, and the perceive severe limitations as legislators, but they never forget to mention
that they are doing (occupationally) well, even though they are not invited to informal meetings. They believe that they should represent specifically women's interests.

Interviewer: Do you think that you have a special task (or role expectation) because you are a woman legislator, compared to a man?

Young Hee Suh: Oh, yes, I think so.

Bum Joon Lee: I think I have.

Ok Ja Kim: Yes, because women's status is lower compared to men. Since men and women were not equal I have to feel that way. I strongly believe that I should represent women's interest better than male representatives.

Sook Jong Lee: I feel that responsibility, especially as the President of National Women's Organization. We are planning to reform our family law while we have many female legislators. We organized the Pan Women's Committee for Promoting the Revision of Family Laws and I am chairman of the organization. Sixty-six women's organizations compose that committee. I am sure we will reform our family law in the 9th Assembly.

But the situation was not so favorable. On July 18, 1974, the Pan Women's Committee for Promoting the Revision of Family Laws invited ten female legislators of the 9th Assembly to a meeting and delivered to them The Proposed Revision in the Civil Code Relating to Discrimination Against Women. In September 1974 at the National Women's Organization Annual Convention they reasserted the proposal and the female legislators agreed to it. A few months later women leaders found the proposal entirely changed in the Committee of Legislation and Justice by Representative Sook Jong Lee, who is also Chairman of the Pan Women's Committee for Promoting the Revision of Family Law. Women leaders criticized
Representative Lee; she answered that "Since most of the Assemblymen said they cannot agree to the proposal, I asked a few family law specialists to change some parts and submitted it to the Committee of Legislation and Justice. Law should be reformed by and can be changed only by legislators." Most of the women's organizations proclaimed their withdrawal from the National Organization of Women. Representative Lee had no option but to accept the original proposal; but now the 9th Assembly is not in session, so the reform proposal is currently dormant.

As we can see from the above incident, Idealist type female legislators face incongruent situations because of the conflict between their sets of values and the social norm-based behaving situations; thus they face more role strain than any other legislator type.

Representative Bum Joon Lee said she believes that in order to be successful as a female legislator, marital status is very important. She thinks that to be single is better if one is to be active and have less behavioral limitation in Korea, because Korea is a country where a wife should stay at home and a wife should have lower status than her husband. The other three Idealists believe that marital status has nothing to do with being elected or functioning as a legislator.
Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution

Both Korean and American societies have always confined women to a different, and inferior status. The discrimination has been deep and pervasive. Yet in the past the subordinate position of more than half the population was widely accepted as natural, or necessary or divinely ordained. It was an unquestioned assumption that woman's place was in the home, and she was under the protection of (a) man (men). Now, there has come a reawakening and a widespread demand for change. This time the advocates of women's rights are insisting upon a broad reexamination and redefinition of "woman's place," and the problem remains unresolved.

When Martha Griffiths (Michigan) was asked how she voted on the Equal Rights Amendment she proudly answered, "I am the author of the Equal Rights Amendment," and in addition:

Interviewer: Could you explain at least one special occasion when you had tremendous satisfaction during your legislative activities?

Martha Griffiths: Yes, I put sex, the word sex into the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Every person was against me: the entire lobby, the White House, everybody else, but when I finished the argument, the House voted for it.
Martha Griffiths strongly feels a responsibility, as a female legislator, to advocate women's issues to a greater extent than would a male legislator, and accordingly was in the vanguard of women's interests. She believes that female legislators are obliged to represent women's interest as legislators. When she was asked the following question, she strongly emphasized her answer:

Interviewer: Do you think you have a special responsibility (or role expectations) because you are a woman legislator, compared to a man?

Martha Griffiths: Yes, you have; in my opinion you are obliged, if you are true to your own, to present the problems through the eyes of a woman.

As she asserts in the interview, Mrs. Griffiths firmly believes that she has a special responsibility and obligation to represent women's issues. Also, she thinks she has changed "law after law after law" for women, and continuously emphasizes that she put the word "sex" into the Civil Rights Act. But she believes men and women have different ways of looking at the world. In order to represent all viewpoints it is necessary to have women in the law-making process because women have inherently different perceptions of the world around us. After she disagreed that men and women have different functions as legislators, she continued, "The difference, the real thing a woman offers is that she sees the world differently. What you really need to do in making a law is to consider the viewpoint of everybody." And she identifies herself at the legislature as a woman, and behaves as a woman. When she was asked about the women's liberation
movement she said, "I think they have done great good. They have awakened women to the problems of being a woman. But they have also had stars in their eyes on some things. You know they can't reform the whole world in one night. What they should do is to confine themselves now to the things that are economic. This I think would work better."

Interviewer: Then, how do you define it (women's liberation)?

Martha Griffiths: I have a rather difficult time myself. I assume that what you are talking about are all these women's groups who have been formed and that have been written about and concerned about who are discussing the role of women. You know, one of the things my generation would never have had said to any women was that she was mistreated in her home and that she was unappreciated and so forth. To me this is absolutely fantastic nevertheless I commend them for it, because for many women it has been a terrible thing.

As we understand from the interview with Martha Griffiths, our third female legislator category, Feminist sees the female as dependent but votes or works as a member of the vanguard of the movement for women's independence. And they, like the idealists, therefore perceive incongruence between sets of values and behaving situations; with the Feminists the incongruence results from, value-sets-dependent, behaving situation-independent; for the idealists, value sets-independent, behaving situation-dependent.

According to this research, the 93rd U.S. House of Representatives has three female members who can be categorized as Feminist type legislators. They are Martha Griffiths, Edith Green and Julia Butler Hansen. In the 9th Assembly of
Korea, there are none in this category. Feminist legislator types appear to devote an unusual amount of attention and energy to the formulation and production of legislation for women.

They are all married, well educated, over 60, and have had about 20 years of experience before they came to Capitol Hill. They all sit on exclusive committees; Martha Griffiths on Ways and Means, Edith Green and Julia Butler Hansen on Appropriations. They have all been elected to more than seven consecutive terms. They have either no children (Martha Griffiths) or a few (Edith Green has two sons and Julia Butler Hansen has one son). They all agree that they, as female legislators had experienced a certain amount of discrimination when they were first elected and have now overcome these problems.

As Edith Green recalled:

I think that we've made tremendous progress in these years. When I first came to Congress, there were 17 of us in the House as I recall; then fewer--the number went down to 11. When I came there had never been a woman on the Appropriations Committee; there had never been a woman on the Ways and Means Committee; the few women who had been elected to the Congress were assigned those committees that were "women's work," and that tradition has been broken. Now there has never been a woman elected to a position of party responsibility on either the Democratic or Republican side. There has never been a woman even talked about for the position of the Speaker, or Majority Leader, or Minority Leader, or whip. I belong to the Whip's organization which is composed of the representatives from 19 different regions. We meet every Thursday morning at 9:15. I am the only woman at that meeting; every other Whip is a man. So I don't think there is any question that it's more difficult. A woman is still not accepted on an absolutely equal basis.
Now I am on the Appropriations Committee and Martha Griffiths is on the Ways and Means Committee. I think it was obvious that Speaker Rayburn (when I came he was the Speaker), he obviously felt that such matters as appropriations taxes were not for, or are beyond women's minds. We ought to be concerned about welfare, education and nursing.

Interviewer: Last year I had a chance to have an interview with retired Representative Catherine Norell... According to her when she went on official trips with other members, they usually entertained her, even though the other members were discussing the subject matter. Have you had any such incidents while you were a member?

Edith Green: That's right!

Interviewer: Then how did you react to that?

Edith Green: I told them I am a member of Congress as are my male colleagues, and if there are meetings where substantive matters are to be discussed, I intend to be there as a member of Congress. I don't intend to be entertained by some women's tea.

This was what female legislators experienced in the past, but they overcame these situations and reduced their strain by working harder and proving themselves. These three Idealist female legislators were pioneers, and the most successful female legislators elected on their own, that is not succeeding their congressmen/husbands.

Julia Butler Hansen and Martha Griffiths strongly agree that female legislators have a special responsibility not only to represent women's interests, but also to work harder than male legislators.

Interviewer: Do you believe that female legislators have a special responsibility compared to male legislators in the Congress?

Julia Butler Hansen: Yes, you have. If you don't do a good job they say, that's a woman for you!
Edith Green rejected the idea in the interview that she really represents and perceives herself as representing women's interests. According to the following statement, we see that she actually does specially represent women's issues:

Interviewer: Could you explain at least one special occasion when you had tremendous satisfaction during your legislative activities, if there is any?

Edith Green: I think of several occasions. I think politically a great deal of satisfaction was when I managed John Kennedy's primary campaign in Oregon. A great deal of satisfaction after the results of that victory . . . In terms of legislation, I was the author of the Equal Pay for Equal Work Act and had introduced it when I first came in 1955 and the men who made the decisions on the committee would never hold any hearings on the bill. It provided that any woman who was doing identical work to that of men should be paid the same amount. After Kennedy was elected, I discussed it with him and we held hearings, and it did become law. I think it's a very significant piece of legislation. And I am told that last year as a result of it, the women employees of the A.T.&T., the telephone company, received 15 million dollars in back salaries and wages because they had been discriminated against on the basis of sex, and have been paid lower wages.

So it was a piece of legislation that had a great impact on the lives of women. So I take a great deal of satisfaction [in that] . . .

Martha Griffiths claimed other female legislators do not feel a responsibility because they are afraid of losing male votes.

Interviewer: Do you think other members feel the same way you do about it? I mean, representing women's interests?

Martha Griffiths: No, no, no. Many of them absolutely do not. They feel no responsibility at all toward other women and in fact many of them had been afraid. I was the first woman who ever spoke for women . . .
Interviewer: Why were they afraid? Of whom?

Martha Griffiths: They're afraid they will lose men's votes.

Interviewer: Are they specially conscious of being women?

Martha Griffiths: I think many people who make it in life assume that it is something special with them, that they really are some special person. I have never believed this—particularly not politically. That isn't the reason. You make it because many other people help you, and the least you can do is try to help others.

(Martha Griffiths and Julia Butler Hansen retired before the 94th Congress, and Edith Green was reelected to her seat.)

The Feminist type legislators contributed by helping other newly-elected Congresswomen, by their example, to overcome early role strain. This they did through diligent and extensive legislative activity. In other words, their successes have made it easier for those who followed. Nevertheless, they accept for the most part society's general expectations regarding women, and believe in the desirability of definite distinctions between male and female roles.

Liberationist

Interviewer: Do you play the role of a woman in the legislature?

Patsy Mink: Oh, no, I don't think so. It doesn't mean I discount feminity at all. I think that I am to be respected as a human being. Sex happens to be female but that's irrelevant in my work—but that doesn't mean in my social behavior and how I dress that I feel that I should negate the fact that I am a woman and act like a man. They are no better than
me. If I believed that men were superior, maybe I would try to act like them, be like them, dress like them and try to take on their behavioral traits, their characteristics; but I don't happen to think that they are any better human beings than women are human beings, and therefore sex and femininity and women's traits, I think, are purely secondary, and how we relate to our sex is really a personal choice and should have no bearing upon our work. As far as assuming the role of a woman in Congress, as I said earlier, we do have that responsibility, of really rising to the responsibility as a woman to women's organizations and women's needs and demands in our society because we are so terribly discriminated against, in jobs and in various other economic institutions and its practices. Therefore, to that extent yes, I identify very very strongly with the women's movement in America, with all the women's organizations that are part of this movement, because I think that only in this way can we really achieve full equality.

Liberationist type female legislators are those whose beliefs and behavior deny any role distinction between the sexes, and strongly identify with and represent women's issues, compared to the support given by male legislators. In the 9th Assembly there are no Liberationists; in the 93rd Congress, there are four members who can be identified as Liberationist: they are Patsy Mink, Shirley Chisholm, Yvonne Burke and Margaret Heckler.

Liberationists are well educated (with graduate or professional degrees), they are in their forties, they are all married, are successful legislative candidates in their own right, and have all been elected to more than three terms, except for Yvonne Burke, who was a State Legislator before she came to Capitol Hill. They don't believe that women's place should be first, in the home. They strongly
believe and agree that they have a special responsibility because they are female legislators. They consider themselves as representatives specifically of their districts as well as representatives of all the women in America.

Therefore, they think they have a dual (or added) role, and greater responsibility as representatives of American women's interests, and should work on and propose bills for women.

Margaret Heckler mentioned that she has the added responsibility of working on women's issues, simply because Congress is such a totally male dominated institution. Like Mrs. Heckler, most Liberationist type legislators believe that female legislators work harder than male legislators:

Interviewer: While I had interviews with a few female legislators they believe that female legislators work harder than male legislators. Do you think so?

Margaret Heckler: They work harder than men . . . Women are aware that there are only a few here and that they are visible, and their mistakes are visible. They have a stronger desire to reform, to be effective, therefore they work harder.

Shirley Chisholm: Women legislators work harder. I am telling you, unequivocally, yes. Women legislators work harder.

Patsy Mink: They do, compared to the average male legislators.

Yvonne Burke: Does her homework. I think if you take the average they work harder, because they are so afraid of criticism.

Liberationists not only believe that it is their duty to convince, educate, train, and assist women to participate
in politics, but to change the political system to eliminate discrimination against women and provide some measure allowing them to work hand-in-hand with men in this endeavor. Again they strongly feel the contradictions of society's norms or beliefs vis-à-vis women as "dependent." Patsy Mink outlines the following points on this subject:

Patsy Mink: If I don't have a child I am a failure as a mother or woman. If I go to work I am a failure as a mother. If I send my child to preschool I am a failure as a mother. These things are locked into your brain by society but have absolutely no validity, in fact.

Interviewer: Then, you never thought and felt concerned about your daughter since you sent her to preschool and come home late yourself?

Patsy Mink: Oh, I never felt that; I felt quite confident that she was probably getting a better educational experience and learning a great deal more socializing and other things, becoming a better human being, because she had this experience; but I recognize the fact there are many, many people in the community who felt that I was a failure as a mother because I worked.

Interviewer: Then how do you feel?

Patsy Mink: Nothing. It just didn't matter to me at all how they thought. The realities are that two-thirds of the women work anyway. And the few snobs that didn't, they are the ones who try to perpetuate this fallacy, who could sit at home and put their children in front of a T.V. set and play Majong all day. They felt that they are better mothers, and the T.V. set was their excuse. I don't think they are any better mothers because they had a television set.

This is why I supported the Day Care Bill, authored the first bill as a matter of fact in 1967 because I feel so strongly that women got to get out of this rut, of having society force upon them this ridiculous notion that they somehow are not serving our God-given purpose as a mother . . .
People come and ask those questions; 
How do you feel to be a woman in politics?

Same as men I am sure.

How does your daughter feel about you being a politician? Then I answered:

I am sure it's no different than the daughter whose 
father is in politics. They want to see their fathers, 
they wish their fathers didn't have to go off on trips 
so often, they wish their fathers could be home at 
supper time more often, read them stories before bed-
time . . .

It's no different. Parents' absence from their 
children's presence at their very young age is a very 
traumatic experience for children, regardless of 
whether the parent, in politics is the mother or 
father. To frame the question as though it's only an 
issue when it's the mother in politics is sexist. I 
said if you ask a father in politics this question I 
will respond to it as a mother, but if you do not ask 
a father in politics this question, it's unfair to ask 
a mother. But it's this whole business, you see, people 
think that politics has a double standard that I should 
be treated differently by an interviewer or by the press 
or by the media because I am a woman, means that we have 
a long way to go to overcome discrimination, because of 
people who deal with this problem still have this hang-
up; they have to ask me these questions. They refuse 
to look at me, still, as a human being.

Most of the Liberationists sit on semi-exclusive com-
mittees: Patsy Mink and Yvonne Burke sit on Interior and 
Insular Affairs; Yvonne Burke also sits on Public Works.
Margaret Heckler sits on both Banking and Currency and Veterans 
Affairs, and Shirley Chisholm and Patsy Mink sit on Education 
and Labor. They are very active in the legislature and do 
not appear to be conscious, in the Congress, of traditional 
female limitations. Rather by their actions and beliefs they 
show that a female legislator can be equal or superior to her
male counterpart. They strongly feel that female legislators have a special role, a responsibility to change the law and to represent women and women's issues.

In the author's opinion, the Liberationist may represent the ideal type of female legislator, given the situation of women in general in today's world. Their thoughts and actions derive from the postulate that women are inherently equal to men, and are directed at changing society's pervasive non-recognition of this fact. In these terms, one could say that, by contrast, for the Conformists, the above is not the case with respect to both actions and beliefs; the Idealists are similar to the Liberationists in beliefs but not actions; Feminists, in actions but not beliefs.
CHAPTER X
FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This is a study of legislative roles with particular attention paid to role strain felt by female legislators in two countries: the U.S. House of Representatives 93rd Congress (1973-1974) and the 9th Assembly of the National Assembly of Korea. This empirical exploration of female legislators' role is primarily based on private interviews, tape-recorded with the subjects' consent. Interviews, observations, and document collection were carried out both in Seoul, Korea and in Washington, D.C.

Women in the twentieth century who seek professional success tend to reject their societally-given psychological predispositions as women because of the prejudiced expectations society holds for them. In other words they experience tension between their ascribed status and their achieved status. Therefore, they feel role strain because of the fact that they are women.

Among the significant groups of women who experience this conflict between career and family, between ascribed status and achieved status, it is probable that those who are involved in political careers feel more role strain than do those in other activities.

The world of politics is traditionally regarded as a man's world, and likewise important work in that field has
been predominately a male prerogative. Politicians, by definition, hold power, and some hold a great deal of power; in most societies, the exercise of power has been and is a male function.

In addition, a political career may be a highly visible one (as is the case for legislators). A political career is not only visible, it is public, and tenuous: success or failure may be less a function of the politician's personal abilities (or shortcomings) than of the behavior and perceptions of others. By "others" I mean both fellow political careerists and the public at large, and their behavior and perceptions may be capricious as often as rational.

Despite their disadvantages as female politicians, the people I interviewed have survived, and to a significant extent, succeeded in the political system. It was hypothesized, and shown to be true in this study that in coping with the situation, that is, in maximizing congruence and striving for success, female legislators have developed their own techniques for reducing role strain.

The role of women in politics has changed during the seventies, both in the United States and Korea. Females in the 93rd Congress House of Representatives experience less role strain than they themselves and their predecessors did in earlier Congresses. Also, they undergo less role strain than do the female members of the 9th National Assembly of Korea; our hypothesis was the female representatives would feel more role strain than their Korean counterparts.
The situation of women in American politics has changed rapidly over the last few years because of both the direct influence of the extensive women's liberation movement, and the indirect influences of other institutional changes brought by this movement. Today's female Representatives enter the House with educational and occupational backgrounds which are stronger than those of their predecessors and fully equal to or stronger than those of their current male counterparts. Never before were there young, single, female lawyers in the House.

In contrast, the current situation in Korea is similar to that of earlier U.S. Houses: female legislators are such by appointment, not election. (Eight out of ten in the 9th Assembly. This is roughly similar to the now outmoded American practice of having deceased Congressmen's wives appointed to fill unexpired terms.) The office is intended to be more honorary than functional. However, on the plus side the 9th Assembly contains more women than did previous Assemblies, they represent a wide range of interests, they are younger than before, and are on the average more qualified by background than their male colleagues.

Most of the female legislators in Korea feel role strain in informal group meetings and legislative activities as well as from pressure groups (specifically formal women's organizations).
This last point—pressure from women's organizations—is important in that it compounds the role-strain problems of the female legislators. They are given, or otherwise acquire a special set of role expectations, and are encouraged to attempt to function as specifically women's representatives, organizing political solutions for the many problems faced by women in Korea today. Compared to their counterparts in the United States the Korean women bear a much greater "burden." There is such a severe shortage of women in influential, opinion-molding fields (other than education, which in Korea tends to be tradition-reinforcing for female students) that legislators are pressured beyond their potential; they are expected to convince, educate, train, and assist women not only to eliminate political discrimination but to affect wide-ranging social reforms for women at all levels of Korean society.

They are unable to cope with this situation and overcome these strains because of (1) the political culture of Korea, and (2) their own role perceptions. There are, in my terms, only two types of female legislators in the Assembly: Conformist and Idealist. Both types experience role strain in the Assembly because of the pressure of organized women's groups.

In the Congress, females overcome this role strain through (1) the efforts of their predecessors, (2) their roles (for some) as young women lawyers, and (3) the effects
of the women's liberation movement. This last point is especially important with respect to Korean-American comparisons. The "starting point" was comparatively better in America, and early successes of the general women's liberation movement have allowed women to emerge as visible leaders in other influential fields, and have opened channels for others to emerge, in greater numbers in the future. Therefore, in the United States, the pressure on female legislators is less than that felt by the National Assembly.

In the case of the Americans, however, role strain does result from experiences in informal group meetings or attempts to rise to leadership positions within the House. The consensus is that the American legislators overcome these role strains by hard work; additional techniques vary among individuals according to differences in individual role perceptions.

In Chapter VII, a matrix was developed for classifying female legislators' role perceptions. Four legislator types were suggested, and classified according to (1) their beliefs regarding the roles women should play, and (2) their own actions in the behaving situation. Four female legislator types were identified on the basis of these variables: Conformist, Idealist, Feminist, and Liberationist.

A Conformist is one who perceives congruence between sets of values (her values) and behaving situations, with "female" as dependent in both cases. An idealist perceives
incongruence between sets of values and behaving situations; she believes that females should be independent, but she votes or works for women as dependent beings. The Feminist also perceives incongruence between sets of values and behaving situations, she sees females as generally dependent, but she votes or works as a member of the women's liberation vanguard. The Liberationist perceives congruence between sets of values and behaving situations, with females as independent in both cases; she also votes or works as a member of the women's liberation vanguard.

There are no Idealists in the House (93rd Congress) and in the 9th Assembly there are no Liberationists or Feminists. I interviewed 12 of the 16 females in the House, and classified five as Conformist, three as Feminist, and four as Liberationist. In Korea I interviewed nine of the 10 female legislators, and found five Conformists and four Idealists.

There are altogether 10 Conformists, five in each country. They are all (except for Ok Sun Kim) married, and their ages vary widely. In the House, they are either first-term congresswomen or wives of former Congressmen. The Korean Conformists include the two elected representatives as well as three of those who were appointed.

The Idealist group is made up of those Korean legislators who are well up of those Korean legislators who are well educated and outwardly well qualified. Two of them are married and two are single, and all were appointed. They are
characterized by a degree of incongruence between sets of values and behaving situations and therefore experience a certain amount of occupational frustration.

We found that the Feminists (3) are those U.S. Congresswomen who are over 60 years old and with more than 20 years of legislative experience. All are married, sit on exclusive committees, and have worked for women's rights in a wide range of areas. However, they do adhere to the tradition that a woman's first responsibility is the home, and that there is and should be sex-based role distinction. They themselves have overcome many problems of sexual discrimination to become successful legislators.

The Liberationists are middle-aged U.S. Congresswomen, who strongly believe in equality of sexes and feel that it is their responsibility to work for this end, and that they should devote a good part of their time to working as special women's representatives.

In the Chapters II through IV we discussed, respectively, theories of role analysis, the comparative legislative framework, and ascribed roles of today's women.

In Chapter V we reviewed literature on women in politics, and on women who have served or are now serving in the U.S. Congress. Also included was a brief look at past female members of the two legislatures, both as groups and as individuals.
In Chapter VI we introduced the female participants in this case study: 12 of the 16 U.S. Congresswomen, and 9 of the 10 female Korean National Legislators. Short biographical sketches were included for each of these people, who as a group constitute the heart of this study.

In Chapter VIII we discussed the phenomena of role strain, which the female legislators have encountered and continue to encounter in the socialization process, in recruitment, and in various legislative activities.

We found, first that the legislators were influenced by distinct socializing influences. Most of the females in the two legislatures were either reared in a highly politicized family, or were motivated by some special influence. (Such was the case for the three widows of former Congressmen, who "married into it.")

In the Assembly, the females are relatively highly educated and were usually successful in other professional fields before entering the legislature.

Since a seat in the Assembly results, in their cases, from success in other fields it can be said that a good part of their political socialization follows rather than precedes the beginning of their legislative careers. In this sense their socialization has been quite different from that of both their male colleagues and their American counterparts.

We considered age as one aspect of socialization, and found that U.S. Congresswomen range from 31 to 72 years old;
the Korean Representatives, 34 to 71. It was formerly true
that female legislators were older than males, but the mean
age of females in the House is 45 compared to 53 for males,
and in the Korean Assembly the mean ages are approximately the
same: females--49.4; males--49.96.

Regarding legislative service, the American females
average 10.3 years, and their male colleagues, 12.09 years.
In Korea the average is 2.4 years for females and 6.3 years
for males.

The recruitment process for the female legislators was
found to be different from that of (1) their male colleagues
(in both countries), and (2) previous female legislators
(also for both countries). In the past, in the United States,
females who were in the House were there, usually, to fill
the unexpired term of a deceased husband. Now, of the 16
females in Congress only two were elected to finish their
deceased husbands' terms. Unlike their present male
colleagues, the female Representatives generally did not have
party support in their first successful campaigns. Or, if
they do get party support, it may be in a "throwaway" situation,
i.e., where the party faces a strong opponent or organization
and figures that it may as well nominate a woman, since the
chance of winning is perceived as so small to begin with.

In Korea, each of the females in the 9th Assembly had
full party support. Parties actively seek women candidates,
which they did not do before, and theoretically at least,
the parties expect them to represent specifically women's interests. A detrimental effect of this practice, however, may be that where previously women would seek office through the electoral process and build their own political organizations, they now prefer to accept appointment to the Assembly, thus decreasing the "legitimacy" of their positions.

We also found that females in both legislatures feel role strain in the course of legislative activities, either in informal group situations or with respect to committee assignments. In the Congress, it was found that the females have overcome role strain in committee work; that is, they are no longer confined to "women's work" committees, but serve on a wide range of committees and subcommittees. They do continue to experience role strain with respect to informal group (i.e., "men only") situations. According to them, they compensate by "working harder." They also believe that once they are elected, their position is relatively better than that of the average male representative (for reasons discussed earlier).

In the National Assembly, the females experience role strain in both committee assignments and with respect to informal group situations. They are limited to "women's committees," in keeping with their status as specifically appointed women's representatives, and are largely excluded, or exclude themselves from informal group participation.
A word about research problems. I had little difficulty getting interview appointments with the American Congresswomen, and the 12 whom I interviewed were very cooperative and accessible. I was unable to interview Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), Ella Grasso (D-Conn.), Elizabeth Holzman (D-N.Y.), and Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.). During the time I was in Washington, Mrs. Grasso was involved in the Connecticut gubernatorial campaign, and Representatives Holtzman and Jordan were very busy with Judiciary Committee hearings, and Representative Abzug was busy framing legislation.

I had a lot of trouble getting interview appointments with those Korean legislators whom I had not known previously. It occurred to me that this might have been so because people tend to be more polite to foreigners, and the Korean legislators (or their assistants) felt less responsibility to be helpful than did their American counterparts. Other researchers I have talked to have evidently encountered the same phenomena.

When beginning this study, I had hypothesized that the Congresswomen would feel more role strain than would the Korean Assemblywomen. As an institution, Congress has existed for almost 200 years, and has developed many complex, and in some cases semi-sacred traditions. The National Assembly was instituted in 1948, and as an institution has not developed its own traditions to the extent that the Congress has. For this reason I expected the Assembly to be more flexible and
responsive regarding an issue such as increased female membership.

What I found, however, is that within the Congress females have, as a group and individually, overcome most of their role strain and lead normal legislative lives, except in cases of informal group situations and of the inability to attain party and Congressional leadership positions. They themselves believe that within the Congress, willingness to work harder than normal is sufficient both to guarantee reasonably equal treatment from their colleagues and to allow them to attain thorough success as legislators.

The Korean Assemblywomen, on the other hand, are very limited within the legislature. They are excluded from informal group functions and are largely restricted to "women's" committees. They experience a great deal of role strain, for the following reasons: They are on the whole, women who have been successful in community work, party service, professional fields, and in most cases were appointed to represent women's interests. Under the current regime, however, there is little that they can actually do; as appointed delegates they are more or less expected to rubber-stamp government-proposed legislation. In a sense they may be no worse off than appointed males, or even elected males. However, they are subjected to the concentrated pressure of women's organizations. Therefore, one can say that they did overcome role strain in their previous professional careers,
but that now, as legislators, they have no access to strain-reducing techniques.

We also found that the situations are reversed in the recruitment process. There, the Korean Assemblywomen all had full party support. The Congresswomen in most cases did not get real party support until after a first successful campaign. They had to secure early backing on their own, and this seems to have required a highly politicized background (i.e., family, husband, or higher education). This difficulty in recruitment may help to explain the small number of females in Congress. The small number of females in the Assembly appears to be the result of unwillingness on the part of qualified women to actively seek political careers.

Role strain varies among individual legislators according to differences in role perception. We defined Feminist and Idealist types as those experiencing a higher degree of role strain, and Liberationist and Conformist types, by virtue of high congruence between sets of values and behaving situation, experience less role strain.

It was concluded that the Liberationist type, in both beliefs and actions, is the ideal female legislator in the Congress, and would be the ideal type in the Korean Assembly; ideal for furthering the political interests of women in the United States, and ideal for aiding women in a more fundamental way, by functioning as full participants in the process of nation building in Korea. The Liberationist can, and should,
aid in educating, training and changing laws to elevate
women to a fully equal position in society.

The political system makes binding decisions on all
elements of society. Women constitute half of that society,
and Liberationist legislator is in a key position to secure
for women a 50 percent interest in the system which governs
them.
APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES--ENGLISH AND KOREAN VERSIONS

Interviewer's Introduction

As a member of the Political Science Department of the University of Hawaii, and on leave from the Executive Secretary, Research Department of the National YWCA of Korea, I have had ongoing interest in women's participation in politics. I am particularly interested in the roles of the female legislators, ascribed role of female legislators, and socialization of female legislators.

This study will be a comparative study of 16 female legislators of the U.S. House of Representatives and 10 female members of the National Assembly of Korea as well as male members of both countries. I would hope that upon the completion of the study, the responses that you have contributed will provide interested students with some insights into understanding what it means to be a female legislator and why only a few members are in the legislatures.

I hope you don't mind using a tape-recorder when we are having the interview. Please be assured, Representative, that the results of this interview will be used only for academic purposes.

Thank you very much,

Sincerely yours,

(signature)

Haingja Kim
A. Interview Schedule (English Version)

(Before I start asking questions I would like to ask you what you would like to be called? (Congressmen, Congresswomen, Representative, Mrs., Miss, Ms.)

I hope you don't mind my using a tape-recorder during this interview. Please be assured (Representative) that interview results will be used only for academic purposes.

1. Personal Background

1. Sex

2. Could you tell me your age?

3. Nationality

4. What is your marital status?
   (a. Are you married? b. How many times? c. Do you have any children? d. How many children do you have? e. How old are you? f. If divorced may I ask if the divorce had anything to do with your role in public life?)

5. Could you tell me about your occupational experience? Is there any special reason that you took that occupation? Did you work after your marriage?

6. What was your job before you became a legislator? (Wife of a congressman, housewife, career women (What was your job?)

7. What is your educational background? Were you active as a student? (were you active in church or community work when you were about 20 years of age?)

8. What social class would you say you and your family belong to? (Write exactly what respondent says, then ask for clarification, if necessary, terms of upper-upper, upper, upper-middle, middle, middle-lower, lower classifications)
   a) What was your father's job and educational background?
   b) Was your mother active in community work? If she did, what kind of community work was she active in?
c) Where were you born and where did you grow up? Was it a country or city? Did you spend most of the years when you were growing up in a city, small town, or on a farm?

9. a) What made you interested in politics?

b) When did you become interested?

c) Were there any special reasons for you to be interested in politics?

10. Thinking back to the time when you began to think about running for or accepting appointment to legislative office:

a) Give me a description of your first conversation with someone in the party about your possible nomination. (When was it that you first talked with a party official about the nomination? How did that conversation go? What did he say? What did you say?)

b) How did you feel about the idea then? (how did the idea strike then? What was your viewpoint on running (accepting) then?)

c) In making up your mind about running (or accepting), what factors did you take into account? (What were some of the pros and cons, as you saw it then?)

d) What were some of the attitudes of your family and friends about this? (esp. husband, children, if you have any).

e) Which of these factors that you have mentioned would you say had the most to do with your final decision?

f) Do you expect to continue to run for legislative office? Why?

g) Is there any other political or government position, which you would like to seek? (If yes or perhaps) What are they?

II. Legislative Activity

11. Now, a couple of questions about the job of being a legislator:
a) First of all, how would you describe the job of being a legislator. What are the most important things you do here?

b) Are there any important differences between what you think this job is and the way your constituents see it? (What are they?)

12. Is there any particular subject or field of legislation in which you consider yourself particularly an expert, I mean when it comes to dealing with proposed legislation in that field? (What is that? Why is that?)

13. We've been told that every legislature has its unofficial rules of the game, certain things members must do and things they must not do if they want the respect and cooperation of fellow members. (What are some of these things--these "rules of the game"--that a member must observe, to hold the respect and cooperation of his fellow members?)

14. a) Could you describe your activities during a typical day at the legislature?

b) Could you explain at least one special occasion when you had tremendous satisfaction during your legislative activities?

c) What was your worst experience as a legislator, if there was any?

15. Now, I would like to ask about your committee work.

a) What committees were you on, after you were first elected? What committees did you ask for?

b) Is there any special reason you proposed that those committees? What is it? If you couldn't be a member of the committee you proposed, what was the reason?

c) What committees are you now on? Is there any special reason you decided to be a member of these committees?

d) Have you ever been a chairman of a committee or a subcommittee? (If answer is yes; what committee was it? If no; what is the reason?)
16. Have you ever been on an official trip as a legislator? What was the occasion? How many times? How many members were with you? (If answer is no, what is the reason?)

17. Are you a member of an informal group meeting regularly with other members outside of the regular sessions and committee meetings? (What kind of group meeting is it? How often do you meet?)

III. Being a Woman (legislator)

18. How would you describe the job of being a legislator as a woman?
   a) Are there any differences between men and women being a legislator?
   b) If there are any, what are they?
   c) Why is that?

19. Is there any special favors, problems, or disadvantages being a woman legislator compared to a man? Why is it?

20. a) Do you play the role of woman or not in the legislature?
   b) Is there any rule of game as a legislator because you are a woman? Why is it?
   c) Could you remember any particular occasion that you should remind yourself that you are a woman during your legislative work? (What was the occasion? Why is it?)
   d) As a woman, how do you look at legislative process?
   e) As a woman, how do you look at seniority system?

21. a) Generally speaking, do you think men and women have different reasons to participate in politics? (Why is it?)
   b) Do you think, men and women legislators are functioning differently?

22. a) What is your opinion of the Equal Rights Amendment? How did you vote?
(In Korea, Revision to the Civil Code Relating to Discrimination Against Women)

b) What is your opinion on women's liberation movement? How do you define it?

c) Is there any other bill you have specially proposed for women? (If so, what was it?)

23. a) Do you think that you have a special task (or role expectations) because you are a woman legislator compared to a man? (If you think you have a special task, what is it? How do you think you have done so far as a legislator?)

b) Do you think most of the other women legislators will feel the same way as you do about it?

24. What do you think are the major problems of women in this rapidly changing modern world? (How about the women in your country?)

25. Could you tell me, what will be the reason of a small number of women in the legislature?

26. a) Do you think that you should behave as a woman? How do you think typical women behave?

b) Do you think you behave less (or more) like a typical woman?

c) Have you ever thought that you are a deviant from the traditional feminine role pattern?

27. How do you usually dress? Do you usually wear skirts or pant-suit? Is there any special reason to wearing that way? Do you usually wear jewelry? Why?

28. Do you think marital status is one of the (most) important factors to be elected as a legislator? Why? What status might be the best? (single, married, widow, etc.) Is it the same in man and woman?

29. Do you feel to say some strain in your job because you are a female? (If yes, what kind of strain is it?)

IV. Interviewers Evaluation

A. Location
   a. Capitol Building ( )

   b. Respondent's office ( )
c. Respondent's home (   )
d. Hotels, Restaurants (   )
e. Miscellaneous other places, or combinations of above (   )
f. etc. (   )

B. Frankness of respondents
   a. very frank (   )
   b. frank (   )
   c. not very frank (   )
   d. not recorded (   )

C. Respondent's co-operativeness
   a. very co-operative (   )
   b. co-operative (   )
   c. not very co-operative (   )

D. Interviewer's general impression respondents, especially concerning
   a. her personal characteristics
   b. her general attitudes, orientation to politics
   c. her conceptions of party, pressure groups, constituents administration etc.
   d. her conception of herself as a legislator

E. Failure to interview
   a. refused outright
   b. evaded, without clear refusal
   c. died or hospitalized
   d. contact failure
   e. etc.
F. a. length of time  
  b. when interviewed  
      1) date  
      2) time
B. Interview Schedule--Korean Version

여성 국회의원의 역할 분석에 관한 비교연구 :

미국 이원의원과 한국 국회의 비교

학야이대학 정치학과
김 행 자
질문을 하기전에 먼저 아래의 물리적 지시기를 읽어주시는지요?
(국회의원, 여성국회의원 등등)

"녹음기를 사용하는 것을 아시면 주시면 감사하겠습니다.
이 인터뷰 결과는 학문적인 목적이라면 어떤곳에도 쓰지 않을것을 약속드릴것입니다."

1. 성 별
2. 연령
3. 국적
4. 혼인여부 가. 결혼을 하셨습니까?
나. 자녀를 두셨다면 몇명이나 많습니까?
다. 나이는?
5. 경력을 자세히 말씀해 주시겠습니까?
6. 국회의원이 되기전에는 어떤 직업을 가지고 계셨습니까?
7. 학력에 관하여 말씀해 주시겠습니까?
8. 의견님과 의견님의 가족은 어떤 사회 계급에 속해있었다고 생각하십니까?
가. 의견님의 아버님의 직업과 학력에 관하여 말씀해 주십시오.
나. 의견님의 업무의 직업과 학력에 관하여 말씀해 주십시오.
(사회활동에 참여 하셨던 분이였나요? 만일 그러신다면 어떤 종류의 활동에 참여하셨었을까요?)

d. 의견님의 생각은 어디서나가요? 또 성장하는데 어디있나요?
(그곳은 큰 도시였을까요? 아니면 시골이었을까요?)

p. 현재는 몇분이나 떨니까? (또 몇재가 되는지요?)

9. 어떤한 동기로 정치에 관심을 가지시게 되셨을까요?
특별한 동기가 있었을까요? 언제부터 먹었는까요?

10. 국가의원으로 출마(혹은 수탁)하시기를 결심하셨을 당시의 상황
에 관해서 몇 가지 문의해 보겠습니다.

가. 공천(혹은 추천)에 관해서 처음으로 정당의 어떤분과 면담하
셨을때의 상황이나 대화에 관해서 자세히 말씀해 주십시오.

그래는 언제였고 또 대화는 어떻게 진행이 되었습니까?

나. 그 당시에 공천(혹은 추천)받는다는 것에 대해서 어떻게 생각
하셨습니까?

다. 출마시기로 결심하셨는데 어떤 요인이 생각하셨습니까?
받아드린 것을 주저하기에 된 요인은 무엇입니까? 그럼에도 불구하고 받아드린 요인은 무엇입니까?
마. 가족들이나 친지들의 땅도는 어머님을 땅가? (특히 남편이나 자녀들의 땅도는?)

마. 왜 이렇게 많은 요인들중에 어머인 요인이 최종 결심을 하는데 결정적인 역할을 했음니까?

바. 차기 국회에도 계속해서 국회의원으로서 활동하실 의향이십니까?

사. 국회의원여의 다른 관직이나 정치적인 일을 했으면 경력이 있으 십니까? (만일 있으시다면 어떤것입니까?)

11. 이제 국회의원이라는 직업에 관해서 몇 가지 여부어 보겠습니까.

가. 우선 국회의원이라는 직업을 어떤것이라고 설명하시겠습니까?

나. 혹시 선거구민(국민 일반)이 국회의원이라는 직업에 기대하는 것과 의원님께서 생각하시는 것 사이에 차이가 있음니까?

12. 입법활동을 하시는데 있어서 특이 의원님께서 전문분야라고 생각하시는데 분야가 있음니까? 만일 있다면 어떤것입니까?

13. 동료의원들과 협조하고 서로 존경을 가며도 그러하기위해서는 의원님께서도 따라야하는 행동준칙이 있는 것으로 아는 데 어떤것들을 가지고 계십니까?
14. 가. 증거집의 약속일의akan에 대해 말씀해 주십시오.

나. 과외의원으로서 가장 만족하지 못한 점이 있었던 순간이 있었던 언제이고 어린 경우 있습니까?

다. 만일 가장 좋지 않았던 경험이 있었다면 어떤 것이며 또 언제 있음 있습니까?

15. 상임의원회에 관해서 몇 가지 문의하고 싶습니다.

가. 조선시대 이전의원회에 소속 하셨을 것니까? 또 이전의원회를

나. 그 의원회를 지망하신데 특별한 이유가 있습니까? 만일 그렇다면

다. 이런 이유는 무엇이었습니까? 그리고 왜 그러신 의원회에 소속되

서지 못한다면 기기에 대해 특별한 이유가 있습니까?

16. 국회의원으로서 공식출장은 가보신적이 있습니까?

어떤 경우였습니까? 덧변이나 되는지요. 또 덧디어로 구성된 의원
17. 다른 국회의원들과 정기적으로 모이는 비공식회를 가지고 계신 나라가 단일 있다면 어떤것입니까? 도 엽마나 가주 만납니까?

18.

18. 귀하는 여성으로서 국회의원이라는 직업중 어떤게 규장이십니까?
가. 남자와 여자가 국회의원이 되기 위한 조건에 차이가 있다고 생각하십니까?
나. 만일 있다고 보신다면 어떤점이라고 생각하십니까?
또 왜 그럴다고 생각하십니까?

19. 여자이기 때문에 국회의원으로서 도움이 된다고 보십니까 혹은 분
편하거나 손해가 된다고 보십니까? 또 여자 국회의원이기 때문에 문 제가 있다고 보십니까 만일 그렇다면 어赚게이고 이유는 무엇
이라고 생각하십니까?

20. 가. 귀하는 국회의여성으로서 여성으로서 행동하십니까?
나. 여자 국회의원이기 때문에 힘겨워할 때도 또는 행동이 있다고
보십니까?
다. 의견활동을 통해서 과학가 여자가 하는 것을 앞두어서 두어야 했던 경험에 있으면가? 단일
단일 있었다면 어떤 경우 있음니까?

마. 여자로서 법을 만드는 점에서 어떻게 보십니까?

마. 신임제도 (多職)에 대하여 어떻게 보십니까?

23. 가. 일반적으로 과학하는 남자와 여자가 정치에 관심을 갖는 데에 다른 이유가 있다고 보십니까?
단일 그렇다면 왜 그렇다고 생각하십니까?

나. 과학하는 남자와 여자가 회의의원으로서 다른 기능을 가지고 있 다고 보십니까? 단일 그렇게 생각하신다면 왜 그렇다고 생각 하십니까?

23. 가. 가족법 개정에 관한 과학의 의견은?

나. 여성해방운동에 관한 과학의 의견은?
여성해방운동을 어떻게 어떻게 정의 하십니까?

다. 여성을 위해서 특별히 남안을 제출하신입이 있음니까?
만일 있다면 어떤 것이었습니까?
23. a. 귀하는 귀하가 여성에게 애써 국회의원으로서 여성의 이익을
남성보다 더 대변해야 한다고 생각하십니까?
만일 그렇다면 어떤점을 대변하셔야 한다고 생각하십니까?
귀하는 지금까지 국회의원으로서 얼마나 많은 일을 하셨다고
생각하십니까?

나. 귀하는 다른 여성들도 폭포은 의견을 가졌다고 생각하십니까?

24. 귀하신 현대 사회에서 여성의 문제가 두 것이라고 귀하는 생각
하십니까? (한국 여성의 납향 문제는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?)

25. 귀하는 국회의 적은 수의 여성밖에 없는 이유를 무엇이라고 대답
하시겠습니까?

26. 가. 귀하는 여성으로써 행동하셔야 한다고 생각하십니까?

나.

다. 귀하는 귀하가 전형적인 여성의 역할에서 좀 이탈되었다고
생각해 보신적이 있습니까? 있다면 그것은 왜?
28. 국회의 최고 중대 여러분의 옷을 입으십니까?
한복, 양장(스카프 혹은 판로우트)을 입으십니까?
그렇게 옷을 입으시는 데 특별한 이유가 있습니까?

29. 과학은 국회의원에 당선되는 데에 결혼 여부가 중요한 요소 중에 하나
당고 보십시오? 왜 그렇다고 생각하십니까? 그린다면 어떤 상황에서
결혼하고 생각하십니까? 그러한 조건은 남성의원의 경우에도 같다고
생각하십니까?

30. 과학은 여성으로써 여성 국회의원이기 때문에 고민을 해본 일이 있습
나니까? 만일 그렇다면 어떠한 고민이었습니까?
APPENDIX II

CODING MANUAL

A. Coding Manual of the Female Legislators who are Interviewed

Col. 1-2. Legislator's identification (alphabetical order according to country)

01. Boggs, Lindy
02. Burke, Yvonne
03. Chisholm, Shirley
04. Collins, Cardiss
05. Green, Edith
06. Griffiths, Martha
07. Hansen, Julia
08. Heckler, Margaret
09. Holt, Marjorie
10. Mink, Patsy
11. Schroeder, Pat
12. Sullivan, Leonor K.
13. Huh, Moo In
14. Kim, Ok Ja
15. Kim, Ok Sun
16. Kim, Yoon Duk
17. Koo, Im Hoe
18. Lee, Bum Joon
19. Lee, Sock Chong
20. Park, Jung Ja
21. Suh, Young Hee

Col. 3  card No.

Col. 4  blank

Col. 5  nationality

1. U.S.
2. Korea

Col. 6  blank

Col. 7  want to be called as

1. Representative (doesn't matter)
2. Congresswoman or Mrs.

Col. 8  blank
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 9-10</th>
<th>age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Col. 11</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 12</td>
<td>marital status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. single (or divorced)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 29</td>
<td>were you active as a student?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 30</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 31</td>
<td>social class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. lower class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. middle-lower class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. upper-middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. upper class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. upper-upper class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. I don't believe social class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 32</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 33</td>
<td>mother was active in community work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 34</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 35</td>
<td>grown up in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. small town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 36</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 37</td>
<td>birth order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 38</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 39</td>
<td>factors (motivation) interested in politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. brought up in the politicized family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. feel discrimination after grown up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. interested in civil rights movements or less fortunate people
4. marrying into it (husband)
5. special occasion to be motivated political science or law
6. personal interest or ambition without occasion

| Col. 40 | blank |
| Col. 41 | factors interested in politics |
|         | 1. have no special occasion  
|         | 2. have a special occasion |
| Col. 42 | blank |
| Col. 43 | party affiliation |
|         | 1. ruling party  
|         | 2. opposition party |
| Col. 44 | blank |
| Col. 45 | party support for running (or accept) |
|         | 1. no  
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 46 | blank |
| Col. 47 | most important problems (factor of running) |
|         | 1. money  
|         | 2. husband's expectation  
|         | 3. feel women's participation in politics is important  
|         | 4. black representation  
|         | 5. without hesitation |
| Col. 48 | blank |
| Col. 49 | husband's support |
|         | 1. no support  
|         | 2. not applicable  
<p>|         | 3. support |
| Col. 50 | blank |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 51</th>
<th>husband's support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. no support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. not applicable or support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 52</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 53</td>
<td>expect to continue to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no, don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 54</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 55</td>
<td>interested in governmental or political job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 56</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 57</td>
<td>role of legislator as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. mandator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. representative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. politico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 58</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 59</td>
<td>expert in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. no field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. foreign policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. consumer work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. women's issue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. welfare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mass communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 60</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 61</td>
<td>why were you interested in and become an expert in that field?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. that was my field before I became a legislator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. since that is my committee work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 62</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 63</td>
<td>have unofficial rule of game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 64</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 65</td>
<td>what kind of unofficial rule of game you have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 66</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 67</td>
<td>feel tremendous satisfaction in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 68</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 69</td>
<td>worst experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 70</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 71</td>
<td>official trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 72</td>
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<td>Col. 73</td>
<td>If you can't go on an official trip what was the reason</td>
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1. do your homework
2. compromise
3. respect other members
4. act like a lady, think like a man and work like a dog
5. no social gatherings.

1. women's issue
2. domestic problem
3. foreign policy
4. I don't (I can't think of any)

1. I can't think of any
2. domestic problem
3. foreign policy
4. discriminate against
5. misunderstood by news media
6. women's issue
7. legislative process
8. family problem

1. no
2. yes
1. no occasion
2. discriminate against
3. freshperson

Col. 74 blank
Col. 75 Informal group member
   1. no
   2. yes
Col. 76 blank
Col. 77 how many informal groups are you a member?
Col. 78 blank
Col. 79 to be a woman member is advantage
   1. disadvantage (or problem)
   2. both advantageous and disadvantage (or no difference)
   3. advantage
Col. 80 blank

Card 2

Col. 1-2 legislator's identification
Col. 3 card no.
Col. 4 blank
Col. 5 to be a woman member is disadvantage
   1. advantage
   2. disadvantage (both advantage and disadvantage)
Col. 6 blank
Col. 7 have occasion to remind herself as a woman during legislative activities
   1. no
   2. yes
Col. 8 blank
Col. 9 what was the occasion to remind you to remember that you are a woman?
| Col. 10  | blank  |
| Col. 11  | men and women have different reasons to participate in politics |
|         | 1. no, don't know |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 12  | blank  |
| Col. 13  | believe men and women legislators function differently |
|         | 1. no, don't know |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 14  | blank  |
| Col. 15  | women legislators work harder |
|         | 1. no |
|         | 2. up to the individual (or don't know) |
|         | 3. yes |
| Col. 16  | blank  |
| Col. 17  | women legislators work harder |
|         | 1. no (or up to the individual or don't know) |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 18  | blank  |
| Col. 19  | opinions on Equal Rights Amendment (or Revision in the Civil Code Relating to discrimination against women) |
|         | 1. no (haven't decided it yet) |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 20  | blank  |
| Col. 21  | bill specially proposed for women |
1. no
2. yes

Col. 23 feel special role as a female legislator
1. no
2. yes

Col. 24 blank

Col. 25 reason of small number of women in the legislature
1. women are not interested in politics
2. husbands are not supporting wives to run (traditions are hard to overcome)
3. social structure
4. no money, nobody helps

Col. 26 blank

Col. 27 reason of small number of women in the legislature
1. women are not interested in politics
2. social structure or tradition etc.

Col. 28 blank

Col. 29 how to dress
1. traditional way (formal dress or national dress)
2. not traditional way (casual dress, pants suit, men's suit)

Col. 30 blank

Col. 31 wear jewelry
1. no (or occasionally)
2. yes

Col. 32 blank

Col. 33 marital status is important
1. yes
2. doesn't matter
3. no
<p>| Col. 34 | blank |
| Col. 35 | marital status is important |
|         | 1. no (or doesn't matter) |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 36 | blank |
| Col. 37 | feel role strain since she is a woman |
|         | 1. no |
|         | 2. yes |
| Col. 38 | blank |
| Col. 39 | in what aspects you feel role strain |
|         | 1. family life |
|         | 2. treated differently (discriminated against) |
| Col. 40 | blank |
| Col. 41-42 | years serving in the congress |</p>
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B. Coding Manual of All Female Members Who Served in Two Legislatures

Col. 1&2 Legislators' identification (alphabetical order)

01. Abel, Hazel Hempel
02. Abzug, Bella S.
03. Baker, Irene B.
04. Blitch, Iris Faircloth
05. Boggs, Lindy
06. Boland, Veronica Grace
07. Bolton, Frances Payne
08. Bosone, Reva Beck
09. Bowing, Eva
10. Buchanan, Vera Doerr
11. Burke, Yvonne
12. Bushfield, Vera Cahalan
13. Byron, Katherine Edgar
14. Caraway, Hattie Wyatt
15. Chisholm, Shirley
16. Church, Marguerite Stitt
17. Clarke, Marian Williams
18. Collins, Cardiss
19. Douglass, Emily Taft
20. Dwyer, Florence Price
22. Eslick, Willa McCord Blake
23. Farrington, Mary Elizabeth Pruett
24. Felton, Rebecca Latimer
25. Fulmer, Willa Lybrand
26. Gasque, Elizabeth Hawley
27. Gibbs, Florence Reville
28. Granahan, Kathryn Elizabeth
29. Grasso, Ella T.
30. Graves, Dixie Bibb
31. Green, Edith
32. Griffiths, Martha Wright
33. Hansen, Julia Butler
35. Harden, Cecil Mary
36. Heckler, Margaret M.
37. Hicks, Louise Day
38. Holt, Marjorie
39. Holtzman, Elizabeth
40. Honeyman, Nam Wood
41. Huck, Winnifred Sprague Mason
42. Jenckes, Virginia Ellis
43. Jordan, Barbara
44. Kahn, Florence Prag
45. Kee, Mande Elizabeth
46. Kelly, Edna Flannery
47. Knutson, Coya Gjesdal
48. Langley, Katherine Gudger
49. Long, Rose McConnell
50. Luce, Claire Booth
51. Lusk, Georgie Lee
52. McCarthy, Kathryn O'Loughlin
53. McCormick, Ruth Hanna
54. McMillan, Clara Gooding
55. Mankin, Helen Douglas
56. May, Catherine Dean
57. Mink, Patsy T.
58. Neuberger, Maurine Brown
59. Nolan, Mae Ella
60. Norrell, Catherine D.
61. Norton, Mary Terresa
62. O'Day, Caroline Love Goodwin
63. Oldfield, Pearl Peden
64. Owen, Ruth Bryan
65. Pfost, Gracie Bowers
66. Pratt, Eliza Jane
67. Pratt, Ruth Baker Sears
68. Pyle, Gladys
69. Rankin, Jeannette
70. Reece, Louise G.
71. Reid, Charlotte Thompson
72. Riley, Corrine Boyd
73. Robertson, Alice May
74. Rogers, Edith Nourse
75. Schroeder, Pat
76. St. George, Katherine Price Collier
77. Simpson, Edna Oaks
78. Smith, Margaret Chase
79. Stanley, Winifred Claire
80. Sullivan, Leonor Kretzer
81. Sumner, Jessie
82. Thomas, Lera M.
83. Thompson, Ruth
84. Weis, Jessica McClough
85. Wing, Effiegene
86. Woodhouse, Chase Going

01. Huh, Moo In
02. Kim, Chul An
03. Kim, Ok Ja
04. Kim, Ok Sun
05. Kim, Yoon Duk
06. Koo, Im Hoe
07. Lim, Young Shin
08. Lee Bum Joon
09. Lee, Mary
10. Lee, Sook Chong
11. Park, Hyun Sook
12. Park, Jung Ja
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*Note: The table contains FORTRAN statements and their implications. Each statement is represented by a series of numbers indicating the order and sequence of operations.*
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*Number of items per page may vary depending on content.*


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