

WOMEN IN CONGRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S  
INFLUENCE ON MALE LEGISLATORS

by

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WOMEN IN CONGRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S  
INFLUENCE ON MALE LEGISLATORS

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## ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the role and influence of women in the U.S. Congress. Specifically, I examine the effect women legislators had on male legislators' support of women's issues in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1991-1993) through the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2013). There has been a significant increase in the proportion of women representatives between the 102<sup>nd</sup> and 112<sup>th</sup> Congress. Not only are women increasing in sheer numbers, but they are also establishing seniority, serving as role models and engaging in policy making. The implications of women's increased presence in Congress must be explored. A better understanding of the individual-level influence that women exert will lead to a better understanding of the way women change Congress as a whole. Using an ordinary least squares regression model, this study examines the role that the increase of women has played on the voting patterns of male legislators who were present in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress through the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress, while controlling for other factors that impact voting decisions. The results of this study indicate that as more women are elected to the U.S. Congress, not only are we likely to see the policy output of Congress change, individual male legislators become more supportive of women's issues. The presence of women in Congress, even while controlling for individual partisanship and ideology, has a positive impact on males' support for women's issues.

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## INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in American politics has shaped their place in society and changed the composition of the legislative body of government. As women become more involved in politics, run, and get elected for public office, a central question emerges. Does the increased representation make a difference? Previous research indicates that women's presence in Congress does make a difference in the larger sense; however little research has been done on the individual-level effect women have on other legislators. The purpose of this study is to determine how the increase of women's representation in Congress influences male legislators' support of women's issues over time. Unlike prior research that focuses on aggregate statistics, this study focuses on individual-level analysis.

Women's representation in Congress is an important topic to consider because women represent more than half of the population, but until the 1992 election, women had never comprised more than 5-6% of Congress. There has been a significant increase in the proportion of women representatives between the 102<sup>nd</sup> and 112<sup>th</sup> Congress, from 32 women in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress to 89 women in the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress. Not only are women increasing in sheer numbers, but they are also establishing seniority, serving as role models and engaging in policy making. The implications of women's increased presence in Congress must be explored. A better understanding of the individual-level influence that women exert will lead to a better understanding of the way women change Congress as a whole. This study examines the role this increase of women has played on voting patterns of the male legislators who were present in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1991-1993) through the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011 – 2013).

Most of the previous research conducted on the role of women in public office has focused on their leadership style, voting patterns, or impact on public policy. Women legislators pursue different policy priorities than men do, with a focus on policies that help women, children, and families. Significant attention has been given to how women differ from men or partisan differences among women. The focus of this paper is on a matter receiving insufficient attention in previous research: the consequence of women's growing congressional representation for male representatives' voting patterns. This research will advance the understanding of the role women's increased representation in Congress has played on a more individualized level. Instead of examining the public policy output of Congress as a whole, the voting behavior of male legislators that were in office from 1991 through 2013 is examined. The goal is to examine whether or not the presence of women changes the behavior of men in Congress over time. I use OLS regression analysis to examine the effect the increase of women in Congress has had on male legislators' voting scores over time, controlling for other factors that impact voting decisions (political party, political ideology, state ideology, income, education, and urban population of the state). The central hypothesis of this paper is that male legislators support of women's issues increased as a result of the increase in the proportion of women in Congress.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies on legislative behavior have been conducted over the past several decades. The comparatively small number of women in politics has limited the study of female legislative behavior. In the 1960's, it was generally assumed that women politicians followed the cues of male legislators. In the 1970's, feminist scholars began

studying whether the behavior and attitude of women in legislatures was different from men (Leader 1977). Then in the 1980's, gender was introduced as another factor that may affect policy outcome. The term "gender gap" was also coined in the 1980's, in a time period when feminist scholars increasingly studied gender differences (Carroll 1984, Flammang 1985). Since the 1980's more literature has emerged exploring what, if any, difference women in legislatures make. Much of the research on the effects of increased presence of women within a legislature focuses on the connection between the increase of women and the behavior of women, the degree to which women's presence affects men rather than women is not yet fully understood.

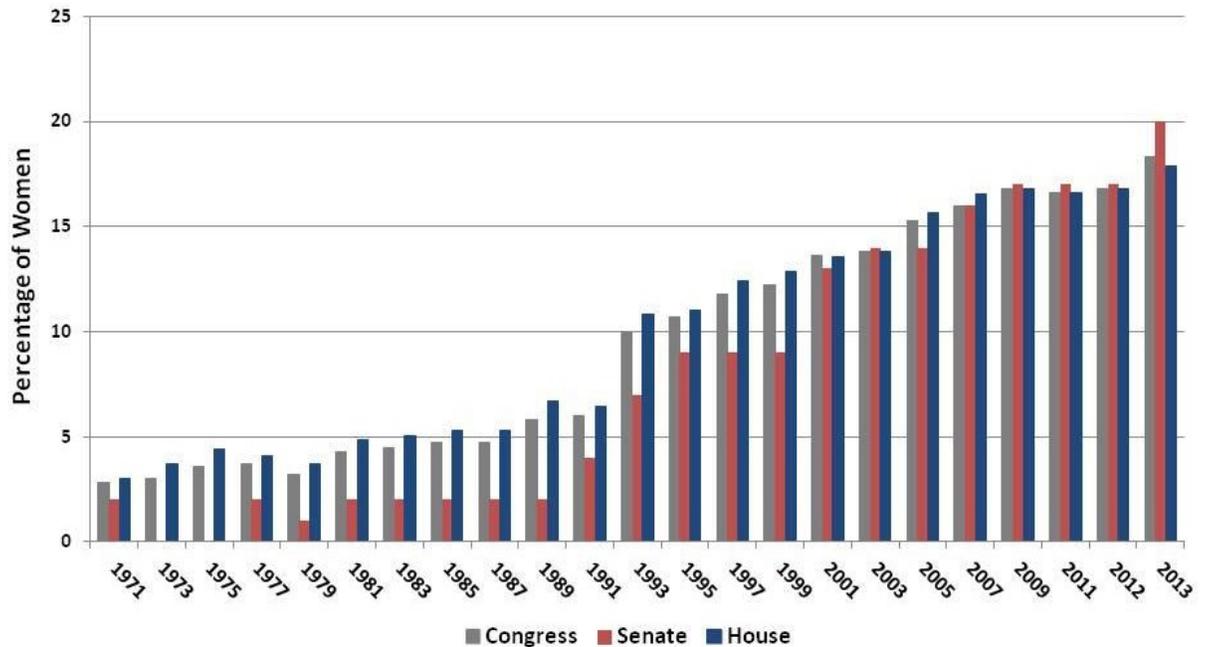
The limited representation of women in Congress, especially the Senate, over the course of history has impeded progress in efforts to fully engage in systematic research on this topic (Frederick, 2010). Researchers have cited the comparatively small number of women in the legislature as a major problem for empirical research. Anecdotal evidence of women's influence, such as stories of women's efforts in areas like healthcare and violence against women exists, but until fairly recently there simply were not enough women in Congress to fully understand their impact. As the number of women in the U.S. Congress has increased, the ability of political scientists to empirically analyze their influence became possible. Since the 1992 Congressional election, in which the number of women in Congress almost doubled, political scientists have conducted many studies to determine the impact of increased women's representation in American politics. In the past two decades we have learned a great deal about the participation of women in politics, especially electoral politics, which has been the focus of most research. Much of the research has looked at candidate attitudes, roll call votes, and bill

sponsorship with the argument that women are more likely to support policies on family leave, reproduction, childcare, gender equality, and pregnancy (Carroll 2001, Carroll and Dodson 1991, Swers 1998, Thomas 1989, Thomas and Welch 1991). Now there is a considerable amount of information on the backgrounds of women who serve, their interests, attitudes and priorities as public officeholders.

### *History of Women in Congress*

The number of women in Congress has increased significantly between 1917 and present day [Figure 1]. In the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, the number of women rose drastically from 32 in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress to 54. It was this increase that caused the 1992 election to be become known as the “Year of the Woman.” The first woman elected to Congress was Representative Jeannette Rankin (1917-1919, 1941-1943). The first woman in the Senate was Rebecca Latimer Felton who was appointed in 1922, but only served for one day. A total of 278 women have served in the U.S. congress, 178 Democrats and 100 Republicans. Eighteen women in the House and ten women in the Senate have chaired committees. Nancy Pelosi was the first woman to serve as Speaker of the House in the 110<sup>th</sup> and 111<sup>th</sup> Congress and currently serves as the Minority Leader of the US House of Representatives.

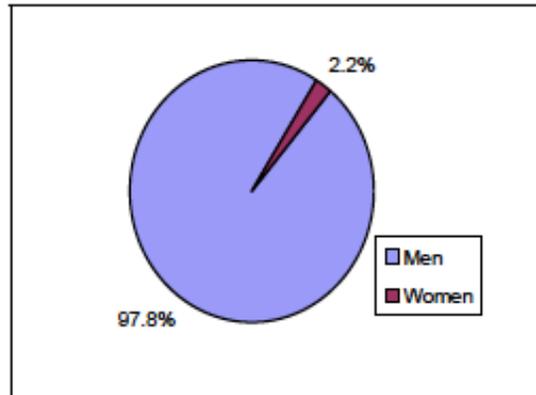
Figure 1: Proportion of Women in Congress (1971-2013)



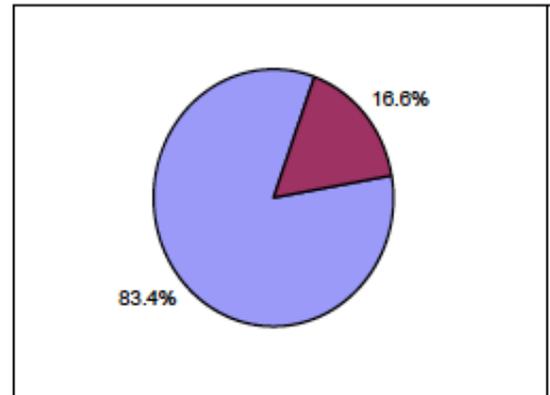
Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Despite the progress, only 2.2% of legislators in the history of the United States have been women [Figure 2]. In the beginning of the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress approximately 17% of the voting legislators were voting female [Figure 3]. The U.S. lags behind other countries in the percentage of women serving in legislature and the number of women in Congress is lower than the number of women in state legislatures. Furthermore, since the 1990's the increasing number of women in Congress has largely been from the Democratic Party; there's a major party gap in American politics when it comes to women legislators.

**Figure 2. Gender Composition in Congress, 1789-2011**



**Figure 3. Gender Composition in the 112th Congress**



Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Figures compiled by CRS.

### *Gender and Representation*

Women have been underrepresented in the American political system. There are a number of factors that contribute to the disproportionate representation of women in elected positions and these factors include economics, incumbency, socialization and access (Segal and Brzuzy 1995). However, as more women gained election to Congress, political scientists began to study whether female legislators differed from their male colleagues in their policy priorities and legislative activities. Does the presence of women mean that women's political interests, preferences, and perspectives are well represented? Do women vote and behave differently than their male colleagues? Many researchers have addressed these questions by examining the sex differences in the behavior of men and women in public office. These differences between men and women in their political attitudes and behavior became known as the "gender gap." The gender gap existed for decades in American politics before it received scholarly and popular attention in the 1980's. The literature suggests that women leaders are systematically different from their male colleagues. Women have been found to be more liberal than their male colleagues

regardless of party (Burrell 1994). Barbara Burrell's research also revealed that on women's issues, such as education, healthcare and child welfare, women legislators are more likely to act as a group regardless of their party affiliation. Compared to their male colleagues women in Congress focus more on issues concerning women, children, families, health and welfare (Thomas 1994). Furthermore, women are more likely to sponsor and cosponsor legislation related to women's issues (Thomas 1994). Similarly, Michelle Swers found that women in Congress are more likely to support bills related to women's issues than their male colleagues (Swers 1998, 2002). Women in Congress have historically taken a stance on legislation that promotes the welfare and advancement of other women. More recent research shows gender differences still exist in voting patterns and policy priorities between men and women in Congress. Women still tend to be more liberal and more supportive of women's issues – those issues that are of special concern to women, children, and families (Epstein, Niemi, and Powell 2005, Frederick 2010, Boles and Scheurer 2007, Dodson 2006). These issues include women's rights, education, healthcare, social welfare, family leave, childcare, the environment and gun control.

Much of the current literature on women serving in Congress is in terms of descriptive representation and its relationship to substantive representation. Descriptive representation is the act of "standing for" a particular group because they share characteristics such as race or gender with you, or in other words being a representative of a larger group that you belong to (Swers 2013). Women representatives descriptively represent women in the population by virtue of their gender. Substantive representation is actually "acting for" the group by providing substantive representation of a group's

interests (Swers 2013). Scholars presume that increased descriptive representation will lead to increased substantive representation; women representatives not only stand for women, but also act on their behalf (Carroll 2001). Women share common experiences, which are not shared by most men. In a study by Susan Carroll, women members of Congress described a wide range of qualities and experiences they believe women share. Therefore, a strong sense of responsibility is expected to be widespread among the women who serve in Congress (Carroll 2001). This concept is of potential significance for analyzing how the presence of women in Congress may be altering the institution of Congress and its policy agenda. Electing more women increases the likelihood that policy debates in Congress will include women's views and experiences. Swers articulates two main arguments for increased presence of women. The first argument is that women in Congress serve as role models for other women and minorities, allowing them to see themselves as part of the political process (Swers 2013). The second argument is two-fold; first, women are expected to bring new issues and provide a different perspective to Congress. Second, women will be more vigorous advocates for inclusion of women's interests in policy outcomes and colleagues will respond to their perceived expertise on women's issues because of their shared background with other women (Swers 2013).

Nevertheless, women in Congress recognize that they differ from one another in the districts they represent, their own ideologies, their partisan commitments, and their racial and ethnic backgrounds. All of these differences can influence how congresswomen translate their perceived responsibility to represent women's interests into actual policy decisions (Carroll 2001). Therefore, the changes in policy making that result will not always be straightforward or simple.

Although seniority rules have slowed congresswomen's rise to positions of power in the committees and party leadership, partisan concerns over the potential impact of the gender gap have facilitated women's efforts to raise their profile within their respective party caucuses and to take the lead on gendered issues (Swers, 2002). Higher percentages of women in Congress provide for greater visibility of women in the institution and an environment of support for the concerns of women (Thomas 1994). An increase of women in Congress is one way to achieve visibility and greater power, but another is through the presence of a formal caucus. While partisan concerns over the gender gap have helped individual women to amass institutional power, over time the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI) has helped legislators as a group draft legislative proposals and build support for those initiatives (Swers 2002). The CCWI not only provides women an opportunity to develop legislation together, but it allows them to exchange information and cooperate across party lines. Caucuses are helpful to women as effective legislative devices, since they make potentially unsupportive males fearful to vote against a power bloc (Jewell and Whicker 1994).

### *Voting in Congress*

Congress has been historically male dominated in the U.S. In fact, internationally the U.S. ranks 77<sup>th</sup> worldwide in the proportion of women serving in the national legislature (IPU). Voters tend to view female candidates as less competent on military and security issues (Davidson 2009). However, women in Congress today are active on more than just women's issues. To counter voters' stereotypes of female politicians, women legislators expanded their activity and visibility on defense issues, particularly homeland security (Swers, 2007). However, the individual member cannot easily turn

policy preferences into law, which suggests that an increase in the proportion of women would assist in passing legislation.

Within Congress there are many factors that influence voting and policy output. Seniority, something that women typically lack, is highly valued. A legislator's place in the committee hierarchy and status as a member of the majority or minority party places limits on her or his effectiveness as an advocate of women's issues (Dolan 2007). Party loyalty is an increasingly valued commodity, especially for re-election purposes. Furthermore, most roll-call votes are decided along party lines (Dolan 2007). Members of Congress are also influenced by factors outside of Congress. Legislators must pay attention to their constituency and interest groups with stakes in certain policies. Constituencies control legislators' choices in two ways. First, people usually elect representatives whose views are similar to their own, therefore representatives vote in a way that mirrors their constituents preferences. Second, members listen to their constituents to advance their electoral interest. Changes in the political context, ranging from major events such as 9/11, to shifts in the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic parties, alter the congressional agenda and exert pressures that force a legislator to adjust his or her policy preferences and activities to fit into the political situation (Dolan 2007).

Swers (2002) examined sex differences in activism on women's issues across five stages of the legislative process including bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship, offering amendments in committee and on the floor, and roll call voting. Swers found that women are more aggressive advocates for women's issues than male members of the same party and ideology, but it is partisanship that is a more reliable variable when predicting roll

call voting behavior. In similar 2010 study by Brian Frederick on gender and patterns of roll call voting in the U.S. Senate, the findings suggest that the presence of female senators in the Senate has meaningful consequences when the Senate casts votes on legislation concerning women's interests in the U.S. Women in the Senate have assembled voting records that differ from those of their male colleagues. However, the impact of gender on roll call voting behavior of senators is highly dependent on the senator's political party. Furthermore, female Republicans usually lean further left on the policy spectrum compared to male Republican senators. On the other hand, there was no gender difference among Senate Democrats – both men and women had similar voting records (Frederick 2010).

#### *Women's Presence in Congress*

Previous research suggests that women have a clear impact on federal and state legislatures in the United States through their policy priorities and legislative activities. There has been a substantial amount of research on women in the U.S. Congress and state legislature, and most of it demonstrates that women's participation has an impact on the institution (Swers 2002; 2013, Frederick 2010, Roshenthal 2005). At the national level in the U.S., the presence of women in Congress does make a difference; women are more likely than men to introduce legislation of concern to women, to vote for women's issues bills, and to fight hard for their passage (Henderson, Jeydel 2010).

Political scientists have not come to a consensus on whether a certain number of women have to be present in Congress before policy output is affected. The critical mass theory originated with Kanter's (1977) research on the effects of sex ratios on group behavior in corporate settings. The theory states that when women constitute a small

minority (15% or less), the pressures to conform to male norms and behaviors are too great and the power to resist is too weak. However, as the number of women continues to increase, such pressures will be overcome more easily. Political scientists have used the critical mass theory to explain that the degree to which women can make a difference depends upon their proportion within the legislative institution. The literature on women in legislatures indicates that achieving a critical mass of women may have the effect of changing the legislative priorities of women, increasing the number of legislative initiatives, and altering the legislative priorities of men (Beckwith 2007). However, researchers disagree on what percentage of women in Congress actually constitutes as a critical mass. The most often cited number is between 20-30% of the legislature for women to affect change (Jewell and Whicker 1994). Research on state legislatures found some evidence to support the idea that legislative activity on women's issues increases as the number of women in the legislature increases, however there isn't a clear threshold effect (Dolan 2007). At the Congressional level, one study found that between 1973 and 2003 Congresswomen sponsored more bills on women's issues as the proportion of women in the House increased (MacDonald and O'Brien 2011). On the other hand, some researchers argue that women behave more distinctively when they haven't reached critical mass because they feel greater responsibility for representing their group (Crowley 2004, Bratton 2005). Because the critical mass threshold remains unclear, I hypothesize that it will not have a significant impact on the results of this study. Hence, though women do not have critical mass, I nevertheless believe their presence has some influence due to their increased leadership roles and seniority.

There's evidence that women in Congress and state legislatures have different leadership styles compared to men. Numerous studies find differences in the leadership styles of men and women (Thomas 1994, Rosenthal 1999, Reingold 2000). These studies indicate that women adopt more egalitarian leadership styles that value consensus and collaboration whereas men adopt more authoritative styles that emphasize competition and conflict (Thomas 1994). Research suggests that the differences in leadership style may be a result of the girls and boys are socialized at a young age (Gilligan 1982). Other studies suggest that different life experiences create the differences in leadership styles between men and women (Rosenthal 1998). However, differences in leadership styles between genders are often mitigated by other factors, such as partisanship or ideology.

Furthermore, there is evidence that women state legislators may be impacting the behavior of their male colleagues; male legislators appear to be "shifting toward the adoption of 'female' types" of leadership (Jewell and Whicker 1994). In the early 1990's, Malcolm Jewell and Marcia Lynn Whicker conducted a study on leadership types among men and women in state legislators. Their findings are primarily based on interviews that they conducted with almost one hundred legislative leaders in twenty-two states. They interviewed house speakers, the elected presiding officers in the senate, majority and minority leaders, and occasionally assistant leaders or others in leadership positions. Approximately one-third of the interviewees were women. Interviews were conducted in a variety of states to provide geographic and political variety. After analyzing their interviews they identified two major dimensions across which leaders vary: style and goals. They identified three main leadership styles: command, coordinating and consensus. Leadership goals are divided based upon the leader's relative emphasis upon

power, policy or process goals. When the two major dimensions (style and goals) are crossed, nine types of legislative leaders emerge. Out of the legislators that they interviewed, they were able to classify eighty by legislative styles, sixty-four by legislative goals, and sixty-two by legislative type.

Their findings confirmed that women legislators typically adopted different personal leadership styles and goals than did men. Male legislators are more likely than women to be command leaders and that women are more likely to be consensus leaders. In fact, only men were observed as command-power type of leaders. Men were also present in other “male” types, such as command-policy types, coordinating-power types, and coordinating-policy types. One deviation that was noted in the study was the extent to which men, like women, were on occasion oriented toward consensus and process. Their study shows that while there are some men in control-oriented male leadership types, men appear to be shifting toward the adoption of female leadership types. Their findings overall indicate that in state legislatures as well as in corporations and other settings, leaders (male and female) are moving toward more consensual, conciliatory, systems-oriented leadership types (Jewell and Whicker 1994). This study supports my hypothesis that women do exert an influence on male legislators on a more individual level. A change to a more consensual and conciliatory leadership style among male legislators may create a women-friendly legislative environment in which a shift toward greater support of women’s issues by congressmen is enhanced. Compelling evidence suggests a significant correlative relationship between changes in the institution and enhanced roles of women in Congress, which justifies further inquiry.

Similarly, another study of state legislators suggests that male legislators who have or had female mentors more likely to involve people in legislative deliberations and report less dominating, more nurturing traits than men without female mentors (Rosenthal 1998). In her study, Rosenthal surveyed, interviewed, and conducted focus groups with U.S. state legislature committee chairs to describe differences among men and women. To determine whether female committee chair mentors have an effect on their male mentees, Rosenthal compared three different groups of male legislators on all the scales or factors that differed significantly by gender. These groups were men who identified female mentors, men with no female mentors, and the women in the sample. One of the main observations drawn from the data is that female mentoring may foster more integrative leadership in men. Male committee chairs who have had a significant female mentor in the legislature are significantly more collaborative, people oriented, and inclusive than other male legislators. Furthermore, these male legislators are more likely to characterize themselves with nurturer and innovator traits. Rosenthal's findings suggest that female mentorship is positively correlated with integrative leadership among men in state legislatures (Rosenthal 1998).

Building on previous research that indicates that women are in fact making a difference in legislatures, a 2001 study by Dena Levy, Charles Tien, and Rachelle Aved sought to determine if women are changing how their male colleagues debate issues, especially women's issues. The researchers analyzed the debate on the course of the Hyde Amendment, which was first passed by Congress in 1976. The purpose of the Hyde Amendment was to deny federal funding for abortion except when the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were to be carried to full term. The researchers content

analyzed the debate on the Hyde Amendment for each year that it was debated on the House floor – 1974, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1989, 1993, and 1997. The content analysis allowed the study to incorporate eight different debates spanning over 24 years to see the influence women made in Congress in that time span. To measure influence, the researchers counted the number of sentences spoken by each member speaking on the floor and recorded each speaker's name, party, sex, position on the amendment, number of times asked to yield while speaking, number of times yielded, and whether or not the speaker included personal experience in the speech. Each sentence was then coded for eight different categories and then within each category, each sentence was coded as either pro-life or pro-choice based on the member's stated position. The 24-year time period and detailed content analysis allowed for the researchers to gain insight into how the presence of women in Congress affected the issues that were emphasized and discussed during the debates (Levy, Tien, Aved 2001).

The results of the study suggest that women do make a difference on three different levels. First, the language women use when discussing the Hyde Amendment is different from the language that is used by men. Second, the men and women legislators differ in their support for the amendment. Third, the participation of women in floor debates on the Hyde Amendment altered the way men talked about the issue. Over the years, the men shifted their discussion to focus more on how abortion affects a woman's mental and physical health and less on the state of the unborn fetus. The differences in arguments used by men and women have decreased over time. Their findings suggest that increasing the number of women in Congress will likely result in fuller representation of women's issues. Since the Hyde Amendment was first debated in Congress, the focus of

the arguments has shifted more toward the concerns about the health of the woman, which is positively correlated with the increased presence of women in Congress (Levy, Tien, Aved 2001).

This study builds on the previous research that looks at the impact women legislators have on their male colleagues. Based on the three previous studies, there is reason to believe that women may have a direct impact on male legislators in Congress. This study examines whether the increase of women in Congress has an impact on the behavior and actions of the male legislators. Prior research demonstrates that men are changing their leadership style due to the increased presence of women and consequently the mentorship of these women. Both of these studies were done on state legislatures, so this study will examine if similar results can be found at the congressional level. Furthermore, men have changed the focus of their debates on women's issues, as evidenced by the Hyde Amendment floor debates analysis. These studies imply that women in Congress influence the actions and behavior of men in Congress.

A more focused analysis of male legislators who have been present from the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress to the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress provides a sample of legislators who have directly experienced the increase of women in Congress. These Congressmen were in office before there were a large number of women in Congress and after the dramatic increase of the early 1990's; therefore they are most likely the ones to have been impacted. Because of their exposure to not only the descriptive representation of women, but the substantive representation of women, I believe their roll call voting scores will show a gradual increase in support of women's issues because of their exposure to the pressure placed on them with greater numbers of women in Congress.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

Because the dependent variable in the study is a continuous measure, OLS regression is used in the analysis. The model examines the impact of the percentage of women in Congress on male legislator's voting scores, controlling for the impact of legislator's political party, political ideology, state ideology, state income, state education level, and urban population. The key independent variable is the percentage of women in Congress and the dependent variable is the legislative voting scores produced by the American Association of University Women (AAUW). In order to assess whether or not an increase in women in Congress affects male legislators' support of women's issues on a more individualized level, rather than the policy output of the institution as a whole, the dependent variable will include only the legislative voting scores of congressmen who have been in Congress since the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress through the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress<sup>1</sup> (Appendix A).

For the purpose of this study, women's issues are broadly defined as that set of policies that concern women. My conception of women's rights is in line with Susan Carroll's widely accepted definition: "those issues where policy consequences are likely to have a more immediate and direct impact on significantly larger numbers of women than of men" (Carroll 2001). The AAUW provides a metric estimating support for women's issues and identifies bills that concern women's issues. The AAUW provided voting record scores for the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress through the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress. For each congress, the AAUW selects 8 to 10 pieces of legislation that address women's issues (Appendix B). The AAUW selects the legislation based on their conceptualization of

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<sup>1</sup> David Price (NC), Jim Cooper (TN), and Dan Coats (IN) did not serve consecutive terms.

women's issues. The AAUW focuses on four broad areas of public policy: civil rights, education, Title IX, and economic security. The AAUW advocates for equality, individual rights, and social justice for a diverse society. AAUW supports a strong system of public education that promotes gender fairness, equity, and diversity. AAUW advocates for all women to achieve economic self-sufficiency. AAUW supports vigorous enforcement of Title IX and all other civil rights laws pertaining to education. Each legislators' rating score is the percentage of those pieces of legislation on which the member votes in accordance with the AAUW position for a score that ranges from 0 to 100. However, it must be acknowledged that the AAUW scores have limitations. The AAUW is a liberal leaning interest group, which may impact the validity of their scores. The AAUW tally is based on a small sample of votes in each session of Congress and some question whether the scores capture the full spectrum of women's issues. Nevertheless, their widely used scores are the best way to identify legislation related to women's issues and measure the legislators' support for it (AAUW 2013).

Ideology is an important influence on legislators' political activity in Congress. To measure political ideology of each male legislator, Poole and Rosenthal's (1997, 2007) first dimension DW-NOMINATE scores are used. The scores range on a continuum from -1.0 at the liberal end of scores to 1.0 at the conservative end. Therefore, an expected negative relationship between ideology score and support for women's issues legislation would indicate that these issues tend to be supported by the most liberal members within the party caucus (Swers 2002). These coordinates have been used in a variety of studies done by political scientists to measure political ideology. The DW-NOMINATE scores are a more continuous and discriminating measure of ideology than

ADA scores (Swers 2002). While party identification and ideology are often highly correlated, these scores allow a closer analysis of any differences in policy priorities within the Democratic and Republican Party. DW-NOMINATE scores account for the distinction between liberal and conservative Democrats and moderate and conservative Republicans.

The control variables used in the regression analysis are drawn from previous congressional literature on the factors that motivate legislators' policy and voting decisions. Since party affiliation is one of the most important determinants of a legislator's vote, it is important to control for party identification. A dummy variable is created to control for party identification, 1 representing the Republican Party and 0 representing the Democratic Party. Constituency preferences also influence the way legislators vote and constituency preferences are strongly associated with the ideological positioning of members of Congress (Frederick 2009, 2010, Aldrich *et al.* 2008). The ideological makeup of a member's district exerts influence on how the members cast their votes. The most liberal legislators are most likely to represent the most liberal states or districts and the most conservative legislators are most likely to represent the most conservative area. Previous researchers have utilized a variety of state citizen ideology estimates. Because of its availability for the period of time this study covers, the model uses the NOMINATE measure of state government ideology created by William D. Berry *et al* (2010). This measure of state ideology was most recently updated in 2010 and provides annual data on a scale of 0 to 100 with the higher values indicating the state's population is more liberal.

Women legislators are often elected from districts that are more liberal, more urban, more diverse, more educated, and wealthier than those won by male candidates (Ford, 2011). Male legislators from those districts may be more inclined to positively support women's issues because they are responsive to their constituents' support of female candidates and women's issues. Therefore, I control for the urban percentage of population and the education and income levels in the state represented by each congressman. Data for urban percentage of population, education, and income by state is all collected from the U.S. Census Bureau. Urban percentage of population includes all population in urbanized areas and urban clusters (each with their own population size and density thresholds). Education level is measured by the percentage of adult residents in the legislator's state with at least a bachelor's degree.

### RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

To estimate the effect of women's increased presence in the US Congress on the roll call voting behavior of men across both chambers, I used an ordinary least squares regression model. Table 1 provides the summary and descriptive statistics of the variables in the model and Table 2 reports the results of the regression analysis. There are 813 observations in the model and the dependent variable, legislators' voting scores, has a mean of 59 with a standard deviation of 43. The key independent variable, proportion of women in Congress, has a mean of 14% with a standard deviation of 4%. Between the 102<sup>nd</sup> and 112<sup>th</sup> Congress, the proportion of women in Congress increased by 12%.

TABLE 1

## Descriptive Statistics and Summary of Variables

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Legislative Voting Score	813	59.49077	42.59069	0	100
Proportion of Women	825	.1363636	.0362718	.06	.18
Political Party Chamber	825	.4133333	.4927303	0	1
Political Ideology	825	-.0897612	.4342537	-.707	.659
State Ideology	825	52.50329	22.26585	0	91.03458
State Median Income	825	54814.02	7672.522	33,241	73,014
State Urban Population	825	.7932024	.1397868	.382	.95
State Educational Attainment	825	.2510909	.054497	.12	.38

In the regression model, the dependent variable is clustered by representative and Congress to account for the subtle individual-level changes over time. Cluster analysis allowed me to look independently at each Congressman in that time period. The model explains 90.7% of the variation in the dependent variable, legislators' voting scores. Three of the variables, proportion of women in Congress, political party and political ideology, were found to be statistically significant at least at the .05 level. The key independent variable, proportion of women in Congress, is statistically significant at the .05 level. For every 1% increase in women's representation in Congress, the legislative voting score increases by .36 points. Thus, for a 10% increase in women's representation this model predicts an increase of 3.6 points meaning that as the proportion of women increases, so does male legislators' support for women's issues. The linear fit graph below depicts the overall trend of the data - as the proportion of women in Congress

increases, the male legislators' voting scores increase, which indicates greater support of women's issues. [Figure 4] Furthermore, whether the congressman is in the Senate or the House came close to being statistically significant in the model. This model shows that women do have an individual-level impact on the way male legislators in Congress vote on women's issues. The results also support previous findings that political party and political ideology has an impact on roll call voting behavior of men in Congress.

TABLE 2

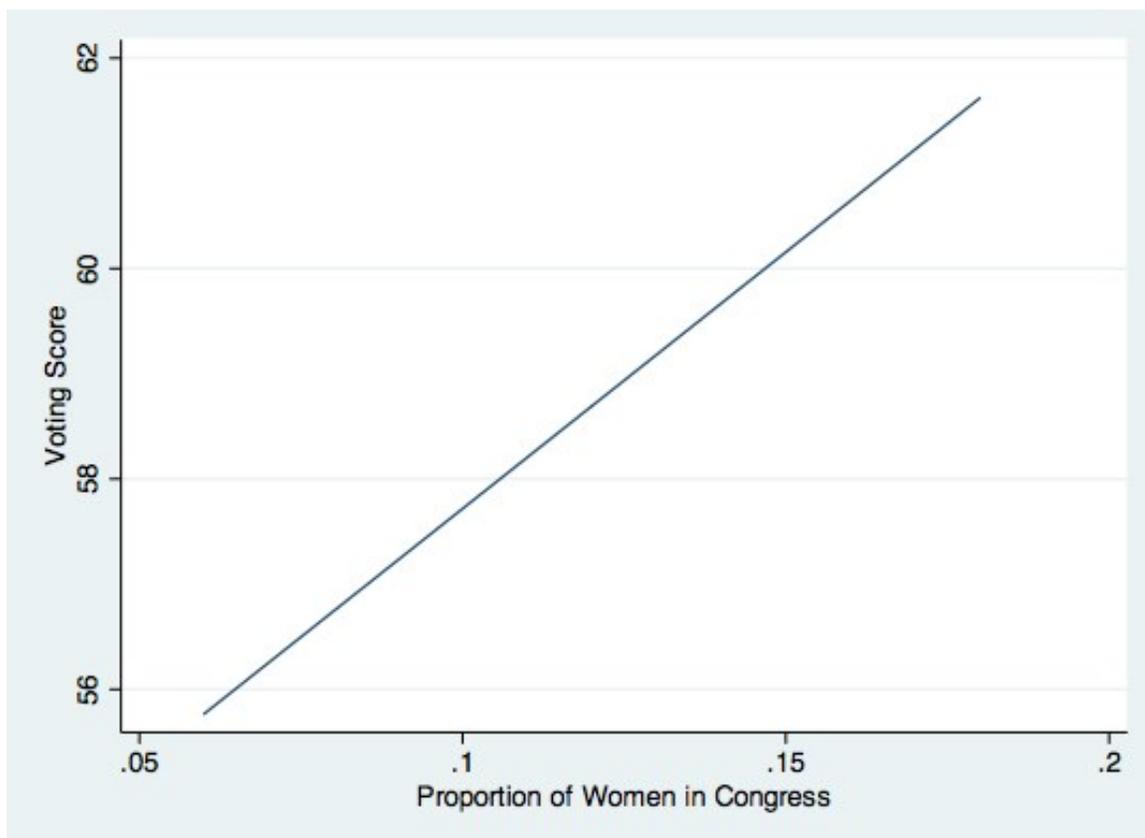
Influence of Women in Congress:

OLS Regression Analysis

<b>Independent Variables</b>	<b>Legislative Voting Score</b>	<b>Robust Standard Error</b>
Proportion of Women	36.44479 **	17.82196
Political Party	-42.56391 ***	3.573291
Chamber	1.821829	1.150675
Political Ideology	-46.01795 ***	3.650324
State Ideology	.0193525	.0226089
State Median Income	-.0000587	.0000994
State Urban Population	-.3271591	4.431005
State Educational Attainment	14.11269	15.68443
Constant	66.12177	5.205878
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.9072	
<b>N</b>	813	

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Figure 4: Relationship Between Women in Congress and Voting Score



As previous research suggests, the congressman's political party affiliation has an impact on his roll call voting pattern. Historically, Democrats have been more supportive of women's issues and this study confirms this trend. Republicans are far less likely to vote in support of women's issues. A Republican male legislator is expected to have a score 42 points lower than a Democrat's score. Even just examining the raw data, I found no Democratic congressman with a score lower than 30%. As previous research suggests, political ideology is inversely related with support for women's issues. The more conservative the congressman is, the less supportive he is of women's issues and the more liberal he is, the more likely he is to be supportive. Although the variable for which chamber the legislator belongs to (House or Senate) did not reach statistical significance

at the .10 level, it is very close. This suggests that legislators in the House of Representatives may be more supportive of women's issues. The other variables in the regression model (chamber, state ideology, state median income, state urban population, state educational attainment) were not found to be statistically significant.

### DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study indicate that as more women are elected to the U.S. Congress, not only are we likely to see the policy output of Congress change, individual male legislators will become more supportive of women's issues. The presence of women in Congress, even while controlling for individual partisanship and ideology, has a positive impact on males' support for women's issues. In fact, it may be these individual level changes that are the driving force behind the changes in policy output of Congress. Critical mass theory suggests that women must reach a certain proportion of the legislature before they can have significant influence, but the multivariate analysis of this study suggests that women exert influence on an individual-level. Therefore, even though a critical mass of women in the U.S. Congress has not yet been reached their influence is still felt by the individual male legislators. As more women are elected to Congress, we can expect to see more support for women's issues from the male legislators. The results of this study also indicate that this may be the case with other measures of diversity, such as race or sexual orientation. As Congress becomes more diverse, it is possible that there will be greater acceptance and support for diversity and issues related to underrepresented groups from the legislators.

The findings of this study validate previous research that shows that party affiliation is still one of the most reliable guides to how members of Congress vote on

issues. Because party affiliation is so closely correlated with ideology, both are important factors in determining the way male legislators respond to women's issues. This suggests that even with a large increase of women in Congress, partisanship is a much more reliable predictor of the way male legislators will vote on women's issues. The control variables that were not statistically significant such as, state ideology, state median income, state urban population, state educational attainment, chamber, suggest that these factors are not as influential as gender, party and ideology on an individual legislator's policy priorities and roll call voting. My research indicates that the effect of women in Congress is not limited to just policy output, but affects the way individual male congressmen vote. This is a strong gender-driven model that is contrary to some past scholarship. Constituent variables that have been found significant in previous research are not found significant in this study. If people are concerned with women's issues, they should elect more women to Congress and not necessarily just Democratic women.

There is still a lot of research that needs to be conducted on women's presence in Congress, especially as the proportion of women approaches and eventually exceeds the critical mass threshold (20%). The process of how and why women influence the congressmen's behavior is hard to capture in quantitative analysis; case study analysis of several legislators would shed some light on the process. It would also be beneficial to separate the Democrat and Republican congressmen to examine if women's influence is greater for one party than another. Whether or not the congressman was in the House or in the Senate was almost statistically significant in this model, it would be interesting to see if the individual-level influence is greater for men in the House or in the Senate. An

in-depth analysis of the women's influence in the Senate would be very interesting given that women now make up 20% of the Senate. As the proportion of women in Congress continues to increase, more research will be possible on the role women play in the U.S. Congress and their influence on both the individual and aggregate level.

APPENDIX A*Senate*

1. Richard Shelby – Alabama
2. John McCain – Arizona
3. Joe Lieberman – Connecticut
4. Daniel Akaka – Hawaii
5. Daniel Inouye – Hawaii
6. Dan Coats – Indiana
7. Richard Lugar – Indiana
8. Charles Grassley – Iowa
9. Tom Harkin – Iowa
10. Mitch McConnell – Kentucky
11. John Kerry – Massachusetts
12. Carl Levin – Michigan
13. Thad Cochran – Mississippi
14. Max Baucus – Montana
15. Harry Reid – Nevada
16. Jeff Bingaman – New Mexico
17. Kent Conrad – North Dakota
18. Orrin Hatch – Utah
19. Patrick Leahy – Vermont
20. Jay Rockefeller – West Virginia
21. Herb Kohl – Wisconsin

*House of Representatives*

22. Don Young – Alaska
23. Ed Pastor – Arizona
24. Howard Berman – California
25. David Dreier – California
26. Elton Gallegly – California
27. Wally Herger – California
28. Jerry Lewis – California
29. George Miller – California
30. Dana Rohrabacher – California
31. Pete Stark – California
32. Henry Waxman – California
33. Cliff Stearns – Florida
34. Bill Young – Florida
35. John Lewis – Georgia
36. Jerry Costello – Illinois
37. Dan Burton – Indiana
38. Steny Hoyer – Maryland
39. Barney Frank – Massachusetts
40. Edward Markey – Massachusetts
41. Richard Neal – Massachusetts
42. John Olver – Massachusetts
43. Dave Camp – Michigan

44. John Conyers – Michigan
45. John Dingell – Michigan
46. Dale Kildee – Michigan
47. Sander Levin – Michigan
48. Fred Upton – Michigan
49. Collin Peterson – Minnesota
50. Robert Andrews – New Jersey
51. Frank Pallone – New Jersey
52. Donald Payne – New Jersey
53. Chris Smith – New Jersey
54. Gary Ackerman – New York
55. Eliot Engel – New York
56. Charles Rangel – New York
57. Jozse Serrano – New York
58. Edolphus Towns – New York
59. Howard Coble – North Carolina
60. David Price – North Carolina
61. John Boehner – Ohio
62. Peter Defazio – Oregon
63. Jim Cooper – Tennessee
64. John Duncan – Tennessee
65. Joe Barton – Texas
66. Ralph Hall – Texas

67. Sam Johnson – Texas
68. Lamar Smith – Texas
69. Jim Moran – Virginia
70. Frank Wolf – Virginia
71. Norm Dicks – Washington
72. Jim McDermott – Washington
73. Nick Rahall – West Virginia
74. Tom Petri – Wisconsin
75. Jim Sensenbrenner – Wisconsin

APPENDIX B

102<sup>nd</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Durenberger Amendment To Title X, Pregnancy Counseling Act of 1991 (S 323)

Coats Parental Notification Amendment to Title X, Pregnancy Act of 1991 (S 323)

Bond Substitute Amendment to the Family and Medical Leave Act (S 5)

Confirmation of Judge Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court

Hatch Amendment on Private School Vouchers/Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act (S 2)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Civil Rights and Women's Equity in Employment Act of 1991 (HR 1)

International Family Planning, Kostmayer Amendment to the Fiscal 1992-93 Foreign Aid Authorization Bill/United Nations Fund for Population Assistance (HR 2508)

International Family Planning, Berman Amendment to the Fiscal 1992-93 Foreign Aid Authorization Bill/Mexico City Policy (HR 2508)

Family and Medical Leave Act (HR 2)

Passage of the Family Planning Amendments Act of 1991 (HR 3090)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortions/AuCoin Amendment to the Department of Defense (DOD) Authorization Bill (HR 5006)

103<sup>rd</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Family and Medical Leave Act

Abortion Coverage in Federal Employees' Health Benefits Plans. Treasury, Postal, and General Government Appropriations Bill (HR 2403)

Elders Confirmation

Funding Abortions for Poor Women. Hyde Amendment to the Fiscal 1994 Labor, HHS, Education Appropriations Bill (HR 2518)

Coats Private School Choice Amendment to Goals 2000: Educate America Act (S 1150)

The School-To-Work Opportunities Act (HR 2884)

Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (S 636)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Family and Medical Leave Act

The Family Planning Amendments Act of 1993 (HR 670)

Funding of Abortions for Poor Women. Hyde Amendment to the Fiscal 1994 Labor, HHS, Education Appropriations Bill (HR 2518)

Sex Education/ USOELD Amendment/ ESEA

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (HR 6)

Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (HR 796)

104<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Affirmative Action: Gramm Anti-Affirmative Action Amendment (HR 1854)

International Family Planning: Foreign Operations Appropriations (HR 1868)

Health Exceptions to the Late-Term Abortion Ban (HR 1833)

Education Funding: FY96 Funding Continuing Resolution (HR 2880)

Private and Religious School Vouchers: Motion to Cut Off Debate (HR 2546)

Equity in Vocational Education: Displaced Homemaker Amendment (S 143)

Welfare Reform: Education and Job Training for Women (HR 4)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: The Department of Defense Authorization Bill (S 1745)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Restrictions on Medical Abortions: Fiscal 1996 Omnibus Appropriations (HR 3019)

Welfare Reform: The Personal Responsibility Act Final Passage (HR 4)

Family Planning: Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations Bill (HR 2127)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Late-Term Ban (HR 1833)

Education Funding/Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Labor, Health and Human Services Appropriations Bill. Final Passage. (HR 2127)

Education Funding: FY96 Funding Continuing Resolution (HR 2880)

Private and Religious School Vouchers: District of Columbia Appropriations (HR 2546)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Amendment to the Department of Defense (DOD) Authorization Bill (HR 1530)

105<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Affirmative Action for Small Business: McConnell Amendment to the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (S 1173)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Abortion Procedure Ban (HR 1122)

Federal Role in K-12 Education: Gorton Amendment to the Education Savings Act for Public and Private Schools (HR 2646)

Education Savings Accounts: Education Savings Act for Public and Private Schools (HR 2646)

Education and Training: Levin Welfare Reform Amendment to the 1998 Reconciliation Bill (S 947)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Snowe/Murray Amendment to the Department of Defense (DOD) Authorization Bill (S 2057)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Equity in Vocational Education: Mink/Morella Displaced Homemaker and Gender Equity Amendment

Education Savings Accounts: Education Savings Act for Public and Private Schools (HR 2646)

Private and Religious School Vouchers: Helping to Empower Low-Income Parents (HELP) Scholarship Act (HR 2746)

International Family Planning: Smith Mexico City Policy Amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 2159)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Abortion Procedure Bank (HR 1122)

Affirmative Action for Small Business: Roukema Amendment to the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (HR 2400)

Affirmative Action in Higher Education: Riggs Amendment to the Higher Education Amendments of 1998 (HR 6)

Ban on the Food and Drug Administration Approval of RU486 and Other Drugs that Induce Abortion: Agriculture Appropriations Bill (HR 4101)

106<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

School Dropout Prevention: Jeffords Motion to Table the Bingaman Dropout Prevention Amendment to the Education Flexibility Partnership Bill (S 280)

Education Savings Accounts: Affordable Education Act (S 1134)

Education Funding: Kennedy Amendment to the FY00 Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Bill (S 1650)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act (S 1692)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Murray/Snowe Amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization Bill (S 2549)

Hate Crimes Prevention: Smith/Kennedy Amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization Bill (S 2549)

Judicial Nomination: Berzon Confirmation

Managed Care Reform: Robb Amendment to the Patients' Bill of Rights Plus Act (S 1344)

Managed Care Reform: Daschle Amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization Bill (S 2549)

Social Security Reform: Harkin Amendment to the Death Tax Elimination Act of 2000 (HR 8)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Gender Equity in Education: Mink/Woolsey/Sanchez/Morella Amendment to the Student Results Act (HR 2)

Private and Religious School Vouchers: Arney Amendment to the Student Results Act (HR 2)

Education Block Grants: Academic Achievement for All Act (“Straight A’s”) (HR 2300)

International Family Planning: Greenwood Motion to the FY01 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (HR 4811) to Strike the Global Gag Rule

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act (HR 3660)

Sanchez Amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4205)

Managed Care Reform: Goss/Coburn/Shadegg Amendment to the Bipartisan Consensus Managed Care Improvement Act (HR 2723)

Managed Care Reform: Dingell Motion to Instruct the House Managed Care Reform Conferees

107<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

School Voucher Demonstration Project: Gregg School Voucher Amendment to the Better Education for Students and Teachers Act (BEST – S 1)

Education Spending: Harkin Amendment to the FY02 Budget Resolution (H Con Res 83)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Murray/Snowe Amendment to the FY03 Defense Authorization Bill (S 2514)

Tax Cut to Limit Discretionary Spending: \$1.35 Trillion Tax Cut in the FY02 Budget Resolution (H Con Res 83)

Hate Crime Prevention: Cloture Vote on the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 (S 625)

Access to School Facilities: Helms Amendment to the Better Education for Students and Teachers Act (BEST – S 1)

Senate Confirmation: Confirmation of John Ashcroft as U.S. Attorney General

Managed Care Reform: Bipartisan Patient Protection Act (S 1052)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Private and Religious School Vouchers: Arney School Voucher Amendment to the No Child Left Behind Act (HR 1)

School Voucher Demonstration Project: Arney Pilot School Voucher Program Amendment to the No Child Left Behind Act (HR 1)

International Family Planning: Hyde Amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act (HR 1646)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Sanchez Amendment to the FY03 National Defense Authorization Act (HR 4546)

Access to Safe and Legal Abortion: Child Custody Protection Act (HR 476)

Access to safe and Legal Abortion: “Partial-Birth” Abortion Ban Act (HR 4965)

Welfare Reauthorization: Personal Responsibility, Work, and Family Promotion Act of 2002 (HR 4737)

Tax Cut to Limit Discretionary Spending: Tax Cut in the FY02 Budget Resolution (H Con Res 83)

Making the Tax Cuts Permanent: Economic Security and Recovery Act of 2001 (HR 3090)

Faith-Based Initiative: Community Solutions Act of 2001 (HR 7)

Managed Care Reform: Bipartisan Patient Protection Act (HR 2563)

108<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Judicial Nominations: Motion to End Debate on the Federal Judicial Nomination of Alabama Attorney General William Pryor

Confirmation of Judicial Nomination of J. Leon Holmes

Child Tax Credit: Tax Relief, Simplification, and Equity Act of 2003

Media Ownership: Joint Resolution Declaring Congressional Disapproval of the Relaxation of Media Ownership Rules

Reproductive Rights: Resolution of Reaffirming of Roe V. Wade

International Family Planning: Lugar Motion to Table Boxer Amendment No. 1141

Violence Against Women: Murray Amendment to the Unborn Victims of Violence Act (S. Amdt. 2859 to H.R. 1997)

Civil Rights: Smith/Kennedy Amendment to Department of Defense Authorization

*House Vote Descriptions*

Child Tax Credit: Motion to Instruct Conferees to Consider Senate Version of Child Tax Credit Proposal

Welfare Reauthorization: Personal Responsibility, Work, and Family Promotion Act

Faith-Based Initiative in Head Start: Woolsey Amendment to the School Readiness Act

Funding for International Family Planning: Smith Amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act

School Vouchers: Norton Amendment to the FY04 District of Columbia Appropriations Bill

Violence Against Women: Lofgren Substitute Amendment to the Unborn Victims of Violence Act (UVVA)

Reproductive Choice: Davis Amendment to the FY05 National Defense Authorization Act

Civil Rights: Motion to Instruct Conferees on Department of Defense Authorization Bill (H.R. 4200)

109<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Education: Pell Grant Amendment (S. Amdt. 2213 to H.R. 3010)

Education: Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Improvement Act of 2005 (S. 250)

Education: Student Aid and Job Training Budget Amendment (S. Amdt. 3028 to S. Con. Res. 83)

Budget and Appropriations: Budget Reconciliation Conference Report to the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (S. 1932)

Civil Rights: Confirmation of Thomas Griffith to the U.S. Court of Appeals

Civil Rights: Confirmation of John Roberts to the U.S. Supreme Court

Civil Rights: Confirmation of Samuel A. Alito Jr. to the U.S. Supreme Court

Civil Rights: Federal Marriage Amendments (S.J. Res. 1)

Reproductive Rights: Clinic Violence Amendment (S. Amdt. 47 to S. 256)

Economic Security: Minimum Wage/Estate Tax (H.R. 5970)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Education: Pell Grant Hurricane and Disaster Relief Act (H.R. 3169)

Education: Vocational and Technical Education for the Future Act (H.R. 366)

Education: Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (H.R. 609)

Budget and Appropriations: Budget Reconciliation – Conference Report to the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (S. 1932)

Civil Rights: Religious Discrimination Amendment to the School Readiness Act of 2005 (H. Amdt. 574 to H.R. 2123)

Civil Rights: Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2005 (H. Amdt. 544 to H.R. 3132)

Civil Rights: Voting Rights Act Reauthorization (H.R. 9)

Civil Rights: Federal Marriage Amendment (H.J. Res. 88)

Reproductive Rights: Servicewomen’s Health Amendment (H. Amdt. 209 to H.R. 1815)

Economic Security: Minimum Wage/Estate Tax (H.R. 5970)

110<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Education: The College Cost Reduction and Access Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669) Conference Report

Education: America COMPETES Act (S. 761)

Education: Domestic Priorities Amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2008 (H.R. 2642)

Education: Higher Education Opportunity Act (H.R. 4137) Conference Report

Education: Cloture Motion on the DREAM Act of 2007 (S. 2205)

Economic Security: Cloture Motion on the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2007 (H.R. 2831)

Economic Security: Cloture Motion on the Fair Minimum Wage Act of 2007 (H.R. 2)

Civil Rights: Cloture Motion on the Matthew Shepard Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2007 (S. 1105)

Civil Rights: Boxer Amendment (S. Amdt. 2719 to H.R. 2764)

Budget: Concurrent Budget Resolution Conference Report for FY2009 (S. Con. Res. 70)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Education: The College Cost Reduction and Access Act (H.R. 2669) of 2007 Conference Report

Education: Domestic Priorities Amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2008 (H.R. 2642)

Education: College Opportunity and Affordability Act of 2008 (H.R. 4137)

Economic Security: The Fair Minimum Wage Act of 2007 (H.R. 2)

Economic Security: The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2007 (H.R. 2831)

Economic Security: The Paycheck Fairness Act (H.R. 1338)

Economic Security: The Federal Employees Paid Parental Leave Act of 2008 (H.R. 5781)

Civil Rights: Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2007 (H.R. 1592)

Civil Rights: Pence Amendment (H. Amdt. 594 to H.R. 3043)

111<sup>th</sup> Congress:*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Economic Security: Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 (S. 181)

Paycheck Fairness Act (S. 182) Co-sponsorship

American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (H.R. 1) Conference Report

Mikulski Amendment (S. Amdt. 2791 to H.R. 3590)

Work-Life Balance: Healthy Families Act (S. 1152) Co-sponsorship

Education: Lieberman Amendment (S. Amdt. 3456 to H.R. 1586)

Civil Rights: Cloture Motion on the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (S. 909)

Civil Rights: Nelson Amendment (S. Amdt. 2962 to H.R. 3590)

Civil Rights: Confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor to the U.S. Supreme Court

Civil Rights: Wicker Amendment (S. Amdt. 607 to H.R. 1105)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Economic Security: Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 (H.R. 11)

Economic Security: Paycheck Fairness Act (H.R. 12)

Economic Security: American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (H.R. 1) Conference Report

Work-Life Balance: Healthy Families Act (H.R. 2460) Co-sponsorship

Work-Life Balance: Federal Employees Paid Parental Leave Act (H.R. 626)

Education: Student Aid and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2009 (H.R. 3221)

Education: America COMPETES Reauthorization Act of 2010 (H.R. 5116)

Education: Pathways Advancing Career Training Act (H.R. 2074) Co-Sponsorship

Civil Rights: Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009 (H.R. 1913)

Civil Rights: Stupak Amendment (H. Amdt. 509 to H.R. 3962)

Civil Rights: Murphy Amendment (H. Amdt. 672 to H.R. 5136)

112<sup>th</sup> Congress:

*Senate Vote Descriptions*

Education: Stop the Student Loan Interest Rate Hike Act (S. 2343)

Education: Teachers and First Responders Back to Work Act of 2011 (S. 1723)

Education: High School Data Transparency Act of 2011 (S. 1269) Co-Sponsorship

Economic Security: Cut, Cap, and Balance Act of 2011 (H.R. 2560)

Economic Security: Paying a Fair Share Act of 2012 (S. 2230)

Economic Security: Full-Year Continuing Appropriations Act of 2011 (H.R. 1)

Economic Security: Paycheck Fairness Act (S. 3220)

Civil Rights: Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2011 (S. 1925)

Civil Rights: Planned Parenthood Funding (H. Con. Res. 36)

Civil Rights: Contraception Coverage Ban (S. Amdt. 1520 to S. 1813)

*House Vote Descriptions*

Education: Scholarships for Opportunity and Results (SOAR) Act (H.R. 471)

Education: High School Athletics Accountability Act of 2011 (H.R. 458) Co-Sponsorship

Education: Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act (H.R. 2016) Co-Sponsorship

Economic Security: Cut, Cap, and Balance Act of 2011 (H.R. 2560)

Economic Security: Paying a Fair Share Act of 2012 (H.R. 3903)

Economic Security: Full-Year Continuing Appropriations Act of 2011 (H.R. 1)

Economic Security: Paycheck Fairness Act (H.R. 1519)

Civil Rights: Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2012 (H.R. 4970)

Civil Rights: Pence Amendment (H. Amdt. 95 to H.R. 1)

Civil Rights: Respect for Rights of Conscience Act (H.R. 1179) Co-Sponsorship

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