

How Congresswomen of Color
Affect Policymaking in the U.S.:
110th-111th Congress

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Abstract

Congresswomen of color yield a distinct policy impact in Congress through their perspectives as women and as Americans of color, and through the mix of congressional tools they most often use. Both despite and through the legislative process and the institutional leadership positions they hold, they are able to influence policy by engaging with the executive branch. These more frequently utilized tools include scrutinizing and pressuring the executive branch as advocates, critics and advisers, and public outreach to generate more inclusive and better-informed policymaking. These congresswomen often specifically address substantive interests that are especially pronounced for people of color around the world, women, low-income Americans, and other disadvantaged groups, in policy debates where these considerations are both expected and unexpected. Women of color also adopt a no-nonsense, assertive and persistent style of policymaking. Media content research and other qualitative analyses suggest that Congresswomen of color face more difficulty in gaining credit and attention for their efforts than the average congressperson, which is a disservice to the American public and their understanding of Congress. Their impact is this: their backgrounds as women of color provide expertise and their distinct modi operandi improve the quality of legislation by considering the combined needs of people of color, women, low-income populations, and others both domestic and foreign that the general public is unaware of or purposefully disregard. With a sensitivity to overlooked and disadvantaged peoples, congresswomen of color challenge fellow members of Congress and the American public to broaden their policy concerns to be more inclusive, comprehensive, and just.

Introduction:

How and Where Did Congresswomen of Color Distinctly Influence Policy from 2007-2010?

Any study of congresswomen of color is largely missing from the average American political science undergraduate curriculum and course offerings. These congresswomen are missing from the media's representation of popular political debates, with exception to news about alleged corruption scandals or other negative, non-substantive matters. However, instead of lamenting the inattention they are given and rehashing some of the normative shortcomings of the American political system, i.e. (a lack of racial proportionality in Congress in comparison to the United States population), this work is decidedly something different. It is a discovery and analysis of what congresswomen of color accomplish and an argument about the significance of

their work. Furthermore, instead of framing this analysis as a “for-us, by-us” work to which only Americans of color can relate, it is crucial that this paper be received as something *all* Americans should know. American policy is not created or implemented in isolation but affects all Americans, whether it is realized or not and whether this is liked or not. The policy impact of woman of color is still an impact on all Americans, across gender, region, color, beliefs, and any other cleavage conceivable. For example, studying women of color would further the current understanding of policy progress being made towards meeting the needs of overlooked socio-economic groups and would illustrate the complexity within issues that are instead presented as simple, black-and-white conflict between interest groups. Congresswomen of color confront important, yet sometimes lesser-known, subtopics that are in fact part and parcel of the most critical issues that face the country today, e.g. the economy, the housing crisis, emerging technology, and workforce readiness for the future, among others. While this work is not premised on the belief that women of color are completely invisible, it is in part motivated by an observation that their influence is grossly under-emphasized, which unfortunately hampers this society’s understanding of itself. To understand congresswomen of color is to, at least partly, understand Congress and any understanding of Congress must include knowledge of how this institution is utilized differently by those within it, including women of color.

Patsy Mink, the first woman of color elected to Congress in 1964, once declared, “You were not elected to Congress, in my interpretation of things, to represent your district, period. You are national legislators.” Completely aware of what her election meant to American history, she further understood that representation in Congress is not simply constituent work, but is about leadership for the nation as a whole. Her work

significantly impacted the nation as a whole, especially through her focus on underserved groups found across the nation, i.e. women and children. Surely, the times have changed since 1965, and the federal government has grown immensely as its contributions to states and localities have grown more important, leaving members of Congress more responsibility in bringing federal dollars home. Still, reflecting on the nationally-relevant work of congresswomen of color leads to a more even and comparable analysis than would a focus on specific districts.

Some women, including women of color, in recent history have helped expand the visibility of women in politics and public perceptions of their relevance. Former Speaker Nancy Pelosi is the highest-ranking woman in congressional and American political history, reaching these ranks during the very period where this analysis is focused. She served as House Democratic Whip and House Democratic Leader before being elected Speaker of the House during the 110th and 111th sessions of Congress, a nationally-significant post that is irrespective of gender or ethnicity issues. Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, an African-American, also served in a critical position regarding American foreign policy and pushing traditional perceived limitations of issue areas where women can hold expertise. However, in our recent history, the contribution of women of color in Congress appears invisible.

This subject generates many questions in the realm of American society and academia. While average Americans may be aware of the presence of African-American, Hispanic, and Asian women serving in Congress, few are aware of the influence that women of color have on public policies. The dearth of information on this topic leaves several questions unanswered. What changes, if any, are they making? Are their contributions unique from other groups that comprise a greater portion of the

House, whether men of color, white women, and white men? As American citizens, is it satisfactory to believe that the U.S. is doing something right because diversity is increasing in the federal government? This paper asserts that this is not enough for Americans should understand what material difference diversity brings policymaking and the inner-workings of Congress.

Typically, when terms like “diversity” or “color” are heard in reference to national politics, it is almost automatically associated with equality and proportionality, or the lack thereof, and a number of normative considerations about what a democratic republic should look like. While this is important, it too often distracts the American public from what is already happening, i.e. those real substantive policy gains that are already being made for the sake of the entire nation because of their inclusion. More attention must be turned toward the disparities that currently exist and what could support or hinder these policy changes, and this attention could in turn close the information gaps separating what congresswomen of color do. This paper will analyze where and how congresswomen of color have directly, and to an extent indirectly, influenced national policy between 2007 and 2010. Additionally, this thesis will suggest factors that particularly affect their ability to influence as women of color.

Literature Review

While the inclusion of women of color in Congress is new relative to the history of Congress, today, congresswomen of color have been in Congress long enough to warrant discussion of the difference they make, if any. However, this area has not been adequately explored in literature where one should expect to find this topic. In particular, descriptive-substantive representation theory – which connects how shared physical or experiential features between the representative and the represented relates to how well that representative serves her constituents– often misses this even though most descriptive-substantive theorists focus their research on women in politics. Far fewer descriptive-substantive representation theorists chip away at topics regarding representatives of color by looking at different racial or ethnic groups of elected officials separately, yet, again, this small body of work also tends to omit the contributions of congresswomen of color. Perhaps because congressmen far outnumber congresswomen both historically and contemporaneously, authors are tempted to generalize race representation discourses through analyzing congressmen of color. This leaves women of color largely left out of the discussion, and the potential nuances of their effect are missed. Therefore, while descriptive-substantive representation theorists tend to focus their analyses on either gender or race, they rarely consider both factors simultaneously (Kerr and Miller 1997, Lai et. al. 2001, Mansbridge 1999, Swain 1995, Swers 2010, Tate 1997, 2003, Vega and Firestone 1995). Furthermore, Asian-Pacific Americans are almost completely ignored in academic investigation of substantive representation although their numbers in federal representation are increasing. Thus, these demographic groups within Congress are not given adequate attention in the academic community, and yet

those few theorists that take on this topic fail to form a coherent body of work—their work is disjointed and fails to connect the dots that exist in regards to people of color in Congress, and this group’s impact on Congress as a whole. Similarly, the growing body of work on women in Congress also fails to pay particular attention to the nuanced behavior of congresswomen of color. If there is a relationship between gender and viewpoints or action in Congress, even that alone cannot describe how a representative behaves. There are always multiple factors affecting their decision-making, such as party, region where the constituency is located, specific issues paramount to individual districts, etc. The number of women of color in the House has grown since the 1960’s and in recent years averages a little more than twenty congresswomen of color serving per session. The recent stability of this population in Congress provides an opportunity to more deeply understand the character of our system, by understanding all sorts of actors in Congress and their actions by connecting these sub- schools of thought.

Descriptive and Substantive Representation

Descriptive representation is simply the concept of representation of constituents by elected representatives who share some physical or experiential background. Quite often, descriptive representation theory leads to a discussion of the normative merits of a higher quantity of representatives and the impact from this, i.e. when more representatives look or have something in common with more of a diverse population, then the representative body and the population is better off. Substantive representation is not just the representation, but the actual advocacy, of issues pertinent to a constituency. Some proponents of substantive representation believe that quality

representation is solely dependent on what a representative does and not where he or she came from or what the representative has in common with constituents.

Some theorists try to bridge the two schools of thought to assert that either concept does not necessarily cancel each other out, but can instead complement each other and create synergy. One leading thinker with this agenda, Jane Mansbridge, focuses much of her work on descriptive representation but asserts that descriptive representation can further substantive representation with more nuance, not that a representative simply is a “better” representative because she looks like her constituents, specifically those belonging to a disadvantaged or minority group. “Descriptive representatives...in their own backgrounds mirror some of the more frequent experiences and out-ward manifestations of belonging to [a disadvantaged] group” but they are not literal mirrors of everything the represented would believe or exhibit (Mansbridge 1999, 628). Jane Mansbridge defines the property of being descriptive as referring to not only shared physical and visible characteristics but also common experiences, i.e. lifestyle or profession (Mansbridge 1999, 629). A descriptive representative is expected to more accurately represent and remain actively loyal to his or her constituency’s interests.

Jane Mansbridge argues that descriptive representation not only increases legitimacy and “ability to rule, but makes a substantive difference in representation by “improving the quality of deliberation” (Mansbridge 1999, 628). Because descriptive representatives share “experiential knowledge” with a disadvantaged group that is part of their constituency, these legislators communicate with and articulate the interests of fellow group members better than non-descriptive representatives can. Additionally, due to “uncrystallized interests, a history suggesting inability to rule, and low de facto

legitimacy, constitutional designers and individual voters have reason to institute policies that promote descriptive representation, even when such implementation involves some losses in the implementation of other valued ideals” (Mansbridge 1999, 628-9).

Congresspersons of Color

Alternatively, Mansbridge acknowledges dissenting opinions that bring up valid concerns. Normative theorists and some empirical theorists counter her claim that a descriptive representative makes better substantive representatives by asserting that a representative who shares a background with his/her constituency is not guaranteed to act on this basis since “[m]ore black faces in political office (that is, more descriptive representation for African Americans) will not necessarily lead to more representation of the tangible interests of blacks” (Mansbridge 1999, 628-630). Carol Swain, the first empirical political scientist to conduct a systematic, in-depth investigation into the actions of Black members of Congress refines this position, adds that while it is impossible to truly delineate a “single set of interests for a population group as diverse as blacks in America” let alone all Americans of color (Swain 1995, 13), “Black representation means no more than policy congruence between black interests and roll-call votes,” regardless of the party or race of the representative (Swain 1995, 19). With that being purported (theoretically), in practice Swain finds that “Republicans are more supportive of civil rights for blacks than they are of broad redistributive measures and initiatives to protect workers” (Swain 1995, 16). In other words, Republicans tend to oppose black interests that involve finances, while supporting other symbolic black interests, e.g. acknowledging black history. Again, while this is surely not to say that one

racial group cannot represent the other adequately (Swain 1995), the general trend is that Democrats better represent substantive interests of people of color than do Republicans, and of course, the Democratic members of Congress are more likely to be of color themselves than their Republican peers. Hence, Mansbridge's general theory, that descriptive representatives tend to make better substantive representatives, seems to ring true in practice *correlatively* at least if not causally, since most congresspersons of color are Democrats (who, on the whole, better support minority interests including those that yield a financial cost and, arguably, matter the most).

Methods to further improve the study of descriptive representation of substantive interests were suggested by other theorists studying various parts of this discussion, although undertaking these parts separately from one another and without referencing how their work relates to each others' work. In an article analyzing roll-call voting behavior of black U.S. representatives, theorists are urged to "move beyond simple dichotomous measures for race, ethnicity, or gender when studying minorities' congressional behavior" and, in addition, consider congressional attributes such as political party, committee and party leadership positions, and length of tenure; electoral factors like presidential vote share, whether district is majority-minority, and whether the district is outside of the South; and finally (and more originally), personal attributes such as gender, types of high school and undergraduate education, involvement in black Greek life, religion, military experience and generation (Rocca, Sanchez, and Nikora 2009, 409). Most of these attributes have an impact on African American roll-call voting, but some factors that effect Congress as a whole have no effect or the reverse effect among a sample of representatives of color. In particular religion (with Baptists being most conservative), and military experience lead to more conservative voting, and

gender still does not make much of a difference since almost all Black representatives are fairly liberal, but “black MC’s have become more conservative in their voting over time” as opposed to the general trend of MC’s becoming more liberal with age (Rocca, Sanchez, and Nikora 2009). The authors suggest that this is caused by the changing agenda of Congress post-civil rights era, where black members are less liberal on other matters. They also determine that black members of Congress tend to be more liberal than their Hispanic peers.

Women in Congress

A large proportion of political scientists interested in descriptive-substantive representation theory have undertaken further research into the impact of women in politics. Using data from 1981 to 1992, Arturo Vega and Juanita Firestone found that gender differences did not have a significant impact on voting behavior, but that women in the House of Representatives introduced “women-related legislation proportionate to their number” (Vega and Firestone 1995, 213). So while women did not seem to differ from men in their voting record, they exhibit distinctive behavior in other functions of legislators. This is an important finding that would influence the way other researchers assess legislative behavioral differences between demographic groups. However, Vega and Firestone do not examine enough *to what ends* do women in Congress behave differently; they were simply interested in whether their behavior lent itself to more substantive representation of feminine issues. They only compared the number of women-related bills introduced to how many of these were enacted. Still, the more pressing question is whether this distinctive behavior and representation is for naught or if the inclusion and increase of women in the House make an actual policy impact?

A further nuanced understanding about the behavior and actual policy impact of women in the House were suggested in 2002, when Michele L. Swers took up the first thorough investigation into congresswomen's impact in the United States House of Representatives in her book *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. In addition to analyzing roll call votes, Swers found, "With regard to women's issues, the expertise and credibility that congresswomen can claim through personal experience or a connection with women as a group are assets these women can draw on in committee deliberations and in efforts to sell the policy to the public, relevant interest groups, and congressional colleagues. However, members' ability to act on women's issues is constrained not only by the policy preferences of the district constituency but also by the legislator's position within the institution" (Swers 2002, 10). With the role of congressional leadership in mind, this paper will expend much effort into examining how leadership positions affects how effectively women of color influence policy, an area that Swers does not develop in her research.

In regards to the connection between women of color and white women in the legislature, there may be challenges suppressing the impact of women of color, even with the possibility of forming a coalition. For example, feminist-Black political coalitions may sometimes work but can be challenging to continually self-maintain, let alone forge a long-standing relationship with more sizeable groups of women in Congress (Tate 1997). One of these reasons may be that the population-representation gap between general female voters and female representatives is smaller than race and class gaps (Seltzer, Newman and Leighton 1997). This review of academic literature on descriptive and substantive representation reveals the dearth of scholarship on

congresswoman of color, and how the lack of this scholarship illustrates the gaps between existing literature on people of color in Congress.

Hypothesis and Theory

As members of the lower chamber, the congresswomen discussed in this paper should be expected to focus their policy efforts, and answer to, the immediate or most pressing concerns of the constituents in their particular district before trying to fulfill the broad general goals of people of color i.e. those issues alluded to by the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, and the fulfill the interests of low income population (which includes a disproportionately high concentration of minorities) . However, it is also conceivable that they will stake a claim to issues that are directly salient for women of color, for people of color, lower-income Americans (which disproportionately include a large concentration of people of color), for international social policy (especially for poorer countries where people of color form the majority), and for issues that concern almost every American and transcend gender, race, and ethnicity. Interestingly, representation by Asian-Americans takes on distinct approaches that differ from other representatives of color. “In contrast to African-American and Latino candidates, Asian-American elected officials on the United States mainland [outside of Hawaii where Asian Pacific Americans form the majority] primarily emerge from political districts where Asians make up much less than 50%of the population; this causes Asian elected officials to adopt a “mainstream or crossover” approach in politics (Lai et. al. 2001, 611). So while their approach and language may not be as explicit as other representatives of color, Asian American members of Congress should still address most minority concerns given some of their shared interests with, and representation of, other people of color.

It is expected that congresspersons of color would act differently from their white peers most obviously because the more liberal Democratic Party far more typically includes people of color than the Republican Party, where it is rare that a Republican member of Congress is of color, especially between 2007 and 2010 (the period this thesis analyzes). Furthermore, there is an expectation that the behavior of congresswomen of color may diverge more from white male behavior than from white female behavior since the shared gender between white and nonwhite congresswomen encourages both these groups to address feminine issues or issues that women specifically face. Furthermore, an uncomfortable question arose while designing the paper's scope: If one expects men and women of color to vote almost identically, why bother looking specifically at women of color? After much wrestling with this question and reading (specifically Swers' previously mentioned research on congresswomen), it became apparent (once again) that legislators do much more than vote. While this research begins by analyzing voting records, much of the most enriching information derives when congresswomen shed light on less popular issues and fine-tune policy through extra-legislative work.

Additionally, there should be a strong party influence on voting at least, especially since all of the women of color serving Congress in recent years were limited to seats only in the lower chamber, where party conformity is stronger than in the Senate. Instead of controlling for the party effect on women of color of both parties, analyzing across Democrats would be more useful since nearly all of the women of color in the House are Democrats, save one Republican woman of color. While there are a few female delegates of color in the House, they have been omitted from this research

altogether since delegates cannot participate in the most meaningful votes, i.e. votes on the floor, which much of this analysis considers.

Definitions

Racial and ethnic descriptions were relayed with as much sensitivity as possible, while preserving enough clarity and generality for the analysis. For example, “Black” or “Black American” is used instead of African-American in most cases. African-American is too often a blanket term for all Americans of some black descent, whether that be recently African, historically African-American, Caribbean-American, etc. Surely, current Americans who have emigrated from Africa do not share an identical cultural heritage with those African Americans who have never set foot in Africa and whose ancestors have been Americans for generations. For this reason, Black American is a more accurate description and is used as a general term. Additionally, although Asian American or Asian Pacific American theoretically refers to Americans who have descended from “China, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Republic and Samoa; and...the Indian Subcontinent, [which] includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan” (Princeton University 2004), it turns out that almost all Asian American congresswomen to serve so far have been Japanese-American, except Judy Chu who is Chinese American. Hispanic congresswomen discussed here are those who are presumed to be non-white Hispanic, or Hispanic and “of color” according to the *Women in Congress* database organized by the Office of the Clerk.

Many “minority” and “feminine” issues overlap naturally within a civil rights or social services umbrella. Minority issues often aim towards ending disparities in areas such as equal employment, public education, health care (including a disproportionate

share of certain health ailments), high crime areas, drugs, poverty, access to legal services, environmental quality, and fair housing while women's issues include family and medical leave extension, help for victims of domestic violence and sexual harassment and offenses, and social welfare issues such as veteran and senior's health, children's health and education, etc. Reproductive rights were excluded from this paper's perspective of women's issues since being "conservative" on abortion is improperly labeled anti-feminist. There are women who are active about women's rights and advancement but strongly oppose abortion because of ethical concerns and do not conceive of it as a gendered issue.

The definition of minority interests must be further modified though, as the analysis will later show, for these interests are not only objective and tangible like those that are mentioned above; sometimes, they are subjective as in the desire "to feel that their contributions as a group are valued by society at large" (Swain 1995, 6). Additionally, people of color are not "monolithic" and their interests will not always be the same, but there are more important commonalities than differences (Swain 1995, 7). For example, even after accounting for socio-economic differences within American minority populations, most people of color are more likely to favor redistributive programs and believe in an activist government role, are more socially conservative, and less trustful of the government than White Americans are (Swain 1995, 10-11). Also, some representatives of color turn particular attention and exhibit increased sensitivity to the plights of people of color around the world and consider them an "international constituency" (Swain 1995, 218). In fact, part of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's mission is to "advance the global black community by developing leaders, informing policy and educating the public" (CBCF 2011). In this sense, issues relevant to

Americans of color include situations where people of color outside of America are faced with particularly pronounced concerns. In example, the Haitian elections and earthquake in 2010 were important international issues that U.S. representatives of color repeatedly advocated for during the 110th and 111th Congresses. Although Swain's study on minority interests and representation were largely limited to Black Americans, her approach provides a logical structure to study the interests of people of color and the work representatives of color across ethnic groups in America.

Research Design

Scope

Late Representative Patsy Mink's aforementioned perspective that sees members of Congress as 'national legislators' (as opposed to simply being district representatives) is used to govern the scope of this analysis. It was not feasible to observe each district during the time allotted for this work, nor may it even be useful since each district is unique and varies widely from the other. District features, such as the percent minority or the racial majority, are often meaningless in analyzing national policy-formation and voting records of congressmen and women of color or that are particular to issues that are especially pronounced for people of color (Swain 1995). Only when relevant to wider policy (i.e. the virtue of public outreach and inclusion) will this thesis consider district-specific work. Otherwise, this thesis sees female representatives of color as 'national legislators' for the sake of organizing and limiting the scope to fit the time allotted for this project.

Individual member behavior relevant to wider society beyond single congressional districts includes legislating (voting, holding hearings, sponsoring, and cosponsoring) and advocacy (speaking, letter-writing, meeting, and holding conferences) for particular federal and international policies. An example of the behavior this research will not stress is a representative securing funds for a specific school system in their single district, since this information would be difficult to compare with the other information for other members and would be near impossible to generalize.

The 110th and 111th Congresses are assessed for several reasons. Given the time constraints governing the completion of this paper, only two Congresses would feasibly be analyzed and during the period of 2007-2010, the women of color in the House of Representatives was sizeable enough for analysis and stayed nearly constant. Most often congresswomen of color are compared only to the House of Representatives rather than the entire Congress simply because all of the congresswomen of color during this period were elected to the lower chamber. Of historical significance, Barack Obama, the first American of color elected President, began his term with the 111th Congress. It may be worth exploring whether his presidency affected the legislative or advocacy behavior of women of color during this period. Since most of these women were reelected, comparing on these lines would be feasible and logically sound.

Civil Rights Scores

LCCR scores were used as a measure suggesting individual sensitivity towards a spectrum of issues based on public roll call votes. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (LCCR) tracks legislative progress related to the current civil rights agenda and assigns scores to every member of Congress based on their officially-recorded roll call votes on legislation in the interest of civil rights. Their scores are considered to “provide practical indicators of black interests” (Swain 1995, 13), and are further read in this thesis as indicators of the interests of people of color more widely since most non-white demographic groups share “minority” interests in common. These scores range from 0 to 100, with 100 indicating a “perfect” civil rights record regarding the votes that arose during a particular session. The LCCR scores for the 110th Congress

are derived from votes recorded between January 3 and December 27, 2007, while the 111th Congress scores refer to votes cast from January 3, 2009 until October 1, 2010. It is important to note here that these scores do not reflect the entire voting record of each respective Congress, as they are published sometime before the Congress in session officially ends. Additionally, the total count of representatives during both sessions each exceed 435 due to replacements with special elections. Three women of color died during the 110th Congresses and several representatives were appointed to the positions within the Obama administration, e.g. Hilda Solis who became Secretary of Labor in February 2009.

House votes that the Leadership Conference used to calculate the 110th Congress scores regarded legislation on the following issues: discriminatory pay (Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act); increase in the federal minimum wage; and upholding the illegality of English-only language policies in the workplace; whether states and localities should be excluded from appropriations in a Homeland Security bill if they have restrictions on sharing an individual's immigration status with the federal government; affirmative action for defense contracts other civil rights issues; budget increase for domestic programs including CHIP; enhancing federal response to hate crimes on the basis of race, religion, gender, etc.; The scores for the 111th Congress were based on votes again from the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act and hate crimes; unemployment benefits extension; court-ordered mortgage re-modification; and economic recovery. Aside from the civil rights issues stated, LCCR also considered other civil rights issues that are not necessarily directly pertinent for people of color, e.g. rights or the physically disabled.

The scores for each U.S. representative for both Congresses were organized in a table database for every member of Congress by state, party, gender, and race; and are

thus searchable by these fields or by any combination of these fields. While this database of scores for all 535+ members is lengthy, it was purposely included in the appendix, not only for reference, but to aid further research should any reader decide to continue investigating this topic. Regression and further analysis could be calculated to determine correlations between state or region, party, race, gender, etc.

Committee Leadership and Membership

The committee assignments for these congresswomen of color during these past sessions were found through the *SourceWatch* program maintained by the Center for Media and Democracy, a nonprofit research and watchdog group, and were cross-listed with data from the *Women in Congress* website maintained by the Clerk's Office of History and Preservation. The Office of the Clerk kept record only of their previous subcommittee and committee chairmanships for this period, but not their total committee assignments. When these sources were incomplete, personal correspondence with congressional offices in D.C. provided more information. A full listing of these committee assignments can be found in the appendix. While the committee assignments varied widely for the congresswomen of color considered, it was important to have this information in order to draw connections between where and how they focused their policy efforts for the issues that they chose. Leadership was also measured by leader-follower scores, developed by *GovTrack*. These scores simply represent the instances where one member of Congress can get co-sponsors for the legislation he or she sponsors, without having to return the favor of cosponsoring others' legislation. The premise behind this measure is that leaders can expect support without having to

reciprocate, and that followers can expect the reverse relationship. Josh Tauberer, inventor of the leader-follower score, explains his calculation,

“To compute a leader-follower score for representative X, make a table that lists all other representatives. On each row put the following: the number bills sponsored by X and cosponsored by the representative in that row divided by the number of bills sponsored by the representative in that row and cosponsored by X. The higher the number, the more times others are cosponsoring X’s bills without X returning the favor. Then take the logarithm of each number, and then the mean” (Tauberer 2011).

It should be noted that these scores may be affected by other variables and situations, i.e. a member of Congress who sponsors a lot of his own honorary, non-substantive resolutions may have a higher score than average members who focus more on substantive legislation. Surely this example would not qualify the former congressperson as more of a legislative leader than the latter member.

Policy Impact

Voting records and sponsored legislation only reveal a small amount of the influence that congresswomen of color yield, so the impacts analyzed are examples from the two sessions of Congress between 2007 and 2010, most of which derive from qualitative research on extra-legislative activity and committee hearings. The examples assessed were those where most information was available and were more significant during this period. These impact examples are only a sample, and do not represent every single issue that congresswomen of color took up and made progress on simply because of time restrictions on this project. Again, mostly primary sources were used because of what was available publicly, and an understanding of the institutional workings of

Congress guides the analysis and attempts connect the dots that the available information leaves.

In analyzing the policy impact of women, part of the difficulty was finding source material other than primary sources. Most of the information was gathered from members' websites and databases of their public statements and press releases, but surely this provided a flattering self-reporting of their work. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the mainstream media and academia fails to adequately represent the work of congresswomen of color, therefore sources were limited. However, for a disinterested analysis, the sustained "work" they yielded, or attempted to yield, a policy impact through specific actions were prioritized in the analysis. On the other hand, activity without direct consequence, i.e. commenting in hearings, position-stating and credit-claiming, were considered indirect policy impact, and are also analyzed, although to a lesser extent than examples of direct policy impact. These types of communications are important in that they provide information about what the congresswoman values and wants others to recognize, and can have an indirect policy impact. Sustained activity towards a particular activity was determined by scouring their press releases and speeches for multiple updates about their progress over time (during 2007 to 2010).

Analysis: Preview

A Brief History of Women of Color in Congress

In 1964, the late Rep. Patsy Mink of Hawaii, a Japanese-American Democrat, became the first woman of color elected to Congress. To compare, the very first woman elected to Congress was Rep. Jeannette Rankin, a Republican from Montana who served from 1917 to 1919 and again from 1941-1943. Since Rep. Mink's election, 44 women of color have held seats as voting legislators in Congress (nonvoting delegates are excluded from this total). Forty-three of these women served in the House of Representatives, while only one, Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, served as a U.S. Senator for one term from 1993 to 1999. Four years after Rep. Mink's historic election, Shirley Chisholm of New York won election to the House, becoming the first Black American woman to serve in Congress. As of the 112th Congress, thirty Black American women have served as U.S. Representatives. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida became the first Hispanic-American woman elected to Congress and began serving in 1989 (during the 110th and 111th sessions of Congress, she was the only Republican woman of color in Congress). Seven other Hispanic-American women in the House of Representatives follow her. After Congresswoman Mink, five other Asian American women have served in Congress (Manning 11). All of the Asian Pacific American congresswomen have been Japanese American until Judy Chu's recent election in 2009, when she became the first Chinese American woman elected to Congress. Refer to Appendix A for a complete listing of all women of color to have served Congress as of March 2011.

Important moments in the history of congresswomen of color occurred in the early 1990's (the elections of 1990 and 1992 or "the Year of the Woman") which brought

the total of women of color in Congress up to 10, the election of 1996 where five African American and Hispanic-American women won their first terms in the House, and the most recent election according to the time of writing—the 2010 election for the 112th Congress—where five more women of color were seated in the House for their first time. Twenty-six of the 44 women to who have ever served in Congress are still serving at the time of writing.

Early pioneers of women in color in Congress made their marks in the ranks of their party leadership, mostly, if not always, within the Democratic Caucus. Both Patsy Mink and Shirley Chisholm, the first Asian American and first Black American women in Congress, respectively, served as Secretary of the Democratic Caucus (Women in Congress). Since then, no other women of color have been elected to party leadership positions of that level or higher. Pioneers have also left an impressive record in terms of their policy impact and their political will. Patsy Mink left a legacy of promoting gender equality in education so much so that Title IX of Education Amendments of 1972 was named in her honor as the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act. This important piece of legislation prohibits gender discrimination in all education programs receiving federal financial assistance. Former Sen. Carol Moseley Braun, the only woman of color to have served as a U.S. Senator to date, has the distinction of being the first woman to unseat an incumbent senator.

A Profile of Congresswomen of Color during the 110th and 111th Congresses (2007-2010)

From January 2007 to December 2010, a total of 25 women of color served in the House of Representatives. Sixteen of these served during most of this period, while the

remaining members either left office before finishing their terms, began their first terms late during the congressional sessions to replace said members, or won their first terms outright for the 111th Congress.

Most of these women were first elected to Congress during a special election post-scandal or post-tragedy, or after the retirement of the previous representative, which occurs typically with freshman representatives. Representatives Juanita Millender-McDonald, Julia Carson, and Stephanie Tubbs Jones passed away in April and December of 2007 and August 2008 respectively. Rep. Marcia Fudge won Stephanie Tubbs Jones' seat after her death, while Laura Richardson succeeded Juanita Millender-McDonald in representing California's 37th district. Former Congressman Bob Matsui served California's 3rd then 5th districts until his death in 2005 and was succeeded by his wife, the currently serving Representative Doris Matsui. Judy Chu gained Hilda Solis' seat during a special election July 2009 after Solis was appointed Secretary of Labor in the Obama Administration. Rep. Millender-McDonald took over the vacated seat of convicted former Rep. Walter Tucker III (Black Americans in Congress 2007). Almost all of these congresswomen won the 2006 general elections and, as Table 1 indicates, were reelected easily in 2008, except for those three previously mentioned representatives who passed away due to medical complications during the 110th Congress.

While most entered Congress under typical conditions for a first-time win, some women of color stood out as exceptionally persistent fighters who overcame the odds to gain her seat. Congresswoman Donna Edwards of Maryland twice challenged incumbent Albert Wynn, who represented the 4th congressional district for almost 15 years, and finally unseated him during the 2008 Democratic primary, taking 60 percent to his 35

percent of the vote (Helderman 2008). After her primary victory, Wynn retired early before the end of his term, leaving her to win the special election with 81 percent of the vote (Maryland State Board of Elections 2008), and the following general election with 85 percent of the vote (Miller 2008).

These congresswomen come from a variety of professions, most of which were previously educators, lawyers, and community activists. About half of them represent California, with most others representing New York, the northern Midwest, Florida and Texas. No congresswoman of color represented a district in the South (with the geographic exception of Florida which is not considered the South socially or historically) or in the central United States.

Table 1: Profile of Women of Color in the U.S. House (2007-2010)

Representative	District	Race	Yrs. In Office	Previous Profession	% of Vote ¹
Corrine Brown	FL-3	B	12	College Professor	100 (ran unopposed)
Julia Carson*	IN-7	B	11	Political Assistant	54
Judy Chu [^]	CA-32	A	1 ½	College Professor	62
Yvette Clarke	NY-11	B	4	Economic Development Specialist	89
Donna Edwards [^]	MD-4	B	2 ½	Attorney, Activist, Nonprofit Director	85
Marcia Fudge [^]	OH-11	B	2	Attorney, Budget Director	85
Mazie Hirono	HI-2	A	4	Attorney	70
Eddie Johnson	TX-30	B	17	Nurse, Therapist	83
Stephanie Tubbs Jones*	OH-11	B	9 ½	Attorney	83
Carolyn Kilpatrick	MI-13	B	13	High School Teacher,	74
Barbara Lee	CA-9	B	11 ½	Social Worker	86
Sheila Jackson Lee	TX-18	B	15	Attorney, Municipal Judge	77
Doris Matsui	CA-5	A	5	Political Assistant	74
Juanita Millender-McDonald*	CA-37	B	11	High School Teacher, Nonprofit Director	82
Gwendolynne Moore	WI-4	B	5	Community Organizer, Development Specialist	71
Grace Napolitano	CA-38	H	11	Legal Secretary	82
Laura Richardson	CA-37	B	4	Printing Executive	75
<i>Ileana Ros-Lehtinen</i>	FL-18	H	11	Elementary School Teacher/Director	58
Lucille Roybal-Allard	CA-34	H	7	Public Relations Officer, Fundraiser	77
Linda Sánchez	CA-39	H	7	Attorney, Union Officer	70
Loretta Sanchez	CA-47	H	7	Financial Manager	69
Hilda Solis	CA-32	H	8	Political Assistant	99.99 (unopposed)
Nydia Velázquez	NY-12	H	17	College Professor	90
Maxine Waters	CA-35	B	17	Political Assistant	83
Diane Watson	CA-33	B	7	College Professor	88

Key: *=Served during only a portion of the 110th Congress; ^=Began serving during the 111th Congress
Republican names are italicized; Democrat names are unformatted
 A=Asian; B=Black; H=Hispanic (non-white)

“District” reflects the last district the member served; some members served different districts roughly covering the same general geographic area due to redistricting that occurred during their tenure. “Years in Office” indicates the length of member’s house tenure by the end of the 111th Congress. “Percent of vote” is based on the last general election the member won to serve in either Congress, or the last special election won if member did not run in a general election. Elections that took place in November 2010 were not considered since they are relevant for the 112th Congress, and are outside of the period that this thesis discusses.
¹Election information was obtained from the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Congressional Quarterly, Inc., except Rep. Chu’s special election results, which were too late to be included in the Clerk’s compilation (see bibliography). “Previous profession” and “Years in Office” are easily accessible through the biography sections of each member’s official House websites.

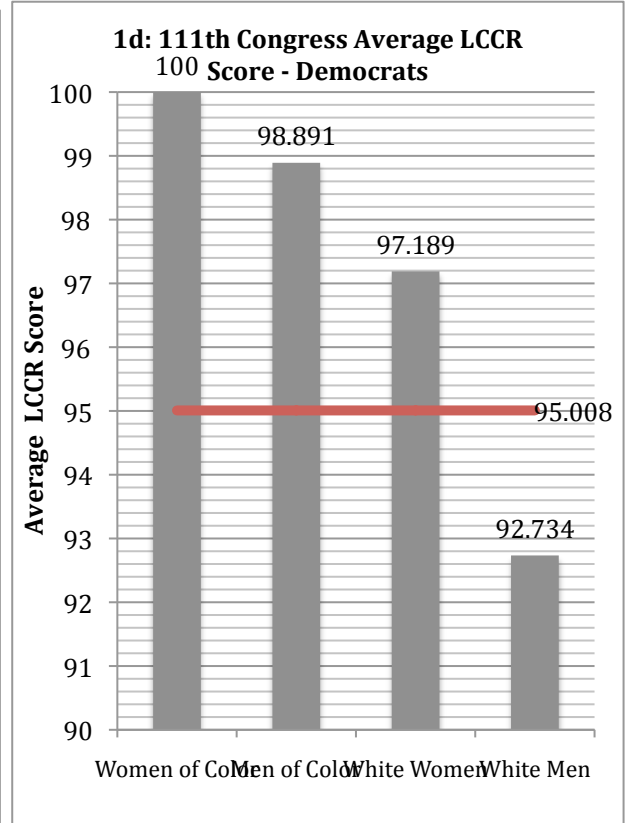
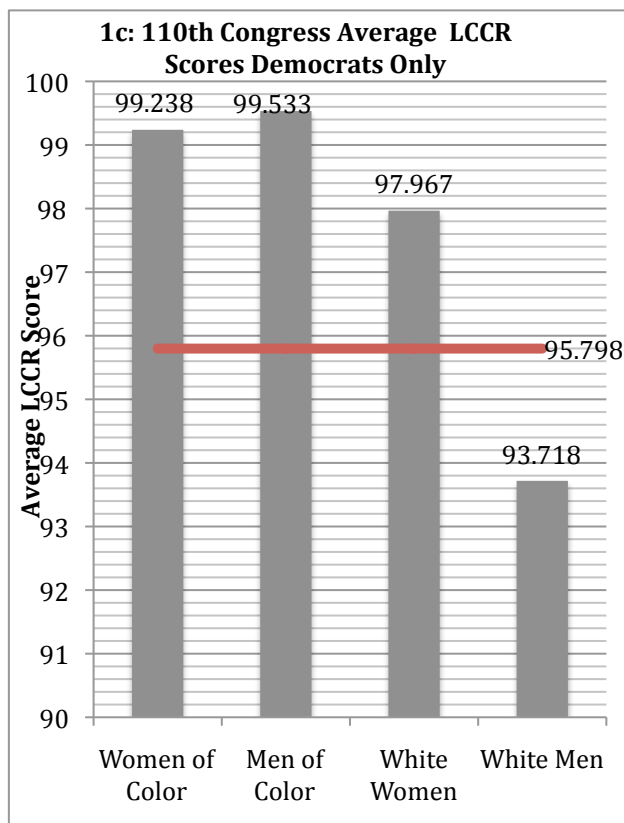
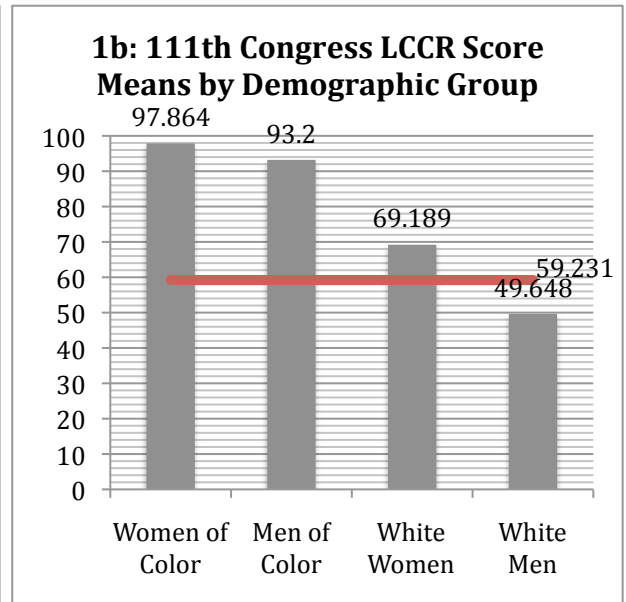
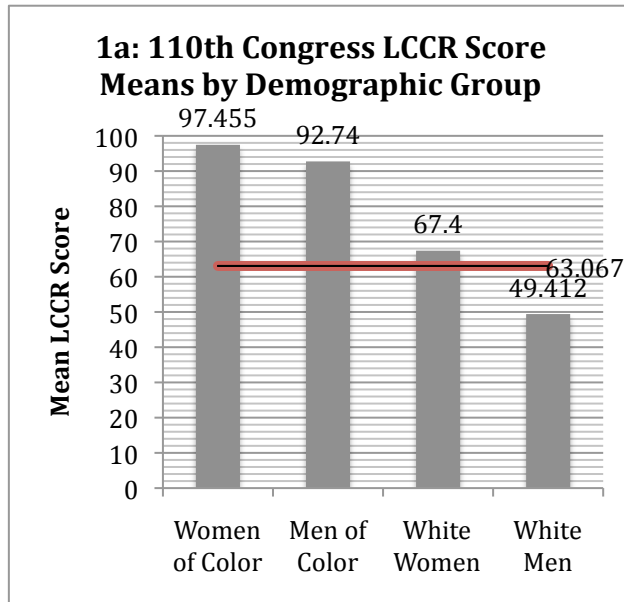
Analysis: Where Women of Color Stand

Surprisingly, there is a subtle difference between LCCR scores for men and women of color according to Figures 1a and 1b. During both sessions, congressmen of color as a whole were about 5% less supportive of the civil rights agenda than were congresswomen of color. Alternatively, Figures 1c and 1d show that this difference is almost fully eliminated when comparing only Democrat congressmen and congresswomen of color. However, this is only based on roll call votes and is not reflective of all the substantive activity that a member of the House performs for her or his constituents; other records and analysis might show a distinct gender difference in policy action within members of color. Expectedly, most Democrats' scores were nearly perfect while most Republicans scored 0, 13 or in the 20's. The LCCR report suggests that this score polarization is due to highly partisan times. This seems the case generally, yet there are some very rare exceptions where Republicans scored much higher than Democrats.

Women of color as a whole have a clear lead over the other demographic groupings in their civil rights voting record for both sessions depicted. However, party may account for the significant difference in women of color scores, since only one of these are Republican—Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. There is more party diversity in the other demographic groupings. Because of the obvious difference between Republican and Democrat civil rights record, it is only useful to look at each of the above demographic groups within the Democratic Party.

The mean scores of congresswomen of color are very sensitive to Rep. Ros-Lehtinen's inclusion since there are few congresswomen of color in the 110th Congress.

Figures 1a-1d: LCCR Score Charts for the 110th and 111th Congress



The single horizontal line across each chart indicates the mean for the sample represented

When disregarding her score, the mean for congresswomen of color shows that the rest received a “perfect score” of 100. Still, rather than write Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen off simply as an outlier, this serves as an illustration that people of color, and most surely representatives of color, are not monolithic. At the same time, Rep. Ros-Lehtinen and almost all Republican congressmen of color that are Cuban-Americans.

While every Democrat congresswoman of color had a perfect LCCR score, a few men of color scored a little less than perfect; and even fewer white women scored perfectly. Yet, the differences among these three groups are almost negligible. Again, the greatest difference between score averages among these four groups is between women of color scores and white men. Additionally, white Democrat congressmen on average score noticeably lower than the average Democrat in Congress. These averages must still be taken with a grain of salt, since they are based on a small sample of civil rights-related votes from only one session of Congress. A perfect LCCR score, as most women of color achieved, does not suggest that such member has always had a perfect record, or is a perfect advocate for civil rights since each session introduces a small number of the myriad issues in the civil rights agenda.

Because of the lack of diversity in scores, a regression was attempted but a variable could not be found to explain the scores of women of color. Since almost all congresswomen of color scored a perfect 100, the percentage of minorities in district populations did not seem relevant and was clearly expressed in a regression attempt. Swain’s past work comparing LCCR scores across Congress with district demographics found that “the higher the percentage of blacks [in a district’s population], the greater the support for redistributive policies” in accordance with black interests, but that “regardless of the percentage of blacks in their districts, almost all white Democrats are

supportive of black interests” (Swain 1995, 15-17). These findings coupled with the data on women of color’s LCCR scores do not conclude that the minority populations cause members to pursue the interests of people of color, but only conclude that they are correlated. While all of the women color served majority-minority districts of varying percentages, their LCCR scores only differed according to party. Rep. Lehtinen, the only Republican congresswoman of color during this period, and the only congresswoman of color with a score less than 100, received an LCCR score of 60 for the 110th session and 53 for the 111th session.

Analysis: How Congresswomen of Color Lead

Where the previous chapter discussed the issues and policies that women of color in Congress supported and took interest in, this chapter on leadership will detail the national policies and issue areas that they actively lead and pursue, assess how barriers facing this particular group affect their ability to lead, list what formal leadership positions they hold in Congress, and both sketch how these positions enable their abilities and suggest how they are able to lead regardless of the lack of formal leadership positions that they hold.

At times during the 110th and 111th Congresses, women of color made their mark in Congress in the most usual ways, e.g. proposing legislation and calling on hearings, but also made an indelible impact through lesser known mediums of congressional power. In particular, some of the women studied most effectively shaped policy through invoking their powers of oversight regarding the executive branch and engaging directly with federal agencies to criticize and improve their policies. In this chapter, reasons will be suggested to explain this behavior. In the following paragraphs, the committee assignments, leader-follower scores and caucus memberships are analyzed.

Legislative Leaders or Followers?

First and foremost, most members of the lower chamber are “followers” in a legislative sense by comprising the rank-and-file membership of either party. It is just not practical or even feasible for each member in a chamber so large to lead (sponsor and get cosponsors for) a substantial number or share of meaningful legislation through every session of Congress without having to cosponsor the legislation of other members

of Congress. The leader-follower scores reflect this reality, since the mean score for Congress as a whole is -0.027 with a standard deviation of 0.142. These scores simply represent the instances where one member of congress can get co-sponsors for the legislation he or she sponsors, without having to return the favor of cosponsoring others' legislation. Leader-Follower scores were only available for those who served during the 111th Congress, omitting the three representatives who passed away before they could finish their terms in the 110th session. While this new measure provides an interesting way to quickly compare the behavior of members of Congress leader-follower scores should be taken with perhaps several grains of salt since there are multiple confounding variables that could affect these scores, such as members who do not sponsor much of their own legislation, e.g. Nancy Pelosi - Speaker of the House during the 111th session of Congress, but still heavily influence the legislative process.

While the average leader-follower score for a congresswoman of color (-0.069) is slightly lower than the Congress-wide average (-0.027), Table 2 shows that there is a surprising proportion of congresswomen of color whose scores place them in the upper percentiles of Congress-wide scores. Those nine congresswomen whose scores are in the upper half of the 111th Congress are bolded. The sole Republican congresswoman of color, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, scores the highest, which lands her in the (roughly) top 2 percent of leaders according to this measure. The bulk of the high scoring congresswomen were representatives from California, and more than half of

Table 2: Leader-Follower Scores for Congresswomen of Color (111th Congress)

Representative	State	Race	L-F Score	Standard Score (stat z)	stat pctile
Corrine Brown	FL	B	-0.247	-1.54	0.036
Judy Chu	CA	A	-0.232	-1.44	0.046
Yvette Clarke	NY	B	-0.091	-0.45	0.332
Donna Edwards	MD	B	-0.108	-0.57	0.272
Marcia Fudge	OH	B	-0.187	-1.12	0.101
Mazie Hirono	HI	A	-0.217	-1.33	0.064
Eddie Johnson	TX	B	-0.164	-0.96	0.140
Carolyn Kilpatrick	MI	B	-0.312	-2.00	0.012
Barbara Lee	CA	B	-0.041	-0.09	0.512
Sheila Jackson Lee	TX	B	-0.185	-1.11	0.102
Doris Matsui	CA	A	0.001	0.19	0.620
Gwendolynne Moore	WI	B	-0.049	-0.15	0.472
Grace Napolitano	CA	H	-0.221	-1.36	0.057
Laura Richardson	CA	B	-0.379	-2.47	0.001
<i>Ileana Ros-Lehtinen</i>	FL	H	0.480	3.56	0.978
Lucille Roybal-Allard	CA	H	0.056	0.58	0.732
Linda Sánchez	CA	H	-0.018	0.06	0.575
Loretta Sanchez	CA	H	0.156	1.28	0.862
Hilda Solis	CA	H	0.164	1.33	0.877
Nydia Velázquez	NY	H	-0.138	-0.78	0.196
Maxine Waters	CA	B	0.181	1.46	0.884
Diane Watson	CA	B	0.042	0.47	0.711

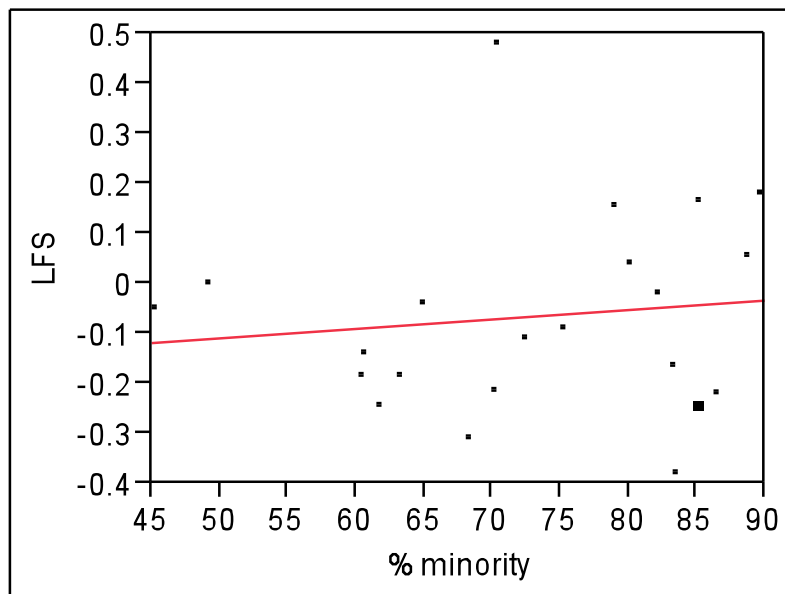
these congresswomen were Hispanic-American. In fact all except one Hispanic-American congresswomen scored higher than half of Congress, while one-third of Black-American and Asian-American congresswomen scored in a high percentile.

Do District Demographic Features Affect Legislative Leadership?

One might be curious of whether the percentage of people of color in a district's population affects a member's willingness, or the strength of their perceived mandate to

lead legislation affecting minority issues. In other words, would a congresswoman representing a majority-minority district where people of color form an overwhelming majority be more likely to spearhead legislation especially important for people of color than a congresswoman with fewer peoples of color?

Figure 2: An Attempted Bi-variate “Fit” of Leader-Follower Scores of Congresswomen of Color during the 111th Session by Minority Percentage in District Populations



Linear Fit: $LFS = -0.209048 + 0.0019265 * \% \text{ minority}$ $RSquare = 0.015503$

According to Figure 2, there appears to be no conclusive mathematical relationship between a congressional district’s percent minority communities and whether its congresswoman of color is a legislative leader or follower, but perhaps a larger sample will yield a closer fit. While almost all of the districts represented by congresswomen of color are majority-minority (majority non-white), there is significant variance in the minority percentages of these districts yet there is still no relationship within this segment of the data. Moreover, the lack of this relationship suggests that district demographic features may affect what causes these congresswomen support but

they are not indicators of how successful they actually are in leading on policymaking to address these causes, at least in the sense of shepherding legislation. Instead, institutional factors (such as formal leadership positions, seniority or length of tenure in Congress, etc.) could be better indicators of how a member of Congress is a legislative leader or follower.

Leadership via Committee Legislation

Committees are the vehicles through which representatives legislate, and leadership within committees and subcommittees provide authority and a position to call for hearings and approve legislation. Since Congress is structured to make it easier to propose legislation on a given topic when one belongs to a related committee, women of color have utilized their committee membership and leadership for traditional legislating and as a platform for reaching out to federal regulatory agencies and commissions. Rep. Maxine Waters (CA-35), one of the two most senior congresswomen of color still serving (along with Rep. Nydia Velázquez), stands out as a representative who effectually takes advantage of her congressional authority and seniority to initiate and substantially amend important pieces of legislation. As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, she advocated for a focused social justice agenda during this period. She tailored her efforts to advocating for diversity in employment, licensing, programming and corporate leadership in the telecommunications and financial services industries, expressing that hand-outs are appreciated but are not nearly as right, just, and effective as creating diversity and equity in all levels of industry.

Upward Mobility

In her press releases and speeches, Rep. Laura Richardson (CA-37) often mentioned her youth and speedy mobility through the ranks in politics. In fact, she is distinguished for serving at the local, state and federal levels all within a three-year period. Fewer than three years after entering Congress in 2007, Rep. Richardson became Chairwoman of the Homeland Security Subcommittee on Emergency Communications and Preparedness, a critical launching pad for building preparedness to the Gulf region after the Hurricane Katrina and the Deepwater Horizon disaster, and for the protection of her own state and other important ports in the United States. An explanation for her upward mobility was never found through preliminary research, but further investigation may suggest some possible answers.

Leadership Style

According to her official House website, Rep. Maxine Waters “had already attracted national attention for her no-nonsense, no-holds-barred style of politics” well before her election to Congress in 1990 (Clayton 2003). African American women and other women of color sometimes face a “double disadvantage” (gender and race) while seeking office. This also leads them to adopt different leadership styles while in office in order to cope with this environment. This ‘no-nonsense’ disposition is frequently the case both historically and currently for women of color. Shirley Chisholm, Patsy Mink and other notable women of color have this in common.

This effect is not only in their personalities, but also in their strategy as legislators and politicians. Rep. Patsy Mink, the first woman of color in Congress, refused to be

victimized and play to the agenda of the establishment, even that of the relatively liberal Democratic Party at the time. Rep. Mink “ran without the blessing of the state Democratic Party leadership, raising campaign funds largely in small individual contributions. Throughout her career, Mink never had a warm relationship with the state leaders of her party; she attributed their lack of support to her unwillingness to allow the party to influence her political agenda” (Women in Congress (II) 2007).

Extra-Legislative Activity: Influencing the Executive Branch

The role of legislator is only one of several hats that members of Congress wear. The low count of successful substantive bills (on nationally significant matters) sponsored by some congresswomen of color might on the surface suggest that they do not accomplish much as policymakers. In fact, the opposite is true. While some of the legislation they introduce is sometimes incorporated into more comprehensive legislation, through a qualitative observation of their extra-legislative activity (particularly through their interactions with the departments and independent agencies) it becomes clear that congresswomen of color often shift their legislative pursuits to scrutinizing and pressuring the executive branch and by further promoting inclusive policymaking and public interest considerations through public outreach. These mechanisms bring their policymaking skills outside the confines of the often slow, weighted legislative process. The following analysis section shows how women of color during this period often turned their attention to the executive department in order to progress their national policy initiatives.

Analysis: Policy Impact (2007-2010)

Using this understanding of how congresswomen of color maneuver through Congress and utilize the resources at their disposal, this qualitative analysis considers a handful of policy issues that all reached their climax between the 110th and the 111th sessions of Congress. Policy takes years to formulate, so some issues that arise during this period are not fully settled by the cut-off date of the analysis. However, important steps along the way where congresswomen of color were critical will be highlighted and analyzed. From 2007-2010, women of color in Congress adopted some of the period's most dynamic and significant issues faced by people of color, low-income populations, and women in America, all of which are issues that have an important impact on Americans at large as well. These include the housing crisis; technology issues such as net neutrality and broadband access; diversity in employment and business opportunity; and the restriction banning foreigners infected with HIV from entering the United States. Other major matters where congresswomen of color played an instrumental role include comprehensive healthcare reform, the DREAM Act, and the social, physical, and political devastation in Haiti; all of which were extremely complex and required background explanations too lengthy to fit within this project.

Net Neutrality

Particularly important for people of color during the 110th and 111th Congresses were the formation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Net Neutrality rules and progress towards universal broadband internet access. The general goal of net

neutrality policy is that service providers treat all uses of the internet equally, thereby upholding consumer access to legal web content. Threats to this unrestricted access stem from competition between internet service providers and companies offering similar content, and competing online search engines that could position search results in favor of their own interests and other forms of online discrimination, thereby inhibiting pure information access and choice by end-users, and their consumer protection. An example where corporate competition threatens consumer access include where Comcast, an internet service provider who provides online movie rental to customers, attempting to block or charge a fee to allow Netflix online movie-viewing, whose service competes with their own. Policy goals addressing this and directing the FCC to action was articulated by H.R. 5353 “Internet Freedom Preservation Act of 2008” a bill introduced by Reps. Markey and Pickering, but no other legislative action was taken after subcommittee hearings in February 2008. By the end of December 2010, the FCC approved rules banning the above sort of action, but these only pertained to fixed broadband use, not mobile broadband internet use, which a significant proportion of Americans of color and low-income citizens rely on as their only source of internet access. According to Rep. Waters, “The rules approved by the FCC would not protect these communities if a wireless broadband service provider decides to block any application or service that is not a voice/video communications service. In effect, consumers of color, who are more dependent on wireless broadband to access the Internet, would have less governmental protection than Americans who can afford both wired and wireless connections.” Adding to her frankly worded press release, Rep. Maxine Waters claims,

“At the beginning of the year, I wrote the FCC, supporting its efforts to establish sensible guidelines to ensure that the Internet remains an open and vibrant platform for creativity and innovation. Unfortunately, in the year since the Commission set an agenda to adopt net neutrality rules, confusion and misinformation have overshadowed the Commission’s original intent. I am concerned that the rules adopted today are insufficient and harmful to many American consumers, reflecting immense pressure on the FCC from the telecommunications industry and Congressional Republicans, who by and large oppose any open Internet policies” (Waters 2010).

While some of Rep. Waters’ efforts regarding net neutrality were not completely successful, another congresswoman of color positively influenced net neutrality policy in the interest of people of color and low-income populations. Doris Matsui also aimed to protect vulnerable populations from potential disadvantages from the FCC net’s policy, but from a subtler angle avoiding any mention of race or ethnicity, or equity between peoples of different colors and backgrounds. Teaming with fellow Representatives Anna Eshoo and Ed Markey, she urged the FCC to protect “community anchor institutions” from suffering limited internet access due to pay-for-priority practices by service providers (Matsui, Markey, and Eshoo 2010). ‘Community anchor institutions’ include schools, libraries, and community colleges, places where all members of the community including people without internet access at home (lower income populations, some people of color) depend on for free broadband access to search and prepare for jobs, education and research. Rep. Matsui added that this public access is integral to the nation’s economic growth. She framed the issue in purely economic access terminology instead of equality of opportunity for people of color, as Hispanic or Black American members of Congress more typically say. As previously mentioned, this occurs frequently with Asian American elected officials in an assumed awkward “gray” area of not being white, and yet possessing some but not all features that other people of color in America have. For this reason, Asian American congresswomen project a mainstream

approach in campaigning and policymaking (Lai et. al. 2001). Afterwards, similar language addressing that issue was ultimately included in the FCC's published rules in December 2010 (Federal Communications Commission 2010).

Broadband Access

In addition to protecting net neutrality, Representative Doris Matsui has emerged as a congressional bastion for expanding telephony access to disadvantaged or vulnerable populations. In September 2009, she introduced H.R. 3646, the Broadband Affordability Act, to expand the Universal Fund Lifeline Assistance Program (providing discounts for primary home or wireless telephone bills for the income-eligible) towards universal broadband adoption. This broadband is also useful for other services beyond telephony, such as home internet access via Ethernet. She emphasizes the significant motivations for these efforts,

“Unfortunately, millions of Americans, particularly in these tough economic times, simply can’t afford the cost associated with in-home broadband service. As a result, they are at a competitive disadvantage when it comes to employment, education, and other opportunities. So we are seeing more and more disabled Americans, seniors, and teenagers traveling several miles to their nearest community center or library, just to get online. We know that broadband adoption rates are largely associated with income levels, and the cost of broadband services continues to be a barrier for hard-working families” (Matsui 2010).

Although this bill was never passed and signed into law, some of her ideas within this bill were turned into real policy through shifting her efforts outside of the legislative branch and again to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), an independent agency whose commissioners are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate—it is worth noting that this independent agency is not fully so, but is in some

ways an extension of the President's priorities. It should also be noted that the FCC has been criticized multiple times in the past for disregarding diversity in their policies, i.e. loosening transparency standards in communication organizations' staffing diversity numbers. It is possible that this reputation makes the FCC a target for several congresswomen of color to scrutinize and influence, and reverse their course of action in the interest of people of color and economically disadvantaged populations in the United States. Finally, in the spirit of Rep. Matsui's H.R. 3646, the National Broadband Plan recommended that the FCC expand the Lifeline Assistance and Link-Up America programs "to make broadband more affordable for low-income households," to work with states to "require eligible telecommunications carriers (ETCs) to permit Lifeline customers to apply Lifeline discounts to any service or package that includes basic voice service," to "integrate the expanded Lifeline and Link-Up programs with other state and local e-government efforts," and to "facilitate pilot programs" (Federal Communications Commission (II) 2010, 172). While these are all positive recommendations, they do not specifically or certainly direct the FCC to ensure *universal* broadband adoption, nor does it specifically reference universal broadband adoption with regards to Lifeline customers. Moreover, the FCC's National Broadband Plan is not enforceable law, but is a set of guidelines and suggestions to urge coordination among other public and private organizations.

Comcast Corporation-NBC Universal Merger and Diversity

Another significant event in the telecommunications industry- the \$28 billion merger of Comcast and NBC- provoked a response from congresswomen of color, colored by their own experiences and understanding as people of color and their representation of people of color. According to the merger agreement, Comcast would own the NBC and Telemundo networks, 26 local broadcast television stations, Universal Studios and its associated theme parks, and NBC's online content (House Judiciary Committee 2010). Since the merger of these companies would make Comcast an even larger television and internet giant in the United States (and in control of , it became even more critical that (1) Comcast uphold diversity standards in their hiring, licensing, and programming practices and (2) provides quality service to communities of color, and (3) that the merger does not lessen competition or result in a monopoly (Waters 2010). Comcast Corporation would have much power and capacity to have a positive social impact, and the merger approval process could pressure them to do this.

Previously, both Comcast and NBC have given watered-down concessions to consumers and telecommunications professionals of color. For example, after NBC purchased Telemundo, the popular Spanish-language network, the networked promised more local news but delivered "cheap... phoned-in canned coverage with an insert or two of actual local news, and pledged a new Telemundo channel but aired only re-runs on this channel and did not provide opportunities for new Hispanic shows, actors and producers (Tady 2010).

Rep. Maxine Waters, an African American congresswoman from California - home to a large part of America's media and entertainment industry, addressed these

issues by pushing the Federal Communications Commission to put more pressure on Comcast. While she submitted that competition would be protected by legal obligations through antitrust law, she still pressed for diversity obligations based on the virtues of social responsibility and the precedent of diversity standards. Perhaps because existing legislation fell short for the interests of people of color, and since the then-ongoing merger made the matter time-sensitive for introducing relating legislation, she directed her efforts once again to the federal agencies and departments. Rep. Waters recognized this opportunity to fulfill her responsibility to the American people, especially to those of color: that the scope of the “FCC’s process allows for a more comprehensive public interest analysis” of the merger beyond what is statutorily required (Waters 2010). By pressuring the executive department and stressing inclusive policymaking with the input of the public, she hoped to ensure that Comcast and NBC “meaningfully involve and create opportunities for women and minorities in executive leadership, management, advertising, and programming” (Waters 2010). Throughout the second half of 2010, evidence of her efforts derive from the Congresswoman’s own official updates in the form of press releases and committee hearing remarks, Philadelphia news articles (where Comcast is headquartered), and letters to the FCC, Comcast, NBC, and the Department of Justice (Waters 2010, Fernandez 2010). Through the House Committee on the Judiciary, Rep. Waters held a public field hearing in Los Angeles on June 7 2010 to discuss diversity issues, but she was not the sole member of Congress addressing these issues; Rep. Bobby Rush (IL-1) pressed for a field hearing in Chicago and made other remarks in committee on this very issue.

During the hearing in California, Representative Maxine Waters outlined the importance of Congress’ insertion in the merger, and the significance of the impact she

hoped to have in the process. On the basis of why she chose to focus on this issue, she boldly declared,

“We [Congress and the public,] didn’t hear from [Comcast and NBC] prior to the expansion of the comment period, that they were thinking about opening up opportunities, that they had a plan, and ... one of them asked a question, ‘Why are you just doing this to us? Why don’t you look at some of these other media giants?’ [I responded,] You are before us, asking for a merger now. You give us an opportunity to raise these questions. And that is why. Because you want the FCC and the Department of Justice to rule in your favor, and so you give us the opportunity to raise a lot of questions about who you are, and what you do” (House Judiciary Committee 2010, 187).

In regards to the comment period, she felt that the merger approval process was being rushed and successfully pressured the federal government to prolong the comment period through filing formal legislation content. She added that her primary motivation was to undo the “systemic exclusion” that kept people of color from accessing more (and higher-level) employment and licensing opportunity and quality service and programming specially relevant to people of color from the industry (House Judiciary Committee 2010, 186), which in turn was one of many examples in American society why some people of color cannot earn the wealth parity of white Americans, generation after generation. Continuing in her frank, no-nonsense manner, Congresswoman Waters defined what quality inclusion and diversity should be in the Comcast-NBC Merger:

“If you are telling me how many janitors you are hiring, how many clerks you are hiring, that is not good enough. We know that we can always get some numbers at that lower level. So having said that, let’s just understand each other. This is about ownership. This is about programming. This is about executive management. This is about advertising. And again, let me reiterate, it is not about donations to the NAACP, the Urban League. Keep on donating. They need the money. *But that does not do what we need to have done in opening up these opportunities where there is systemic exclusion, which keeps our communities and our people poor, and keep them from being able to gather the kind of wealth that they should be able to accumulate in America*” (House Judiciary Committee 2010, 189).

While she expressed these and other important issues and policy considerations, this was the first (and only) hearing she held about the issue, and she did not put forth specific goals that she wanted the merger to meet. Of course, this is not her sole responsibility, nor would it be even feasible, to author all of the diversity standards that Comcast Corporation would follow. Still, Rep. Waters could have been more specific in her communication with the FCC and with the public, or at least push the FCC to explain exactly how Comcast could appropriately meet diversity standards by giving figures, numbers, and examples instead of giving vague suggestions and leaving the decisions to be made solely through concessions that Comcast would give to minority media associations.

Ultimately, Comcast-NBCU's diversity commitments established external Diversity Advisory councils to advise the actual organization, made plans to make plans and benchmark evaluations related to diversity, created annual reports to four minority organizations, committed to increase recruitment and "promotion potential" of current employees in all areas of the corporation, committed to having at least one person of color included in candidate pools for vice president level positions and above, and promised to increase support for minority internships and scholarship programs (Comcast-NBCU 2010). Comcast-NBCU also agreed to spend an extra \$7 million to advertise with minority-owned media, and to be more sensitive to minority ownership issues, among a variety of other programming plans. While these are all generally good goals, most are not specific or are weak in their stipulations. The advisory councils would consist of people of color, but would only meet at two times per year at the least and would only provide advice that Comcast would or would not use towards devising

strategic plan, which would be designed only by Comcast without the guaranteed input of the diversity councils. None of the strategic plan's detailed numeric goals were determined as part of this merger, so the promise of a strategic plan regarding diversity is empty as it stands. Save a few exceptions, none of these promises regarding the staffing issues - that Rep. Waters found most important - are guaranteed or specific.

Due to the mixed results and different perspectives on diversity standards, the policy impact of Congresswoman Waters' efforts is not absolutely certain. In the end, Congresswoman Waters was not fully satisfied with the outcomes of the merger agreement. In a January 2011 statement, she cited "the failure of either agency – particularly the FCC – to craft substantive conditions that are in conformity with established precedent and standards on media diversity and localism" (Waters 2011).

In contrast, Hilary Shelton, Senior Vice President for Advocacy for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a well-known, leading civil rights organization in the U.S., believed that the merger would be "good for diversity," mentioning that "Comcast/NBCU has laid out a plan to create 10 new independent cable networks (eight of which will primarily serve or be owned by minorities), as well as a \$20 million venture to help support new minority media and technology entrepreneurs, the first of its kind from the private sector" among other commitments (Shelton 2011). The National Urban League and National Action Network, two other important civil rights groups, also supported the merger, however these large organizations receive donations from Comcast, and this may color their approval of the merger. Also a possible explanation for the ambiguity of Comcast's diversity policy is fear of blacklisting or other retaliation if independent and minority programmers, producers, writers, and directors voiced their concerns, a fear suggested by Congresswoman Waters

(House Judiciary Committee 2010, 4). Rep. Judy Chu (D-CA), fellow congresswoman of color and member of the Judiciary Committee, questioned Comcast about the varying prices and availability for cable packages with networks tailored for people of color, but these were not fully answered during the Los Angeles hearing. Still, she gave her formal approval once the merger was completed.

Legal Aid for the Mortgage Foreclosure Crisis

To combat the mortgage foreclosure crisis, congresswomen of color contributed to housing legislation with critical, thoughtful policy initiatives. One successful measure initiated by Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez provided grants and earmarks to fund and make more accessible legal counseling for low-income homeowners and tenants and those areas in the country that were most adversely affected by the housing foreclosure crisis. Initially in 2008, she introduced a bill, H.R. 5855, the Foreclosure Counseling Assistance Act, to provide “funding to increase legal counseling services for homeowners before and during delinquency and the foreclosure process” (Velázquez 2008). Through her efforts as a member of the Financial Services Committee, Rep. Velázquez’s initiative was incorporated in the House version of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act of 2008 and specifically requested a \$35 million grant program for legal counseling aid. The resulting public law made appropriations to counseling organizations that specifically service people of color and low-income homeowners (or areas where these demographic groups are concentrated) concerning “loss mitigation,” and provided earmarks to the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation (NRC) to award grants to “HUD-approved counseling intermediaries or to hire attorneys to assist homeowners

with legal issues directly related to the homeowner's foreclosure, delinquency or short sale,” while prohibiting the use of these funds for actual legal representation in litigation (Congressional Research Service 2008).

Her contribution was thoughtful and perhaps less obvious in the scheme of measures that would help address the housing crisis. While this policy initiative, like some others spear-headed by congresswomen of color, do not make front-page headlines, with some thought it becomes clear just how crucial and integral they are to greater good policymaking that arises from Congress. While it is those contentious or expensive issues that gain most attention, citizens should also be educated of the necessary policy contributions that unfortunately too often take the backstage. Also of note is that this portion of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act of 2008 specifically targeted people of color, or “minorities,” explicitly in its language, making it even clearer that people of color are a distinct priority in American policymaking, especially in terms of the housing crisis. While her original bill did not become law on its own (which occurs typically), its essence was powerfully captured in more comprehensive legislation that was successfully enacted.

Lifting the HIV Travel Restriction

Rep. Barbara Lee has vigorously taken on the multifaceted issue of HIV/Aids throughout her career, with the specific topic of eliminating the U.S. HIV travel ban reaching its climax during the two sessions this paper examines. This 22-year old policy first restricted foreigners knowingly infected with the virus from traveling into the United States in the late 1980’s, at a time when fear and lack of information about HIV

was prevalent in society, and was lifted by the President through policy change at the Department of Health and Human Services made effective in January 2010. Curiously, record of Barbara Lee's involvement in lifting the ban is almost completely excluded a news search about the restriction and its reversal, as if her efforts were irrelevant. In fact, she had begun well before the President took office. On August 2 2007, the HIV Nondiscrimination in Travel and Immigration Act of 2007 (H.R. 3337) was introduced to Congress and a few months later referred to the House Judiciary Committee and the Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law, after which no further House action was taken. Companion legislation under the same title was introduced by Sen. John Kerry and referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary at the end of the year, but the issue moved no farther through Congress.

While it is common for a much lesser member of Congress' work to be overshadowed by actual and effectual executive action taken by the President, it is still a disservice for the media to completely ignore important action taken by others a little lower on the political totem pole. An article informing readers about the travel restriction's progress would be incomplete without mentioning previous activity leading up to President Obama finally settling the matter. The only way one would know of her involvement would be to scour her website or to specifically do a congressional legislative search, i.e. the Congressional Quarterly database or THOMAS legislative search, on a whim since any legislative activity on the matter is also not evident through mainstream media records. Aside from her press releases, further information was found through an online search only when her name was included. Even then, small or local news outlets with the exception to the Huffington Post, which connected Lee and

Kerry's legislative efforts to the ban's ultimate repeal through the executive branch (Ralls 2010). Congresswoman Barbara Lee has also been vehemently pro-peace and advocated for pulling out of the war in Afghanistan, an effort that has clearly had no significant impact at the time of writing.

Conclusion

Findings

With regard to voting on minority interests and civil rights, congresswomen of color are slightly more supportive than congressmen of color across Congress, but share an almost identical record when only Democrats are considered. In general and within the Democratic Party, congresswomen of color voting behavior diverges most from white congressmen who are most conservative on civil rights of all demographic groups, and are significantly more supportive of civil rights than are white congresswomen. Congresswomen of color of course possess the same formal tools that any other member of Congress wields to fulfill their statutory duties, but from 2007-2010, they exhibited distinct behavior in the tools that they choose more often, and less often use the full legislative process. These more frequently utilized tools include scrutinizing and pressuring the executive branch and outreach to generate public comment and input, as Rep. Waters exhibited during the merger approval process for Comcast Corporation and NBC Universal. Committees provide some a general structure to organize members' work, but congresswomen of color creatively interpret their assignments to stretch their relevance; these women are adept at finding ways to use their committee assignments as vehicles for addressing substantive interests to people of color around the world, women, low-income Americans, and other groups. Women of color spend much of their efforts, and find varying degrees of success, in policy-making through influencing the executive branch as advocates, critics and advisers. While committees provide a platform for them to bring issues to Congress and the public, the bulk of the traditional legislative process is sometimes not an appropriate vehicle, or a likely successful vehicle, for congresswomen of color to meet the interests of the national (and international)

constituents, particularly including, but not limited to, people of color and women.

Women of color also adopt a no-nonsense, assertive and persistent style of policymaking, while legislating and interacting with the executive department.

Media content research and other qualitative analyses suggest that Congresswomen of color face more difficulty in gaining credit and attention for their efforts than the average member of congress. For example, after the HIV travel restriction was lifted, most of the media outlets branded the decision as solely President Obama's work, ignoring the efforts that Rep. Barbara Lee spear-headed for years prior to his presidency. While it is not uncommon for figures higher on the political totem pole to claim credit for the work of others, this example is a blatant illustration of how congresswomen of color are overlooked since her name was almost nowhere to be found in the media's representation of the issue, and to the detriment of public understanding and recognition of the real movers and shakers in the federal government.

The topics that congresswomen of color take up are, as expected, those issues that directly affect their respective congressional districts and constituents, issues, and important events that relate to their committee assignments, but they often additionally use a "women and minorities" perspective to further improve the quality of policy that Congress puts forth to the public. Their impact is this: their backgrounds and *modi operandi* improve the quality of legislation by considering the combined needs of people of color, women, low-income populations, and others, both domestic and foreign that the general public is unaware of or purposefully disregard (such as those HIV-infected foreigners that were denied entry into America). Nydia Velázquez's success in setting aside appropriations for legal aid during the mortgage foreclosure crisis suggests how her perspective as a woman of color from New York influenced her thoughtful and well-

considered policy initiative that understood the underlying mechanisms that support good decision-making of disadvantaged peoples, and that is in turn good for society at large. With a sensitivity to the dangers of overlooking disadvantaged peoples, congresswomen of color challenge fellow members of Congress and the American public to broaden their policy concerns to be more inclusive, comprehensive, just and compassionate.

Suggestions for Furthering Research

Without the limitations on time and lack of financial resources to travel, it would have been much more enriching and beneficial to visit members in person. Carol Swain, a renown scholar on people of color in Congress, used this to develop her work on Black representation in America, and even she had some difficulty in reaching a few representatives for her piece. She concluded, “participant observation allowed me... to question and interview representatives personally about their views, policies, and tactical approach while they were actually ‘at work,’ [discovering] links and connections that cannot be easily seen in statistics” (Swain 1995, 246). If this were possible for this paper, blind interviews, where subjects would not know the subject of this thesis, could help in getting the best quality information or, rather, the least pressured and least affected responses from the women of Congress this work considers.

It may or may not have been worth it to factor district demographics into this analysis. Gathering and organizing the percentage of minority residents in all members’ congressional districts turned out to be too tedious and time-consuming, and this time was better spent on information-gathering that was more immediately relevant to this

analysis. If this information becomes more readily available, it could be regressed against the members' LCCR scores (which were as equally tedious to extract from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights portable document formatted [pdf] reports). Again, in *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress*, Carol Swain tries to model LCCR scores by factoring majority minority districts and other features, such as party, into an equation but finds that the effect was negligible for both black and white representatives. This might again have been the case if it were included in this analysis: most women of color had a perfect LCCR score anyway. Another suggestion for furthering this research would be to extend the period of analysis, perhaps from 1992—the “Year of the Woman”—to the current date. This would allow the analysis to both consider a larger sample of instances where congresswomen of color yielded a significant impact on American policy and provide fuller stories of how they influenced policy from introduction to implementation. The policy process for every issue knows overlaps sessions of Congress, as this limited analysis recognized.

Significance

One may suggest that the news industry only knows “good stories” and does not decisively refuse to cover some stories because of gender and/or racial discrimination. However this reasoning falls apart after a reading of this project: some issues that women of color spearheaded are ignored until someone else adopts it, whether he or she is a better known politician, celebrity, etc. Congresswomen of color should receive more attention because of the incredible, important work they do and the bold initiative they take. These stories should be told mainly because of what happens, not simply because

who is (allegedly) responsible. If this happened, then the influence of congresswomen of color would surely be better represented in the media.

This analysis may provide some insight into the surprising conflicts between the Congressional Black Caucus and President Obama—the first Black-American President and first President of color. While the general assumption is that the CBC’s high hopes were simply not all met by the President, perhaps exaggerated by his resistance to using “color” to motivate or justify his policies, this analysis may suggest deeper roots for this tension. Congresswomen of color have been shown to depend on engaging with the executive branch to push their most pressing policies forward, at least during the 110th and 111th Congresses; perhaps this is already what they do best and where they focus their efforts, so that a President of color, just by virtue of his position as head of the branch, can already posture him for scrutiny by these members of Congress if he does not fully satisfy them.

The resulting suggestions of this research have significance for American society, academia and politics. It is an introduction to filling the information gaps that society is largely unaware of, and a statement of an area of research that the academic community overlooks. Congresswomen of color are not stereotypically one way or the other, instead new, positive generalizations were suggested through this analysis. As U.S.

Representatives in the House, they are not a herd of sheep or party puppets that one might generally expect representatives to be. While their voting records are similar (in at least civil-rights related legislation as evidenced by the LCCR scores), they are creative and diverse in their methods of influencing policymaking outside of Congress itself. Often Americans assume that legislators only legislate and call attention to themselves, but specifically studying congresswomen of color shows how members of

Congress do much more than this, and could motivate the public to better appreciate the institution.

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Appendix A:

“Full Listing of Women of Color in Congress: 1965-2011”

Table from Office of Clerk, Women in Congress website. (See Bibliography).

Name	Party/State	Dates of Service	Ethnicity
Patsy Mink	D-HI	1965–1977; 1990– 2002	Asian-Pacific American
Shirley Chisholm	D-NY	1969–1983	African American
Yvonne Burke	D-CA	1973–1979	African American
Barbara Jordan	D-TX	1973–1979	African American
Cardiss Collins	D-IL	1973–1997	African American
Katie Hall	D-IN	1982–1985	African American
Patricia Saiki	R-HI	1987–1991	Asian-Pacific American
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	R-FL	1989–present	Hispanic American
Barbara-Rose Collins	D-MI	1991–1997	African American
Eleanor Holmes Norton	D-DC	1991–present	African American
Maxine Waters	D-CA	1991–present	African American
Carol Moseley Braun	D-IL	1993–1999	African American
Corrine Brown	D-FL	1993–present	African American
Eva Clayton	D-NC	1993–2003	African American
Eddie Bernice Johnson	D-TX	1993–present	African American
Cynthia McKinney	D-GA	1993–2003; 2005– 2007	African American
Carrie Meek	D-FL	1993–2003	African American
Lucille Roybal-Allard	D-CA	1993–present	Hispanic American
Nydia Velázquez	D-NY	1993–present	Hispanic American
Sheila Jackson Lee	D-TX	1995–present	African American
Juanita Millender-McDonald	D-CA	1995–2007	African American
Julia Carson	D-IN	1997–2007	African American
Donna M. Christensen	D-VI	1997–present	African American
Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick	D-MI	1997–2011	African American

Barbara Lee	D-CA	1997–present	African American
Loretta Sanchez	D-CA	1997–present	Hispanic American
Stephanie Tubbs Jones	D-OH	1999–2008	African American
Grace Napolitano	D-CA	1999–present	Hispanic American
Hilda Solis	D-CA	2001–2009	Hispanic American
Diane Watson	D-CA	2001–2011	African American
Denise Majette	D-GA	2003–2005	African American
Linda Sánchez	D-CA	2003–present	Hispanic American
Gwendolynne Moore	D-WI	2005–present	African American
Doris Matsui	D-CA	2005–present	Asian-Pacific American
Yvette Clarke	D-NY	2007–present	African American
Mazie Hirono	D-HI	2007–present	Asian-Pacific American
Laura Richardson	D-CA	2007–present	African American
Donna F. Edwards	D-MD	2008–present	African American
Marcia L. Fudge	D-OH	2008–present	African American
Judy Chu	D-CA	2009–present	Asian-Pacific American
Karen Bass	D-CA	2011–present	African American
Colleen Hanabusa	D-HI	2011–present	Asian-Pacific American
Jaime Herrera Beutler	R-WA	2011–present	Hispanic American
Terri Sewell	D-AL	2011–present	African American
Frederica Wilson	D-CA	2011–present	African American

Appendix B:

LCCR Scores for the Full House of the 110th Congress

Last	First	LCCR Score	report total?	State	Race	Gender	Party	notes
Young	D	33	27	AK	W	M	R	
Aderholt		20	20	AL	W	M	R	
Bachus	S	7	7	AL	W	M	R	
Bonner		15	13	AL	W	M	R	
Cramer		67	67	AL	W	M	D	
Cramer		67	67	AL	W	M	D	
Davis	Artur	93	93	AL	B	M	D	
Everett		15	13	AL	W	M	R	
Rogers	Mike D.	20	20	AL	W	M	R	
Berry		87	87	AR	W	M	D	
Berry		87	87	AR	W	M	D	
Boozman		20	20	AR	W	M	R	
Ross		73	73	AR	W	M	D	
Ross		73	73	AR	W	M	D	
Snyder		100	100	AR	W	M	D	
Snyder		100	100	AR	W	M	D	
Flake		7	7	AZ	W	M	R	
Franks	T	0	0	AZ	W	M	R	
Giffords	Gabrielle	93	93	AZ	W	F	D	
Grijalva	Raull	100	100	AZ	H	M	D	
Mitchell		93	93	AZ	W	M	D	
Mitchell		93	93	AZ	W	M	D	
Pastor	Ed	100	100	AZ	H	M	D	
Renzi		40	40	AZ	W	M	R	
Shadegg		0	0	AZ	W	M	R	
Baca	Joe	100	100	CA	H	M	D	
Becerra	Xavier	100	93	CA	H	M	D	
Berman		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Berman		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Bilbray		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Calvert		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Campbell		7	7	CA	W	M	R	
Capps	Lois	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Cardoza	Dennis	100	100	CA	H	M	D	
Davis	Susan A.	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Doolittle		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Dreier		7	7	CA	W	M	R	
Eshoo	Anna G.	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Farr		100	100	CA	W	M	D	

Farr		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Filner		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Filner		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Gallegly		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Harman	Jane	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Herger		7	7	CA	W	M	R	
Honda	Mike	100	100	CA	A	M	D	
Hunter		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Issa		7	7	CA	W	M	R	
Lantos		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Lantos		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Lee (B)	Barbara	100	100	CA	B	F	D	
Lewis	Jerry	13	13	CA	W	M	R	
Lofgren	Zoe	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Lungren		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Matsui	Doris	100	100	CA	A	F	D	
McCarthy	K	7	7	CA	W	M	R	
McKeon		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
McNerney		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
McNerney		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Millender-McDonald	Juanita	100	20	CA	B	F	D	died in 2007
Miller	George	100	87	CA	W	M	D	
Miller	George	100	87	CA	W	M	D	
Miller	Gary	0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Napolitano	Grace	100	100	CA	H	F	D	
Pelosi	Nancy	100	47	CA	W	F	D	
Radanovich		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Richardson	Laura	100	10	CA	B	F	D	
Rohrabacher		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Roybal-Allard	Lucille	100	100	CA	H	F	D	
Royce		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Sanchez	Loretta	100	100	CA	H	F	D	
Sánchez	Linda	100	100	CA	H	F	D	
Schiff		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Schiff		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Sherman		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Sherman		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Solis	Hilda	100	100	CA	H	F	D	
Stark		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Stark		100	93	CA	W	M	D	
Tauscher	Ellen O.	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Thompson		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Thompson		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Waters	Maxine	100	93	CA	B	F	D	
Watson	Diane	100	93	CA	B	F	D	
Waxman		100	100	CA	W	M	D	

Waxman		100	100	CA	W	M	D
Woolsey	Lynn	100	93	CA	W	F	D
DeGette	Diana	100	100	CO	W	F	D
Lamborn		0	0	CO	W	M	R
Perlmutter		93	93	CO	W	M	D
Perlmutter		93	93	CO	W	M	D
Salazar	John	100	93	CO	H	M	D
Tancredo		0	0	CO	W	M	R
Udall	M	100	100	CO	W	M	D
Udall	M	100	100	CO	W	M	D
Courtney		100	100	CT	W	M	D
Courtney		100	100	CT	W	M	D
DeLauro	Rosa	93	100	CT	W	F	D
Larson	J	100	100	CT	W	M	D
Larson	J	100	100	CT	W	M	D
Murphy	C	100	100	CT	W	M	D
Murphy	C	100	100	CT	W	M	D
Shays		87	87	CT	W	M	R
Castle		60	60	DE	W	M	R
Bilirakis		27	27	FL	W	M	R
Boyd	A	93	87	FL	W	M	D
Boyd	A	93	87	FL	W	M	D
Brown	Corrine	100	100	FL	B	F	D
Buchanan		20	20	FL	W	M	R
Crenshaw		7	7	FL	W	M	R
Feeney		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Hastings	Alcee	100	100	FL	B	M	D
Keller		13	13	FL	W	M	R
Klein	R	93	93	FL	W	M	D
Klein	R	93	93	FL	W	M	D
Mack		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Mahoney		87	87	FL	W	M	D
Mahoney		87	87	FL	W	M	D
Meek	Kendrick	100	100	FL	B	M	D
Mica		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Miller	J	0	0	FL	W	M	R
Putnam		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Stearns		20	20	FL	W	M	R
Wasserman-Schultz	Debbie	100	100	FL	W	F	D
Weldon		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Wexler		100	100	FL	W	M	D
Wexler		100	100	FL	W	M	D
Young	C. W.	21	20	FL	W	M	R
Barrow		80	80	GA	W	M	D
Barrow		80	80	GA	W	M	D
Bishop	Sanford	100	100	GA	B	M	D
Broun		0	0	GA	W	M	R

Deal		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Gingrey		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Johnson Jr	Henry	100	93	GA	B	M	D	
Kingston		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Lewis	John	100	100	GA	B	M	D	
Linder		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Marshall		67	67	GA	W	M	D	
Norwood		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Price	T	0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Scott	David	100	100	GA	B	M	D	
Westmoreland		0	0	GA	W	M	R	
Abercrombie		100	100	HI	W	M	D	
Hirono	Mazie	100	100	HI	A	F	D	
Boswell		93	93	IA	W	M	D	
Braley		93	87	IA	W	M	D	
King	S	0	0	IA	W	M	R	
Latham		13	13	IA	W	M	R	
Loebsack		100	100	IA	W	M	D	
Sali		0	0	ID	W	M	R	
Simpson		27	27	ID	W	M	R	
Bean	Melissa	100	100	IL	W	F	D	
Costello		100	100	IL	W	M	D	
Davis	Danny	100	100	IL	B	M	D	
Emanuel		100	100	IL	W	M	D	
Gutierrez	Luis	100	93	IL	H	M	D	
Hare		100	100	IL	W	M	D	
Hastert		8	7	IL	W	M	R	
Jackson Jr	Jesse	100	100	IL	B	M	D	
Johnson	Timothy	27	27	IL	W	M	R	
Kirk		53	53	IL	W	M	R	
LaHood		64	47	IL	W	M	R	
Lipinski		87	87	IL	W	M	D	
Manzullo		0	0	IL	W	M	R	
Roskam		7	7	IL	W	M	R	
Rush	Bobby	100	100	IL	B	M	D	
Schakowsky	Jane	100	100	IL	W	F	D	
Shimkus		29	27	IL	W	M	R	
Weller		27	27	IL	W	M	R	
Burton		7	7	IN	W	M	R	
Buyer		15	13	IN	W	M	R	
Carson	Julia	100	87	IN	B	F	D	died in 2007
Donnelly		73	73	IN	W	M	D	
Ellsworth		73	73	IN	W	M	D	
Hill		79	73	IN	W	M	D	
Pence		7	7	IN	W	M	R	
Souder		7	7	IN	W	M	R	
Visclosky		100	100	IN	W	M	D	

Boyda	Nancy	73	73	KS	W	F	D
Moore	D	100	100	KS	W	M	D
Moran	Jerry	20	20	KS	W	M	R
Tiahrt		13	13	KS	W	M	R
Chandler		100	100	KY	W	M	D
Davis	G	13	13	KY	W	M	R
Lewis	R	0	0	KY	W	M	R
Rogers	H	27	27	KY	W	M	R
Whitfield		20	20	KY	W	M	R
Yarmuth		93	93	KY	W	M	D
Alexander	R	20	20	LA	W	M	R
Baker		7	7	LA	W	M	R
Boustany		7	7	LA	W	M	R
Jefferson	William	100	93	LA	B	M	D
McCrery		27	27	LA	W	M	R
Melancon		73	73	LA	W	M	D
Capuano		100	87	MA	W	M	D
Delahunt		100	93	MA	W	M	D
Frank	B	100	100	MA	W	M	D
Lynch		93	93	MA	W	M	D
Markey		100	100	MA	W	M	D
McGovern		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Meehan		100	53	MA	W	M	D
Neal		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Olver		100	93	MA	W	M	D
Tierney		100	93	MA	W	M	D
Tsongas	Niki	100	100	MA	W	F	D
Bartlett		0	0	MD	W	M	R
Cummings	Elijah	100	100	MD	B	M	D
Gilchrest		57	53	MD	W	M	R
Hoyer		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Ruppersberger		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Sarbanes		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Van Hollen		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Wynn	Albert	100	100	MD	B	M	D
Camp		7	7	MI	W	M	R
Conyers	John	100	100	MI	B	M	D
Dingell		100	100	MI	W	M	D
Ehlers		20	20	MI	W	M	R
Hoekstra		0	0	MI	W	M	R
Kildee		93	93	MI	W	M	D
Kilpatrick	Carolyn	100	93	MI	B	F	D
Knollenberg		27	27	MI	W	M	R
Levin	S	100	100	MI	W	M	D
McCotter		33	33	MI	W	M	R
Rogers	Mike	13	13	MI	W	M	R
Stupak		100	100	MI	W	M	D

Upton		33	33	MI	W	M	R
Walberg		0	0	MI	W	M	R
Ellison	Keith	100	100	MN	B	M	D
Kline	J	0	0	MN	W	M	R
McCollum	Betty	100	100	MN	W	F	D
Oberstar		100	87	MN	W	M	D
Peterson	C	86	80	MN	W	M	D
Ramstad		33	33	MN	W	M	R
Walz		100	100	MN	W	M	D
Akin		0	0	MO	W	M	R
Blunt		0	0	MO	W	M	R
Carnahan		100	100	MO	W	M	D
Clay Jr	William	100	93	MO	B	M	D
Cleaver	Emanuel	100	100	MO	B	M	D
Graves		8	7	MO	W	M	R
Hulshof		20	20	MO	W	M	R
Skelton		86	80	MO	W	M	D
Pickering		17	13	MS	W	M	R
Taylor		53	53	MS	W	M	D
Thompson	Bennie	100	100	MS	B	M	D
Rehberg		13	13	MT	W	M	R
Butterfield	GK	100	100	NC	B	M	D
Coble		0	0	NC	W	M	R
Etheridge		93	87	NC	W	M	D
Hayes		21	20	NC	W	M	R
Jones	W	27	27	NC	W	M	R
McHenry		0	0	NC	W	M	R
McIntyre		60	60	NC	W	M	D
Miller	B	100	100	NC	W	M	D
Price	D	100	100	NC	W	M	D
Shuler		60	60	NC	W	M	D
Watt	Melvin	100	100	NC	B	M	D
Pomeroy		93	93	ND	W	M	D
Fortenberry		20	20	NE	W	M	R
Smith	Adrian	0	0	NE	W	M	R
Terry		13	13	NE	W	M	R
Hodes		100	100	NH	W	M	D
Shea-Porter	Carolyn Cheeks	100	100	NH	W	F	D
Andrews		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
Ferguson		67	67	NJ	W	M	R
Frelinghuysen		40	40	NJ	W	M	R
Garrett		0	0	NJ	W	M	R
Holt		93	87	NJ	W	M	D
LoBiondo		67	67	NJ	W	M	R
Pallone		100	93	NJ	W	M	D
Pascrell		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
Payne	Donald	100	100	NJ	B	M	D

Rothman		100	100	NJ	W	M	D	
Saxton		64	60	NJ	W	M	R	
Sires	Albio	100	100	NJ	H	M	D	
Smith	C	60	60	NJ	W	M	R	
Pearce		7	7	NM	W	M	R	
Udall	T	100	100	NM	W	M	D	
Berkley	Shelley	100	100	NV	W	F	D	
Heller		14	13	NV	W	M	R	
Porter		53	53	NV	W	M	R	
Ackerman		100	87	NY	W	M	D	
Arcuri		100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Bishop	T.	100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Clarke	Yvette	91	67	NY	B	F	D	
Crowley		100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Engel		100	87	NY	W	M	D	
Fossella		36	33	NY	W	M	R	
Gillibrand	Kristen	87	87	NY	W	F	D	
Hall	J	100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Higgins		100	93	NY	W	M	D	
Hinchey		100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Israel		100	93	NY	W	M	D	
King	P	33	33	NY	W	M	R	
Kuhl		40	40	NY	W	M	R	
Lowey	Nita M.	100	100	NY	W	F	D	
Maloney	Carolyn B.	100	93	NY	W	F	D	
McCarthy	Carolyn	100	100	NY	W	F	D	
McNulty		100	100	NY	W	M	D	
Meeks	Gregory	100	100	NY	B	M	D	
Nadler		93	93	NY	W	M	D	
Rangel	Charles	100	100	NY	B	M	D	
Reynolds		20	20	NY	W	M	R	
Serrano	Jose	100	100	NY	H	M	D	
Slaughter	Louise M.	100	100	NY	W	F	D	
Towns	Edolphus	93	93	NY	B	M	D	
Velázquez	Nydia	93	93	NY	H	F	D	
Walsh		46	40	NY	W	M	R	
Weiner		93	87	NY	W	M	D	
Boehner		0	0	OH	W	M	R	
Chabot		7	7	OH	W	M	R	
Gillmore		25	20	OH	W	M	R	
Hobson		27	27	OH	W	M	R	
Jones	Stephanie	100	87	OH	B	F	D	died in 2008
Jordan		0	0	OH	W	M	R	
Kaptur	Marcy	100	100	OH	W	F	D	
Kucinich		100	93	OH	W	M	D	
LaTourette		53	53	OH	W	M	R	
Latta		0	0	OH	W	M	R	

Regula		27	27	OH	W	M	R
Ryan	T	100	100	OH	W	M	D
Space		87	87	OH	W	M	D
Sutton	Betty	100	100	OH	W	F	D
Tiberi		20	20	OH	W	M	R
Turner		33	33	OH	W	M	R
Wilson	C	100	100	OH	W	M	D
Boren		50	47	OK	W	M	D
Lucas		13	13	OK	W	M	R
Sullivan		0	0	OK	W	M	R
Blumenauer		100	100	OR	W	M	D
DeFazio		93	93	OR	W	M	D
Hooley	Darlene	93	87	OR	W	F	D
Walden		47	47	OR	W	M	R
Wu	David	100	100	OR	A	M	D
Altmire		87	87	PA	W	M	D
Brady	R	100	93	PA	W	M	D
Carney		80	80	PA	W	M	D
Dent		53	53	PA	W	M	R
Doyle		100	87	PA	W	M	D
English		53	53	PA	W	M	R
Fattah	Chaka	100	93	PA	B	M	D
Gerlach		53	53	PA	W	M	R
Holden		86	80	PA	W	M	D
Kanjorski		86	80	PA	W	M	D
Murphy	P	93	93	PA	W	M	D
Murphy	T.	40	40	PA	W	M	R
Murtha		100	100	PA	W	M	D
Peterson	J.	13	13	PA	W	M	R
Pitts		0	0	PA	W	M	R
Platts		47	47	PA	W	M	R
Schwartz	Allyson	100	100	PA	W	F	D
Sestak		93	93	PA	W	M	D
Shuster		7	7	PA	W	M	R
Kennedy	P	100	100	RI	W	M	D
Langevin		100	100	RI	W	M	D
Barret		0	0	SC	W	M	R
Brown	H	7	7	SC	W	M	R
Clyburn	James	100	100	SC	B	M	D
Inglis		7	7	SC	W	M	R
Spratt		92	80	SC	W	M	D
Wilson	J.	0	0	SC	W	M	R
Herse	Stephanie	100	100	SD	W	F	D
Cohen		93	93	TN	W	M	D
Cooper		87	87	TN	W	M	D
Davis	L.	67	67	TN	W	M	D
Davis	David	0	0	TN	W	M	R

Duncan		13	13	TN	W	M	R
Gordon		73	73	TN	W	M	D
Tanner		79	73	TN	W	M	D
Wamp		13	13	TN	W	M	R
Barton		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Brady	K.	8	7	TX	W	M	R
Burgess		14	13	TX	W	M	R
Carter		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Conaway		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Cuellar	Henry	93	93	TX	H	M	D
Culberson		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Doggett		100	100	TX	W	M	D
Edwards		93	93	TX	W	M	D
Gohmert		7	7	TX	W	M	R
Gonzalez	Charles	100	100	TX	H	M	D
Green	Al	100	100	TX	B	M	D
Green	G.	100	100	TX	W	M	D
Hall	R.	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Hensarling		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Hinojosa	Ruben	100	93	TX	H	M	D
Johnson	Eddie	100	80	TX	B	F	D
Johnson	S	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Lampson		75	60	TX	W	M	D
Lee (SJ)	Sheila Jackson	100	100	TX	B	F	D
Marchant		13	13	TX	W	M	R
McCaul		13	13	TX	W	M	R
Neugebauer		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Ortiz	Solomon	100	87	TX	H	M	D
Paul		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Poe		13	13	TX	W	M	R
Reyes	Silvestre	100	100	TX	H	M	D
Rodriguez		100	100	TX	H	M	D
Sessions	P	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Smith	L.	13	13	TX	W	M	R
Thornberry		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Bishop	R.	7	7	UT	W	M	R
Cannon		13	13	UT	W	M	R
Matheson		87	87	UT	W	M	D
Boucher		100	100	VA	W	M	D
Cantor		0	0	VA	W	M	R
Davis	J.	100	7	VA	W	M	R
Davis	T.	33	33	VA	W	M	R
Forbes		20	20	VA	W	M	R
Goode		7	7	VA	W	M	R
Goodlatte		7	7	VA	W	M	R
Moran	James	100	100	VA	W	M	D
Scott	Robert	100	100	VA	B	M	D

Wittman		0	0	VA	W	M	R
Wolf		40	40	VA	W	M	R
Welch		100	100	VT	W	M	D
Baird		93	93	WA	W	M	D
Dicks		100	93	WA	W	M	D
Hastings	D.	0	0	WA	W	M	R
Inslee		100	93	WA	W	M	D
Larsen	R.	100	100	WA	W	M	D
McDermott		100	100	WA	W	M	D
Reichert		60	60	WA	W	M	R
Smith	Adam	93	93	WA	W	M	D
Baldwin	Tammy	100	100	WI	W	F	D
Kagen		93	93	WI	W	M	D
Kind		93	93	WI	W	M	D
Moore	Gwendolynne	100	100	WI	B	F	D
Obey		93	93	WI	W	M	D
Petri		20	20	WI	W	M	R
Ryan	P.	27	27	WI	W	M	R
Sensenbrenner		7	7	WI	W	M	R
Mollohan		100	100	WV	W	M	D
Rahall		93	93	WV	W	M	D

LCCR Scores for the Full House of the 111th Congress

Last	First	LCCR Score	Report Total	State	Race	Gender	Party	Notes
Young	D	21	17	AK	W	M	R	
Aderholt		11	11	AL	W	M	R	
Bachus	S	0	0	AL	W	M	R	
Bonner		6	6	AL	W	M	R	
Bright		28	28	AL	W	M	D	
Davis	Artur	94	83	AL	B	M	D	
Griffith		41	39	AL	W	M	R	
Rogers	Mike D.	22	22	AL	W	M	R	
Berry		58	39	AR	W	M	D	
Boozman		0	0	AR	W	M	R	
Ross		72	72	AR	W	M	D	
Snyder		93	78	AR	W	M	D	
Flake		0	0	AZ	W	M	R	
Franks	T	0	0	AZ	W	M	R	
Giffords	Gabrielle	89	89	AZ	W	F	D	
Grijalva	Raull	100	100	AZ	H	M	D	
Kirkpatrick	Ann	78	78	AZ	W	F	D	
Mitchell		93	93	AZ	W	M	D	
Pastor	Ed	100	100	AZ	H	M	D	
Pastor		100	100	AZ	W	M	D	
Shadegg		0	0	AZ	W	M	R	
Baca	Joe	100	100	CA	H	M	D	
Becerra	Xavier	100	100	CA	H	M	D	
Berman		100	94	CA	W	M	D	
Bilbray		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Calvert		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Campbell		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Capps	Lois	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Cardoza	Dennis	100	100	CA	H	M	D	
Chu	Judy	100	44	CA	A	F	D	filled Hilda Solis seat in July 14 2009
Costa	Jim	94	89	CA	H	M	D	
Davis	Susan A.	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Dreier		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Eshoo	Anna G.	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Farr		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Filner		100	100	CA	W	M	D	
Gallegly		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Garamendi		100	39	CA	W	M	D	
Harman	Jane	100	100	CA	W	F	D	
Herger		0	0	CA	W	M	R	
Honda	Mike	100	100	CA	A	M	D	

Hunter		0	0	CA	W	M	R
Issa		0	0	CA	W	M	R
Lantos		100	93	CA	W	M	D
Lee (B)	Barbara	100	100	CA	B	F	D
Lewis	Jerry	13	13	CA	W	M	R
Lofgren	Zoe	100	100	CA	W	F	D
Lungren		0	0	CA	W	M	R
Mack	Mary Bono	12	11	CA	W	F	R
Matsui	Doris	100	100	CA	A	F	D
McCarthy	K	0	0	CA	W	M	R
McClintock		0	0	CA	W	M	R
McKeon		0	0	CA	W	M	R
McNerney		94	94	CA	W	M	D
Miller	George	100	100	CA	W	M	D
Miller	Gary	0	0	CA	W	M	R
Napolitano	Grace	100	100	CA	H	F	D
Nunes	Devin	0	0	CA	H	M	R
Pelosi	Nancy	100	67	CA	W	F	D
Radanovich		0	0	CA	W	M	R
Richardson	Laura	100	100	CA	B	F	D
Rohrabacher		6	6	CA	W	M	R
Roybal-Allard	Lucille	100	100	CA	H	F	D
Royce		0	0	CA	W	M	R
Sanchez	Loretta	100	100	CA	H	F	D
Sánchez	Linda	100	89	CA	H	F	D
Schiff		100	100	CA	W	M	D
Sherman		100	100	CA	W	M	D
Solis	Hilda	100	17	CA	H	F	D
Speier	Jackie	100	94	CA	W	F	D
Stark		100	72	CA	W	M	D
Tauscher	Ellen O.	100	56	CA	W	F	D
Thompson	M	94	94	CA	W	M	D
Waters	Maxine	100	94	CA	B	F	D
Watson	Diane	100	100	CA	B	F	D
Waxman		100	100	CA	W	M	D
Woolsey	Lynn	100	100	CA	W	F	D
Coffman		6	6	CO	W	M	R
DeGette	Diana	100	100	CO	W	F	D
Lamborn		0	0	CO	W	M	R
Markey	Betsy	83	83	CO	W	F	D
Perlmutter		94	94	CO	W	M	D
Polis	Jared	94	94	CO	W	M	D
Salazar	John	100	100	CO	H	M	D
Courtney		100	94	CT	W	M	D
DeLauro	Rosa	100	100	CT	W	F	D
Himes		94	94	CT	W	M	D
Larson	J	100	100	CT	W	M	D

Murphy	C	100	100	CT	W	M	D
Castle		44	44	DE	W	M	R
Bilirakis		11	11	FL	W	M	R
Boyd	A	75	72	FL	W	M	D
Brown	Corrine	100	100	FL	B	F	D
Brown-Waite	Ginny	7	6	FL	W	F	R
Buchanan		22	22	FL	W	M	R
Castor	Kathy	100	100	FL	W	F	R
Crenshaw		6	6	FL	W	M	R
Deutch		100	22	FL	W	M	D
Diaz-Balart	Lincoln	39	39	FL	H	M	R
Diaz-Balart (M)	Mario	39	39	FL	H	M	R
Grayson	Alan	100	100	FL	W	M	D
Hastings	Alcee	100	89	FL	B	M	D
Klein	R	100	100	FL	W	M	D
Kosmas	Suzanne	94	89	FL	W	F	D
Mack		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Meek	Kendrick	100	94	FL	B	M	D
Mica		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Miller	J	0	0	FL	W	M	R
Posey		11	11	FL	W	M	R
Putnam		6	6	FL	W	M	R
Rooney		0	0	FL	W	M	R
Ros-Lehtinen	Ileana	53	50	FL	H	F	R
Stearns		20	20	FL	W	M	R
Wasserman-Schultz	Debbie	100	100	FL	W	F	D
Wexler		100	67	FL	W	M	D
Young	C. W.	17	17	FL	W	M	R
Barrow		89	89	GA	W	M	D
Bishop	Sanford	89	89	GA	B	M	D
Broun		0	0	GA	W	M	R
Deal		0	0	GA	W	M	R
Gingrey		0	0	GA	W	M	R
Graves	T.	0	0	GA	W	M	R
Johnson Jr	Henry	100	100	GA	B	M	D
Kingston		0	0	GA	W	M	R
Lewis	John	100	100	GA	B	M	D
Linder		6	6	GA	W	M	R
Marshall		72	72	GA	W	M	D
Price	T	0	0	GA	W	M	R
Scott	David	100	100	GA	B	M	D
Westmoreland		0	0	GA	W	M	R
Abercrombie		100	100	HI	W	M	D
Djou		33	6	HI	A	M	R

Hirono	Mazie	100	100	HI	A	F	D
Boswell		100	100	IA	W	M	D
Braley		100	100	IA	W	M	D
King	S	0	0	IA	W	M	R
Latham		0	0	IA	W	M	R
Loebsack		100	100	IA	W	M	D
Minnick		72	72	ID	W	M	D
Simpson		27	27	ID	W	M	R
Bean	Melissa	100	100	IL	W	F	D
Biggert	Judy	17	17	IL	W	F	R
Costello		100	100	IL	W	M	D
Davis	Danny	100	94	IL	B	M	D
Foster		100	100	IL	W	M	D
Gutierrez	Luis	100	100	IL	H	M	D
Halvorson	Deborah L.	100	100	IL	W	F	D
Hare		100	100	IL	W	M	D
Jackson Jr	Jesse	100	100	IL	B	M	D
Johnson	Timothy	27	27	IL	W	M	R
Kirk		28	28	IL	W	M	R
Lipinski		87	87	IL	W	M	D
Manzullo		0	0	IL	W	M	R
Quigley		100	67	IL	W	M	D
Roskam		7	7	IL	W	M	R
Rush	Bobby	100	100	IL	B	M	D
Schakowsky	Jane	100	100	IL	W	F	D
Schock		6	6	IL	W	M	R
Shimkus		29	27	IL	W	M	R
Weller		27	27	IL	W	M	R
Burton		0	0	IN	W	M	R
Buyer		6	6	IN	W	M	R
Carson	Andre	100	100	IN	B	M	D
Donnelly		89	89	IN	W	M	D
Ellsworth		83	83	IN	W	M	D
Hill		89	89	IN	W	M	D
Pence		0	0	IN	W	M	R
Souder		0	0	IN	W	M	R
Visclosky		94	94	IN	W	M	D
Jenkins	Lynn	0	0	KS	W	F	R
Moore	D	100	100	KS	W	M	D
Moran	Jerry	6	6	KS	W	M	R
Tiahrt		0	0	KS	W	M	R
Chandler		83	83	KY	W	M	D
Davis	G	6	6	KY	W	M	R
Guthrie		0	0	KY	W	M	R
Rogers	H	6	6	KY	W	M	R
Whitfield		11	11	KY	W	M	R
Yarmuth		100	100	KY	W	M	D

Alexander	R	0	0	LA	W	M	R
Boustany		7	7	LA	W	M	R
Cao		53	50	LA	W	M	R
Cassidy		11	11	LA	W	M	R
Fleming		0	0	LA	W	M	R
Melancon		75	67	LA	W	M	D
Scalise		0	0	LA	W	M	R
Capuano		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Delahunt		100	89	MA	W	M	D
Frank	B	100	94	MA	W	M	D
Lynch		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Markey	E	100	100	MA	W	M	D
McGovern		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Neal		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Olver		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Tierney		100	100	MA	W	M	D
Tsongas	Niki	100	100	MA	W	F	D
Bartlett		0	0	MD	W	M	R
Cummings	Elijah	100	100	MD	B	M	D
Edwards	Donna	100	94	MD	B	F	D
Hoyer		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Kratovil		78	78	MD	W	M	D
Ruppersberger		100	89	MD	W	M	D
Sarbanes		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Van Hollen		100	100	MD	W	M	D
Michaud		100	100	ME	W	M	D
Pingree	Chellie	100	100	ME	W	F	D
Camp		6	6	MI	W	M	R
Conyers	John	100	94	MI	B	M	D
Dingell		100	94	MI	W	M	D
Ehlers		24	22	MI	W	M	R
Hoekstra		0	0	MI	W	M	R
Kildee		100	100	MI	W	M	D
Kilpatrick	Carolyn	100	100	MI	B	F	D
Levin	S	100	100	MI	W	M	D
McCotter		6	6	MI	W	M	R
Miller	Candice	11	11	MI	W	F	R
Peters		100	100	MI	W	M	D
Rogers	Mike	6	6	MI	W	M	R
Schauer		100	100	MI	W	M	D
Stupak		89	89	MI	W	M	D
Upton		22	22	MI	W	M	R
Bachmann	Michele	0	0	MN	W	F	R
Ellison	Keith	100	100	MN	B	M	D
Kline	J	0	0	MN	W	M	R
McCollum	Betty	100	100	MN	W	F	D
Oberstar		100	100	MN	W	M	D

Paulsen		11	11	MN	W	M	R
Peterson	C	67	67	MN	W	M	D
Walz		100	100	MN	W	M	D
Akin		0	0	MO	W	M	R
Blunt		0	0	MO	W	M	R
Carnahan		100	100	MO	W	M	D
Clay Jr	William	100	100	MO	B	M	D
Cleaver	Emanuel	100	100	MO	B	M	D
Emerson	Jo Ann	11	11	MO	W	F	R
Graves	S	0	0	MO	W	M	R
Luetkemeyer		0	0	MO	W	M	R
Skelton		71	67	MO	W	M	D
Childers		61	61	MS	W	M	D
Harper		0	0	MS	W	M	R
Taylor		59	56	MS	W	M	D
Thompson	Bennie	100	94	MS	B	M	D
Rehberg		6	6	MT	W	M	R
Butterfield	GK	100	94	NC	B	M	D
Coble		0	0	NC	W	M	R
Etheridge		94	94	NC	W	M	D
Foxx	Virginia	0	0	NC	W	F	R
Jones	W	44	39	NC	W	M	R
Kissell		89	89	NC	W	M	D
McHenry		0	0	NC	W	M	R
McIntyre		67	67	NC	W	M	D
Miller	B	100	94	NC	W	M	D
Myrick	Sue	0	0	NC	W	F	R
Price	D	100	100	NC	W	M	D
Shuler		67	67	NC	W	M	D
Watt	Melvin	100	100	NC	B	M	D
Pomeroy		94	94	ND	W	M	D
Fortenberry		18	17	NE	W	M	R
Smith	Adrian	0	0	NE	W	M	R
Terry		0	0	NE	W	M	R
Hodes		100	100	NH	W	M	D
Shea-Porter	Carolyn Cheeks	100	100	NH	W	F	D
Adler		89	89	NJ	W	M	D
Andrews		100	94	NJ	W	M	D
Frelinghuysen		17	17	NJ	W	M	R
Garrett		0	0	NJ	W	M	R
Holt		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
LoBiondo		33	33	NJ	W	M	R
Pallone		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
Pascrell		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
Payne	Donald	100	89	NJ	B	M	D
Rothman		100	100	NJ	W	M	D
Saxton		64	60	NJ	W	M	R

Sires	Albio	100	94	NJ	H	M	D
Smith	C	39	39	NJ	W	M	R
Heinrich		100	100	NM	W	M	D
Lujan	Ben	100	100	NM	H	M	D
Teague	T	82	78	NM	W	M	D
Berkley	Shelley	94	94	NV	W	F	D
Heller		6	6	NV	W	M	R
Titus	Dina	100	100	NV	W	F	D
Ackerman		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Arcuri		89	89	NY	W	M	D
Bishop	T.	100	100	NY	W	M	D
Clarke	Yvette	100	100	NY	B	F	D
Crowley		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Engel		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Hall	J	100	100	NY	W	M	D
Higgins		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Hinchey		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Israel		100	93	NY	W	M	D
King	P	6	6	NY	W	M	R
Lee	C	6	6	NY	W	M	R
Lowey	Nita M.	100	100	NY	W	F	D
Maffei		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Maloney	Carolyn B.	100	100	NY	W	F	D
Massa		85	61	NY	W	M	D
McCarthy	Carolyn	100	100	NY	W	F	D
McHugh		50	28	NY	W	M	R
McMahon		83	83	NY	W	M	D
Meeks	Gregory	100	100	NY	B	M	D
Nadler		100	94	NY	W	M	D
Owens		86	33	NY	W	M	D
Rangel	Charles	100	100	NY	B	M	D
Serrano	Jose	100	100	NY	H	M	D
Slaughter	Louise M.	100	94	NY	W	F	D
Tonko		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Towns	Edolphus	100	100	NY	B	M	D
Velázquez	Nydia	100	100	NY	H	F	D
Weiner		100	100	NY	W	M	D
Austria		6	6	OH	W	M	R
Bocchieri		100	100	OH	W	M	D
Boehner		0	0	OH	W	M	R
Driehaus		100	100	OH	W	M	D
Fudge	Marcia	100	100	OH	B	F	D
Gillmore		25	20	OH	W	M	R
Hobson		27	27	OH	W	M	R
Jordan		0	0	OH	W	M	R
Kaptur	Marcy	94	89	OH	W	F	D
Kilroy	Mary Jo	100	100	OH	W	F	D

Kucinich		100	100	OH	W	M	D
LaTourette		22	22	OH	W	M	R
Latta		0	0	OH	W	M	R
Ryan	T	100	100	OH	W	M	D
Schmidt	Jean	0	0	OH	W	F	R
Space		89	89	OH	W	M	D
Sutton	Betty	100	100	OH	W	F	D
Tiberi		11	11	OH	W	M	R
Turner		35	35	OH	W	M	R
Wilson	Charlie	100	89	OH	W	M	D
Boren		65	61	OK	W	M	D
Cole		6	6	OK	W	M	R
Fallin	Mary	0	0	OK	W	F	R
Lucas		0	0	OK	W	M	R
Sullivan		0	0	OK	W	M	R
Blumenauer		100	94	OR	W	M	D
DeFazio		100	100	OR	W	M	D
Schrader		94	94	OR	W	M	D
Walden		11	11	OR	W	M	R
Wu	David	100	100	OR	A	M	D
Altmire		89	89	PA	W	M	D
Brady	R	100	100	PA	W	M	D
Carney		83	83	PA	W	M	D
Critz		33	6	PA	W	M	D
Dahlkemper	Kathleen A.	89	89	PA	W	F	D
Dent		22	22	PA	W	M	R
Doyle		100	100	PA	W	M	D
Fattah	Chaka	100	100	PA	B	M	D
Gerlach		28	28	PA	W	M	R
Holden		83	83	PA	W	M	D
Kanjorski		83	83	PA	W	M	D
Murphy	P	100	100	PA	W	M	D
Murphy	T.	33	33	PA	W	M	R
Murtha		100	56	PA	W	M	D
Pitts		0	0	PA	W	M	R
Platts		33	33	PA	W	M	R
Schwartz	Allyson	100	100	PA	W	F	D
Sestak		100	100	PA	W	M	D
Shuster		0	0	PA	W	M	R
Thompson	G.	6	6	PA	W	M	R
Kennedy	P	100	100	RI	W	M	D
Langevin		100	100	RI	W	M	D
Barret		0	0	SC	W	M	R
Brown	H	0	0	SC	W	M	R
Clyburn	James	100	100	SC	B	M	D
Inglis		0	0	SC	W	M	R
Spratt		94	94	SC	W	M	D

Wilson	J.	0	0	SC	W	M	R
Sandlin	Stephanie Herseith	75	72	SD	W	F	D
Blackburn	Marsha	0	0	TN	W	F	R
Cohen		100	100	TN	W	M	D
Cooper		72	72	TN	W	M	D
Davis	L.	67	67	TN	W	M	D
Duncan		6	6	TN	W	M	R
Gordon		88	88	TN	W	M	D
Roe		11	11	TN	W	M	R
Tanner		76	72	TN	W	M	D
Wamp		0	0	TN	W	M	R
Barton		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Brady	K.	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Burgess		6	6	TX	W	M	R
Carter		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Conaway		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Cuellar	Henry	89	89	TX	H	M	D
Culberson		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Doggett		94	94	TX	W	M	D
Edwards	C.	78	78	TX	W	M	D
Gohmert		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Gonzalez	Charles	100	100	TX	H	M	D
Granger	Kay	0	0	TX	W	F	R
Green	Al	100	100	TX	B	M	D
Green	G.	94	94	TX	W	M	D
Hall	R.	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Hensarling		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Hinojosa	Ruben	100	83	TX	H	M	D
Johnson	Eddie	100	100	TX	B	F	D
Johnson	S	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Lee (SJ)	Sheila Jackson	100	94	TX	B	F	D
Marchant		0	0	TX	W	M	R
McCaul		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Neugebauer		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Olson		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Ortiz	Solomon	89	89	TX	H	M	D
Paul		6	6	TX	W	M	R
Poe		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Reyes	Silvestre	100	100	TX	H	M	D
Rodriguez	Ciro	94	89	TX	H	M	D
Sessions	P	0	0	TX	W	M	R
Smith	Lamar	6	6	TX	W	M	R
Thornberry		0	0	TX	W	M	R
Bishop	R.	0	0	UT	W	M	R
Chaffetz		0	0	UT	W	M	R
Matheson		83	83	UT	W	M	D

Boucher		67	56	VA	W	M	D	
Cantor		0	0	VA	W	M	R	
Connolly		100	100	VA	W	M	D	
Forbes		6	6	VA	W	M	R	
Goodlatte		0	0	VA	W	M	R	
Moran	James	100	94	VA	W	M	D	
Nye		89	89	VA	W	M	D	
Perriello		94	83	VA	W	M	D	
Scott	Robert	100	100	VA	B	M	D	multiracial (Black, White, Filipino)
Wittman		6	6	VA	W	M	R	
Wolf		11	11	VA	W	M	R	
Welch		94	94	VT	W	M	D	
Baird		94	94	WA	W	M	D	
Dicks		100	100	WA	W	M	D	
Hastings	D.	0	0	WA	W	M	R	
Inslee		100	100	WA	W	M	D	
Larsen	R.	94	94	WA	W	M	D	
McDermott		100	100	WA	W	M	D	
McMorris Rodgers	Cathy	0	0	WA	W	F	R	
Reichert		38	33	WA	W	M	R	
Smith	Adam	100	100	WA	W	M	D	
Baldwin	Tammy	100	94	WI	W	F	D	
Kagen		100	100	WI	W	M	D	
Kind		89	89	WI	W	M	D	
Moore	Gwendolynne	100	100	WI	B	F	D	
Obey		100	100	WI	W	M	D	
Petri		28	28	WI	W	M	R	
Ryan	P.	0	0	WI	W	M	R	
Sensenbrenner		6	6	WI	W	M	R	
Capito	Shelley Moore	13	11	WV	W	F	R	
Mollohan		100	100	WV	W	M	D	
Rahall		94	94	WV	W	M	D	
Lummis	Cynthia M.	0	0	WY	W	F	R	

Appendix C: Committee Listings for Women of Color (2007-2010)

House Committee Leadership and Membership for Female Representatives of Color		
Chair positions are bolded Subcommittees are indented		
Representative	Committees (110 th Congress)	Committees (111 th Congress)
Corrine Brown	Veterans' Affairs Health Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Railroads, Pipelines, and Hazardous Materials	Veterans' Affairs Health Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Railroads, Pipelines, and Hazardous Materials Water Resources and Environment
Julia Carson	Transportation and Infrastructure Highways, Transit and Pipelines Railroads Financial Services Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit Housing and Community Opportunity	
Judy Chu		Education and Labor Elementary, Secondary Education Healthy Families and Communities Oversight and Government Reform Information Policy, Census, National Archives National Security and Foreign Affairs Judiciary Immigration, Citizenship Border Security and International Law Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

			Commercial and Administrative Law
Yvette	Clarke	Education and Labor Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions Healthy Families and Communities Homeland Security Transportation and Infrastructure Protection Management, Investigations, and Oversight Small Business Contracting and Technology Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship	Education and Labor Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions Healthy Families and Communities Homeland Security Emerging Threats, Cybersecurity, and Science Transportation and Infrastructure Protection Management, Investigations, and Oversight Small Business Contracting and Technology Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship
Donna	Edwards		
Marcia	Fudge		Education and Labor Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions Science and Technology Research and Science Education Space and Aeronautics
Mazie	Hirono	Education and Labor Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness Early Childhood, Elementary and Secondary Education Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Highways, Transit & Pipelines Water Resources & Environment	Education and Labor Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Highways, Transit and Pipelines Water Resources and Environment
Eddie	Johnson	Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Railroads	Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation Railroads

		Water Resources and Environment	Water Resources and Environment
Stephanie Tubbs	Jones	Ethics/Standards of Official Conduct Ways and Means Oversight Health Social Security	Ways and Means
Carolyn	Kilpatrick		Appropriations Transportation, Treasury Housing, Urban Dev. Small Business Finance and Tax Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship Veterans' Affairs Disability Assistance and Memorial Affairs Economic Opportunity
Barbara	Lee	Foreign Affairs	Appropriations Financial Services Foreign Affairs
Sheila Jackson	Lee	Foreign Affairs Africa, Global Human Rights, and International Operations Middle East and Central Asia Homeland Security Border, Maritime, and Global Counter Terrorism Transportation Security And Infrastructure Protection	Foreign Affairs Africa and Global Health Middle East and South Asia Homeland Security Border, Maritime, and Global Counter Terrorism Transportation Security And Infrastructure Protection Judiciary Courts and Competition Policy Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties
Doris	Matsui	Rules Transportation and Infrastructure Aviation	Energy and Commerce Communications, Technology and the Internet

		Highways, Transit and Pipelines	Energy and Environment Rules
Juanita	Millender-McDonald*	-	-
Gwendolynne	Moore	Financial Services Capital Markets, Insurance And Government Sponsored Enterprises Domestic and International Monetary Policy, Trade, and Technology Small Business Contracting and Technology Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship Regulations, Healthcare, and Trade	Budget Financial Services Capital Markets, Insurance And Government Sponsored Enterprises International Monetary Policy and Trade Oversight and Investigations
Grace	Napolitano	Natural Resources Water and Power Transportation and Infrastructure Highways, Transit and Pipelines Water Resources and Environment	Natural Resources Water and Power Transportation and Infrastructure Highways, Transit and Pipelines Railroads Water Resources and Environment
Laura	Richardson	Science & Technology Transportation & Infrastructure	Homeland Security Emergency Communications, Preparedness and Readiness Transportation and Infrastructure Highways and Transit Railroads, Pipelines and Hazardous Materials Aviation Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation
Ileana	Ros-Lehtinen	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>
Lucille	Roybal-Allard	Ethics	Appropriations Labor, Health, Human

			Services
Loretta	Sanchez	Armed Services Readiness Military Personnel Oversight/Investigations Homeland Security Border, Maritime, and Global Counter Terrorism Emergency Communications, Preparedness and Readiness	Armed Services Military Personnel Strategic Forces Oversight/Investigations Homeland Security Border, Maritime, and Global Counter Terrorism Emergency Communications, Preparedness and Readiness
Linda	Sánchez	Education and Labor Early Childhood, Elementary and Secondary Education Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions Foreign Affairs Western Hemisphere Europe and Emerging Threats Judiciary Commercial and Administrative Law Oversight and Government Reform	Judiciary Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law Oversight and Government Reform
Hilda	Solis	Energy and Commerce Telecommunications and the Internet Natural Resources Water and Power	
Nydia	Velázquez	Small Business Financial Services Capital Markets, Insurance And Government Sponsored Enterprises Housing and Community Opportunity Oversight/Investigations	Small Business Financial Services Capital Markets, Insurance And Government Sponsored Enterprises Housing and Community Opportunity
Maxine	Waters	Financial Services Domestic and International Monetary Policy, Trade, and Technology	Financial Services Housing and Community Opportunity International Monetary

		Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit Housing and Community Opportunity Oversight/Investigations	Policy and Trade Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit Judiciary Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security
Diane	Watson	Foreign Affairs Asia and the Pacific Oversight and Government Reform Domestic Policy	Foreign Affairs Africa and Global Health Asia, the Pacific, and the Global Environment Oversight and Government Reform Domestic Policy Government Mgt, Org., and Procurement