

ABSTRACT

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SPEECHMAKING IN CONGRESS

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Abstract: Women have a unique impact in public office, particularly in the U.S. Congress. Studies of gender differences among legislative activities tend to focus on traditional indicators such as roll-call voting. However, speechmaking is a form of position taking that is antecedent to roll-call voting, and is more discretionary; members can choose whether to speak about a given issue. This greater discretion allows for the study of the intensity rather than simply the directionality of a member's positions. Therefore, I examine women's impact in Congress through an understudied activity critically important for the representation of marginalized constituencies: giving voice to concerns and interests through floor debate. I analyze the representation of women through a content analysis of congressional floor speeches. I find that female representatives are more likely to speak about women's experiences and concerns as well as issues associated with women, including children's issues, social issues, and issues pertinent to marginalized groups. However, I do not find that women representatives expand the definition of women's issues by speaking about women's concerns and experiences in issue areas

traditionally defined as masculine. Using the feminine speech style framework, I also investigate whether women approach congressional discourse differently. Women are more likely to employ a rhetorical style that allows them to identify and connect with their constituents, as well as create a more personal and inclusive debate.

Finally, I find some preliminary evidence that the presence of female members influences their male colleagues to speak about women's concerns as well. This suggests that women are expanding the scope of the conflict as well as transforming the terms of debate itself.

WOMEN'S WORDS: GENDER AND SPEECHMAKING IN CONGRESS

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On April 19, 1994, seven women members of the U.S. Senate took to the floor. What had begun as a typically routine matter – the promotion of a two star admiral to retire with four stars – became a discussion about sexual harassment and the role of women in the military. The female Senators came to oppose the promotion of the Admiral Frank Kelso II based on the Admiral's role in the infamous Tailhook scandal three years earlier and protest the lack of action by military. The scandal revealed deeply rooted sexism in the Navy after a female officer came forward with harassment charges at a convention of naval aviators. Admiral Kelso handled one of the investigations for the Navy, and had been present at the convention. Many believed that the investigation had been mishandled, and the problems of sexism in the Navy once again swept under the rug (Lacayo 1994).

It was in this context that the women of the Senate led the charge against the Kelso promotion. Led by the senior woman in the Senate, Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), the women raised a number of issues related to the investigation and Admiral Kelso's behavior. They talked about the intimate details of Tailhook and the experiences of women in the military. They expressed the anger many women felt about sexual harassment as well as a sense of solidarity with the women of the country as they spoke in their interest. At the same time, these Senators recognized their own roles as actors with access to the public agenda, who could underscore this as a symbol of the continuing problems of the male-dominated military. For example, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun noted,

“As the folks back home say, you take the bitter with the better. Well, the bitter here is that because there has been no accountability for Tailhook, because there was no responsibility for Tailhook, because we have seen nothing happen except sweeping this ugly matter under the rug, because of that, the person who was in charge, the person at whose desk the buck stopped, has to be responsible in some way. And whether this is considered to be symbolic or not, the issue is that symbols are important. The issue is that this action by the U.S. Senate is important, because what it will say to the American people is that we are serious about this matter, that we are not prepared to see the rug with the lump in the middle any longer; we are prepared to say, yes, there is accountability, and the chain of command means just that--that when you get to the top of the chain, someone is responsible for what has happened along the way. What happened at Tailhook must never happen again. The anger that you have heard from women on both sides of the aisle--on both sides of the aisle, I point out--on this issue is born of a frustration that women have throughout this Nation over the lack of sensitivity, the incapacity to see why this is important.” (April 14, 1994)

Although there was an upcoming vote on the promotion, the women of the Senate did not expect to win. However, they each participated in the discussion that ensued on the floor of the Senate because they felt it was important to keep the issue of sexism in the military on the agenda and to remind the public of the women who endure under that system. Senator Mikulski noted,

“But whether we win the vote or not, we feel we have won a victory here today because we have raised this issue to show from now on when we look at what is going to happen in promotions and in retirements and in rewards, the issues will be raised, and they will be raised about the FBI, they will be raised about the Bureau of Alcohol and Firearms, they will be raised about Social Security, they will be raised about gender discrimination going on at the National Institutes of Health. They will be raised.” (April 19, 1994).

In this case, the women of the Senate used the floor as a way to speak about an issue that women faced, and that perhaps the men of the Senate didn't quite, as Senator Moseley-Braun noted, “get it.” As women, they felt they had a unique perspective and alternative set of priorities that were exemplified in their outrage at

the proposed promotion of Admiral Kelso that seemed generally routine to the men of the Senate and the Clinton administration.

The impact of women in Congress is a particularly important area of research because women are an increasing presence in legislatures across the country.

Although some of the increases throughout the 1990s seem to have leveled off, particularly among Republican women (Center for American Women and Politics 2006), it is clear that this growing incidence of the election of female and minority legislators has the potential to bring major changes to legislatures and policymaking. It still unclear if women's growing presence will result in the integration of women into the current structure and norms of Congress, or whether women's presence will result in a transformative politics that addresses the gendered nature of the institution (Phillips 1995; Thomas 1994). Congressional studies often focus on the impact of structural, electoral and institutional factors to explain congressional behavior. However, a growing body of work on identity politics indicates that factors such as race and gender may play a role in the development of a member's legislative priorities and explaining congressional behavior. Additionally, a number of other variables, including Republican majorities, committee and other institutional structures, as well as changing activist and elite agendas, are a set of emerging factors that have yet to be fully understood in their impact on legislative behavior, particularly women's legislative activities.

One aspect of legislative behavior that remains understudied within this growing body of work on the priorities and behavior of female legislators are the linkages between legislators and constituents. Legislators strategically develop lines

of communication between themselves and their constituents. This is the lifeblood of representation, linking members of Congress to those that elect them. These relationships are sustained through communication, but they differ in style and content among legislators (Fenno 1978; Mayhew 1974; Wahlke 1971).

Communication often happens on the campaign trail or during work in the district (Fenno 1978), but position-taking is an alternative means for members to speak to constituents on the record about their perspectives on legislation. Speechmaking is different from voting in that members can choose the issues on which they will speak. Members can use speeches to supplement their homestyle and reinforce their identification with constituents. Even the types of speeches that members give are influenced by the factors similar to those that predict communication styles in the district such as electoral competitiveness and district opinion (Hill and Hurley 2002; Highton and Rocca 2005).

At the same time, floor speeches reflect the individual priorities of members on national debates. Conceptually, speechmaking is different from roll-call voting because members decide whether to give a speech (Highton and Rocca 2005). This allows researchers to look at the intensity of commitment to a given issue by looking at the number of speeches given on it, rather than just the directionality of a member's position as measured through roll-call voting. This is important because many female members of Congress claim that they feel a particular responsibility to represent not just their geographic or electoral constituencies, but a wider constituency of women on national issues, a "surrogate" constituency (Carroll 2002).

How then does this sense of representing a national constituency manifest itself among legislative priorities and behavior, and what are the implications for communication style? The unique impact of women in Congress is seen in their voting records, bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship, committee behavior, leadership, and issue agendas (Rosenthal 2002; Swers 2002a, 2002b; Norton 2002; Rosenthal 1998; Wolbrecht 2000, 2002). Several studies have found gender differences in aspects of speechmaking as well, such as the inclusion of marginalized groups in welfare debates (Cramer Walsh 2002; Gring-Pemble 2003), differences among issue agendas of Republican and Democratic women (Shogun 2001), and influencing male colleagues through framing of issues (Tien, Levy and Aved 2001). However, broad, systematic studies of gender differences between men and women in the content and style of speechmaking across multiple issue areas and years have as yet not been done. This project attempts to fill that void.

This dissertation will address three different aspects of speechmaking: content, issue context, and style. Chapter 2 gives an overview of these three concepts, tying them to the larger issues of representation and deliberation in a representative government. This chapter also includes an overview of the dataset used in this project. Chapter 3 is an empirical examination of gender differences in speaking about a key surrogate constituency group – women. This chapter asks whether female legislators are more likely than their male counterparts to speak about women in their speeches, i.e. give gender-conscious speeches. It is also important to analyze this question in light of other alternative explanations for congressional behavior, including party, committee work and constituency characteristics.

Chapter 4 extends this analysis to look at the issue context and issue agenda of these speeches about women. First, I examine whether speeches about women take place within a traditional issue context. Social issues are often associated with women, and therefore it is likely that many gender-conscious speeches may be given within this traditional social debate. However, one possible effect of women's presence in legislatures is to broaden the definition of "women's issues" (Celis forthcoming). This chapter investigates whether female legislators in Congress are pushing the boundaries of women's issues into more nontraditional areas. Second, the question remains whether women are also likely to prioritize social issues generally. Looking at both a narrow and more general definition of women's issues, I ask whether women are also focusing their speeches on these traditionally feminine issues to a greater extent than their male colleagues. Lastly, female legislators may extend their speechmaking to other marginalized groups. This chapter also asks whether women are more likely to speak about groups that historically have been left out of the debate, such as low-income citizens, the disabled, and children.

Chapter 5 moves away from content and issue context to look at differences in style. Members of Congress employ different homestyles in their districts as they attempt to identify with their constituents. This chapter uses the concept of 'feminine style' of rhetoric to frame the analysis of gender differences in speech styles, particularly with the intent of connecting with constituents. The chapter also looks to the partial birth abortion debate for examples of differences in these styles as they are applied to this particular issue area.

The final empirical chapter looks back to the previous chapters to fully examine the differences across Congresses for each of the key findings. Although we may not expect dramatic change in the fourteen years since the ‘Year of the Woman’ elections of 1992, it is important to look for signs of women’s impact on debate in Congress. It is possible that women’s growing presence in Congress may have a transformative impact on floor debate, influencing their colleagues to see issues in a gendered light. The final chapter offers some concluding thoughts about the project, as well as some implications for larger questions of democracy and representation.

Chapter 2: Women's Representation in Congress

In a recent book, Richard Fenno (2003) defines *linkages* as the relationships between members of Congress and their multiple constituencies based on responsiveness and accountability. This linkage is forged through connections that members make with their constituents. As the number of female representatives has increased in Congress, the question arises; are female representatives developing these connections with a constituency of women that extends beyond their own geographic constituencies? There are a number of ways that connections between female representatives and their surrogate constituency could be forged. We have begun to understand the policy consequences of women's participation in Congress (Swers 2002a; Rosenthal 2002; Wolbrecht 2000). Female representatives can also forge connections by raising their voice on behalf of women in political deliberation. This dissertation focuses on an understudied aspect of women's influence – participation in floor deliberation and voicing the interests of those who are traditionally underrepresented.

In order to address these issues of representation, I examine whether female officeholders represent women's interests in floor deliberation to a greater extent than their male counterparts. This will include which members tend to speak about women on the floor, and on which issues. Although any members may speak about women's interests on the floor, I also examine the intensity of representation by female members (Tamerius 1995). Speechmaking offers a type of legislative behavior that is not required. Therefore it allows us to investigate the priorities of

members of Congress, rather than just their position on a given policy, across several contexts.

Second, women's floor deliberation may influence institutional norms by changing the style of discourse. Women are generally seen as bringing a more interpersonal and collaborative style to politics (Rosenthal 1998; Kathlene 1993). To address this issue, I examine whether women are more likely to use a feminine style of rhetoric (Campbell 1989; Dow and Tonn 1993). The feminine rhetorical style is ideally suited for use as a framework for analysis of congressional debate because it focuses on the speaker's perspective on the audience. In this case, the audience is the member's constituents. Speakers who use a feminine rhetorical style attempt to connect with their audience, empower them, and share experiences. Looking deeper into these speeches will shed new light onto the ways that women view politics, and how they may bring a unique way of understanding, as well as legislating, politics.

Each of these analyses will attempt to uncover the impact that women may be having on public deliberation in Congress. Understanding this impact is an important and understudied area of representation. This research will uncover the representational roles and unique perspectives of female legislators through their participation in our national debate.

Women and Political Representation

Representation is a difficult concept. Although most agree that representation is important, knowing how to give and receive quality representation and what that entails is often unclear. The earliest studies of political science conceived of

representation as a dyadic relationship between representative and constituent and the policy congruence between the two. The key question was whether constituents had an influence over their representatives, even though there was only a “chemical trace” of awareness of the member’s actions (Miller and Stokes 1963). The distinction was also made between descriptive (“standing for”) and substantive (“acting for”) representation. Descriptive representation, which relied upon a representative’s characteristics, was deemed inadequate. Rather, what representatives do in office was of far greater importance (Pitkin 1967).

However, characteristics of representatives are also important. It is possible to judge representation on a collective level. On this basis, Congress falls far short of proportionality among groups (Weissberg 1978). Constituents do not always make their views clear across every possible issue, and new issues may emerge after an election, leaving representatives to use their own discretion. This discretion is contained from moving too far from district opinion because members must emerge from the district he/she represents. The process of recruitment ensures that candidates, and eventually members, are strongly familiar with the people whom they are elected to represent (Kingdon 1989). Members are also consistently returning to the district to remind their constituents that they are representing their interests because they are one of them (Fenno 1978). They must maintain these open lines of communication throughout their tenure, which is done through visiting, meeting with, and responding to requests from constituents (Fenno 2003). Similarly, arguments have been made for majority-minority districts based on the idea that institutional rules should not prevent black constituents from electing black members to Congress

(Canon 1999). When looking at representation in Congress from this more collective standpoint, marginalized groups often feel there is generally something unjust about not being able to elect a member of Congress from their community (Phillips 1995).

However, once one begins to focus on the “politics of difference” rather than the “politics of commonality” a number of concerns arise (Canon 1999). Focusing on identity in representation may place too great a weight on the divisions that exist among us. This, in turn, may create even greater tensions among groups and unnecessary competition (Phillips 1995; Williams 1998). Identity politics also makes accountability more difficult, particularly if the identified group for representation exists outside a geographical district (Phillips 1995; Mansbridge 2003; Dolan 2005; Williams 1998). Marginalization may also be re-created within the legislature itself. One way to fight this re-creation of social marginalization is to increase the deliberativeness of the legislature (Williams 1998). Lastly, it may contribute to an interest-group driven politics where self-interest and self-gain are prominent (Phillips 1995; Williams 1998).

There are four arguments for a politics of presence which aims to increase the self-representation of marginalized groups. First, symbolically, representatives associated with certain groups make two contributions. They establish a level of legitimacy for the entire governmental system. Group-identified representatives provide a public affirmation that a group is politically equal (Guinier 1994; Phillips 1995). This encourages a greater sense of efficacy and participation in politics (Atkeson 2003). For women, female representatives can be role models for women who tend to be less likely to think of themselves as potential candidates (Lawless and

Fox 2005), less likely to participate in formal politics (Conway 2005), and to have lower levels of political knowledge (Delli Carpini and Keeter 2005). When female candidates run, women are more likely to discuss politics, thereby increasing their interest and knowledge in political candidates and issues (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). Symbols can also create a sense of trust among marginalized groups that government and members of Congress are actually considering their interests (Williams 1998).

A second argument for a politics of presence is the limitations of the two-party system on voter choices (Phillips 1995). Although the parties present issues in terms of opposites, it is not necessarily the case that all voter attitudes will correspond with partisan stances. This may be particularly problematic for members of marginalized groups. For example, some laissez-faire female conservatives believe that the government should not play a major role in either economic or personal matters; including both social welfare issues, business regulation and reproductive issues (Klatch 1990; 1987). However, typically the Republican Party places itself as being in favor of regulating abortion, as in the case of the Hyde amendment and partial birth abortion bans (Sanbonmatsu 2002; Wolbrecht 2000). Increasing representation of marginalized voices allows for less polarized voices to be heard.

Third, representatives have a fair amount of autonomy. Even if a member of Congress is elected with a clear mandate on an issue, there will be many other issues for them to address while in Congress (Phillips 1995). On these types of issues, a representative's own views and priorities will play a major role. In particular, a representative will have the ability to decide how his/her schedule and time

commitments will be prioritized. Members who represent a social group are more likely to prioritize their agenda and commit their time and energy to issues which are of group importance to the group (Tamerius 1995; Canon 1999).

Lastly, preferences among voters and other members are not set in stone. Representation is a process of continually connecting with constituents (Fenno 2003). It is through regular participation in decisionmaking that marginalized groups will be able to present new alternatives and emphasize different agendas (Phillips 1995; Young 1990). In any policymaking decision, all options cannot realistically be considered (Kingdon 1984; Stone 1997). Instead, by creating a seat at the table for representatives who are specifically identified with a given group, it is more likely that previously unconsidered alternatives are likely to be given full consideration. This is because group members are more likely to understand and recognize the effects of social and economic inequality than those who have not experienced it (Williams 1998).

Accountability is a key consideration when assessing the linkages between representatives and a surrogate constituency that cannot vote for or against an elected official (Pitkin 1967). Theorists posit that one mechanism through which accountability can be exercised is the nature of shared experience (Phillips 1995; Williams 1998). Certainly a problem exists in overly essentializing the experiences of women, since factors such as sexuality, race, and class can play a major role in shaping an individual's experiences. However, comparing the collective experiences of women and men reveals important systematic differences. Women generally have a number of experiences that are different from that of men. The experience begins

with gendered socialization throughout childhood. Women's roles as caregivers have different effects on the identities of young girls and boys (Chodorow 1974). This creates a sense of connectedness among young girls in their self-identification, whereas boys develop a more individualized sense of self (Gilligan 1982; Chodorow 1974). This can result in moral reasoning tendencies that emphasize relational and contextual considerations among girls and abstract principles and individuality among boys (Gilligan 1982).

This tends to lead to different social expectations, particularly related to the caregiving role. Women are often expected to care for children and aging parents. This can have important consequences for women's experiences in the workplace. Women are more likely to drop out of the workforce or work part-time. Women who take time off for family needs are likely to see a wage loss as compared to women who did not, even decades into their work experiences. This also contributes to employer perceptions about women workers, which may account for high levels of job segregation. Although there is still a significant wage gap, it has narrowed over time. However, at all levels of education women are paid less than men. There is still occupational segregation though, which also contributes to the wage gap. Projections suggest that 2/3 of all working men would have to find an alternative job in order to have complete sex integration in the workplace. Women tend to dominate in jobs where caregiving plays a role (nurses, teachers) and are also often relegated to the bottom tiers of professional positions (McGlen et al 2002; Ford 2002; Stetson 1997; Conway, Ahern and Steuernagel 1999).

Lastly, women tend to have distinct attitudes from men. Research on the gender gap shows that women tend to be more socially liberal on issues including social welfare spending and helping the impoverished. They are also less likely to support military action and feel secure in their personal economic situation (Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999; Seltzer, Newman and Voorhees Leighton 1997). The changing partisan gender gap and women's Democratic identification can be attributed support for and increased salience of social issues (Kaufmann 2002). The emphasis on social welfare issues played a role in the Democratic victories of 1992 (Dolan 2002; Plutzer and Zipp 1997; Cook, Thomas and Wilcox 1993). Overall, there are a number of different reasons why we should expect women to have some level of shared experiences of marginalization, although certainly no two individual experiences will be exactly the same.

Deliberation and Representation

There are a number of different ways that women could connect with their female surrogate constituency. Policy congruence, symbolic actions, personal outreach, and symbolic activities are all ways in which female representatives could connect with and be responsive to this group (Fenno 2003). However, one way that has yet to be fully understood is the representation of these interests through the process of deliberation. Representing marginalized interests in public deliberation is a way in which female members can be responsive to their surrogate constituency. At the same time, deliberation among members of Congress allows female representatives to express the needs of a socially marginalized group. Because

women are expected to have different experiences and to share these experiences among those of a similar sex, many expect that female representatives will have a distinct perspective to offer once they are elected to office (Hawkesworth 1990).

Vertical deliberation – communication between constituents and members - plays an important role in traditional ideas of congressional representation. In this communication, members can perform so as to present themselves in a certain light. They can control the impression constituents will have of them (Fenno 1978; Goffman 1959). Performance and symbols will likely play an important role in this presentation (Carlson 2004). House members try to build trust and connections among their constituents through this presentation. In visits to their home districts, members focus on their qualifications, including experience and honesty, identification with constituents, and empathy with constituents. Particularly when it comes to empathy, members may attempt to show that they understand the needs of a group – such as women (Fenno 1978).

Communication with constituents contributes to accountability. Members are accountable to their constituencies because they have to explain their votes and provide them with information in order to continue being re-elected (Kingdon 1989). Members are constantly returning to their districts to reaffirm to their constituents that they are trustworthy by highlighting their expertise and their links to the district (Fenno 1978). Members also increase their likelihood of getting re-elected by advertising themselves through position-taking. This includes speaking about issues that constituents are likely to care about to show that a member cares about

constituent concerns and is working in their best interests in Washington (Mayhew 1974).

Particularly in the fourth argument previously mentioned in favor of a politics of presence the importance of deliberation is highlighted in the process of the incorporation of marginalized interests. This emphasizes both the process of vertical and horizontal communication (discussion among elites). Deliberation is important because of the possibility of the creation of a transformative politics through a consistent presence in political decisionmaking. A key reason why a politics of presence is important is because these representatives are likely to add a new voice to discussion over policymaking. Not only will they likely place a greater emphasis on certain issues, but they will share their own experiences along with those of the groups with which they are associated. This sharing requires a process of deliberation to occur, where one side shares its experiences and the other acknowledges it (Young 1990; Phillips 1995). One way this could occur is by representatives explaining how legislation or events might distinctly impact a group. Public participation in deliberation and discussion also creates a better chance of accountability to surrogate constituents because they are able to see evidence of the incorporation of their interests into political discussion (Young 1990).

Certainly, the current state of floor deliberation in Congress does not live up to true deliberation. Floor deliberation in Congress is generally considered unlikely to change the minds of members who have come down to vote (Smith 1989; Bessette 1994; Connor and Oppenheimer 1993). However, in the Senate debate and discussion are valued to a greater extent. Floor deliberation in the Senate is more

likely to incorporate a larger set of participants because the rules of floor debate are subject to individual approval (Sinclair 2000; Smith 1989).

However, there are number of reasons for thinking that floor speeches are still an important avenue for understanding congressional behavior. There are a number of ways that floor speeches provide avenues through which members can communicate vertically and horizontally, and can begin to emphasize the gendered saliency of various issues. Agenda-setting processes can be influenced by floor speechmaking. Members can participate in floor deliberation in an effort to define or redefine an issue as gendered. Framing of issues is an important link between elites and the public that can influence the types of considerations people take into account when formulating an opinion on an issue (Granstaff 1999; Cobb and Elder 1972; Luker 1984). Second, floor deliberation allows members to define or redefine an issue (Sinclair 1989). Issue definition is an important part of the policymaking process because it sets the frames for understanding an issue and eventually the terms of debate (Cobb and Elder 1972). Symbols and other tools may play an important role in this process (Stone 1997; Edelman 1964). For example, in the 103rd Congress a number of members in favor of a bill to stem abortion clinic violence went to the floor to speak forcefully about the murder of Dr. David Gunn at a Pensacola clinic. Speaking about the tragedy was a useful symbol to express the necessity of passing the legislation. Although floor debate may not always influence current votes, it may set the stage for future redefinition of an issue. In this way, floor speeches can begin the process of transforming an issue's frame. Speeches can also influence an issue's

place on the agenda. Speechmaking can add pressure to those internal and external actors to take action on an issue (Schneier and Gross 1993; Sinclair 1989).

There are likely to be important differences in speechmaking patterns in the House and Senate. Each of these chambers has developed distinctive rules that lead to different debate environments. In the House, scheduling floor legislation and debate are much more formal and controlled by party leaders. Members wishing to speak are generally at the discretion of party leaders to floor managers. The Senate, on the other hand, relies on unanimous consent agreements, and individual members can set their own level of participation in debate to a great extent. They can offer nongermane amendments and therefore are less constricted by the current bill to speak about their priority. Because there are fewer Senators overall, there is also less competition for floor time during key debates (Oleszek 2004).

Communication between constituents and members along with intra-institutional communication can be facilitated by floor speeches (Bessette 1994; Schneier and Gross 1993). Constituent contact can assist members in their drive for re-election, and create visibility even when a member cannot be in the district (Mayhew 1974; Fenno 1978). The creation of C-SPAN allows constituents and members to watch floor speeches from their homes as well as their offices (Frantzich and Sullivan 1996). It can also provide a forum for a member to explain votes clearly so as to fend off challenges and provide a position for future campaigns (Smith 1989). There is some evidence that members can even get through to their constituents. Voters whose members publicized their votes on high-profile issues were more likely to correctly name those positions (Lipinski 2001). Members use speeches as a way to

earn coverage among local news as well. African-American members tend to receive coverage specifically on racial issues to a greater extent than more neutral issues (Schaffner and Gadson 2004). However, female members of Congress receive less coverage than their male counterparts (Schaffner 2002; Kahn 1996).

There is also a need for members to communicate horizontally – among themselves and to those watching on television from their offices. First, it establishes that members can “hold their own.” Members can emphasize their expertise and knowledge on a given issue and their ability to engage in deliberation (Cramer Walsh 2002). This may be particularly important for female members, who may need to prove their credibility to male colleagues (Cramer Walsh 2002; Gertzog 1995). Floor speeches allow members to communicate with allies on the floor and watching on television in their offices, as well as pass on necessary information on long, complex bills (Bessette 1994; Schneier and Gross 1993). This has become increasingly necessary as omnibus bills have become more popular (Schick 2000).

Most importantly for understanding the impact of female legislators, floor speeches provide the chance to look for signs of a “transformative politics.” Are female members of Congress bringing their shared experiences to the national discussion? Although we shouldn’t expect women to change the nature of congressional discourse in a short period, eventually the incorporation of marginalized views will occur through a consistent call by female legislators to address the needs of women. This should occur not only through representing women on the floor, but through a constant redefinition and expansion of what constitutes gendered issues. This is a related argument to that of “surrogate” representation,

where a representative is relating to a constituent base that exists at least partly outside of their constituent base (Mansbridge 2003). Although it may be possible for certain groups to represent other groups, a history of shared marginalization – particularly in the political realm - qualifies women’s interests as needing surrogate representation. Female legislators could use deliberation to give voice to women’s shared experiences, and therefore transform the ways that women are represented.

One important criticism of the politics of presence that could be remedied through greater deliberation is the problem of transferring marginalization from the polity to the institution. If group members within an institution are simply marginalized it will be difficult to have an impact within the institution (Williams 1998). One way that members can fight this marginalization is to participate in discussion and sharing their experiences.

Women and Legislatures

As candidates, women are likely to present themselves differently than male candidates, although oftentimes masculine and feminine traits and issues are mixed on the campaign trail (Bystrom et al 2004). In general, women may run ‘as women’ to highlight their gender by focusing the campaign on feminine issues (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003; Larson 2001; Dabelko and Herrnson 1997). This is because women are evaluated differently, they can be seen as more honest and caring, and are viewed as more competent on “compassion” issues such as poverty, health care and education (Leeper 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Alexander and Andersen 1993).

This can lead to different styles of campaigning among men and women. Women may balance their masculine and feminine traits and issues. In television advertising women were more likely to focus on feminine issues such as education, health care, senior's issues, women's issues. They were also more likely to show pictures of their children, speak for themselves, and be seen smiling. They were also likely to employ more masculine traits and issues, focusing more on the economy and dressing in a formal manner (Bystrom et al 2004; Kahn 1996).

Early on, those who studied the increasing number of women entering public office were limited by the small number of women to more qualitative studies or general overviews of women's perceptions of their roles in office (Diamond 1977). Some suggested that as the number of women increased in a legislature their unique contributions would increase since small numbers of women relegated them to token status (Thomas 1994; Kanter 1977). However, as increasing numbers of women entered public office, political scientists began to ponder their impact. Were female officeholders really making a difference? Was this impact simply symbolic? Or did female officeholders bring a unique set of issue priorities, perspectives and behaviors to their public service?

Research has generally answered in the affirmative. Women do make a unique impact in legislatures. This is most apparent in their distinct priorities and agendas. From local city council offices to state legislatures to Congress, women appear different from their male colleagues in legislative settings (Carroll, Dodson, and Mandel 1991). Specifically in Congress, women have been shown to be more likely to express support for issues that have a disproportionate impact upon female

constituents, are more likely to sponsor and co-sponsor bills on women's issues, and are more likely to offer amendments on women's issues in committee and on the floor (Tatalovich and Schier 1993; Swers 1998, 2002a 2002b; Burrell 1994; Dolan 1997). This does not necessarily mean that women are more liberal than their male counterparts (Frankovic 1977; Leader 1977; Gehlen 1977; Welch 1985; Burrell 1994), but women of both parties are more likely to vote for women's issue legislation (Swers 1998; Dolan 1997). Women are as effective in moving their priorities into law (Jeydel and Taylor 2003). At the state legislative level, studies have also found that women were more likely to prioritize issues that were explicitly feminist as well as social welfare issues, were more likely to sponsor bills on those issues, and were more likely to secure passage of legislation (Saint-Germain 1989; Dodson and Carroll 1991; Thomas 1994; Dolan and Ford 1995; Bratton and Haynie 1999).

Although female members have been shown to speak about underrepresented groups to a greater extent than their male colleagues, how these differ among a wide set of issues has yet to be investigated. Women have been shown to focus on women's health issues and raise concerns about women's unique needs on those bills (Osborn and Morehouse 2003; Dodson 1998). The gender gap has often been attributed to differences in social issues, or compassion issues. Women tend to prioritize these types of issues in their legislative work (Saint-Germain 1989; Dodson and Carroll 1991; Thomas 1994; Dolan and Ford 1995). They are also more likely to sit on committees that deal with these types of issues, even if not by choice (Noelle 2002).

Women tend to be more likely to vote in favor of feminist policies, particularly abortion or family/children's issues (Swers 1998; Burrell 1994; Saint-Germain 1989). However, roll call voting is only one of many different activities in which legislators participate. It does not indicate how intensely committed a member is to a given issue (Hall 1996). Tamerius (1995) claims we should expect the largest differences among women and men on bill sponsorship and speechmaking, with smaller sex differences on roll call voting and bill co-sponsorship. This is because the latter two require less of the particular expertise and awareness that female legislators bring to the table. Bill sponsorship differences among male and female legislators on feminist issues are sizable (Swers 2002a). By ignoring speechmaking as a legislative activity, we may be underestimating the distinct representation of women by female legislators. There is some indication that women present themselves differently in communication. In communication with constituents, women were more likely to claim credit for feminine issues (Dolan and Kropf 2004). Also, in congressional press releases women were more likely to speak about feminine issues but were less likely to claim credit for them (Fridkin and Woodall 2005). However, an analysis of congressional websites indicates that men and women are similar in their presentation of themselves (Niven and Zilber 2001).

However, partisanship is a mitigating factor in most legislative activities. Early research into women's impact on the policy process often did not control for the importance of party. However, there is certainly a long tradition of party playing an important role in congressional voting and behavior (Cox and McCubbins 1994). Partisanship is important because over the last several decades, the parties have begun

to distinguish themselves on women's issues (Wolbrecht 2000). The parties have taken opposing stands on women's issues. This has been particularly true in the 1990s, as Jo Freeman notes, "The 1992 conventions... saw the culmination of trends that ha[d] been developing for 20 years. The two major political parties ha[d] now completely polarized around feminism and the reaction to it. Each party's position ha[d] become institutionalized to the point where it is not seriously questioned within the national party and where the differences are clearly evident to the voting public." (1993, 21, quoted in Wolbrecht 2000).

The Democratic Party has been the home of advocates for feminist policies since the 1970s, when the parties began to realign on the issue of the Equal Rights Amendment (Wolbrecht 2000). The activism that began with the ERA helped to make the Democratic Party home to feminist groups (Burrell 1993). Party activists are more likely to support feminist policies (Jennings 1990). Since 1980, the parties have polarized on women's issues, particularly abortion. The Democratic Party has generally supported a women's right to choose. The 1992 elections were mainly a Democratic women phenomenon, with groups such as EMILY's List supporting pro-choice female Democrats (although pro-choice Republicans did form WISH list). The 1992 Democratic Party platform stated their support for public child care, while Republicans backed private policies. Democrats, aside from their support for the right to choose, supported greater access to contraception and pledged to fight domestic violence (Wolbrecht 2000; Sanbonmatsu 2002).

On the other hand, the Republican Party has become increasingly home to anti-feminist positions, as members of the Christian right and social conservatives

have come to play a prominent role in the party (Wolbrecht 2000). There are generally two kinds of female activists in the Republican Party: laissez-faire conservatives - who were libertarian, and social conservatives – who tended to be fundamentalist and were more likely to be homemakers (Klatch 1990). By 1992, the social conservatives in the party gained greater influence over the party platform and agenda. Family values were an important priority for the party, which had an unfavorable view of single [female] parents. The Republican Party became the pro-life party, including socially conservative women such as Phyllis Schlafly – a longtime GOP activist (Wolbrecht 2000). Conservative women’s groups, such as the Eagle Forum, focused on cultural issues like abortion, pornography, or gay rights in the 1992 elections, tending to downplay women’s commonalities. However, they did tend to highlight Hillary Clinton’s nontraditional role (Marshall 1996). In the party platform, Republicans supported women’s health funding and spoke out against pornography (Wolbrecht 2000). Therefore, it is important to address partisan differences that might mitigate the willingness of women to speak out for women.

Women’s Voice: Contextualizing the Debate

Along with legislating different issue agenda priorities, women may also bring a different socialization to power, politics and leadership to legislative institutions (Reingold 1996). These differences may lead to women having a distinctive style of presenting themselves to the public and behavior in the legislature. Much of the research has focused on women’s campaign styles (Bystrom et al 2004). Therefore it

is important to look at the presentation of speeches along with the types of experiences they are likely to bring to legislative discussion.

Overall, members of Congress must find a successful way to present themselves to their constituents. This is referred to as the presentation of self (Goffman 1973). Because members hope to achieve their goal of reelection, they spend time creating impressions of themselves that allow them to build trust with their constituents. This includes tactics such as identifying with members of your district as a way to create or maintain connections that build trust (Fenno 1978). Candidates and members of Congress try to shape their image to influence the decisions of the audience (their constituents) as much as possible, although in the end the audience ultimately holds the power (Goffman 1973; Fenno 1978).

Candidates have been the main objects of study regarding the presentation of self, particularly as it relates to gender differences among various types of presentation. This is because one can look at particular television advertising and measure aspects of this presentation (Kaid and Davidson 1986; Trent and Sabourin 1993). Indeed there do seem to be different self-presentations of male and female candidates. For example, in the most comprehensive look at television ads to date, women candidates in television advertising were more likely to emphasize masculine traits such as strength and toughness, while men were more likely to mention their compassion and sensitivity. Women also dressed in a formal manner that suggested professionalism more often than men in their ads. Female candidates may be trying to offset their femininity at times with more masculine images. Even when controlling for partisanship and incumbency, women are likely to emphasize their

knowledge of issues and reinforce their qualifications in their ads (Bystrom et al 2004).

This idea of the gender differences in presentational styles has been used to examine differences in speechmaking patterns in linguistic studies. A long history of work indicates that men and women use language in different ways (Lakoff 1975; Kramarae 1981) and this often results in miscommunication between the sexes (Tannen 1990). This includes such differences in verbosity, interrupting behavior, the use of questions, and acknowledging the previous speaker (Tannen 1990; Coates 1986). Some criticize this “difference approach” in that it doesn’t challenge male-domination of language (Crawford 2000). However, these works focus on interactions between men and women (as well as same-sex conversations). In congressional debate there is less direct interaction, and far more of members giving their speeches but not engaging other members. This is partly due to the parliamentary rules of debate, which limit direct interaction even when two members are engaging each other. For this reason, it is necessary to look to theories of rhetoric for a more appropriate framework for public speechmaking.

When looking particularly at the public realm, Campbell (1989) employed a framework which she calls a feminine style of rhetoric. Although it is used by both men and women, it can be traced to women activists even prior to winning the right to vote. Women were generally less involved in the political realm, and therefore women orators used certain tactics to bring them into the process and join their cause. This feminine style therefore focuses on empowering and involving the audience in

ones rhetoric, making the experiences and ideas of the speaker more authentic to those who are listening.

The feminine style consists of a number of key elements. First, this style of presentation uses a personal and inclusive tone, which uses words that suggest that the audience and the speaker are peers. It also attempts to empower the audience by encouraging them to become involved in the political process, and make their voice heard. By seeing the audience as peers, they value their opinions equally. This is partly because this style also values subjective knowledge to a great extent. Therefore those who use a feminine style also tend to rely on personal, lived experiences and anecdotes to make their case. This style allows the speaker to present their stories to the audience, and then encourage them to compare this with the listener's own experiences. Another related element is the identification with the audience and the speaker, where the speaker reminds them that he/she is one of them. Also, this style uses inductive structures, which begin with a larger statement or example and then eventually present the speaker's position at the end of the speech. This is opposed to deductive strategies, which present conclusions first, and then follow it up with a number of points to support that position.

Several studies have used this feminine style framework to investigate modern examples of women in politics and their differing presentations and rhetoric (Blankenship and Robson 1995; Sullivan and Turner 1996). For example, a study of Ann Richards's rhetoric found that she used this feminine style to connect with audiences in a number of key speeches in her political career (Dow and Tonn 1993). Similarly, women speaking at political conventions tended to use some aspects of

feminine style such as inductive reasoning, but generally blended masculine and feminine styles (DeRosa and Bystrom 1999; DeRosa 1996). Even without using the framework of feminine style, (Fenno 2003) describes Representative Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH) at a synagogue in her district, where she came with prepared remarks. However, she soon begins talking without the help of the notes, and then,

“She abandoned it [the speech] in favor of a reliable policy connection with the congregation. ‘I want to take two minutes to change the subject and tell you something I did that was one of the most exciting experiences of my first year in Congress. I took a trip to Israel.’... (It would not be the last time I watched her abandon her text and “get personal” when she felt she was losing an audience.)” (219)

In this case, Tubbs Jones is described as trying to connect with the audience, as all members of Congress do, but does it in a way that is personal in both tone and content. However, the question remains whether the women of Congress use a similar style in floor debate to reach out to their audience and whether they do so more than male members of Congress. This project will attempt to answer that question.

Data and Methods

To test these propositions, I analyze a sample of speeches from the 101st Congress (1989-1990), 103rd Congress (1993-1994) and 108th Congress (2003-2004). I chose the 103rd Congress because it followed the “Year of the Woman” elections of 1992 when there was a moderate increase in the number of women elected to both the House and Senate. Many candidates highlighted women’s issues as part of their

campaign platform. This was also the first two years of the Clinton administration under unified government and women's issues were gaining prominence on the national agenda. After the Clarence Thomas judicial appointment hearings, sexual harassment had become a buzzword. One of the earliest bills debated on the floor was the Family and Medical Leave Act (Cook, Thomas and Wilcox 1994). Using this Congress may therefore increase the likelihood that members of Congress will speak about women's issues and may therefore overstate the overall presence of these issues in a given Congress. However, because women's issues were important given their priority on the Clinton agenda, it is also likely that the gap between men and women would be at its lowest because *all* members were considering and debating these issues. It is also important to assess whether the speechmaking in this year actually increased over other years, and also to understand speechmaking in the context of a Republican majority. Therefore, I chose an earlier Congress and a later one in order to control for and examine different contexts. I chose the 108th Congress because it offered Republican unified government in the same way that the 103rd was unified under Democratic control. Therefore being a member of a minority party is not a factor, as this can influence the overall numbers of speeches that a member will likely give (Maltzman and Sigelman 1996). I chose the 108th rather than the 107th because the latter was unusual in that Democrats and Republicans worked together in a bipartisan fashion post-September 11, 2001. After the 2002 congressional elections, things had gotten back to their usual order of business. Although the two Congresses seem to be very dissimilar with different partisan majorities, they often dealt with similar types of issues, including major health care reform, key education legislation,

as well as typical battles over the budget. In order to see if the 103rd Congress was somewhat exceptional in terms of women's issues, I also chose the 101st Congress for examination. I chose the 101st rather than the congress immediately before the 103rd to avoid any contamination of the data because of the campaigns taking place during the last year of the 102nd Congress (1992). I also didn't choose an earlier year, because the 101st is the earliest Congress for which the Congressional Record is currently available via the Library of Congress website. However, the 101st Congress presented a less than ideal case because there were only two female Senators. Therefore any claims about women's speechmaking would necessarily be difficult, so for the 101st Congress I only collected data from the House of Representatives.

In order to assess how women's interests are represented through congressional speechmaking, I compiled a sample of speeches made by members of Congress. The speeches are available online through the Library of Congress's website (<http://thomas.loc.gov>). Because the research design calls for a comparison mainly of the speeches of male and female members, I collected a stratified systematic sample. In order to efficiently compare subgroups by sex it is ideal to have a sample where subgroups are somewhat equal to minimize standard error of the difference (Sudman 1976, 111). Women make up a fairly small proportion of members and therefore the sample includes the entire population of women's speeches. I then randomly sampled male members of Congress and included their speeches in the sample, including both members of the House and Senate.

Speeches were excluded from the sample if they met certain criteria. First, speeches that were given solely for procedural purposes were not included. This

group would include speeches that announced or authorized various committee hearings, or simply stated the schedule of debate. These speeches were excluded because there was no symbolic or substantive content, and followed a repetitive format. Therefore these types of speeches would not reveal anything about a member's preferences, opinions, or constituents and were excluded. Speeches under four sentences were also not included. This was to balance including most speeches, but to exclude those for which too few words were included for analysis. Including very short speeches in the analysis could potentially bias the results. For example, if a member is debating an issue and speaks three times about a given issue, but the sum total is only three sentences, these three sentences would count thrice as much as one longer comprehensive speech. For this reason, it was necessary to conceptualize a speech as something that included a minimum level of content and size that would differ from simply a short passing comment. Speeches that were broken up only briefly were coded as a single speech.¹ Lastly, I also exclude speeches in the analyses that are included in sections of the record where members insert speeches without giving them on the floor, called extensions of remarks. All of the equations were run including these speeches and similar results were found. Theoretically, it is important to understand member's speechmaking though, and any speeches that were clearly not given on by the member should be excluded from that analysis. Otherwise all speeches entered into the record were included.

¹ Sometimes speeches were broken up by interruptions on the floor for a variety of reasons. Speeches were counted as one speech if they were broken up if the member's time expired and they were given more time, if another member briefly interrupts the speaker, or if the speaker asks a question and receives a brief answer. I operationalize brief here as two or less sentences. Therefore if the person is interrupted but the interruptor's speech continues on for several sentences I coded this as breaking up the previous speech significantly enough that they were coded as separate speeches. On the other hand, if it is only a short interruption or answer to a question, it was coded as one speech.

For this project, I use a content analysis software package where a member's speech is the unit of analysis. The programs, Simstat & Wordstat, are designed to provide an easier means for content analyzing speeches. It is unusual to use such a large number of speeches, but it is necessary for comparison purposes. The process requires first that speeches are downloaded from the congressional record. Next, Wordstat is used to create a dictionary of keywords. These keywords are provided in the appendices for replication and transparency purposes. The keywords were culled from various issue areas and hot topics from the Congresses being studied. Once the keywords were put into the program, Simstat creates word count variables for each of the keyword categories (education, health etc.). Aside from using the system for categorizing speeches by issue areas, keyword categories for women and women's issues were created. These word count variables were used for the dependent variables in the first two chapters. In order to clarify the measures, particularly whether a speech mentioned women, any cases where phrases that linked both sexes (i.e. "women and men," "gays and lesbians" "boys and girls") were excluded and only singular mentions of women were included. This is because oftentimes these phrases are used without any thought of women as a unique group, such as "the women and men of our armed services." This did not have the same level of gender awareness that speeches about breast cancer would.

Measuring the representation of women using this method is somewhat unusual. Oftentimes women's issues are coded only if they meet certain feminist or pro-women criteria. Although I considered this option, I used the current format for a few reasons. First, particularly in the first chapter, the speeches are defined as

“women’s issues” or “gender-conscious” if the member of Congress approaches it that way. In this way there is no apriori categorization of what constitutes a “women’s issue.” This allows for us to understand women’s issues as elites define them. I do address this in a more traditional way in Chapter 2. Second, I did not find many speeches where members of Congress were speaking derogatively about women. In other studies, certain bills or amendments were classified as ‘anti-feminist’ – a useful classification. However, when it came to the sample of speeches that I collected, few speeches would be classified in such a way. Policy rhetoric emerges from alternative priorities and perspectives on the world, which then lead to particular issue frames for the left and right (Luker 1984). Therefore, there are few speeches that mention women in a negative way. For example, speeches about education funding for gender equity would focus on women, but those opposed to it might speak about cutting the government spending as the key goal in their speech. Different issue frames therefore limit the number of negative speeches on the floor.²

² For example, Swers (2002a) mentions amendments such as prohibiting benefits to homosexual partners, denying welfare benefits to teenagers, and cutting back on Title IX and gender equity. However, only a handful of speeches that addressed certain bills and mentioned women could be classified as antifeminist under these examples. In some ways this has to do with the agenda of the 103rd and 108th Congresses, where the battle over welfare reform had not yet heated up or had receded. Also, on gay rights issues, most speeches talked about both the experiences of gays and lesbians. There were no examples of speeches in this sample where members took to the floor to speak against gender and education. I did do a search of Senate speeches for mentions of teen pregnancy and could only find three by Republican men that mentioned pregnant teens in a negative way. The final issue to deal with is abortion. However, for the purposes of the first chapter I include speeches that talk about women but do so in an anti-feminist way. In particular, I felt that leaving these speeches in was important based on the speeches given by Republican women. In some cases, pro-life Republican women would speak about examples of women who had harmful experiences with abortion or would speak reverently about the role of women as caregivers as reasons to oppose abortion. Although these would clearly not be classified as feminist, I wanted to examine whether women are more likely to speak about women without any apriori judgment about their particular politics. Therefore Chapter 3 includes these types of speeches in the sample. On the other hand, I also wanted to investigate whether women were speaking about issues from a more feminist standpoint. Therefore, in Chapter 4, I look at speechmaking on social, feminist, and children’s issues. Also, in Chapter 5 I examine more closely style used during the partial birth abortion debate, making distinctions among partisan agendas.

The overall sample includes 39,669 speeches; 15,240 Senate speeches and 24,429 House speeches. However, for nearly all of the analyses presented in the following chapters, speeches are excluded if they were coded as symbolic. These are speeches that only serve to pay tribute to or recognize a person, place or other event. The symbolic speeches make up 23 percent of the total. Also excluded from the substantive speeches were those that were included in the “extension of remarks” section of the Congressional record since they are most likely just added to the record by members of the staff. The analyses were done with and without these speeches and the results are the same. Therefore, theoretically it makes sense to exclude these cases. Women gave about 45 percent of the speeches, and Democrats approximately 64 percent of the total speeches. Speeches by members of the Senate make up about 38 percent of all speeches, although individual Senators gave more speakers. All of the multivariate analyses presented here are aggregated so that the unit of analysis is the individual member in that particular Congress. At the member level, 46 percent (n=155) of members included were women, and 54 percent (n=179) were men. Among men, the partisanship of the sample was split nearly evenly (47 percent Republicans, 53 percent Democrats). Since the entire population of female members was included, the partisanship for women was slightly more skewed, with 66 percent Democratic women and 34 percent Republican women.

For most analyses I use negative binomial analysis to measure the number of speeches with a given set of keywords. This creates the possibility to measure not just the presence or absence of gender issues or mentions of women, but the extent to which members prioritized them, i.e. the intensity of commitment to these priorities.

I expect that women will have a more intense commitment to representing women and women's issues, as well as display a different style of deliberation.

Chapter 3: Representing Women on the Floor

This legislation gives long-overdue recognition to a disturbing reality. And that is, while crime affects all Americans, it affects women in more insidious ways. Women who are the victims of rape are nearly nine times as likely as non-victims to attempt suicide, and are twice as likely to experience serious depression. Rape and sexual assault affect even women who are not victims. Just ask the millions of women who have altered their patterns of behavior to avoid being alone on the street at night for fear of being attacked. This bill will help ensure women are once again free to walk the streets alone at night if they so choose. It will also help assure those women who are assaulted, despite our best efforts to prevent that, will feel free to turn to the justice system without the fear of being victimized a second time. In short, this Act will help create a more responsive justice system for our mothers, our sisters, our daughters, and our friends. – Carol Moseley-Braun, speaking in favor of the crime bill, August 22, 1994

When discussing the crime bill and a wide variety of other bills in Congress, female legislators took to the floor to demonstrate to their colleagues and their constituents the effect of these bills on women across the country and around the world. They raised issues that were low on the agenda, they fought off legislation they believed to be harmful to the nation's women, and they brought a new perspective to the national debate. In short, they gave voice to a group that has long been marginalized in American society and politics. Whether this extends to other issues, and how this trend compares to the men in Congress remains an open question. This chapter systematically investigates this representation of women in floor speeches in the U.S. Congress.

Women's Representation and Congressional Speechmaking

Women's numbers in Congress have generally been increasing over the past several decades. In particular, the 1992 elections, which led into the 103rd Congress, were known as the 'Year of the Woman.' The elections coincided with the election

of President Clinton, who set social issues such as health care and education high on the public agenda. Female candidates decided to run for open seats after the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill controversy, subsequently adding to the greater public awareness of issues raised in the hearings such as sexual harassment. The 1992 elections were one of the few times we have seen evidence that women voters responded specifically to female candidates in large numbers (Dolan 1998; Plutzer and Zipp 1993). This led to the 103rd Congress with a record number of women in the House and Senate and social and women's issues high on the public agenda.

This raised an important question. How would women act once they were elected to Congress? Would women act differently than their male counterparts? Women had been a very small minority; for example, only two women were members of the Senate in the 101st Congress (Center for American Women in Politics 2006). Over previous decades, the types of women in Congress had been slowly changing with the advent of the women's movement as activists became legislators, and more ambitious women were pursuing national office (Gertzog 1995). This also opened the door for more systematic studies of women's impact in national office. Evidence from the state legislatures indicated that female legislators were different from their male counterparts (Reingold 1992; Thomas and Welch 1991; Saint-Germain 1989). They had different priorities, focused on different issues and were particularly concerned with representing women (Reingold 2000). Studies since the 103rd Congress have also found evidence that women practice national politics in ways different from even their male partisan counterparts (Rosenthal 2002; Swers 2002; Dolan 1997).

One area of legislative behavior that has remained understudied is speechmaking. Position-taking on the floor of the House or Senate is a means for members to state their opinions on issues of importance to themselves and their constituents. This helps members to connect with their constituency and increase their chances for reelection (Mayhew 1974; Fenno 1978). It is assumed that as the numbers of women increase in Congress that they will have a substantive impact on substantive deliberation (Hawkesworth 1990). Women have different experiences than men in society, and this will help to shape debate about what are the important questions and how we should answer them in new ways (Burrell 1994; Williams 1999).

Female legislators may also be more likely to speak about women. Female elected officials at the congressional level tend to see themselves as “surrogate representatives” of women who have a particular responsibility to act as a voice for women who reside outside of their district (Carroll 2002). Women’s personal experiences and interactions with other women will likely make them more apt to give voice to their differential concerns on the floor (Tamerius 1995). In a sample of debates from five bills in the 104th Congress, female legislators did frame welfare issues in terms of their impact on women to a greater extent than male legislators (Cramer Walsh 2002). Also, female legislators were more likely to speak about women’s health issues in the 106th Congress (Osborn and Morehouse 2003). There also seem to be indications that these patterns exist outside of partisan differences. An examination of statements from the 105th Congress indicates that Democratic and Republican women spoke about women at similar rates (Shogun 2001). Therefore,

there is good reason to expect that women will be likely to speak more about women on the floor than their male counterparts.

There are a number of different influences on congressional behavior that explain which members give speeches, and which are likely to give gender-conscious speeches. One of the most important is the goal of reelection. Members who are vulnerable need to connect with their constituents through speechmaking, and are therefore more likely to speak about constituency interests and try to identify with their constituents in debate (Hill and Hurley 2002). Members develop different district homestyles to earn trust among their constituents (Fenno 1978). However, members spend a great deal of time in Washington. One way for members to reach constituents while still in Washington is through “position-taking” (Mayhew 1974). Mayhew remarks a conservative approach to speechmaking is the mode of choice for the politically-savvy member. It is likely that a member’s position-taking behavior may reflect the type of constituency they represent (Highton and Rocca 2005; Fenno 1978).

Younger and more recently elected members may be more likely to understand the diverse roles of women and women’s issues and even be more tolerant of women serving as equals in Congress (Gertzog 1995). Also, those serving longer are generally less likely to give 1-minute speeches in the House (Morris 2001). Party status may also play a role. Minority members are more likely to use time for 1 minute speeches in order to advertise their party message (Maltzman and Sigelman 2001; Lipinski 1999).

Committee position can also play an important role in the expertise of members (Krehbiel 1998). Having an expertise on a bill creates incentives for committee members to speak about it on the floor. This also discourages others from speaking on the floor about it. Committees, particularly in the House, tend to manage the bills on the floor. For example, less than six percent of bill managers were not either the subcommittee or full committee chair in the House in the 103rd Congress. However, floor activity has continued to increase since mid-century, which allows non-committee members the opportunity to alter or kill committee bills to a greater extent (Deering and Smith 1997). Institutional differences may also alter our expectations for representing women through speechmaking. House members will be more likely to give less speeches overall, since speechmaking is more restricted than in the Senate (Smith 1989).

Measuring Representation through Speechmaking

To address these questions, I analyze a sample of speeches from the 101st Congress (1989-1990), 103rd Congress (1993-1994), and 108th Congress (2003-2004). The first dependent variable in this analysis is giving a gender-conscious speech, by which I mean that the speech mentions women. The content analysis software searched for a limited number of keywords that referred to women. This included words such as female, woman, daughter, aunt, sister, and grandmother (see Appendix A for full list). Conceptually, this dependent variable is simply measuring whether the speech is concerned with women and their needs, interests or roles by talking about women in particular. Speeches that mention women are, at a minimum,

conscious of women as a distinct group. Therefore for this chapter the question is whether the issue is one where elites are debating the distinct needs or interests of women by talking about them. The software coded the speeches as whether it included mentions of women, and then those counts are aggregated by the individual member. Therefore the dependent variable in this analysis is the number of gender-conscious speeches the member made in that particular Congress.³ I use negative binomial analysis because it is most appropriate for count variables that do not have a normal distribution (Long 1997).

Based on the evidence that female legislators often are more likely to represent women through other means, the key hypothesis tested here is that gender plays a significant role in the likelihood that a member's speech that represents women. The other independent variables in this analysis are alternative explanations for why a member might give a gender-conscious speech. There are a number of alternative types of factors, including constituency, electoral, partisan and ideological. Partisan factors are likely to play an important role because of opposing agendas and constituencies of the two main parties. We should expect speeches made by Republicans to be less likely to represent women, given that women are more likely to support Democrats and the Democratic Party has a strongly feminist agenda (Wolbrecht 2000; Evans 2005). I include a dummy variable for *Democrats*. The effect of both party and gender are analyzed through interaction terms. As with all member data presented here, party and gender of the individual representative was

³ I also ran logit analyses on whether the speech itself was gendered and found similar results. However, I am more interested in the priorities of individual members rather than the characteristics of individual speeches.

collected from the *Almanac of American Politics* (Barone and Ujifusa 1990, 1994; Barone and Cohen 2002).

Ideology may have an independent impact from partisanship in influencing member behavior. However, Noelle Norton (1999) has shown that women's issues tend to fall outside of the normal left-right continuum. Therefore it is less likely that ideology will be driving representation of women than will partisanship. However, I control for *ideology* in the analysis. Although there is some collinearity between the partisanship and ideology variables, theoretically it is important to include both variables in the analysis. These were the two main variables that were problematic in terms of collinearity, but because of their substantive importance they are both included in the equation. The ideology scores are DW-NOMINATE scores (Poole and Rosenthal 2005). The scores range from -1 (liberal) to +1 (conservative). We would expect a negative relationship between speaking about women and ideology.

There are also a number of institutional or structural factors that are likely to influence member's speechmaking. Committee membership is an important means to developing an expertise in a specific area. Swers (2002a) developed a coding scheme to assess which House subcommittees that considered women's issues. I include her

coding for the House here.⁴ For the 108th House, I used the same coding scheme, but in the Senate, bills are far less likely to be reported out of a subcommittee since there are fewer members and more work is done at the committee level (Deering and Smith 1997). Therefore I modified the process of selecting women's issue committees in the Senate by calculating the number of women's issue bills identified in Swers (2002a) that were reported out by a given committee. The Labor and Human Resources/Health Education Labor and Pensions committees had a far greater number of women's issue bills reported out than any other committee. Therefore in the Senate analysis this committee is coded 1. The purpose of controlling for committee membership is to ensure that what is driving representation of women in member speeches is not simply that they have greater expertise in areas generally considered to be "women's issues."

Another key institutional factor is bicameralism. Previous studies have focused on one chamber (Maltzman and Sigelman 1996; Morris 2001; Osborn and Morehouse 2003; Cramer Walsh 2002). However, there are important differences in

⁴ Swers (2002a) identifies six subcommittees as key players in considering women's issues that went to the floor. She includes Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Health and Environment, Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, and three Education and Labor Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education; Human Resources; and Select Education and Civil Rights. Members were coded as 1 if they were a member of any of these committees. She selects the committees by accounting which reached the House floor and the number of amendments offered to these bills. I used these for both the 103rd and 101st Congresses. For the 108th Congress, women's subcommittee members were defined as those who were on the Education Committees Subcommittees on Early Childhood, Youth and Families and Education Reform, the Appropriations Committee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, the Health Subcommittee on Ways and Means, the Energy and Commerce Health Subcommittee and the Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security of the Judiciary Committee. For the Senate, members were coded 1 if they were part of the Labor and Human Resources or Health, Education, Labor and Pensions committees. For example, the Labor and Human Resources committee in the 103rd Senate reported out nearly double the number of women's issue bills (19) as the next highest committee, Governmental Affairs (10). All other committees had less than eight women's issue bills reported out to the floor.

debate patterns in the House and Senate. It is likely that the rules of debate will have an important influence on member's incentives and constraints to their speechmaking behavior. Therefore I include a dummy variable for *Senate*. Another institutional factor is being a member of the *leadership*. This includes majority party members or the Speaker, as well as if the Almanac of American Politics indicated that they held some sort of leadership position, members were also coded 1. Being majority or minority leader requires a great deal of administrative responsibility. At the same time, the member is often seen as the spokesperson for the party and may be significantly more likely to speak on the floor than other members (Maltzman and Sigelman 1996). For this reason, it is important to include a variable for leaders as they may have different speechmaking patterns than the rest of the membership.⁵

Members may also be influenced by electoral considerations. Members who have won their last election by a slim margin and are considered vulnerable may use certain speechmaking styles. Members can use position-taking to show their constituents watching C-span at home or local news that they are working hard in Washington DC to protect their district's interests and deserve to be reelected (Frantzich 1996; Mayhew 1974). Members may try to appeal to women's issues and talk about women's concerns to help shore up female voters. Therefore I control for the electoral vulnerability of the member, which may make members more likely to speak about women and women's issues. I operationalize electoral vulnerability as the *winning percentage* from the previous election, so we would expect a negative

⁵ I also tried a number of other member characteristics in the models that were excluded because they were not significant and I did not want to overspecify the model. This includes whether the member is African American, if the member was part of any minority group (as well as gender interactions for minority women), and religion of the member.

relationship: those with lower winning percentages would be more likely to speak about women.

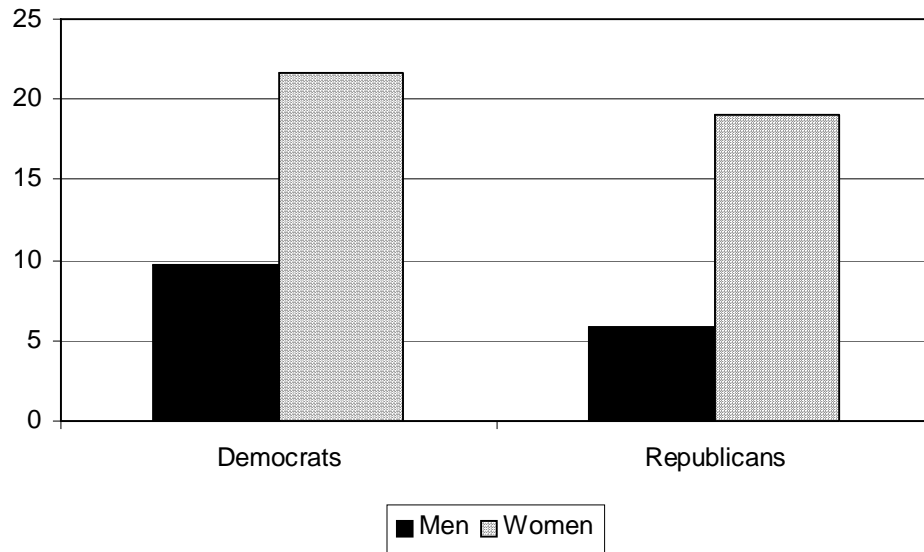
Finally, there are constituency factors that are likely to play a role in member speechmaking behavior. I include two commonly used constituency measures in this analysis; *district presidential vote*, and the percentage of district with at least a four-year college degree to measure the district *education*. The presidential vote is the percentage of the district that voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in the most recent election. I expect districts with higher levels of education and liberal districts with higher levels of support for presidential candidates will increase the likelihood that a member will speak about women on the floor given differences in the ideology and coalitions of the parties, and greater support by women for Democratic candidates for president.

Finally, I also coded the speeches as symbolic or substantive. Symbolic speeches were coded as such if they did not have any legislative content, and were simply recognizing or paying tribute to something or someone. These types of speeches included tributes to individual constituents and groups and are akin to Hill and Hurley's (2002) definition of constituent identification speeches. For all of the analyses presented throughout the rest of the dissertation symbolic speeches are only included in the results if explicitly stated; otherwise only substantive speeches were used.

Representing Women on the Floor

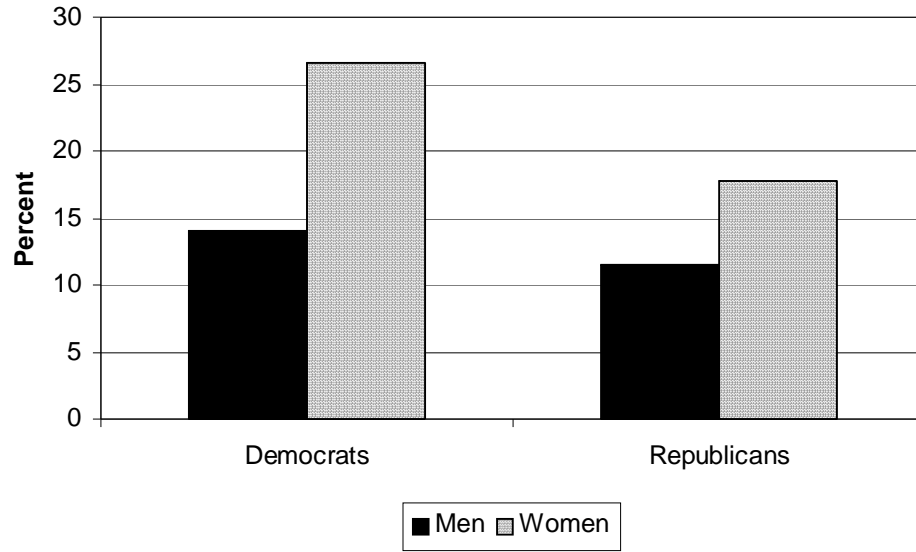
Are women generally represented in substantive floor debate? Only 12 percent of all sampled speeches in the Senate were gender-conscious, 13 percent in

Figure 3.1. Percent Gender-conscious Speeches in House of Representatives



N=24,429 Chi-square = 826.775***

Figure 3.2. Percent Gender-conscious Speeches in the Senate



N=15,240 Chi-square = 336.199***

the House. Overall, there seems to be only a small part of the speechmaking in Congress that is specifically concerned with the needs of women. However, looking at Figures 3.1 and 3.2 it is clear that the burden of representation does not fall equally. In the Senate, the percentage of gender-conscious speeches given by Democratic women is nearly twice that for any of the other groups. Republican women are more likely to speak about women than either of the male partisan cohorts. They also seem to have lower percentages of gender-conscious speeches than Democratic women, although the difference is slightly smaller in the House.

In order to test whether these differences hold up when controlling for other factors, Table 3.1 presents the results of a negative binomial regression on the number of gender-conscious speeches. The first column presents the results for all substantive debate speeches. Clearly, being a female is a strong predictor of speaking about women on the floor. Members from liberal districts, as measured by the percentage supporting the Democratic candidate for president, and those from more highly educated districts were also more likely to speak about women. Differences along party lines on women's issues could mean important differences among Democratic and Republican women. Therefore, I also included in the model an interaction term for Female Democrats, to examine whether there were significant gender differences among women of the two parties. In the general model there are no gender differences among women by party when controlling for other factors, such as committee assignments or district characteristics. The next two columns show that women in both the House and Senate were more likely to speak about women on the floor. The interaction term for the Senate is approaching significance.

TABLE 3.1

Negative Binomial Regression Analysis of Member's Gender-conscious Speech Counts

	All Members	Senate	House
Female	1.080*** (.151)	.821** (.293)	1.148*** (.177)
Democrat	-.462* (.255)	.029 (.491)	-.343 (.300)
Year elected	.007 (.008)	-.015 (.011)	.007 (.010)
Year Born	.003 (.005)	.012 (.008)	.001 (.006)
Leadership	.251 (.208)	.562** (.217)	.129 (.349)
Women's Issue Committee	.110 (.119)	.586*** (.172)	.057 (.152)
Winning Percentage	-.005 (.004)	-.027** (.010)	-.008 (.005)
District Presidential Vote	.015** (.005)	-.018 (.012)	.021*** (.007)
District College Education	1.775** (.647)	4.562* (2.019)	1.443* (.727)
Senate	.284* (.141)	---	---
108 th Congress	-.178 (.117)	.165 (.187)	-.141 (.151)
101 st Congress	-.114 (.138)	---	-.074 (.157)
Ideology	-.598* (.297)	-.195 (.553)	-.335 (.361)
Total Number of Speeches	.007*** (.0006)	.005*** (.0006)	.011*** (.001)
Female X Democrat	.032 (.184)	.463 ⁺ (.342)	-.092 (.220)
Constant	-22.490 (14.203)	8.085 (24.708)	-17.365 (18.361)
Log likelihood	-938.447	-202.183	-716.679
Log likelihood chi-square	345.1***	103.45***	225.24***
N	334	61	273

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. 103rd Congress used as comparison group for year variables. ⁺p≤.10; *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001.

Figure 3.3. Predicted Probabilities of Gender-conscious Speeches in the House of Representatives

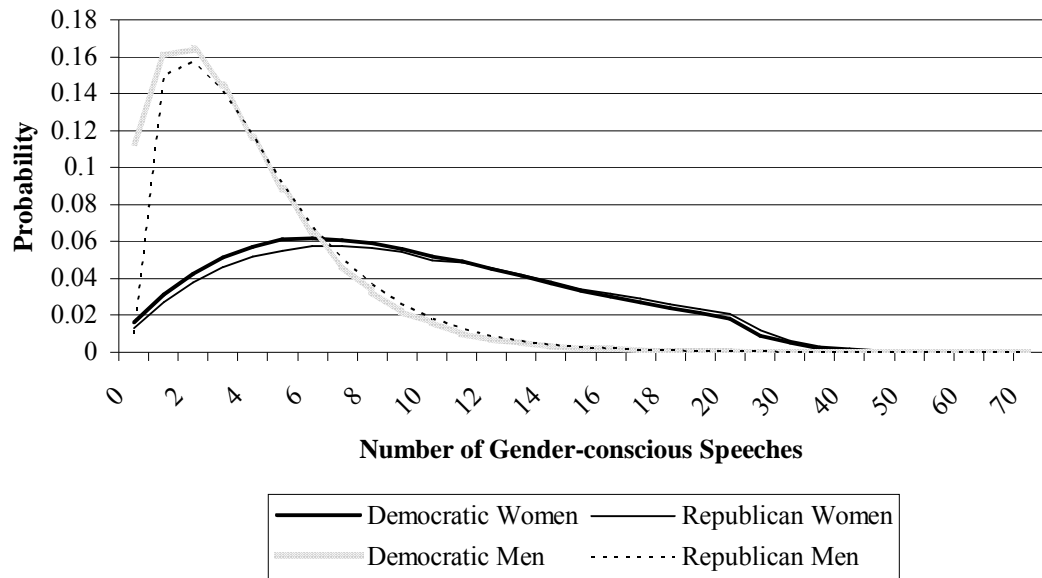
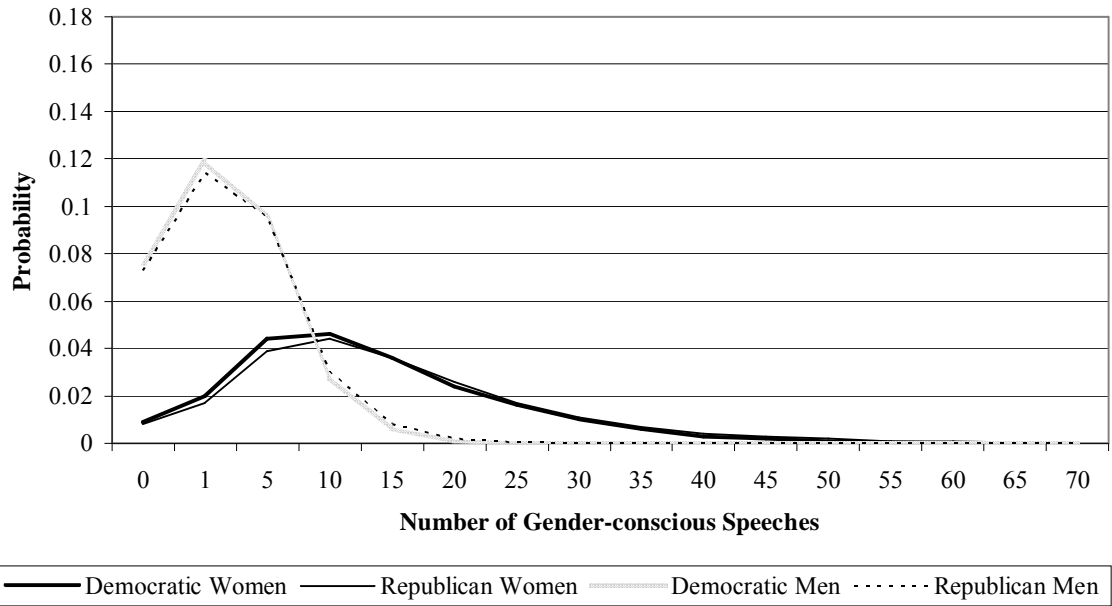


Figure 3.4 Predicted Probabilities of Gender-conscious Speeches in the Senate



However, to really make sense of the coefficients in a negative binomial regression, it is helpful to present expected counts for giving gender-conscious speeches. In order to check for any partisan or institutional differences, I present two figures, Figures 3.3 and 3.4, which present predicted counts for the four gender/party cohorts in the House and Senate respectively.⁶ Both of the graphs indicate that the major differences are gender differences, and that partisan differences are insignificant. The lines for Democratic and Republican women in both graphs are slightly more even, indicating that there are fewer women giving only a very small number of speeches, and greater probabilities that there are members giving much higher numbers of gender-conscious speeches than their male counterparts. Both lines for Republican and Democratic men have much higher probabilities that they will give only a very small number of speeches, most likely less than five. Overall, these findings support the idea that sex is a key factor in predicting speaking about women on the floor.

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 also present predicted counts comparing men and women respectively by year. Overall there are few differences over the three different congresses examined here. In both graphs Republicans and Democrats in the 108th Congress have a slightly higher peak than in other years, although the differences are small. This may indicate a small change in the probability that members may give gender-conscious speeches to a greater extent now than in the early 1990s. Although the change in probability is small, we would expect few major changes in a complex institution with many different working parts. This question will be analyzed to a greater degree in Chapter 6.

⁶ The graphs in Figures 3.3 and 3.4 are expected counts calculated using the Clarify program. Variables were set at their mean or modal values, depending on the most appropriate. The graphs are for the members who are not members of the leadership, white, and were from the 103rd Congress.

Figure 3.5. Male Members Predicted Probabilities of Gender-conscious Speeches by Year

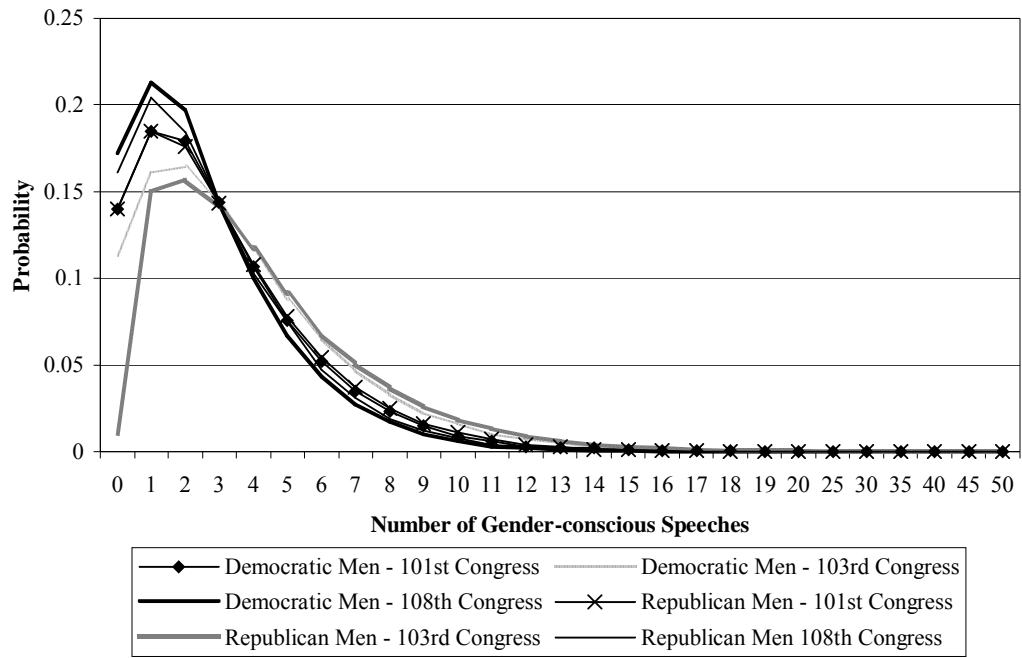
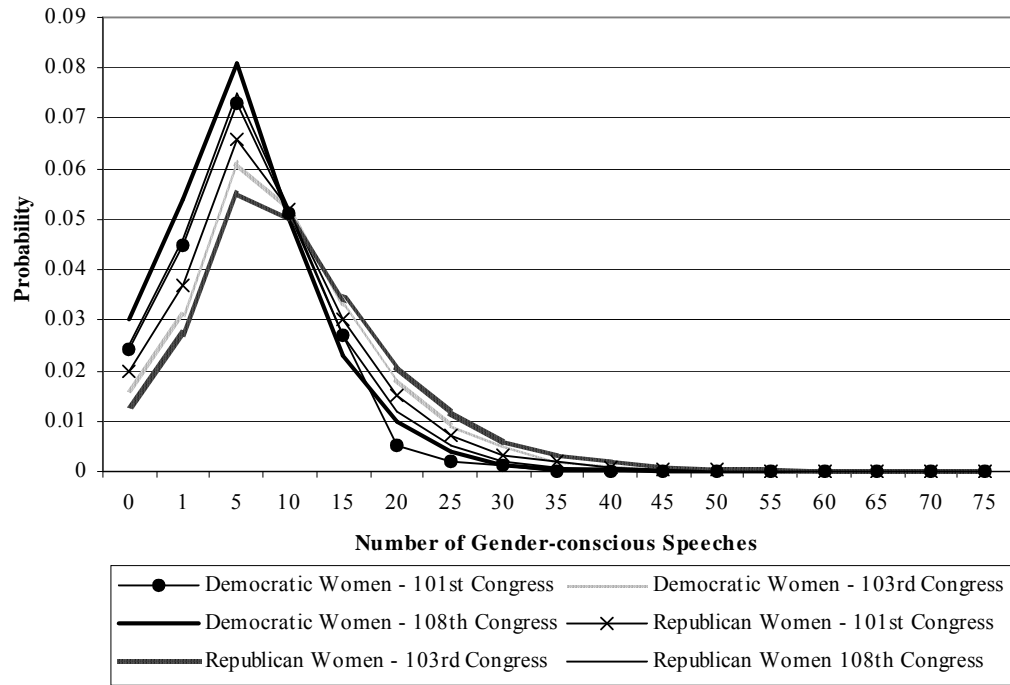


Figure 3.6. Female Members Predicted Probabilities of Gender-conscious Speeches by Year



Another way to examine this question is to look at the change in expected counts. Table 3.2 shows the factor change as well as the more intuitive percentage change for significant variables in the negative binomial regression. Gender is clearly the most significant predictor of speaking about women. Being a woman increases the predicted count by 200 percent over male members. This pattern follows for both the Senate and the House. Senators also speak more and district variables having a slight positive impact on gender-conscious speechmaking.

Looking at individual cases confirms these results. For example, even male and female members from similar districts reveal different patterns of speechmaking. For example, two liberal members from southern California, Rep. Brad Sherman (a male Democrat) and Rep. Loretta Sanchez (a female Democrat) represent diverse districts with sizable percentages of blacks and Hispanics, with median incomes just above 40,000. Both members have very similar DW-Nominate scores, gave similar numbers of speeches overall, and serve on non-women's issue committees; Rep. Sherman has a seat on Financial Services and International Relations committees and Rep. Sanchez serves on Armed Services and Homeland Security committees. Rep. Sanchez also has a background as a financial analyst. However, when we look at the gender-consciousness of their speeches, 18 percent of Rep. Loretta Sanchez's speeches compared to only 4 percent of Rep. Sherman's speeches. Another case also illustrates women's greater likelihood of speaking out about women. In the 103rd Congress, Senator Paul Sarbanes and Senator Barbara Mikulski, two liberal Democratic members, both represented Maryland, a fairly liberal state. Comparing the gender-consciousness of their speeches, 3 percent of speeches Senator

TABLE 3.2

Percentage Change in Expected Counts for Substantive Gender-conscious Speeches

	Factor Change	Percentage Change
All Members		
Female	1.102	200.9%
Democrat	-0.437	-35.4
District College Education	.017	1.8
District Presidential Vote	0.016	1.6
Senate	.284	32.9
Ideology	-.586	-44.3
Senate Only		
Female	1.136	211.5
Leadership	0.636	88.9
Women's Issue Subcommittee	0.579	78.5
Winning Percent	-0.029	-2.9
District College Education	.019	1.9
House Only		
Female	1.092	198.1
Democrat	-0.414	-33.9
District Presidential Vote	0.021	2.1
District College Education	.016	1.6
N	334	334

Sarbanes spoke about women, as compared to 30 percent of speeches by Senator Mikulski. Clearly, distinct patterns among men and women emerge.

The results for substantive issues show distinct gender patterns. Members are also likely to give symbolic speeches that pay tribute or recognize a person, group, or other notable happening. Hill and Hurley (2002) note that symbolic constituent identification speeches are an important subset of speechmaking. Do these gender differences also carry over into more symbolic speeches? To examine this question, Table 3.3 presents findings from an analysis of symbolic speeches given on the floor. Here sex is the overriding factor in predicting symbolic gender-conscious speeches. Table 3.4 presents predicted factor change and percentage change for the symbolic speeches. Women are more than 800 percent more likely to give these types of speeches than are men. It appears that there were 31 percent fewer of these speeches in the 108th Congress as compared to the 103rd Congress. Senators are also 85 percent more likely to give gender-conscious symbolic speeches than House members. Members of the Senate often have a great deal of flexibility and freedom to speak about issues on the floor. However, as a comparison, Figure 3.7 also shows the one-minute speeches that members of the House of Representatives give in the mornings before full debate on particular bills begins. These function as a chance for Representatives to speak about any issue they believe to be important. Again, women are more likely than their partisan counterparts to speak about women on the floor. There are no partisan differences among women in this equation either, indicating that both Democratic and Republican women are likely to speak about women in a symbolic manner as well as a substantive one.

TABLE 3.3

Negative Binomial Regression of Symbolic Gender-conscious speeches

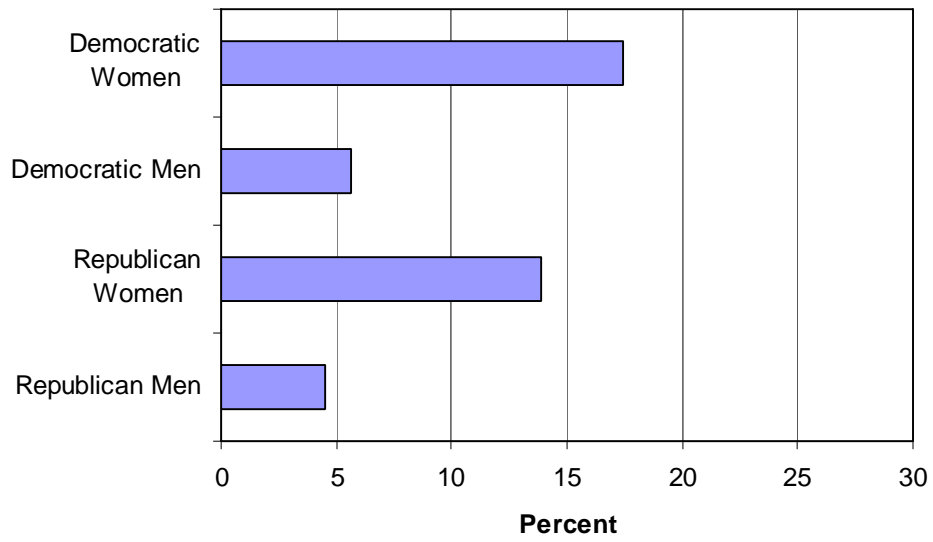
Female	2.261*** (.203)
Democrat	-.466 (.330)
Year elected	-.023* (.014)
Year Born	.003* (.001)
Leadership	-.246 (.431)
Women's Issue Committee	.141 (.203)
Winning Percentage	-.001 (.007)
District Presidential Vote	.0007 (.008)
District College Education	.506 (1.137)
Senate	.615*** (.196)
108 th Congress	-.373* (.183)
101 st Congress	-.082 (.209)
Ideology	-.680 (.463)
Total Number of Speeches	-.014*** (.002)
Female X Democrat	-.400 (.453)
Constant	38.715 (21.385)
Log likelihood	-389.355
Log likelihood chi-square	209.04***
N	333

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001.

TABLE 3.4
 Percentage Change in Expected Counts for Symbolic Gender-conscious Speeches

	Factor Change	Percentage Change
Female	2.262	860.0%
Year elected	-0.023	-2.3
Year Born	0.002	0.3
Senate	0.615	85.0
108 th Congress	-0.373	-31.2
N	333	333

Figure 3.7. Percent of Gender-conscious One-Minute Speeches



N=1910, Chi-Square = 51.364***

Lastly, the question remains, what types of women are members of Congress speaking about? In order to address this question, I coded each gender-conscious speech for the type of woman that was portrayed in the example. This included things like single mothers, working women, housewives, women outside of the United States and widows.⁷ The women were then grouped together depending on their roles. For example, housewives and widows were grouped under the private/traditional roles category, while working women and single mothers were coded as public/modern roles category. Women's health was a large category that did not seem to fit either of these groups, as was women internationally, as those speeches generally spoke of women as victims of war or poverty. Partisan differences are likely to play a role in the symbolism used to portray women in speeches. Convention speeches made by male Republicans tended to ignore women in nontraditional roles, focusing on politician's wives and other traditional women as symbols of morality (Daughton 1994).

The cross-tabulation results by party and gender are presented in Table 3.6. As expected, Democrats generally were the most likely to speak about women in more modern roles, while Republicans were more likely to speak about women in traditional roles. For example, Democrats were often likely to speak about women in the workplace and the many issues raised by this. Democratic women in particular often spoke about the role of women in the military and how to address the particular needs that they face.

⁷ For the full coding scheme see Appendix A.

Although partisan differences exist, Republican women were more likely than Republican men to portray women in modern roles and less likely to portray them in more traditional ways. This is likely a function to some extent of the fact that these Republican women are themselves in non-traditional roles, speaking as politicians. For example, many Republican women, including Senator Olympia Snowe, Senator Jan Meyers, and Senator Nancy Kassebaum all spoke about women small-business owners and worked to increase funding for programs to assist them.

Some interesting patterns emerge as well when we look at the categories that would not necessarily be either traditional or modern. Republican men focused their speechmaking on women overseas to a greater extent than their colleagues. Republican women also focused slightly more of their speechmaking on women internationally. Although Republicans did speak moderately about promoting abstinence-only programs overseas, many of these speeches were focused on women's and children's health overseas and concern for women in children in the context of humanitarian and other international crises.

On the other hand, Democrats seemed to focus their speeches on women in the U.S., which is at least partly a response to a Republican agenda which aims to roll back privacy protections and social welfare spending often associated with women. At the same time, both Democratic and Republican women focused on women's health to a greater extent than their male colleagues. This indicates that although Republican women may be from a more conservative, traditional party, they tend to talk about women in more modern roles and more about women's health than their male partisan colleagues.

TABLE 3.5Types of Women in Congressional Speechmaking in the 103rd and 108th Congresses

	Democratic Women	Democratic Men	Republican Women	Republican Men
Private/Traditional Roles	25.6%	33.5	33.9	42.4
Public/Modern Roles	50.6	47.2	40.2	28.8
International	8.7	11.8	12.5	25.1
Women's Health	15.1	6.4	13.1	3.7
(N)	(1686)	(815)	(439)	(373)
Chi-square = 110.114***				

Notes: Cells are percentages. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Conclusion

It appears that female legislators are giving voice to a perspective previously marginalized in politics. Women are speaking about the issues they believe are important to other women, speaking about how legislation affects them, and about their personal experiences that relate to the legislation currently being discussed by the nation's legislators. This complements previous findings that show in other areas of legislative activity women are more active and more intense in their commitment to representing women in Congress.

However, even with the greater representation of women in Congress, speeches where women's interests are a concern are still a small percentage of the total. Without female legislators in Congress, it appears there would be even less acknowledgement of women's concerns on the floor. The partisan differences also appear to be minimal among women. Although Democratic women certainly have taken the lead on speaking about women, Republican women are also likely to invoke gender on the floor. They are more likely to talk about women in both a substantive and symbolic way, and are more likely to focus on women in more progressive roles than traditional roles. Finally, it appears that district characteristics such as partisanship and education levels may also play a role in whether a member chooses to speak about women on the floor.

It is also important to look at the types of issues that these gender-conscious speeches are being given on, as well as whether women are more likely to speak about issues that are traditionally associated with women. It is to these issue differences that we turn in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Issue Context and Marginalized Groups

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me, and I thank him for his very hard work on this Defense authorization... I am also very proud of the women's health part. I heard the gentleman before say, 'Why don't they just give it to the National Institutes of Health?' I will tell you why, because women in the military have unique and very different problems. Women moving into the military are major players in the military. If you do not constantly focus on this, they tend to forget women are in the military, a big example being this whole issue around the gulf war syndrome. We are all very concerned about the gulf war syndrome, but they are about to go into testing on that without gender coding it, and women appeared to be having very different symptoms because of their metabolic differences than men were having. Well, if it is not gender coded, it does not make any sense. When do we start treating women as full participants and people we are very proud of? We put them in uniform, we send them everywhere, we have them taking care of everyone else's health care, and we are finally trying to catch up, so I am very proud that we have done that, and I think it is long, long overdue, and I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. Dellums] for his hard work in this whole area. (Patricia Schroeder, Conference Report on H.R. 2401, National Defense Authorization Act For Fiscal Year 1994, House of Representatives - November 15, 1993)

Women legislators at both the state and national level are often associated with “women’s issues.” Their commitment to bills that mainly affect women, children and families has generally been the focus of research on their legislative impact. In this case, Representative Patricia Schroeder is speaking about the National Defense Authorization bill, one that would normally not be associated with “women’s issues.” However, as a participant in the debate over this bill and as a participant in drafting this bill she spoke on the floor with a great deal of knowledge on the subject. She advocates for passage of the bill by highlighting the specific benefits that will accrue to women. The bill provided important benefits to research on women’s health problems, particularly those to which women in the military are exposed. She raises an important issue about research on veterans’ health problems that excluded women, and therefore may not have been generalizable across groups. Because of

dominant patriarchal norms, many were unaware of these problems and neglected to investigate the possible distinct impact on women.

It is unclear whether this example is the rule or the exception. This chapter will explore women's issues and women's representation. The aim is to uncover on which issues we should expect to find the representation of women in floor speechmaking. Therefore I extend the analysis from the previous chapter by looking at the issue context of gender-conscious floor speeches. Second, I look at whether women are also more likely to speak about issues that are traditionally associated with women, such as domestic violence, abortion, children's issues and social issues generally. Lastly, I examine whether women are also speaking about other marginalized groups to a greater extent than their male colleagues.

Women's Issues and Women's Representation

Why should we break legislation down by issues? Congressmen's decisions on legislation are influenced by factors that are related to the issue area itself; some issues are strongly partisan issues, while others are based on constituency factors (Clausen 1973; Kingdon 1989). In particular, women's issues may not fit neatly into the unidimensional assumptions of the liberal-conservative continuum (Norton 1999). Aside from policy and congressional studies indicating the importance of looking across issues, previous research on women and politics suggests this will be relevant. When discussing women's impact in public office, nearly all studies rely on some understanding of the types of issues on which we are likely to see distinctive representation. There are a number of reasons why we should expect women and men to prioritize different types of issues. First, female voters tend to be more liberal

on social issues, while men have become increasingly conservative, resulting in a gender gap in partisanship and voting (Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999). Female legislators who find a constituency among women voters and interest groups may respond to this gender gap in the political behavior.

Women candidates may also respond to voter stereotypes. Women tend to be seen in their political roles in light of their private roles. Issues that involve caring or compassion are associated with women and their socialized caregiving role, including education, health, poverty and children's issues (Sapiro 1983). This results in gender stereotypes of women candidates having traits related to their caregiving role, such as being more honest and compassionate (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Kahn 1993). Female candidates are also seen as outsiders because of their historically small presence in government (Shames 2003). Voters often believe they will bring integrity to government (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Leeper 1991).

Similarly, female candidates and officeholders are associated with competence on certain issues. The public believes women will do a better job on issues such as women, children and family, arts, consumer protection, poverty and welfare, health, education, peace, good government, protecting minorities and the environment. On the other hand, men are perceived as more able to make decisions on the economy/budget, crime war and foreign relations, business and the military (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkilson 1993a; Hitchon and Chang 1995; Kahn 1993; Leeper 1991; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Sapiro 1983; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989; Shames 2003). This is particularly problematic because voters favor

masculine characteristics when evaluating candidates, particularly for higher office (Huddy and Terkildson 1993b; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989).

Even if voter stereotypes exist, at the congressional level, it appears that in particular contexts being a female candidate can be advantageous, and therefore it helps candidates to emphasize their association with women's issues (Dolan 1998). At certain times, women may effectively present themselves as outsiders to the political process (Gulati 2004; Shames 2003). Women may present themselves 'as women' and gain an electoral advantage by running on women's issues, such as education and health care (Dabelko and Herrnson 1997; Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003; Kahn 1993). In campaign television advertising, female candidates from 1990-2002 were more likely than male candidates to speak about the economy as well as traditional feminine issues such as education, health care, senior issues, and youth violence (Bystrom et al 2004). However, a comparison of websites in 2000 and 2002 congressional races showed that women and men campaigned on similar issues (Dolan 2005). It may also be that it is male candidates running 'as men' that creates these differences (Larson 2001).

Earlier in the century, female legislators generally disassociated themselves with "women's issues" and fought to be accepted as members of a male-dominated institution by playing down their gender. As Representative Jerry Voorhis noted, "what she has to do is to be simply a member of the House who quite incidentally happens to belong to the female sex" (quoted in Gertzog, 249). Those first women who were elected because of their experience and ambition and not simply to fill in their husband's shoes, termed "neutral professionals," worked to blend into the

institution as part of a very small but visible minority. However, women have always tended toward supporting feminist issues. Even in the 93rd and 94th Congresses, where women often did not emphasize their gender, they had similar or more feminist voting records than their fellow partisans (Leader 1977).

However, we have seen a shift towards women viewing their role as ‘feminist colleagues,’ ambitious politicians highlighting their gender and taking the lead on feminist issues (Gertzog 1995). As the parties have increasingly polarized on women’s issues in the last four decades, women in Congress have taken the leadership on agenda-setting. Women have been more active in sponsoring and cosponsoring legislation on women’s issues and social welfare issues, particularly Democratic women (Wolbrecht 2000; Swers 2002a). There is some evidence that female member’s constituent communication may also focus on women’s issues to a greater extent than men. In congressional literature sent to constituents, women in Congress are more likely to claim credit on women’s issues (Dolan and Kropf 2004). In press releases, women were less likely to claim credit overall, but were more likely to discuss female issues (Fridkin and Woodall 2005)

Similar trends have been seen at the state level as well. In a large percentage of state legislatures, women were more likely than men to give priority to bills that were aimed at women and children, because they saw women as part of their constituency (Thomas 1994; Carroll 2001; Bratton and Haynie 1999). Female legislators claimed they took greater pride in those accomplishments that dealt with these issues as well. On the other hand, women who sponsored business legislation placed less priority and felt less personal satisfaction for passing those bills (Thomas

1994, 1991; Saint-Germain 1989). Both Democratic and Republican women are more likely than either Democratic or Republican men to work on a woman's rights bill (Carroll 2001). Female legislators are also just as likely as male legislators to pass their priority bills, but women achieve higher rates of passage on their women, children, family bills (Thomas 1994; Saint-Germain 1989). This suggests that women's expertise in this area may be valuable throughout the legislative process. Women also believed that they were more likely to represent women, and were more effective doing it (Boles 2001; Reingold 2000).

Definitions of women's issues may extend beyond feminist and children's issues and include social issues as well. Health and education are often considered to be women's issues. In state legislatures, female representatives were more likely than men to prioritize their bills in social policy areas (Thomas 1991; Carroll 2001). They were also more likely to sit on health/welfare committees (Thomas 1994). Women have been shown to focus on women's health issues and raise concerns about women's unique needs on those bills (Osborn and Morehouse 2003; Dodson 1998). Women across six states were more likely to sponsor bills across a wide section of women's issues, including education, health, children's and welfare policy (Bratton and Haynie 1999). Women in more professional legislatures took the lead on issues explicitly related to women, but were similarly active on other social issues, including education, health, poverty and children's policy (Reingold 2000). In both professional and amateur legislatures, women were more involved in feminist activities across various issue areas, including poverty, environment, children, and

education (Reingold 2000). This indicates that women were representing women across a wide variety of social issues.

Shogun (2001) investigated women's likelihood of gender-conscious speechmaking among a variety of issues on the floor of the House in the 105th and 106th Congresses. Her findings indicate that women are likely to focus on women primarily on abortion issues. Health and welfare issues were the second and third ranking categories for gender-conscious speeches. Following those were personal economics, safety, foreign policy, and equality. Her findings suggest that women tend to invoke gender on stereotypically women's issues. She also finds differences among Democratic and Republican women. Abortion was the largest percentage of speeches for both groups of women. However, Republican women were more likely to speak about personal economics and health than Democratic women. Democratic women were more likely to speak about women on equality and welfare issues. Interestingly, Democratic women of color were less likely to invoke women on abortion issue speeches. They were also more likely than their white Democratic counterparts to speak about women and personal budget issues.

Classifying Women's Issues

Classifying speeches as women's issues generally attempts to operationalize some of the concepts that are traditionally associated with women. This could potentially include a wide variety of issues that can be linked to women's roles as caregivers, particularly issues that have to do with children. There are also distinguishable subsets within women's issues. Early on, researchers began to

conceptualize “women’s rights” bills versus issues that are associated with women, such as health or education (Dodson and Carroll 1991). Others have used women’s interest groups as a starting point for identifying issues that are of concern to women (Swers 2002a). Another subset distinguishes among feminist concerns and other women’s issues (Gelb and Palley 1996; Reingold 2000; Sanbonmatsu 2002).

Reingold (2000) defines feminist legislation as focused on women’s interest and promotes feminist agendas such as reproductive freedom. Others distinguish among difference arguments and equality arguments. Role change issues are those that aspire to create less dependency and greater independence among women, while role equity issues are those that are extending rights or funding already granted to include women (Gelb and Palley 1996).

In attempting to deal with this wide range of issues, I employ a number of different women’s issue classifications as dependent variables. First, speeches were classified as women’s issues in one main category, which I term here women’s issues. This includes feminist, role change and equity keywords that tap into violence against women, harassment and reproductive freedom. Next, I classified speeches by a larger set of issues, keywords for which are included in the appendix. In order to categorize speeches by issue, the speeches were content analyzed for various keywords that signal a particular area (see Appendix A for listing). For example, education keywords included education, schools, and students. Using the Simstat computer program, the keywords were counted. Whichever issue area had the greatest number of keywords was then coded as the appropriate category. Some keywords (usually bill names) were given greater weight. For example, speeches that mentioned

NAFTA were always coded as foreign affairs even if the member spoke a great deal about the effect of the trade bill on the environment in the speech. This was to ensure consistency of coding across speeches which might emphasize different aspects of a given bill. This was also done for abortion speeches, which are all classified as such, even if they touch upon other areas, such as women in the military.

Among these issue categorizations, I classified several of those as social issues, specifically education, arts, poverty, health, abortion, family leave policy, and civil rights (Sapiro 1983).⁸ In order to assess discussion of children's issues, I surveyed bills that were considered in the Congresses in question and created a keyword list for issues that directly relate to children including children's safety, AMBER alert legislation, and legislation to regulate sexual predators. Lastly, in order to assess the representation of other marginalized groups, I also created a keyword list for a set of groups based on the list by Cramer Walsh (2002). Once the keywords were chosen, a content analysis software program was employed to search for the keywords in the speeches. The lists of the keywords mentioned above are included in the appendices.

In the analyses below, control variables included are those used in the previous chapter. These are to control for alternative hypotheses which often explain congressional behavior, including committee expertise, constituency factors, electoral vulnerability, and partisanship. I include all substantive speeches in the analysis, each coded 1 if the keywords for the respective classification appear in the speech, and zero otherwise. I then aggregated the data by individual member, so that the

⁸ I also ran the equation using a more broad definition of social issues that includes the environment and speeches on 'good government.' The results were the same, but I included the more narrow definition because it fits with a more traditional definition of social issues.

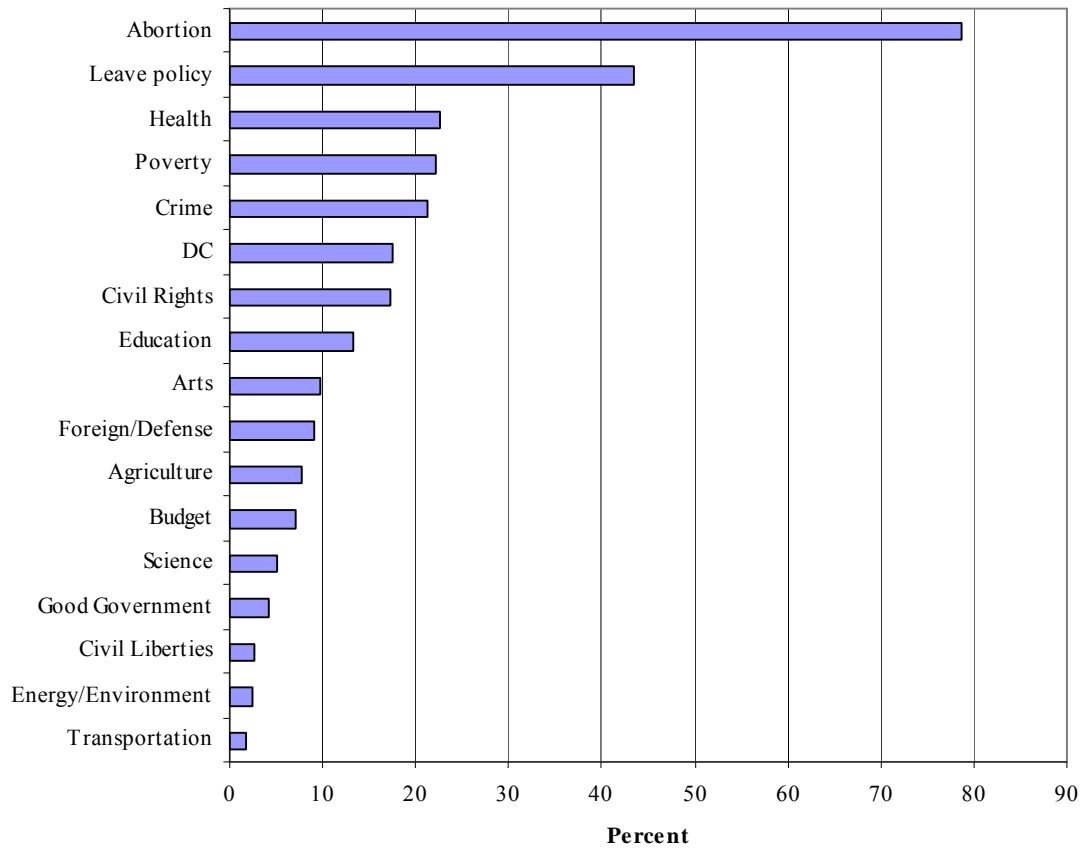
dependent variable is the total number of ‘women’s issue’ speeches. I use negative binomial analysis because the speeches are individual member’s speech counts, and this is the appropriate method for overdispersed count data.

This chapter will expand the discussion of speechmaking in two parts. First, I extend the previous chapter’s analysis by addressing on which issues members are likely to give gender-conscious speeches. Second, I ask whether women speak about women’s issues to a greater extent than men, assessing this question across a wide variety of definitions of the concept.

Gender-conscious Speechmaking in Context

From the results in chapter one, it is clear that gender-conscious speeches are more likely to be given by female legislators. In light of previous research on women’s issues, it is important to ask whether gender-conscious speeches tend to be concentrated among social issues and whether female legislators are more likely to give gender-conscious speeches among a wider variety of issue areas. If members of Congress tend to focus their speeches about women among a small set of issues associated with women, then these arguments may not have as much of a unique impact because we already tend to associate these issues with women (Celis forthcoming). However, if women are part of the rhetoric on a wide variety of issues, there is a greater chance that legislators are moving beyond stereotypical concerns and considering the impact or lack of legislation on women as a group in many facets of social and economic life. For example, we would expect women-invoked rhetoric on issues such as abortion. If speeches were concentrated among abortion issues this excludes a wide set of issue areas where women’s voices are not being heard. On the

Figure 4.1. Percentage of Gender-conscious Speeches within Issue Area



N=3430 Chi-square 3775.420***

other hand, if we see gender-conscious speeches among a broad set of issue areas, there would be a greater chance that women's concerns might be considered in a variety of policy areas.

The findings in Figure 4.1 suggest that gender-conscious speeches are concentrated among issues traditionally associated with women. Although in a few non-social issue areas a significant percent of the speeches are gender-conscious, such as crime and foreign/defense, the areas with the highest proportions of gender-conscious speeches were traditionally-defined social issues. The exception is crime, which is traditionally considered a masculine issue. With the Violence against Women Act being incorporated into the crime bill, it is not surprising to find a moderate percentage of gender-conscious speeches concentrated in this area. Replication of this finding among other Congresses would be necessary to examine the generalizability of this finding. At the same time, the inclusion of crime as one of the issues with more than 20 percent of speeches including women, speaks to the work of both Democratic and Republican women to expand the scope of crime as an issue. By this I mean that women on the floor in the 103rd Congress worked diligently to portray such issues as domestic violence as a part of the wide crime issue. They also talked about street crime as something that is particularly important to women and that safety concerns affect the kinds of choices that women make, such as civic participation (Caiazza 2005). As Senator Dianne Feinstein noted, "We have heard a lot about the "Year of the Woman." We have heard a lot about change. We have heard a lot about stopping the violence that is ravaging our country. But until this discussion began about the Violence Against Women Act, there was little

discussion of the silent victims of violence. Until now, we have not heard enough from the women who have been victims of violence.”

Table 4.1 presents a modified version of these results by gender/party cohort, and codes issues as either social or non-social issue areas. Social issues are classified as education, arts, poverty, health, abortion, family leave policy, and civil rights. The percentages represent the percent of speeches within social issue areas that are gender-conscious for each cohort. The results suggest that women and men in both parties generally give gender-conscious speeches among similar types of issues. For all for cohorts, members were more likely to concentrate their gender-conscious speeches among social issues.

However, there do appear to be some small gender differences on speaking about women on non-social issues. Not surprisingly, Democratic women were the most likely to give gender-conscious speeches in a non-social issues context, followed by Republican women. Republican women are more likely than both Democratic and Republican men to speak about women in an untraditional context. However, the percentages of non-social issue speeches that have an element of gender consciousness are extremely low for all groups. Overall, these results suggest that speeches about women still tend to be concentrated among issues that are traditionally associated with women. Women generally are not significantly expanding the scope of women’s issues through their floor speeches, but they are more likely to speak about women in non-social contexts than their male counterparts.

Previous research suggests that if we examine party and racial differences in the issue-area breakdown on gender-conscious speeches among women we may find

TABLE 4.1. Percentage of Gender-conscious Speeches within Social Issue Area

	Democratic Women	Democratic Men	Republican Women	Republican Men
Social Issues	35.4%	17.2	31.1	15.3
Non-social Issues	13.8	7.0	9.5	3.4
(N)	(1686)	(815)	(439)	(373)

Chi-square = 505.071***

Notes: Cells are percentages. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

important differences in issue priority (Shogun 2001). Table 4.2 presents the issue area breakdown for Republican, black and non-black Democratic women. In general, the issue comparisons of gender-conscious speeches by Republican and non-black Democratic women are quite similar. Looking at specific issues, Republican female legislators tended to speak less than Democratic female legislators about women and abortion. That difference aside, these results reinforce the similarity among Democratic and Republican women.⁹

The center column of Table 4.2 presents African-American women's gender-conscious speeches by issue area. Similar to previous findings, African-American women's speeches invoking women's interests were significantly less likely to be on abortion (Shogun 2001). The strength of the church in the African-American community may affect their likelihood to focus on this as an issue where they advocate for women. This is an interesting contrast to a great deal of work highlighting the importance of abortion in women's representation. African-American women devoted a greater percentage of their gender-conscious speeches to issues concerning the District of Columbia. They were also significantly more likely than non-black women to advocate for women on foreign/defense issues. The Black Congressional Caucus has prioritized assisting predominantly black countries, including those in Africa as well as Latin America, such as Haiti. For example, during the coup in Haiti early in the Clinton administration several black legislators were deeply involved in the aftermath. Many of the African-American women in Congress took to the floor to highlight the problems in Haiti, particularly the women

⁹ Although budget and foreign policy/defense are the largest categories, this is because they are by far the largest categories of speeches overall. For this table, it is best to compare across categories since the general congressional agenda influences the percentages.

TABLE 4.2 Comparison of Gender-conscious Speeches by Issues among Women

	Non-Black Democratic Women	African- American Women	Republican Women
Education	5.7	9.3	5.3
Arts	0.4	--	0.4
Transportation	0.7	--	0.4
Science	0.8	--	0.5
Budget	11.3	9.8	12.7
Foreign/Defense	17.3	40.9	20.7
Agriculture	0.5	0.5	1.0
Energy/Environment	2.6	6.2	2.3
DC	0.8	1.6	0.5
Crime	13.2	10.4	14.7
Good Government	2.3	--	1.8
Civil Rights	2.2	2.1	1.7
Leave policy	2.4	--	2.0
Abortion	17.7	4.1	12.8
Poverty	3.0	2.6	3.5
Health	19.1	11.4	19.5
Civil Liberties	0.1	1.0	0.1
(N)	(1493)	(193)	(439)

Chi-square = 110.114***

Notes: Cells are percentages. Chi-square - *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001. Dashes indicate the percentage is < .5.

and children who were suffering. On African issues, Representative Maxine Waters (D-CA) talked about the responsibility African American members feel toward the region,

“Mr. Chairman, I would like to explain to my colleagues what it is like to be African American in this Congress and have to fight, scratch, and claw for everything that we get, domestically and internationally. Mr. Chairman, to be African American in the Congress of the United States and to watch the carnage in Liberia, to watch the children who lost limbs in Sierra Leone, to have watched the genocide up in Rwanda, with 800,000 bodies floating down the river, to watch a continent in trouble, not too many years away from just having attained independence, and a long way to go to perfect this thing called democracy; to watch them struggle; to see the men and women who die and the children, and have to come to this Congress and beg my colleagues to just do the right thing is not easy. It would be easier, Mr. Chairman, to just walk away and to say, I am tired of trying to convince my colleagues who claim to be about the same business that I am about: humanitarian efforts for the world. It is very difficult. But we continue to do this because we must do it. If we do not do it, nobody else will do it for us.” (July 23, 2003)

African-American women speaking on the floor often represent women but African-Americans as well. For example, during the debate about granting a patent to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun was ceded authority to speak on this issue by her colleagues. Senator Murray claimed that “as a woman I share some understanding of her situation. But I cannot know her sense of isolation being the only African-American in this body” (S9256). Senator Don Riegle stated that Senator Moseley-Braun “speaks for all people of color in this country and beyond” (S9264). In this way, Senator Moseley-Braun was acknowledged as being able to speak about a constituency that extended well beyond her geographical constituency (Butler 1995).

Giving Voice to Women's Interests

Chapter 3 examined the likelihood of giving a gender-conscious speech – those speeches that mentioned a small set of keywords that could solely be attributed to women. The next question to address is whether female members of Congress are more likely to speak about women's issues – speeches that mention a larger set of keywords that are generally associated with women and their interests such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, abortion, and child safety. Table 4.3 shows that women legislators are more likely than their male counterparts to address women's issues.¹⁰ Other factors also increase the likelihood that a speech will address women's interests. Again, members from more Democratic and more educated districts were more likely to speak about women's issues. Those on committees that deal with women's issues were also more likely to speak about them. Members of the Senate were more likely to speak about these issues than were Representatives, even controlling for total number of speeches. The agenda also changed, with less members likely to speak about women's issues in the Republican-dominated 108th Congress. Table 4.5 presents factor and percentage changes for each of the significant variables in the previous equations. In this case, being a female increases the expected women's issue speech count by 200 percent. Other variables are also important, including constituency variables. A one percent increase in the percent of constituents with a college degree increases the expected speech count by 2.8 percent. Similarly, a one percent increase in vote for the Democratic candidate for president would increase the expected count by 2.1 percent. Being a member of

¹⁰ The findings here include both Democratic and Republican women, as the interaction terms for Female X Democrat for all of the following equations in this chapter were not significant.

a women's subcommittee increases the expected number of women's issue speeches by 26 percent over non-committee members. Senators also give 78 percent more women's issue speeches than House members. This is important because the equation already controls for total number of speeches. Although these member characteristics are important, the overall context is also important. There were 32 percent less women's issues speeches in the 108th Congress than in the 103rd Congress.

It is also possible that women also give more speeches on social welfare issues generally. The last column in Table 4.3 presents the results for the number of social issue speeches given by a member. In this equation, two variables stand out as particularly strong predictors. Again, women are more likely than men to speak about social issues. Being a woman increases the expected count by 73 percent. Many studies have not found overwhelming evidence that women vote together on social issues, however, these findings indicate that women generally place greater emphasis on social issues. This suggests that women in both parties, regardless of their particular vote on a given social issue, may speak about social issues. This may be due to their own personal priorities, or making the most of the strategic expertise granted to them on 'feminine issues' because they are women. Also, being a member of a committee that deals with more women's issues increases the number of social issues a member will likely give by 50 percent over other noncommittee members. Both district variables were also significant, with a 1 percent increase in the Democratic presidential vote or constituent education leading to an increase of around 1 percent of social issue speeches.

TABLE 4.3

Negative Binomial Regression of Member's Women's Issue Speech Counts

	Women's Issues	Social Issues
Female	1.092*** (.120)	.543*** (.089)
Democrat	-.485* (.280)	-.427* (.204)
Year elected	-.012 (.009)	.011 (.007)
Year Born	.004 (.006)	.003 (.005)
Leadership	.231 (.260)	.253 (.194)
Women's Issue Committee	.232* (.142)	.407*** (.112)
Winning Percentage	-.007 (.005)	-.004 (.003)
District Presidential Vote	.021*** (.006)	.006* (.003)
District College Education	.027*** (.008)	.012* (.006)
Senate	.579*** (.174)	.035 (.125)
108 th Congress	-.397** (.144)	-.028 (.104)
101 st Congress	-.240 (.169)	-.054 (.129)
Ideology	-.395 (.381)	-.496* (.250)
Total Number of Speeches	.006*** (.0007)	.008*** (.0006)
Constant	14.262*** (17.511)	-27.490* (13.430)
Log likelihood	-698.676	-1151.873
Log likelihood chi-square	258.77***	322.37***
N	334	334

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. 103rd Congress used as comparison group for year variables. *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.001.

TABLE 4.4

Negative Binomial Regression of Member's Marginalized Group Speech Counts

	Children's Issues	Marginalized Group
Female	1.033*** (.110)	.602*** (.082)
Democrat	.021 (.250)	-.502** (.206)
Year elected	-.005 (.008)	.013* (.006)
Year Born	.006 (.006)	.0008 (.004)
Leadership	-.363 (.252)	.129 (.173)
Women's Issue Committee	.540*** (.132)	.269** (.101)
Winning Percentage	.0008 (.004)	.003 (.003)
District Presidential Vote	.0004 (.004)	.009** (.004)
District College Education	.005 (.007)	.002 (.005)
Senate	.102 (.159)	.319** (.113)
108 th Congress	.492*** (.124)	-.411*** (.093)
101 st Congress	-.057 (.166)	-.047 (.198)
Ideology	-.323 (.309)	-.869*** (.271)
Total Number of Speeches	.006*** (.0007)	.006*** (.0005)
Constant	4.165 (15.993)	-25.963* (12.045)
Log likelihood	-814.679	-957.232
Log likelihood chi-square	263.51***	293.63***
N	334	334

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. 103rd Congress used as comparison group for year variables. *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.001.

TABLE 4.5

Factor and Percentage Change in Expected Counts for Women's Issues

	Factor Change	Percentage Change
Women's Issues		
Female	1.09	198.3%
Democrat	-0.48	-38.4
Women's Subcommittee	0.23	26.1
District Presidential Vote	0.02	2.1
District Education	0.27	2.8
Senate	0.57	78.4
108 th Congress	-0.39	-32.8
Social Issues		
Female	0.54	72.2
Democrat	-0.43	-34.8
Women's Subcommittee	0.41	50.2
District Presidential Vote	0.01	0.6
District Education	0.01	1.2
Ideology	-0.49	-39.2
Children's Issues		
Female	1.03	181.0
Women's Subcommittee	0.54	71.7
108 th Congress	0.49	63.7
Marginalized Groups		
Female	0.60	82.6
Democrat	-0.50	-39.5
Year Elected	0.01	1.3
Women's Subcommittee	0.27	31.0
District Presidential Vote	0.01	0.9
Senate	0.32	37.7
108 th Congress	-0.41	-33.7
Ideology	-0.86	-58.1

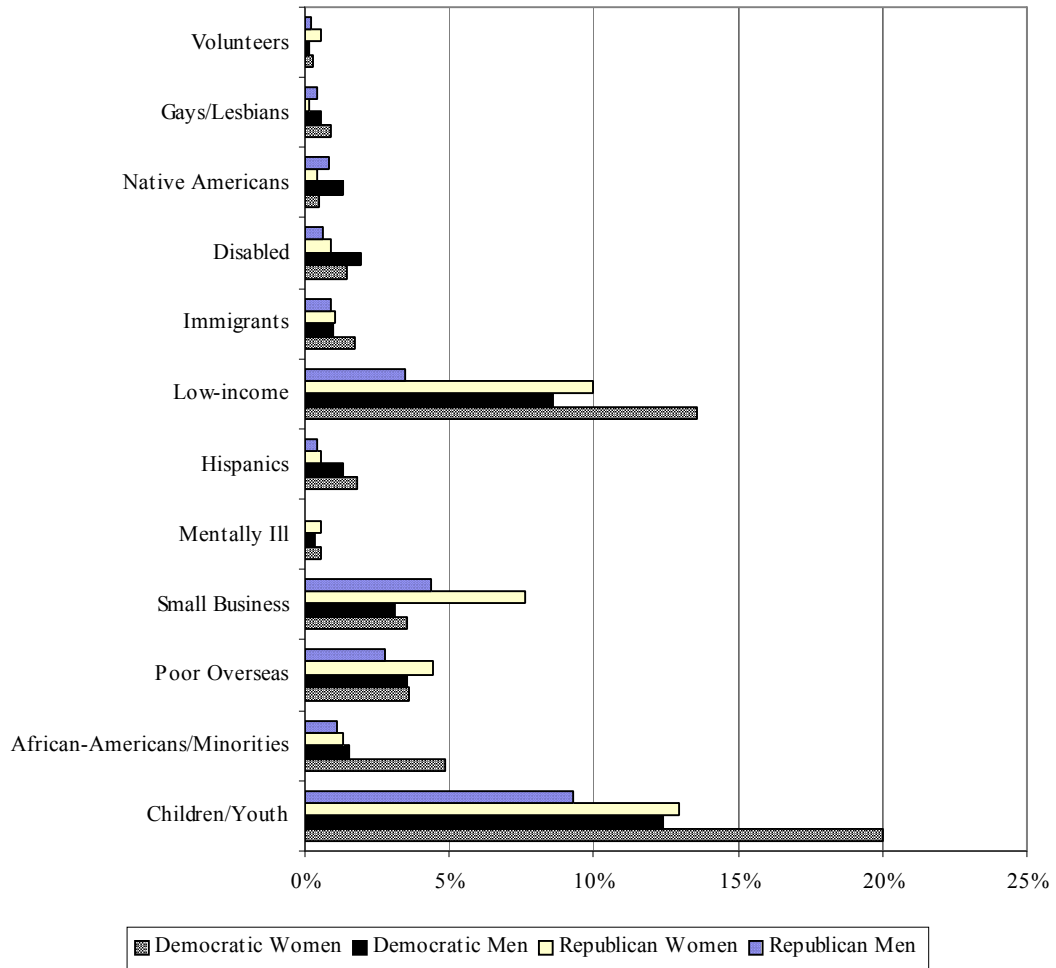
It is also likely that women may not be the only marginalized group that female legislators are likely to advocate for in their speeches. The first column in Table 4.4 presents the predictions for number of speeches given on children's issues. Female legislators are more likely to speak about children's issues than men (see middle of Table 4.5). Being a female versus male legislator increases the predicted count by 181 percent. Members of women's issue committees also gave 72 percent more children's issue speeches than non-committee members. Children's issues were also 64 percent more prominent in the 108th Congress than in the 103rd. Overall, on issues that concern children, women of both parties are leading advocates for these issues.

Finally, the last column in Table 4.4 shows the findings for giving speeches that mentioned other marginalized groups. Women again gave more speeches representing marginalized groups, 82 percent more than their male colleagues. Members from liberal districts, liberal members, members of women's subcommittees and Senators also gave more speeches representing marginalized groups. Those that were more recently elected are slightly more likely to speak about these groups. For the 108th Congress, again, there were fewer references to marginalized groups, reflecting the more conservative agenda.¹¹

Are there partisan differences among the different types of marginalized groups coded here? To explore this further, I provide cross-tabulations in Figure 4.2 that separate out the marginalized groups coded here. Democratic and Republican

¹¹ As in other equations in this chapter, party is signed in the opposite direction as expected, however, this is likely due to controlling for ideology. When one removes ideology from the model, Democrat is barely significant and has only a marginal effect compared to the other variables. A similar finding occurs if party is omitted but ideology is included. The other coefficients do not change significantly.

Figure 4.2. Percent of Speeches including Marginalized Groups



women generally had similar proportions of their speeches representing marginalized groups. However, Democratic women were especially more likely to mention low-income citizens, African-Americans and children and students. Republican women, on the other hand, were much more likely to mention small businesses, volunteers, and those living in poverty internationally than all other groups. These generally reflect the priorities as well as the base constituencies of the two parties (Wolbrecht 2000). Women of both parties were more likely to mention children and students, those who are oppressed and impoverished around the world, and low-income people. The representation of both children and other marginalized groups indicates that women are more likely to speak out for those groups in society that may not often be heard in the national debate.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the issue context of speechmaking patterns on women and women's interests in the House and Senate. These findings raise several issues. First, it appears that among issues that are traditionally associated with women, social issues, a larger proportion of the speeches will discuss women than more 'masculine' non-social issues. This is not surprising, given the larger social definition of categorizing women's issues this way. However, if one of the goals of substantive representation of women is to broaden the definition of women's issues, then this does not appear to be currently occurring to a great extent. The issues where we would expect the discussion to have a female component do, while only a small number of masculine issues discuss women's roles, experiences or concerns.

Therefore, if we think about the example in the introduction of the book, the example of female Senators claiming they will continue to raise issues about patriarchal norms and sexism in masculine institutions such as the military, this seems to be only a small portion of the current advocacy by female legislators. Instead, gendered speeches seem to be concentrated in traditionally feminine issues. This finding provides an important caveat to the findings from the first chapter; although female legislators are talking about women on the floor, they do not seem to be redefining or broadening the definitions of women's issues in a significant way. Perhaps it is necessary to look more broadly across time to discover significant changes in issue frames. A study of Belgian debates from 1900-1979 reveals that issue frames were put into a feminine context by female legislators that resulted in a redefinition of women's issues (Celis forthcoming). Also, the Republican majority throughout the 1990s and early 2000s may have contained any expansion of women's issues, as Democratic women and moderate Republican women attempted to simply maintain current policy. There are a few possible exceptions to this conclusion. One is the commitment of African American women overseas, an issue that exemplifies the intersectionality involved in representation for these women. African American women are bringing a gendered voice to this debate as well as advocating for attention to these important issues. Secondly, crime was the only 'masculine' issue in which more than 20 percent of all speeches were gendered. However, looking at the congressional agenda, the crime bill under the Clinton administration which contained provisions to combat violence against women, may overstate the case.

Lastly, this chapter finds that women prioritize certain issues, which can be seen through their choice of issues to speak about on the floor. Even controlling for factors that generally explain congressional behavior such as partisanship, committee membership and expertise, district characteristics, and electoral competitiveness, women are far more likely than men to speak about women's issues, social welfare issues, and marginalized groups. Therefore, the willingness to speak for groups who have been historically underrepresented in the process extends beyond women to a number of groups. This may be because women are granted a certain level of expertise on these issues, that their speaking out on these issues is considered more persuasive. Just as women candidates may 'run as women' in order to take advantage of their association with women's issues, women in the legislature are presenting themselves as advocates for these women's issues, social issues, children, and other marginalized groups. The results indicate that the number of speeches on social issues has decreased in the more recent 108th Congress, and this may present a problem for female legislators. If these issues continue to be less important to the agenda, female members may be less involved and their advocacy muted. This can have important repercussions for the amount of local news coverage a female member gets, as well as their ability to be part of key legislation in Congress.

Chapter 5: Feminine Styles of Speechmaking in Congress

But I hope my colleagues will consider more than the economics as they cast their vote. I hope my colleagues will consider the cost to the women and children who are the victims of domestic violence—the cost in pain, the cost in lives—and the pain and the lives we can protect by giving women the tools they need to escape abusive relationships. (Senator Patty Murray, speaking in favor of her domestic violence amendment, March 25, 2004)

Historically, female political leaders have worked outside of traditional, national political institutions to speak for women's rights and other causes. This outsider status was the stimulus behind the development of different strategies and tactics of female political activists. It has also been attributed to the creation of a style of communication that specifically reached out to those outside the political process. This feminine speech style emerged among women political activists as a way to rhetorically reach out to and empower those who were disenfranchised, particularly other women (Campbell 1989).

A major gain in the 1992 elections led to a sharp increase in the number of women in the 103rd Congress. That year, women ran campaigns and messages that were outside the mainstream, often highlighting personal qualities that were different from "politics as usual" and reminding voters of their outsider status. For example, Patty Murray ran as "a mom in tennis shoes" combining themes of change with a middle class, down-to-earth persona (Schroedel and Snyder 1994). These "un-candidates" (Shames 2003) ran campaigns that spoke to voters as equals, and were reminiscent of this feminine rhetorical style. This continuity suggests that women may have a different style of politics than their male counterparts. Whether this style

of politics extends from the campaign setting to the policymaking process remains to be seen.

Whereas previous chapters investigated the content and context of floor debate, this chapter addresses whether women members of Congress employ an alternative style of politics within the parameters of congressional debate. I use the feminine rhetorical style framework to examine these stylistic differences. Although increasingly stylistic differences have been noted on the campaign trail (Bystrom et al 2004), the question remains: as women enter the Senate, do they carry this different style of communication and message to institutional debate?

There are a number of reasons not to expect gender differences on the floor of the House or Senate. Congressional debate has long been masculine territory (Winsky-Mattei 1998). It is likely that women who make the decision to become involved in politics, run for high-profile federal offices and eventually win, may attempt to integrate themselves into the patriarchal norms of Congress or only be able to make minimal incremental changes to the culture of the institution (Hawkesworth 1990).

On the other hand, those women who emerged from the women's movement may reject these norms, and highlight their feminine voices in national debate. Women may approach political debate differently because they are socialized to view the world differently than men and may therefore communicate in a different manner (Chodorow 1974; Gilligan 1982; Tannen 1990). Women may find highlighting stereotypically women's issues is an asset in certain political climates (Herrnson, Lay, Stokes 2003; Cook, Thomas, and Wilcox 1994). At the same time, feminine speech

styles are not the exclusive domain of women and may be useful for male politicians as well. All members of Congress have to develop ways to connect with their constituents. By showing that they identify with them they can build trust and hopefully secure reelection (Fenno 1978). Therefore members may also use the floor of Congress as a way to remind constituents that they are one of them, and the interests of the district are their priorities. This process of connecting with the audience is integral to the feminine style. In fact, more recent studies of national political communication show that male political leaders may use this style frequently as well (Johnson 2005). It is therefore important to compare the use of feminine speech styles among male and female members in order to estimate the different voice female members may be using.

Women Leaders and Rhetoric

Women approach politics differently, and they present themselves differently to voters both in the campaign and legislative processes. In the legislative arena, women are more likely to support issues that focus on women, children and families, including the use of tactics such as sponsorship or co-sponsorship of bills and amendments (Dolan, 1997; Thomas 1991; Swers 2002a). Along with legislating different issue agenda priorities, women may also bring a different socialization to power, politics and leadership to legislative institutions (Reingold 1996). As Ann Richards noted, “the most sympathetic and sensitive of our men friends, no matter how hard he tries, cannot hear with a woman’s ear or process information through a woman’s experience...the experience is different. The perspective is different. The

knowing is different” (quoted in Dow and Tonn 1993, 294). Women tend to see the world in a more contextual way; men in a more instrumental way. The instrumental view sees the world as one of hierarchy and competition. Individual rights and abstract principles are the main goals when the self is seen as autonomous. The contextual view includes perceiving subjects to be interrelated, and also is characterized as allowing greater credibility for subjective, rather than simply objective, knowledge (Belenky et al 1986; Duerst-Lahti 2002; Kathlene 2001; Lang-Takac and Osterweil 1992). It defines the self in terms of its relationships to others and the community. The goal is to address the needs of others, across the public and private spheres. Although people likely fit along these two dimensions in a continuous rather than binary pattern, political women may bring a different outlook on problem-solving, conflict management, leadership style, and a more personal perspective on politics than the traditionally masculine model (Rosenthal 1998; Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995). Therefore women may not only represent constituents differently and prioritize issues in a distinct manner, they may also bring a new perspective to politics that is more interpersonal and integrative (Duerst-Lahti 2002). For example, female leaders in state legislatures tend to adopt a more consensual, collaborative style. They were more likely to try to bring people together, include larger numbers of people and perspectives in decision-making processes, and pursue a team-oriented strategy (Rosenthal 1998).

These differences may translate into distinctive approaches to the policymaking process. For example, women in the Colorado state legislature posed solutions that were more comprehensive and integrative on crime policy. They were

more focused on the complexity and relationality involved in problem-solving, and incorporated this into their policymaking. For example, they were more likely to propose innovative solutions, rather than simply modify existing law, because they recognized and tried to address the multiple causes of the crime issue. These solutions to crime addressed a wide set of issues, including poverty and other causes of crime rather than just corrections (Kathlene 1995). A second implication for policymaking from this contextual view of politics is not only to acknowledge a network of interrelationships, but to work toward incorporating these new voices into the political process. Women in the Colorado state legislature tended to use a greater scope of sources of information when creating legislation, including communities, parents, local elected officials, social workers, and personal experience (Kathlene 2001).

Stylistic differences have been studied to a greater extent within the campaign environment. Gender socialization creates a divergence in the use of language and presentation of self (Tannen 1990; Bystrom et al 2004). Women congressional candidates tend to portray themselves somewhat differently – although with increasingly smaller differences – to their constituents (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003; Dabelko and Herrnson 1997; Fridkin and Woodall 2005; Gulati 2004; Larson 2001). Women may be more likely to present themselves as women, emphasizing their feminine traits (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003). Presentation of self is important to the creation of a member's homestyle – how they interact with their constituents to maintain and grow their connection to those they represent (Fenno 1978). Homestyle and hill-style tend to be understood separately (Davidson and

Oleszek 2005), but the floor of Congress provides a platform for members to document their constituent-oriented priorities while still in Washington. This may be particularly important for members whose districts are far-removed from the District of Columbia (Maltzman and Sigelman 2001).

In terms of politics, gendered presentations of self may impact the way that debate occurs within institutions. American political institutions are gendered institutions that have been dominated by masculinity (Tamerius 1995; Duerst-Lahti 2002; Kenney 1996). Women's voices have been marginalized in congressional debate both through a historical lack of female members and as measured by witness testimony (Winsky-Mattei 1998). One way women may use language differently is through employment of a "feminine" presentation versus a "masculine" presentation in speechmaking (Campbell 1989). The feminine style of presentation includes using a personal and nurturing tone that is intimate, using the voice of a feminine role such as a mother, or some kind of non-gendered persona. In the latter case, many early women speakers adopted roles such as a prophet to show a lack of gender. This also includes tactics such as using anecdotal evidence, speaking inductively so conclusions are not stated up front, encouraging audience participation or empowerment, and avoiding clear conflict or debate. On the other hand, more masculine speech includes deductive reasoning, highlighting personal expertise, use of experts, and using impersonal examples (Campbell 1989; Ruddick 1989). Similarly, Sullivan and Turner (1996) define a transformative feminine style as seeing connections among what are often characterized as distinct forums – the political and the moral, and the personal and the political. In this way, a feminine style provides

the context that links each of these areas. These ideas tend to reinforce each other. For example, the use of personal experience as knowledge encourages the audience to judge principles against their own experience (Dow and Tonn 1993).

Thus far, evidence from the political realm suggests that men and women are likely to mix feminine and masculine styles (King 1990). On the campaign trail, women may try to balance their feminine and masculine qualities. Women's television advertising is more likely to show them smiling, and less likely looking serious/attentive than male candidates. However, women are also more likely to wear more formal attire when seen in television advertising. Rhetorically, ads of men and women used similar levels of inductive reasoning, personal tone, addressing viewers as peers, and several other indicators of feminine style. Therefore we may not find differences in the presentation of self by women and men.

Some high profile women have limited their use of a feminine style of rhetoric, particularly Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign style (Campbell 1998). Oftentimes political women must combine a re-visioning rhetoric with accommodations to other styles of reasoning and argumentation (Sullivan and Turner 1996). In partisan presidential nomination convention speeches, there is some evidence that women tend to use certain aspects of feminine presentations, specifically inductive argumentation structure, but generally men and women mix styles (DeRosa and Bystrom 1996). In convention speeches, men were more likely than women speakers to discuss their leadership qualities, past performance, and strength of character. On the other hand, women's presentation styles in 1996 convention speeches included more mentions of family roles, such as being a spouse

or parent and being less likely to attack the other party (DeRosa and Bystrom 1996). A study of Nancy Kassebaum's speech styles found that she tended to use less emotional language, and used a great deal of expert evidence to back up her claims. At the same time, she often took on feminine roles of teacher and mediator in her speechmaking (Campbell and Jerry 1988). Ann Richards was also known for using a distinctly feminine style that tended to test abstract claims against personal experience to judge their validity, highlighted her role as a parent and shared other personal experiences (Dow and Tonn 1993).

However, it may be that women may be more likely to invoke a feminine speaking style under certain conditions, given the constraints of stereotypes that question women's authority. In the case of the partial birth abortion ban debate, women were less likely to cite experts when arguing in favor of a given policy (Sheckels 2000). In advocating for breast cancer patient information laws, female activists were more likely to use a personal, emotional narrative (Martini 1996). Abortion social movements often redefined and argued their positions in a more feminine style as greater numbers of women became involved at the grassroots (Luker 1984; Zurakowski 1994). Partisan differences may also play a role in determining speech type. Women speakers at Republican political conventions did tend to downplay their own expertise or ability, and emphasized women's roles in the private over the public sphere (Daughton 1994).

Women have been shown to use distinct issue frames from men, and even influence the framing by their male counterparts of an issue over time. For example, women's speechmaking patterns on abortion issues have influenced their male

counterparts. Female members of Congress are more likely to speak about abortion from the perspective of the mother. Across decades of debate on the Hyde Amendment, men have become more likely to use this feminine frame when speaking about abortion (Tien, Levy, and Aved 2001). As noted in the introduction, women used the debate over Admiral Frank Kelso's retirement to highlight problems within the military and in male-dominated institutions generally (Scheckels 1997). In this way, women appear to be using the floor of Congress as a place to advocate for women, transform congressional discourse, and even influence male members to consider women's ideas and issues in their discussion. However, there is currently a lack of systematic analysis across issues and Congresses to ascertain whether the use of feminine styles by political women is a general pattern within congressional discourse.

Data and Methods

I analyze a sample of House and Senate floor speeches from the 103rd (1993-1994) and 108th Congresses (2003-2004). These two Congresses work well for analysis because each was under majority control by a different party. Both include a significant number of women and included a wide set of issues for debate, ranging from military interventions overseas to health care.

I again use a content analysis software package to analyze the samples of speeches from these two Congresses. Again, keyword categories for various elements of feminine style were created, and the computer package coded the speeches if those elements were present. These variables were used for the dependent

variables. (A full list of the keywords for each of the variables is provided in Appendix B).

The strategy for this project was to adjust the coding scheme used by others (DeRosa and Bystrom 1996; Johnson 2005) to the congressional milieu. Key to legislators is the need to connect their district (Fenno 1978). The coding focused on the connection between the speaker (the member of congress) and their audience (the people in their district). This is a vital linkage because it has implications for member's reelection prospects. Member's work in Washington is influenced by their district and how they best connect with their constituents (Fenno 1978). Although it is likely that members will speak to multiple audiences, the connection to the district is the most relevant to the feminine speech style because it focuses on empowering those outside the political mainstream, excluding institutionalized entities as interest groups or other members. Although members may actually develop their own styles for interacting with these actors, the public forum of nationally televised floor debate offers a chance for members to speak to any constituents who might be listening. This coincides with the theoretical framework of feminine speech styles; women who used these styles were often speaking to political novices and attempting to educate and connect with them as well as to encourage their participation in the process. Members of Congress do this as well through their public rhetoric.

The main research question is to address which members are likely to use feminine speech styles. In order to operationalize this concept, I use criteria set out by theorists Dow and Tonn (1993). They suggest a number of different ways to measure feminine speech style. I examine a number of factors. First, Dow and Tonn

note that feminine speeches are inclusive in tone. They cite the use of inclusive pronouns. Therefore *inclusiveness* counts mentions of inclusive pronouns ‘we,’ ‘us,’ and ‘our’ as well as mentions of phrases such as ‘the American public.’ However, after the original coding a large number of speeches included these words but were used to refer to the Senate and its members rather than a larger collective group. Therefore I excluded any cases where there were only references to the Senate membership (i.e. “our committee,” “our bill”).

Next, feminine speech styles are said to *invite audience action* and ask them to become involved in the process. I use phrases that encouraged constituents to become part of the policymaking process to operationalize this variable, such as those that asked people to call or write politicians.¹² Feminine speech style also includes *identification with the audience*; in this case, constituents. The content analysis software coded for mentions of the district, which for Senators includes the whole state, using terms such as “the people of California” or “my state” and for Representatives included phrases such as “my district.” Talking about the conditions within the member’s district highlights the connection between the member and their district. Although other studies don’t explicitly include this in their coding, the software also coded for whether the member speaks about *contact with the district*. This included mentions of phrases regarding receiving phone calls or emails or speaking to constituents at town hall meetings. This is an indicator not only of an

¹² The first set of coding used a wider set of words indicating action. However, again, nearly every speech included a plea for action, but most were directed at the members of the Senate asking them to support their position on a given bill. Because this didn’t quite fit with the constituency-oriented framework of the feminine rhetorical style, I chose a more narrow constituency-oriented operationalization for this variable.

abstract connection with the district, but that the member has consulted with them – bringing their opinions and views into the debate.

Two aspects of feminine style were difficult to code using the computer software, and therefore were manually coded. Feminine style also differs by its structure, setting up the argument inductively rather than deductively. Therefore I manually coded the speeches as being *inductively structured*; coded 1 if the speech includes examples or narratives first, and then presents the conclusions at the end – all others were coded 0.¹³ Another important part of Dow and Tonn’s conceptualization of feminine style includes the use of *personal experiences* or anecdotes. Therefore I operationalized this as the use of a full example that mentions a person or group of persons and their experiences. I excluded cases where there was only a brief mention, and included only those speeches that used an example that told a complete story about a person to illustrate a point.¹⁴ I then coded these examples as being *personal* (referencing the person’s own experiences) or *other* (referencing the experiences of a person in their district or someone else whom they’ve met). It is also likely that women may be more likely to speak about their own family experiences than their male colleagues. When the speech referenced a personal experience, I also coded whether it mentioned a family category (1=Spouse, 2=Parent/Grandparent, 3=Child, 4=Sibling, 5=Other). It may be that women are more likely to reference

¹³ If there was any question about the structure those speeches were coded as 0. Therefore I do not conceptualize the zero values of this variable as fully measuring deductive structure. Coding the structure variable was straightforward for most of the speeches, since many floor speeches specifically begin with the member stating their position, (i.e. “Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my support S.3.”)

¹⁴ Here I used the coding structure laid out by Johnson (2005). Historical or incomplete examples were not coded as examples. Most of the examples used a specific name of a person, the only exception being when it is an issue that is somewhat personal (i.e. a woman tells her story of domestic abuse to the member of Congress but their specific name isn’t mentioned). Generalizations about groups’ experiences were also not coded positively in this scheme.

their family, and within that their roles as parents and spouses because of their traditional involvement in the private realm (see the Appendix for family keywords). Also, I coded whether within the example the Member of Congress used the actual words of person, defining this as quote attributed to the person, as well as whether the person in the example is a woman or child.¹⁵ Feminine speech style includes seeing one's audience as a peer. Therefore using the actual words of the person in the example brings this person into the discussion, highlighting the voice of the audience rather than their own.

Feminine Rhetorical Style in Congressional Debate

Table 5.1 indicates that overall elements of feminine style are not extremely popular on the floor of Congress. Many speeches on the floor are bogged down in the details of amending activity and legislation rather than speaking to a larger audience. Feminine speech style includes an awareness of the wider audience, and much of congressional floor business requires attention to the smaller points of legislation, such as amounts of funding or specific wording of amendments. In this way, congressional speechmaking is somewhat inhospitable to constituent-oriented speechmaking. None of the elements of feminine speech style are found in the majority of floor speeches. The two most popular elements of feminine speech styles are inclusive language and identification with the audience. These are simple ways for members to connect to their constituency as they present themselves publicly

¹⁵ Examples that included men and women were not coded as 1. For example, if the MC tells the story of an elderly couple that cannot afford prescription medication, mentioning the couple's names, this is not coded as 1.

(Fenno 1978). However, the somewhat more costly elements, such as using the words or experiences of specific constituents are less frequently used.

Along with variation among stylistic elements, the results indicate significant differences between the rhetorical patterns of male and female members of Congress. Women were more likely to employ all of the indicators of feminine rhetorical style than were men. Although the percentages presented in the table are small, because of the large number of speeches examined here, we are talking about significant numbers of speeches. For example, Democratic women were slightly more likely to use the words of the person they are speaking about than Democratic men. Although the difference in percentages is small, the difference is 160 speeches. For this reason, the percentages are both statistically and substantively significant.

Women in Congress seem to be more likely to speak directly to their audience, identify with them, and consider them as peers. Female members were more likely to reference the experiences of themselves and their constituents. This suggests women are more likely to use the experiences of others as the basis of argumentation, relying on subjective knowledge. Women were also significantly more likely to talk about their contact with constituents either in Washington or in the district. When they did reference the experiences of others, female members were also more likely to use the person's own words to describe the event. In this way, they are not only using subjective knowledge to support their argument but addressing the constituent as a peer. As expected from previous research (DeRosa and Bystrom 1996), women more often used inductively structured argumentation. This is particularly interesting the congressional context, where speeches tend to

TABLE 5.1
Cross-tabulations of Feminine Communication Styles

	Democratic Women	Democratic Men	Republican Women	Republican Men
Inductive Structure***	6.0%	1.9%	4.0%	1.2%
Inclusive Language***	44.9	29.7	39.5	29.2
Identify with Audience***	45.2	23.7	35.0	22.5
Heard from Constituents***	16.9	11.1	12.4	10.2
Use of Personal Example***	11.1	5.4	7.3	8.1
Use of Other Example***	18.4	8.1	12.8	6.9
Example Own Words ***	3.0	1.3	1.7	0.5
Encourage Action***	5.2	3.6	5.2	1.4
(N)	(9667)	(9801)	(3725)	(7229)

Notes: Cells are percentages. *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001.

begin with the speaker rising, acknowledging the member presiding over the debate, and then stating their position on the bill currently under debate.

It may also be that the content of those experiences or anecdotes referenced may differ by sex cohort. We should expect women to speak about the experiences of other women and children as well as their own personal family experiences more than their male colleagues. Table 5.2 presents the percentage of speeches that reference the experiences of women and children as well as the percentage of speeches that a member references his/her own personal family roles. First, female members of Congress were more likely to reference occurrences that involved either women or children. Although women may be presenting their arguments in an alternative rhetorical style, they also have a different frame of experience from which they are drawing as well. Female members are more likely to speak about women's experiences with given policies, giving voice to not only how legislation might affect them but bringing in their stories to the national stage.

Second, women, particularly Democratic women, use personal family experiences in their speeches to a greater extent. Certainly the overall percentages are small, but generally Democratic women were willing to speak about their own experiences as wives, mothers, and daughters to a greater extent. Overall, it appears the rhetorical style of women in Congress reflects the historical trend of female activists by actively recognizing their audience, explicitly identifying themselves with their constituents, as well as bringing their own and other outside experiences into the debate.

TABLE 5.2
Cross-tabulations of Use of Feminine Examples in Speeches

	Democratic Women	Democratic Men	Republican Women	Republican Men
Female Example***	6.0%	1.9%	4.6%	1.4%
Children Example***	4.4	1.4	2.7	1.0
Personal: Spouse***	0.5	0.01	0.1	0.01
Personal: Parent***	2.2	0.7	0.9	0.8
Personal: Child***	1.5	0.6	0.4	0.5
Personal: Other family member***	0.4	0.1	0.01	0.01
(N)	(9667)	(9801)	(3725)	(7229)

Notes: Cells are percentages. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveal important partisan differences in the use of feminine speech styles as well. For the most part, Democratic women were more likely than all other cohorts to utilize a feminine speech style. In general, the Democratic Party is currently been the party of more marginalized groups. The feminine style has historically lent itself to those trying to advocate for underserved populations (see Campbell 1989; Dow and Tonn 1993). Those who have traditionally used this style did so because it is more accessible for those who are not political insiders. It encourages those who may not have the inside track to see their experience as politically relevant, and encourage them to use their voice to change things. For example, in Ann Richards' speeches she would often describe her experiences and those of women generally as outsiders to the political realm, but encouraging women to see their unique perspective as an asset (Dow and Tonn 1993). In this way, it is more likely that Democrats advocating for traditionally marginalized groups such as low-income people, gays and lesbians, or the disabled would find this a particularly appealing rhetorical style. The differences between Democratic and Republican men reflect this idea to some extent as well. Male Democratic members also use this rhetorical style more than Republican men.

In both sets of results, Republican and Democratic women were more likely than either Republican or Democratic men to invoke various elements of feminine style. However, these similarities taper off when we examine the use of personal family examples (see the bottom half of Table 5.2). These results indicate that Democratic women were more likely than other groups to talk about their roles as spouses and daughters, using personal subjective experiences to a greater extent than

their male colleagues. However, Republican women used far fewer familial experiences in their rhetoric, with percentages similar to their male colleagues. At the same time, they were likely to use other elements of the feminine style, including using an inductive style. This is particularly surprising given the more traditional politics of some conservative women, which tends to highly value women's roles as mothers and daughters. This reluctance to use personal examples may also help to explain the comparatively higher percentage of Republican men using personal examples in their speeches as well.

In order to examine these differences while accounting for a number of other factors, I created an additive scale using six elements from the cross-tabulations ($\alpha = .59$). I include key elements of feminine style: inclusive language, inductive argumentation, identifying with audience, contact with the audience, encouraging audience action, and use of examples. For the use of examples factor, this is an inclusive variable that is coded 1 for any examples, including personal. As with previous analyses, I aggregated the scores by member, with each receiving a mean feminine style score. The descriptive statistics for members' scores are presented in Table 5.3, along with differences in means by party and sex. Not surprisingly, women had a significantly higher mean style score than their male colleagues, while the differences were smaller among Democrats and Republicans. I include the standard independent variables used in previous analyses in the OLS regression equation. The results are presented in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.3
Mean Feminine Style Score by Sex and Party Identification

Sex	
Female	1.839 (.033)
Male	1.244 (.029)
<i>Difference***</i>	.595
Party	
Democrat	1.635 (.039)
Republican	1.352 (.028)
<i>Difference***</i>	.283
Overall Sample Mean	1.516
Minimum	0
Maximum	2.721
Standard Deviation	.4717
N	334

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p \leq .01$; ** $p \leq .05$; *** $p \leq .001$.

TABLE 5.4

Regression Analysis of Member's Average Use of Feminine Style

Female	.435*** (.072)
Democrat	-.095 (.130)
Year Elected	.021*** (.003)
Year Born	-.001 (.003)
Leadership	.038 (.100)
Women's Issue Committee	-.104* (.062)
Winning percentage	-.003 (.002)
District Presidential vote	-.002 (.003)
District College Educated	-.006* (.003)
Senate	-.011 (.062)
108 th Congress	-.085 (.055)
101 st Congress	-.012 (.011)
Ideology	-.375** (.158)
Democrat X Female	.035 (.090)
Feminine Issues	.002* (.0009)
Constant	-39.053*** (6.65)
F	19.57***
Adjusted R-squared	51.11
N	334

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001.

The results support the findings from the cross-tabulations. Women are more likely than men to use a feminine rhetorical style even controlling for a number of other institutional, personal, electoral and district factors. Sex is the strongest predictor in the equation. The mean for women is .43 higher on a scale from 0-2.7. Liberal members and those elected recently are generally more likely to use feminine speech styles. With the increasing prevalence of this style in presidential debates, as well as the use of a more personal tone during the 1990s by President Bill Clinton (Johnson 2005), it is not surprising that members elected to Congress recently may use this less formal style. Those on women's issues subcommittees and those from more educated districts may be less likely to use this style. It is likely that a more educated district might be less swayed with subjective appeals. However, the interaction variable included in the equation is not significant, indicating that women are likely to use a feminine style of argumentation regardless of their partisan affiliation. Again, women regardless of party were likely to use this rhetorical style in their speeches.

Lastly, those who used the floor to speak about traditionally-defined feminine issues (education, health care, poverty, abortion and the arts) were more likely to use this feminine style. The use of feminine style is particularly prevalent in the abortion debates in Congress. Table 5.5 presents cross-tabulations for some of the elements

TABLE 5.5Feminine Speech Styles in the Abortion Debate from the 103rd and 108th Congresses

	Democratic Women	Democratic Men	Republican Women	Republican Men
103rd Congress				
Reference Experience***	37.5%	20.0%	12.5%	4.2%
Personal Reference	6.6	--	3.1	--
Uses Own Words References	1.5	--	--	--
Woman's Experience* (N)	12.5 (136)	10.0 (15)	3.1 (32)	-- (48)
108th Congress				
References Experience**	36.0	--	13.0	9.6
Personal Reference	16.7	--	21.7	33.3
Uses Own Words*** References	14.1	--	--	--
Woman's Experience*** (N)	41.0 (78)	-- (15)	21.7 (23)	4.8 (21)

Notes: Cells are percentages. *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.001. Dashes indicate the percentage is < .5.

of feminine style only on speeches classified as abortion-related. Because of the dramatic changes in the abortion agenda over the course of the 1990s, I present separate analyses for the 103rd and 108th Congresses. On this particular issue, Democratic women were far more likely than their cohorts to use elements of feminine style in their rhetoric. They talked about women's experiences as well as their own experiences as women, mothers, daughters and friends. They also used women's own words to tell their stories. For example, note this example from Barbara Boxer:

Mr. President, I stand before my colleagues as a Senator from California but also as a mother who had two complicated pregnancies and two wonderful, fabulous children, and also as a proud grandmother....

Yesterday, I had the opportunity to sit down with several women who have gone through this terribly difficult decision. What was so sad about each of these women's stories was how much each of them wanted the child they were carrying – only to learn that a fatal abnormality had inflicted each one, creating an unshakable sorrow... One of the women in my office told such a sad tale of what had happened to her and her husband. After trying so hard to become pregnant, they were thrilled when she discovered she was pregnant. But her happiness quickly turned to grief when doctors explained that her daughter had a genetic syndrome called Trisomy 13. Now many fetuses with Trisomy 13 die in utero. And those who survive birth do not live for long. Her choice was not easy, and it was a choice she made with professional medical advice and with her family. This young woman, Audrey Eisen, a Ph.D. student, articulated her concern perfectly when she wrote: "Along with my sadness came a realization that if such legislation passed the right to safe second trimester termination of pregnancies might not remain available to those women who come after me." (Senate, March 12, 2003)

Senator Boxer refers to the experiences of women she has met with recently to bolster her argument against the partial birth abortion ban. She also uses the young woman's own words in the argument, making this woman a part of the debate. This is just one

example of many Democratic women who used these elements of feminine style in the abortion debate.

As the abortion debate in the post-Webster era evolved and Republicans took over the majority in Congress, bills such as the Partial Birth Abortion ban attempted to restrict abortion. However, the results show that both Republican men and women were more likely to use a feminine style in the 108th Congress. This may represent a more fundamental shift in the abortion debate – a feminization of the abortion debate on both sides of the aisle. Men in Congress have been more likely to reference women’s concerns in abortion debates since the 1970s (Tien, Levy, and Aved 2001). Democratic women have also clearly increased their use of this feminine style. However, with bills such as the Unborn Victims of Violence Act and the Partial Birth Abortion ban, Republicans in the 108th Congress were more likely to use elements of a feminine style. They were significantly more likely to reference their own experiences as parents as well as stories from their constituents to support their argument. For example, Republicans originally titled the Unborn Victims of Violence Act as Laci and Connor’s Law; a reference to the Laci Peterson murder case where her unborn son was also killed. Several speeches in the 108th Congress by Republicans in support of the law referenced the details of case as well as the experiences of Laci’s parents. Others referenced couples stories of ‘miracle’ children who were born very premature but were able to survive on their own – emphasizing the personhood of unborn children. Senator DeWine told the detailed story of ‘Baby Hope’ whose mother attempted to have an abortion but the baby was actually born before it passed away. Using the words of the nurse that day, he notes,

“So we cleaned him up and put him into the blanket. We put her [the mother] in a private room and handed her the baby. She held that baby in her arms and when she looked into his face, she started screaming – ‘Oh my God, what have I done? This is my baby’... Nobody wants to talk about this act. Nobody wants to tell the story...Now is finally the time we will ban this horrible, horrible procedure.” (Senator DeWine, October 21, 2003)

This feminization of the abortion debate among conservatives may be a response to its use by Democratic women in abortion debates in earlier decades. It may in part be changing tactics among conservatives to put a more personal face on the pro-life position. Significant increases in the use of personal and female experiences among conservative women in the 108th Congress may also indicate that an increasing presence of pro-life women in the Republican party may also change the rhetoric of the abortion debate. Many of the recently elected pro-life women, such as Marilyn Musgrave and Melissa Hart, took the lead on the floor for key abortion bills in the 108th Congress.

Stylistic Differences in Congressional Communication

Women are increasing their impact on politics. These results, although preliminary, suggest that women may not just be influencing political outcomes with their votes or sponsored legislation, but may also be redefining political discourse within Congress. Congressional debate is an important historical legacy (Mayhew 2000). Congressional discussion provides a forum where members of Congress can discuss national issues. In terms of women’s impact in public office, these results indicate that women’s impact may be more pervasive than just in areas usually studied by congressional scholars. Women perceive the political world differently than men, and this alternative perspective is revealed in the way that women “do”

politics – their style of politics. This is reflected in the way that they approach debate about substantive issues. Women tend to bring in subjective experiences, encourage the audience to value their own experiences by affirming them, and invite participation from constituents as well as other members.

Oftentimes, there are questions whether increasing the number of women in office will have any measurable impact on policy and institutional norms. However, in making the case for whether it is important to have women in politics, an understanding of the different perceptions of the political world that women might bring to the job of legislating are often marginalized. Looking at style as a complement to the studies of direct policy impact highlights these alternative worldviews. These results complement a growing body of literature that supports these claims. Women may be different from their male colleagues, and may offer a unique contribution to national policymaking that is not captured through voting.

This chapter focused on the member-constituency linkage, however there are certainly other actors in the debate that warrant further investigation. For example, how members of Congress communicate and interact in the debate setting with each other is the next logical subject for analysis. Unfortunately, a dataset that separates out speeches, as I have done here, rather than examines a debate as a whole does not include the appropriate data for this type of analysis. Recent work on debate in the British parliament suggests that conversational gender differences that often appear in private discussions may also be found in public debate (Christie 2005). In general, these results affirm that work on stylistic differences in politics can be greatly informed by literature from linguistics, communication, and sociology.

Chapter 6: Women's Speechmaking and Change

Congress has evolved significantly as an institution since its beginnings. Just over the 20th century, Congress changed in a great number of ways, responding to the complexity of modern life, the growth of the role of government, the role of the presidency and the courts in policymaking, the expansion of the interest group universe, and new technology (Ahuja and Dewhirst 2003). However, increasing institutional complexity has produced an organization that has traded flexibility and informality for the stability and institutionalization. This stems from the need to deal with increasing workloads and greater time constraints (Davidson and Oleszek 2006). The current Congress is also a more open and public institution than in earlier years, allows more participation for minority views, but also hurt by perceptions of legislative gridlock (Ahuja and Dewhirst 2003; Binder 1999). As Congress has become more professionalized and institutionalized, it has evolved into an organization that is more stable making innovation incremental (Schickler 2001).

One major change since the early 1990s is the election of greater numbers of women into office (Center for American Women and Politics 2006). We might expect then that the increasing presence of women over time may have an effect on the institution because women bring a different perspective and style of legislating. This would be a chance for women to not only bring up new issues, but also engage in a “transformative politics” of presence that can change institutions from within to make them more representative of marginalized interests (Phillips 1995).

This chapter examines findings from previous chapters in the context of congressional change. First, I discuss change in Congress, and the major catalysts and barriers of change, both internal and external, over the last several decades. Next, I take a preliminary look at changing patterns of speechmaking, particularly among men. As women become more comfortable in the institution of Congress, we may see new patterns emerge among both men and women legislators. Even if men are less likely to speak about women's interests, if women can expand the scope of conflict to inform their colleagues about their concerns, this adds an important dimension to substantive representation of marginalized interests.

Unfortunately, the findings presented here will not be conclusive. Due to the slow-moving nature of institutional change, it may be difficult to see the effects of the increasing presence of women in office using the data from this study. The data collected span fifteen years, but provide only three points of comparison. Looking for trends will be difficult. However, this chapter aims to present preliminary findings for differences in speechmaking across the three Congresses studied. I examine gender-conscious speechmaking for gender/party cohorts across the three Congresses. I also examine two alternative explanations to assess the importance of other factors to influence change. Lastly, I analyze the implications of these findings for future change in Congress in the future.

Change in Congress

Change in Congress is generally slow and occurs over time. Institutionalization of the House took many years, but with increased seniority, more

professionalized leadership, greater committee autonomy, and expanded administrative capacity, the House developed into the an institutionalized body. This institutionalization was a response to the increasing size and complexity of the legislative workload (Polsby 1968). Institutionalization created norms of participation and even greater incentives to remain in the institution, promoting stability (Polsby 1968; Gamm and Shepsle 1989). Overall, institutional development is driven by a number of competing goals. Members want to be reelected, to increase the capacity, prestige and expertise of the institution and themselves, to increase their party's effectiveness and status, and promote their ideological agenda. Entrepreneurs and coalitions can exploit the existence of competing goals to appeal to certain interests that shift the institutional dynamics and result in institutional innovation. Once reforms are implemented, reactions to previous changes by reform opponents create the catalyst for further change; resulting in a multilayered path-dependent track of historical change (Schickler 2001).

However, the effects of institutionalization also create drawbacks that make change more difficult. Institutionalization created incentives for following professional norms. The Senate of the 1950s was one where norms of conduct included apprenticeship, whereby younger members would take time to learn the folkways and defer to more senior members, working hard rather than working to be in the spotlight, specializing in certain issues, especially within committees, interacting in a courteous manner with other members, defending the institution, and extending reciprocity and knowing that same assistance will be extending in kind in the future (Matthews 1960). Similar norms could be found in the House (Asher

1973). However, today, these norms have faded from importance. With the growth of interest groups and the mass media, members have new ways to gain attention for individual accomplishments, helping them to earn reelection, institutional power, and pass their policy priorities (Sinclair 2005; Davidson and Oleszek 2006).

Parties have also evolved over time, expanding or curtailing committee power (Schickler 2001; Rohde 1991; Binder 1997). Creating common platforms on which parties can coalesce may have been a factor in the creation of standing committees early on as strong leaders tried to exercise greater control over the policymaking process (Gamm and Shepsle 1989). Restrictive procedural changes by parties are often adopted in an attempt to curb minority party rights, but may also eventually strengthen them as minority partisans find a common carrier issue on which to unite in response (Rohde 1991; Schickler 2001; Binder 1997). After a period of committee dominance throughout much of the 20th century, major institutional reforms were undertaken by the House Democrats to increase party strength. This was driven by increasingly liberal junior members who were elected throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, along with the loss of many southern seats among conservative Democrats. This increasing homogenization of the Democratic Party pushed the caucus to adopt a series of reforms from 1969-1975 that redistributed power to these younger, liberal members who wanted to push their ideological agenda. Seniority and committee chairs were weakened, and subcommittees were given greater autonomy, allowing more members to participate to a greater extent in the creation and passage of legislation. Members were given more access to resources such as staff. The public was also allowed to see more of the process through the adoption of sunshine rules

(Smith 1989; Sinclair 2000; Sinclair 1983; Rohde 1991; Dodd and Oppenheimer 2005). Members soon recognized that with newly weakened committees, stronger party leadership was required. The Democrats began to use special rules and other procedural maneuvering throughout the 1980s to reign in individual power and the chaos it created for the party (Schickler 2001).

However, there are always unanticipated consequences to institutional innovations (Schickler 2001; Bach and Smith 1988). When Democrats won an overwhelming majority in the 1974 elections, they passed strong restrictions on minority rights throughout the remainder of the decade to curb minority party obstructionism (Binder 1997). This increased policy frustrations among Republicans, and provided the catalyst for organizational change within the Republican Party. These reforms centralized power in an effort to strengthen the party organization and its electoral prospects. Meanwhile, floor tactics became less cooperative and more hostile toward the majority party (Rohde 1991). This centralization eventually led to a Republican majority after the 1994 elections, and the adoption of more centralized leadership in the House under Republican majorities. The Republican leadership in the Senate has also become more partisan over time, using various tactics to assert control (Evans and Lipinski 2005). Although Speaker Dennis Hastert is generally considered less “czar-like” than Gingrich, the leadership still employs a wide range of procedures on the floor to maintain tight control over the agenda (Dodd and Oppenheimer 2005). Committee seats and chairmanships are tied closely with party loyalty, roll call votes are held open to convince moderates to vote with the party, votes are not generally allowed on divisive issues, and the Rules committee limits

time for debate and amendments offered. By keeping Democratic participation to a minimum, Republicans have maintained tight control over both moderates and the party agenda (Dodd and Oppenheimer 2005).

These internal changes are reflected in current floor behavior. The time spent on floor debate has continued to increase overall, as the length of sessions has been greatly extended to accommodate the increasing workload. However, from the 68th to the 94th Congresses, the average time spent on floor deliberation of a bill decreased from 3.13 hours to 1.59 hours (Connor and Oppenheimer 1993). The adoption of electronic voting and increasing polarization encouraged less powerful members to increase the number of proposed floor amendments (Smith 1989; Rohde 1991). Floor activity has increased, including more amendments and obstructionism by the minority party members. To deal with this, the majority leadership has developed a range of strategic tactics such as the use of special rules, omnibus legislation, post-committee changes to legislation, and leadership summits and task forces to circumvent the committee system (Sinclair 2000). In the Senate, the use of procedural tactics by party leaders throughout the 1980s and 1990s has also led to a far more partisan Senate. This may have further dampened deliberation in the Senate (Evans and Lipinski 2005). Overall, members of today's Congress now tend to be generalists, as opposed to specialists, focused on external support rather than internal, and more individualistic (Sinclair 2000). This has likely contributed to the already strong advantage of the executive branch in policymaking.

This creates some opportunities as well as problems for women setting the agenda and the terms of debate. Female members can exploit the ability of members

to speak on a more general set of issues to highlight the ways that women's interests could be affected by any number of policies, particularly in the Senate. African American members receive more press when they talk about racial issues (Schaffner and Gadson 2004), and female members may similarly exploit their strategic expertise to highlight issues and women's concerns. However, restricted debate on many issues, particularly for minority party members in the House, may also restrict the ability of women to reshape the debate on an issue. The partisanship in the House may create incentives for members to stick to partisan 'talking points' to reinforce the party message on an issue. Particularly since minority members are regularly shut out of deliberation processes in many of the new partisan procedures, such as task forces and conference committee meetings, floor deliberation becomes increasingly valuable as a tool for the minority party to get its message out.

Therefore, there are several key factors to understanding congressional change. Membership turnover is an important influence on policy change in Congress (Asher and Weisberg 1978). Throughout the 19th century, turnover was high, but the increasing value of seniority, particularly in the post-World War II era, has made careerism the norm. Although many of the Republican members who ran for office in the early 1990s claimed they opposed the careerist orientation of the institution, the number of junior members generally declined through 2003 (although a one-year surge in the late 1990s is an exception to this trend) (Dodd and Oppenheimer 2005).

Membership turnover may also be important in understanding the role of women in congressional change. Part of the problem of having so few women in

Congress is the issue of critical mass (Kanter 1977). Theories of critical mass focus on the percentage of women in office and the likelihood of women having an impact on the legislature. When women have only ‘token’ status – making up a very small percentage of the legislature – it is less likely that they will have much of an impact because they will often try to blend into the institution (Kanter 1977; Gertzog 1995). However, once women make up an estimated 15-20 percent of the legislature, they will have reached the threshold necessary to begin to have an impact as a group within the legislature particularly on women’s issues (Thomas 1994). Recently, some have criticized this idea, because ‘token’ women at the state legislative level may still prioritize women’s issues (Bratton 2005) and because institutions and their norms may be gendered, so that a focus on tokenism and critical mass may cover up more entrenched gender issues (Yoder 1991). Overall, it may not be the number of women in office that predicts their impact in the institution in a linear fashion.

Similarly, the increasing presence of women in traditionally male-dominated political institutions raises the possibility of negative changes in debate as well. Debate is a dynamic process; it can result in men learning from their female counterparts about previously marginalized viewpoints, or it can result in more negative reactions. Previous work by Lyn Kathlene on the Colorado legislature demonstrates that there is the possibility of a backlash by male legislators in debate as the number of women participating increases. For example, men in committees where there is a female chair may be more aggressive in their debate style (Kathlene 1994).

Aside from turnover, public opinion and changing party coalitions among voters may also play a role in changing Congress, particularly parties and their agendas. Women may influence priority of women's issues on the party's agendas. A few studies have focused on change over time on women's issues, but until the early 1990s it was difficult to systematically understand these dynamics because of the small number of females in Congress. Women in Congress, particularly Democratic women, played a role in their party's activism on women's rights legislation as the parties began to take divergent stands on women's issues in the 1970s. Both Republican and Democratic women were active in co-sponsoring and sponsoring women's rights legislation from the 1960s through the 1990s (Wolbrecht 2000). By the 1990s, both Democratic and Republican women were more likely to sponsor and co-sponsor women's issue legislation (Swers 2002a).

The link between public opinion and party preferences can be seen through changing issue stances in party platforms. Issue evolution can influence policy change in Congress (Asher and Weisberg 1978; Carmines and Stimson 1989). Certain issues may evolve over time as party coalitions change, and elites, activists and masses all recognize partisan differences on those issues. Issue evolution may have long-lasting effects on the parties' agendas (Carmines and Stimson 1989). Reproductive issues and women's issues have generally evolved over time, with the two parties taking opposing stands, and party coalitions reflecting these changes (Adams 1997; Wolbrecht 2000). Issue evolution is reflected in realignments among voters over time. The realignment of the South in favor of Republicans is tied with the parties diverging stands on issues of civil rights. The electoral gains by

Republicans can be traced to party polarization and procedural changes in Congress (Rohde 1991). Changes in public opinion have been accompanied by the growth of interest groups and more media coverage of Washington politics, which allows members to leverage their external influence for power within the institution. This creates incentives for members to act to further their own individual strategic goals (Sinclair 2000).

Therefore, women in Congress may also have an important impact through their framing of issues. One study examined debate on the Hyde amendment over time, and found significant changes in the language used by men as greater numbers of women entered office and therefore the congressional debates. Women in Congress were already more likely to speak about the effect of abortion on women and the experiences of women as they dealt with this decision. As the numbers of women increased and they participated in the abortion debate to a greater extent, men were more likely to speak about women's health within the context of the debate. Both men and women were less likely to focus on the moral principles involved with the abortion debate. This brought the men more in line with the debate style of their female counterparts. It also shows that women can have an influence on the debate and the types of concerns that are considered when speaking about women's issues (Tien, Levy and Aved 2001).

Changing Patterns of Speechmaking

Next I examine whether there are changing patterns in speechmaking across the three Congresses studied here as well as addressing how two key means of change

– membership turnover and changing public opinion – might affect speechmaking in Congress on women’s issues in the future.

Chapter 3 included graphs which showed similar patterns of expected counts of speeches for different gender/party cohorts by year. However, these expected counts are aligned along a large number of possible numbers of total speeches. This may mask some of the broader changes among men and women of different parties. Therefore Table 6.1 presents means for the four gender/party cohorts across the three Congresses. Generally, there seems to be somewhat higher means for gender-conscious speeches in the 103rd and 108th Congresses as compared to the 101st Congress. This indicates that for nearly all groups, the average number of gender-conscious speeches increased.

As for changes among the party/gender cohorts, in the House the numbers stay generally even across Congresses, particularly the two more recent ones. Women in the Senate also show fairly similar changes, with even a small drop among

TABLE 6.1
Mean Gender-conscious Speeches by Year

	101 st Congress	103 rd Congress	108 th Congress
House			
Democratic Women	11.56	13.71	13.64
Republican Women*	2.19	4.20	4.18
Democratic Men	2.19	4.20	4.18
Republican Men	1.63	2.54	2.75
Senate			
Democratic Women*	--	43.40	35.78
Republican Women	--	11.00	13.60
Democratic Men*	--	14.54	42.89
Republican Men	--	9.80	13.63

Notes: Cells are means.

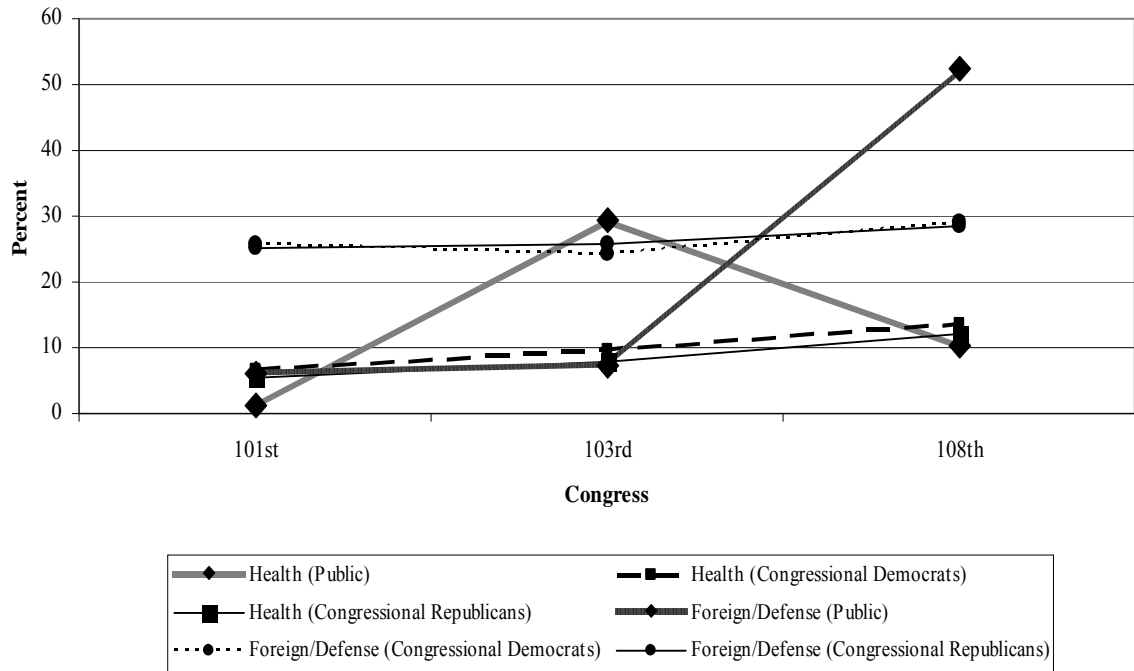
Democratic women and a slight increase for Republican women. However, the results for the Senate also show that the mean number of gender-conscious speeches for Democratic men in the Senate jumped dramatically from 14 to over 40 between the 103rd and 108th Congresses. This is likely at least partially due to the change to minority status, which increases the likelihood of members giving speeches generally. It may also be an electoral strategy to appeal to female voters in order to increase their membership. It will be important to watch whether Democratic men in the Senate continue to speak about women at an increasingly higher rate, even once they regain the majority (should that happen again in the future).

However, this may signal some cue-taking by Democratic men from their female counterparts. During debates on the ERA among state legislators, men took cues from women as to their position on the ERA, which became evident as anti-ERA forces worked to convince women not to support the amendment (Hill 1984). As women's numbers in the Senate increase, Democratic men may also begin to become more aware of the effects that legislation can have on women and show that awareness in their speeches. Women's strategic expertise may also begin to play a role, as male members may look to their female colleagues for cues on certain issues, particularly as new social issues arise. This raises the possibility that women's framing of issues in a more gender-conscious fashion may have some effect on their male counterparts.

An alternative explanation to women's influencing the framing of issues could be that perhaps public opinion is pushing members of Congress to speak about different issues. For example, these findings do not seem surprising, given that the

Clinton presidency tended to emphasize social issues, even when Republicans took over the House of Representatives in the mid-1990s. With the economy doing better, the agenda shifted toward domestic policies such as health care, education, welfare, urban poverty, and abortion. The Bush Presidency and Republican unified government have continued to work on these issues, passing prescription drug legislation, and major education legislation. As we have seen in Chapter 4, social issues speeches are more likely to include references to women. However, Figure 6.1 shows differences on two issues that have moved on and off the public agenda over the past fifteen years: health care and foreign policy. The figure plots the percentage of voters who said that health care was the most important issue facing the country versus foreign policy, terrorism and defense. It also shows the percentage of Democratic and Republican speeches that were devoted to these two particular areas. The fuzzy lines in the figure indicate that public opinion has shifted greatly in terms of what is the most important issue – health care was high on the public’s radar in the 103rd Congress while foreign policy and terrorism were a high priority in the 108th Congress. However, when we look at congressional speeches, both Democrats and Republicans give about the same percentage of speeches on both of these issues across the three Congresses, which span fifteen years. They were both more likely to speak about foreign policy/defense than health care in all years. Issues that the public prioritizes may receive the greatest media coverage, but the overall agenda of Congress seems to be quite stable. Although members may receive more media or constituent attention for certain issues that are of great importance at the moment,

Figure 6.1. Public Agenda and Congressional Speeches



Source: Gallup Polls, Question: “What do you think is the most important issue facing this country today?” Polls reported were gathered July 19-22, 1990, August 15-16, 1994, and July 8-11, 2004.

members of Congress generally still work within stable parameters year after year. They tend to stay on the same committees, they focus their energies on issues they have the greatest expertise in, and they will vote with their constituency on the high profile issues. Patterns of floor debate reflect this stability. Therefore it is not surprising that we would find similar patterns of issues across several Congresses.

Another way that the public may influence the congressional agenda is through attention to social issues. It may also be that social issues were higher priority on the public agenda, and therefore this increased the overall percentage of gender-conscious issues. In regards to earlier findings that the percentage of social issue speeches were far more likely to contain gender-conscious speeches, it is worthwhile to look at whether this pattern changed over the three Congresses held between 1989-2004 examined here. However, it is also not the case that social issues have become an increasingly larger part of the agenda. The percentage of speeches on social issues among the three Congresses studied here is generally stable (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 also looks to see whether women generally spoke more or less about social issues across the three Congresses. Although male legislators tended to have slightly higher percentages across the three Congresses spanning 1989-2004, women seemed to spend similar amounts of time on social issues regardless of which Congress is under scrutiny. They also give a greater percentage of their overall speeches on social issues. This may be evidence of a strategic expertise on social issues which makes it advantageous for female members to speak about these issues. In the same way that women may emphasize feminine issues on the campaign trail

TABLE 6.2
Social Issue Speeches by Congress

	101 st Congress	103 rd Congress	108 th Congress
Democratic Women	27.8	31.1	30.2
Republican Women	31.7	28.2	31.6
Democratic Men	21.5	20.8	26.6
Republican Men	17.5	16.4	23.2
<i>N</i>	(3311)	(12992)	(14119)
Chi-square	46.676***	333.117***	61.447***

Notes: Cells are percentages.

(Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003), women may continue to emphasize social issues within the legislature.

Previous findings also showed that few gender-conscious speeches were given on issues that were not traditionally associated with women. Table 6.3 presents these results across the three different Congresses from 1989-2004 studied here. The cells represent the percent of social issue speeches given by the particular cohort (ie Democratic women) that referenced women. Below that are similar percentages of non-social issues that are gender-conscious.

When examining all members, (see the first few lines of the table) there is a slight decrease in the proportion of social issue speeches that is gender-conscious. However, the findings indicate that there was a slight overall increase in the percentage of gender-conscious speeches within non-social issues. Certainly these are very small changes, but they are statistically significant. This is preliminary evidence that more members may be likely to speak about women in non-traditional contexts over the Congresses studied here. However, if we compare gender-consciousness among non-social issue speeches between House and Senate members, it appears that the increases are coming from members of the Senate, rather than the House. House members had similar levels of gender-consciousness on non-social issues across all three Congresses. However, it should be noted that particularly for Republican women, the level of gender-consciousness is generally higher in the House than in the Senate. Therefore, women do seem to generally be expanding the scope of debate by increasing their discussion of women's concerns in non-traditional areas.

TABLE 6.3
Gender-conscious Speeches by Issue Type and Congress

	101 st Congress	103 rd Congress	108 th Congress
All Members			
Social Issues***	36.7	26.5	23.0
Non-social Issues***	6.5	7.0	10.0
<i>Social Issues (% Gender-conscious)***</i>			
Democratic Women	43.5	31.5	35.2
Republican Women	38.2	23.7	34.4
Democratic Men	30.5	17.6	18.5
Republican Men	14.3	14.0	19.7
<i>Non-Social Issues***</i>			
Democratic Women	15.8	14.7	20.0
Republican Women	11.7	9.4	17.8
Democratic Men	9.7	7.2	12.5
Republican Men	6.6	4.7	9.3
House			
<i>Social Issues***</i>			
Democratic Women	39.3	39.6	27.9
Republican Women	37.7	34.1	30.0
Democratic Men	26.2	19.3	9.9
Republican Men	11.3	9.6	15.6
<i>Non-Social Issues***</i>			
Democratic Women	11.1	13.4	14.5
Republican Women	6.2	11.8	12.5
Democratic Men	2.3	6.0	6.4
Republican Men	3.4	2.1	4.8
Senate			
<i>Social Issues***</i>			
Democratic Women	--	47.0	37.2
Republican Women	--	19.6	24.5
Democratic Men	--	19.3	17.1
Republican Men	--	14.6	25.1
<i>Non-Social Issues***</i>			
Democratic Women	--	11.5	21.6
Republican Women	--	3.4	8.1
Democratic Men	--	4.4	11.2
Republican Men	--	3.2	5.4
<i>N</i>	(3311)	(12992)	(14119)

Notes: Cells are percentages. Chi-square: *p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***≤.001.

We might expect to see differences in behavior in the House and Senate because of the institutional rules that govern debate in the two bodies. The Senate has much more relaxed rules in that it is governed by unanimous consent rather than written rules. Floor debate tends to be more flexible in that more members can participate, nongermane amendments can be discussed, and individual members hold more influence on debate. Any member may be recognized by the presiding officer (Oleszek 2004). This results in a somewhat more collegial and open debate (Smith 1989). The House has far more restrictions on debate, and even morning business, where members can speak for up to five minutes on a given topic in the Senate, is limited to one-minute speeches in the House (Oleszek 2004). For these reasons, women in the Senate may have more opportunities to redefine issues on the floor. However, Republican women in the Senate are less likely than female Democratic Senators of using non-social issues to speak about women's concerns. This probably reflects the more conservative Republican agenda as well as the higher profile of the Senate.

Overall, the percent of speeches about women have generally remained stable on the congressional agenda. There also seems to be some possibility that Democratic men may be more likely to speak about women in more recent Congresses. It also appears that Democratic female Senators are taking the lead on expanding the scope of women's issues. Although these seem like moderate differences, it is interesting to compare these findings with racial issues over the three congresses under examination. Table 6.4 shows that issues that may be racialized have generally declined in proportion to the overall congressional agenda, and

TABLE 6.4
Race-conscious Speeches by Year

	101 st Congress	103 rd Congress	108 th Congress
Racial Issues	10.2	5.7	5.1
Other Issues (<i>N</i>)	89.8 (3311)	94.3 (12992)	94.9 (14119)
Chi-square	90.629***		

Notes: Cells are percentages. Racial Issues include Poverty, Civil rights, Housing, Welfare and Issues particular to the District of Columbia. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

remained low in the 103rd and 108th Congresses. Women making incremental progress may be a positive sign for future change.

Another catalyst for change in Congress has to do with elections and changes in membership. Part of the reason for the stability of congressional politics is the lack of change among membership. For example, membership in Congress only turns over fully once every six years. Even if voters wanted to make major changes, this would happen slowly. However, that rarely happens. Incumbents are elected at levels that exceed 90 percent (Herrnson 2004). With the exception of particularly strong anti-incumbent years, such as 1994, members are generally safe from removal. This creates a level of institutional inertia as new members often do not get cycled into the process in a critical mass necessary to really change the institution at its core.

However, when we think about prospects for future change, it is also possible that younger members may be more likely to speak about women and women's issues. Table 6.5 shows that at least for Democratic men, younger members may be more likely to be concerned with women's issues. This may be because younger generations of men may have been shaped to a greater degree by the women's movement emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Gertzog 1995).

It is also possible that those who were elected more recently might be more likely to speak about women. Figure 6.2 shows means by decade elected for Democratic men and Republican men. The only difference that is even close to statistically significant ($p < .09$), is Democratic men who were elected in the 1990s

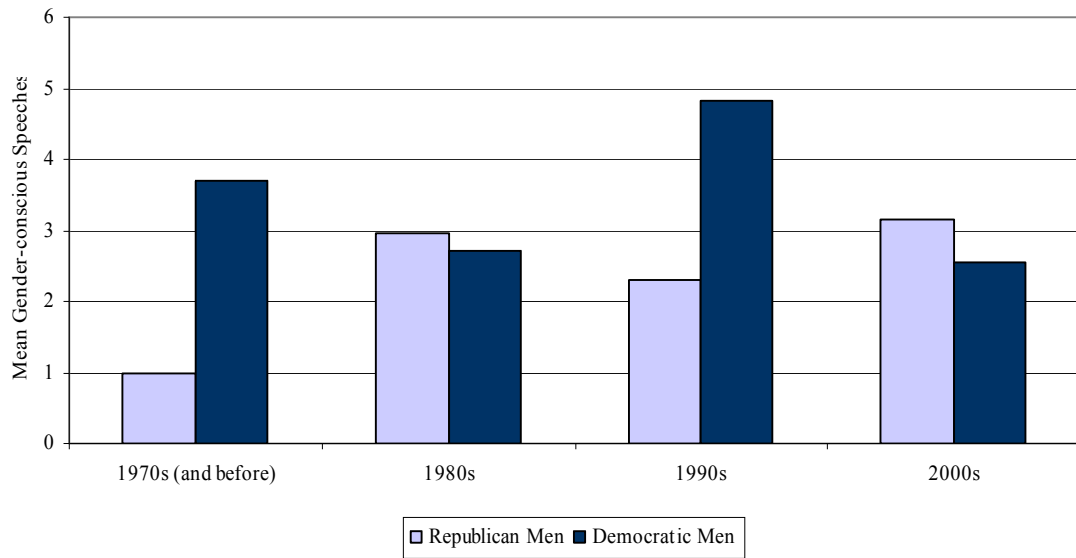
TABLE 6.5

Mean Gender-conscious Speeches by Age Cohort

	Born Before (or in) 1945	Born After 1945
Democratic Women	14.17	18.42
Republican Women	8.16	10.78
Democratic Men*	5.00	11.98
Republican Men	4.85	4.11

Notes: Cells are means. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Figure 6.3. Men's Gender-conscious Speeches by Year Elected



having the highest average number of speeches about women.¹⁶ However, this mean drops off for the most recently elected men, although their overall speech counts could be lower because of their recently elected status. It is not clear then whether this is an indication of more recently elected men being more likely to speak about women, but seems to be related to the younger generation of Democratic men being more aware of women's issues. However, whether this is a generational difference or whether this gender-consciousness might decrease as this generation of male Democratic legislators ages remains to be seen.

Explaining Change and Implications for the Future

Although we have seen some moderate changes, there does not seem to be overwhelming change in gender-conscious speechmaking across the three Congresses spanning fifteen years studied here. However, looking at Congress as an organization, it is unlikely that we would expect to see major changes because of the complexity of factors that influence congressional behavior and decision-making. One example is the differences between the House and Senate. Although we saw some changes in the Senate, few changes seemed to take place in speechmaking patterns in the House. This may be attributed to the restrictive partisan control of debate (Oleszek 2004).

Therefore, institutional and membership factors, along with a changing public agenda may work against more fully representing women on the floor. Even if women were to make up an even larger percentage of the membership, Congress is an

¹⁶ The differences among Democratic and Republican men were significant overall, with a 5 point difference in means and $p < .0001$.

institution that responds gradually. However, one way that they can influence the congressional agenda is to expand the definition of women's issues and reframe issues, particularly to non-social issues, and therefore begin to shape the content of congressional debate within the existing boundaries. They can also influence their male colleagues to understand the gendered implications of given policies. Younger Democratic men may be more attuned to women's issues and interests. Should Democrats be in greater control of the public and legislative agenda, it seems likely that social issues might emerge as higher priority as well as a higher level of gender-consciousness in the legislature.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Overall, it appears that women do offer a unique perspective on the legislative process. In their speeches on the floors of both the House and Senate, female legislators are speaking about women's concerns, interests and experiences. They are doing so at a rate that far exceeds their male colleagues. Not only are they speaking about women, but they take a particular interest in issues that traditionally have been associated with women, including feminist issues such as domestic violence, children's issues, such as protection from child predators and kidnapping, and social issues, such as education, health care and protecting funding for the arts. They also do not limit using their voice for women's interests, but also speak about other marginalized interests including the poor and minorities to a greater extent than their male counterparts. All of these findings are also strengthened by the fact that they are controlling for factors which often explain legislative behavior, such as partisanship, ideology, committee assignments and district characteristics. On the negative side, few gender-conscious speeches move beyond 'feminine' social issues into more 'masculine' issue areas. Although there were slightly more speeches about women in non-social issue areas in the most recent Congress, as compared to earlier Congresses, the differences are small. Women are slightly more likely to speak about women's issues in these non-traditional contexts, but the overall numbers remain small. This is troublesome because as women progress into Congress, one part of substantive representation should be to redefine 'women's issues' to address patriarchy in all aspects of social, political, and economic life.

Also, it appears that women also present themselves differently to their constituents while speaking on the floor. They are more likely to use a feminine style of speechmaking that is more personal and inclusive and aims to bring the audience, in this case their constituents, into the public debate. This represents a departure from traditional congressional debate which oftentimes presents arguments deductively, and is often not concerned with incorporating minority voices. The findings from Chapter 5 indicate that feminine style is not the dominate mode of discourse in Congress. However, if female members continue to employ this type of rhetoric, as they increase their numbers in Congress it is possible that congressional discourse may become more constituent-friendly. At the same time, as women increasingly become policy leaders in Congress, it is possible that they may be less likely to use this style of rhetoric. There were no major differences in the use of this tactic across the three Congresses studied here, but future work can address this issue. This is one particular way that women are not only integrating themselves into congressional norms, but may also be transforming it to some extent. It is also interesting to contrast these systematic findings with case studies of key speeches by female politicians. It is possible that in high profile speeches women may use feminine rhetorical styles a great deal, however, in daily interactions on the floor of Congress women more often than not use more masculine debate styles which are the norm for Congress.

It also appears that there is some preliminary evidence that women may be having a transformative effect on their male colleagues. Democratic men appear to be more likely to speak about women in the 108th Congress than they were in the

previous Congresses. Whether this trend continues, particularly if Democrats take control of either chamber again, is unclear. Further research is needed to address this question. However, this is an important issue because it gets to the heart of whether women will work towards transforming the institution, rather than just becoming part of it.

Although women may be likely to speak about women because they feel a particular responsibility to represent women and particular policy positions (Carroll 2002), they are also strategic actors within an institution. As Swers (2002a) notes, women can advance women's issues because it may also help them advance their own institutional and constituency interests. Women may have a strategic expertise granted to them because of their gender. They may speak more about social and women's issues because other members may defer to their expertise that is separate from committee expertise or that of the leadership. For example Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA), in a debate on funding for No Child Left Behind, talked about joining forces with Senator Patty Murray, the "mom in tennis shoes" who often spoke about her personal experiences as a teacher. He said,

"There is varied experience that is brought to the Senate by Members of this body. But we are listening to a voice who has been a teacher and also a school board member, and prior to entering the Senate probably spent more time in the area of education, particularly young children, certainly, than any other Member of this body. When she speaks about education and what happens in the classrooms and to the teachers, she is talking on the basis of a lifetime experience. She makes a compelling case. I welcome the opportunity to join with her." (March 10, 2004)

Senator Kennedy is speaking about Murray not only as a woman, but also based on her personal experiences as a teacher and member of a school board. Women tend to

bring different experiences, whether personal or professional, to Congress. Therefore it is also possible that if women who are elected to Congress become more like male candidates, it is possible that we might see different patterns emerge.

This expertise can be problematic as well. Although women may be able to advance their own personal, constituency, and partisan interests, they also risk being classified as being associated with social and women's issues to the exclusion of other issues. For example, a city councilwoman claimed that after she was elected many people assumed "women aren't as knowledgeable about zoning and finance issues" and therefore had to work much harder to prove her abilities on these issues (quoted in Handlin, 1998, 139). Therefore, since these results show that women are taking the lead on advocacy for social, women's, and children's issues, it will also be necessary to further understand whether there are any negative effects to these strategic decisions.

The speeches also revealed that women understand that they have common interests. Within these speeches women seemed to be aware of their minority status within the institution, and noted on the floor when they worked together to achieve similar goals. Some of these were on explicitly women's issues, such as the examples in Tailhook presented in the introductory chapter. Democratic women also joined together for a discussion of the Clinton economic plan in the 103rd Congress, highlighting their collective voice. In another case, several women spoke publicly on the floor about incidents that exemplified some of the inherent sexism in the institution. For example, Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) stood up for fellow Republican Representative Nancy Johnson (R-CT) when another male member

claimed she got her expertise on health care from “pillow talk” with her physician husband. Rep. Dunn noted,

“Mr. Speaker, here is a message for the gentleman from California: This is the 1990's, not the 1950's. That sort of attitude went out with hula hoops, bobby sox, and Sandra Dee movies...Mr. Speaker, in any event, Chairman Stark owes the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. Johnson] and all the women of the House an apology.” (March 17, 1994)

Other cases did not fit into the traditional women’s issue framework. For example, Representative Marcy Kaptur, Representative Helen Bentley and other women spoke about the problems with NAFTA after they organized a trip for congressional women to Mexico. Rather than to simply meet with Mexican politicians, the women talked about the discussions with Mexican workers and told stories about the women they had met and the suffering they endure. The floor discussion they had was called the ‘human face of trade.’ Rep. Kaptur introduced the summary of their trip by noting,

This was the first ever congressional women Members' delegation to Mexico... We were there for over 4 days, and our focus was extensive investigations and discussions with individuals from the Government as well as the ordinary people of Mexico regarding the proposed North American Free-Trade Agreement. The bipartisan group of Members titled our mission ‘The Human Face of Trade.’ We wanted to open up this agreement and take a look at what it meant not just for the people of the United States and Canada but for the people of Mexico as well, because, of course, the ordinary people of Mexico will not have a chance to speak out on this agreement in that one-party state. (May 11, 1993)

Women in the NAFTA debate, particularly those opposed to the agreement, were less concerned in their speeches with the economics of NAFTA and more with the human suffering it could exacerbate. They used their positions as Representatives

to speak for those were marginalized in these debates including unemployed workers and workers overseas.

Advancing the Literature

This dissertation contributed to the literature on the impact of women in Congress by examining the impact of women's speechmaking, a topic that has generally been overlooked. It does appear that women are playing a significant role in offering a different perspective and a different style of congressional discourse. The findings here also raise a number of issues that should be the subject of further inquiry.

As the previous NAFTA example shows, women could use the opportunity on the floor to expand the types of issues that are usually associated with women, and to challenge patriarchal norms throughout society. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be occurring among women in Congress. Very few of the masculine issues examined had a substantial percentage of gender-conscious speeches, and women were only very slightly more likely to speak about women on these types of speeches. Women such as former Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) were able to expand women's issues into such untraditional areas as the military because of their tenure on committees that dealt with these issues. In that case, committee assignments provide an important way for women to address these issues. However, even with the wide set of committee assignments for many of the women in Congress, they do not appear to be taking advantage for this purpose. Even more problematic, this may signal that the women in Congress may be unwilling to challenge patriarchal norms as they

pursue greater institutional power and reelection goals. Those women who make it to the highest levels of power may be less likely to try to make qualitative changes in the systematic marginalization of women than activists might hope. Also relevant here is the issue of critical mass. It is also possible that as women's numbers continue to increase, they may begin to push for more significant legislative changes.

On a more positive note, the findings here do suggest, along with the findings by Tien, Levy and Aved (2001) that it is possible that female legislators could be influencing the speechmaking patterns of their male colleagues. The mean number of gender conscious speeches in the Senate – the more collegial and collaborative of the two houses – among both Democratic and Republican men increased from the 1993-94 session to the 2003-04 session. Certainly though, more years will be needed to test this question before a more certain answer can be given. However, it does provide hope that the women in Congress are influencing their colleagues to view issues in a new light. For both of these issues, additional work, particularly as more time passes will be necessary to gather a full response to the questions they raise.

One additional finding that was surprising was the lack of partisan differences among speechmaking patterns, even among speaking about feminist or social issues. This provides more evidence of the idea of strategic expertise, that women of both parties may see a niche among social issues because of their gender. However, further work in this area to look more closely that the substantive differences in the content of the speeches will likely reveal more partisan differences.

What This Means for Democracy

In addition to advancing the scholarly literature on women and legislative politics, the results presented in this study also have implications for the functioning of representative democracy. The story presented here is about deliberation in a representative government, but unfortunately the quality of deliberation in the United States and in Congress in particular is generally lacking. Much of what goes on in Congress happens behind the scenes and off the record.

However, deliberation is an important area for members of marginalized groups in society to be able to make an impact even without large numbers or institutional power (Williams 1998; Fraser 1992). There are important symbolic benefits including legitimacy and voicing issues in light of minority experiences. As a beginning step, this provides a valuable means for these groups to become part of the process. Certainly the numbers of women as well as various ethnic and racial minority groups are still quite small. However, the representatives who are elected from these groups do see their role at least partially as a member of that identity group. This is clearly reflected in the current deliberation, as female members represent not only other women as a group, but other marginalized groups in society. Hopefully, this will eventually spur the incorporation of marginalized interests into the political process and inspire others from these groups to pursue higher office. As women gain greater power in the institution, it will be interesting to see whether they maintain that sense of representing marginalized groups. Examples from state

legislative committees suggest that the dynamics of interaction are not linear, but may be subject to backlash by other male members (Kathlene 2001).

The findings presented here do not necessarily support the idea that deliberation is improving in quality. However, they do reveal that female legislators are using deliberation in Congress as a way to advance the ideas and concerns of marginalized groups, particularly women. Whether the public and other members listen, is another question entirely. However, for those who value a greater spectrum of voices being given the floor in democratic deliberation, the impact of women in Congress appears to be quite valuable.

Appendix A

Keywords for Speech Classification: List of keywords used in search of full text of bills (both the singular and plural forms of the word were searched):

Women

Daughter

Aunt

Sister

Female

femin* (words beginning with these letters)

gender

girl

grandmother

ladies

mother

wives

woman/women

(Also excluded phrases such as men and women, ladies and gentlemen, girls and boys)

Women's Issues

Battered

Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

Contraceptive

Displaced homemaker

Domestic violence

Eating disorder

Genital mutilation

Glass ceiling

Office of Women's Business

Pregnancy

Rape

Sexual Assault

Sexual harassment

Sex offense

Sex education

WIC/Women, Infants, Children

Pro-choice

Access to clinic

Clinic obstruction

Clinic violence

Right to choose

Abortion

Abortion
Access to clinic
Anti-abortion
Anti-choice
Clinic obstruction
Clinic violence
Contraceptive
David gunn
Family planning
Federally funded clinics
Freedom of access
Hyde amendment
Hyde language
Obstruct a clinic
Planned Parenthood
Pro-choice
Pro-life
Reproductive
Right to choose
Right to life
Roe v. Wade

Agriculture

Agriculture
Aquaculture
Crop
Dairy
Farm
Farm subsidy
Farmer
Wool Act

Arts

Arts
Cinema
Film
Movie
Music
National Endowment for the Arts
NEA
Performing arts
Poetry

Theater

Budget/Commerce/Consumer

Antiredlining
Antitrust
Authorization
Banking
Bankruptcy
Budget
Capital gains
National competitiveness
Consumer
Cut spending
Deficit
Duty suspension
Economic development
Economy
Employed
Employees
Employment
Federal Reserve
FTC
Government Reform and Savings Act
Growth
Internal Revenue code
Internal Revenue Service
Investment advisor
Job
Job training
Jobless
Labor relations
Line item
Market promotion
Mutual funds
National debt
Public debt
Recission
Reemployment
Regulatory reform
Savings and loan
SBA
SEC
Securities
Small business
Stimulus

Striker replacement
Supplemental
Tax bill
Tax code
Tax cut
Tax increase
Tax simplification
Unemployment
Workers

Children

Camp counselor
Child
Children
Fetal alcohol
Infant
Juvenile
Kid
Teenaged
Teenager
Teens
Young adults
Youngster
Youth

Crime

Ammunition
Anticrime
Assault
Attorney general
Background check
Brady bill
Bullet
Court
Courthouse
Crime
Criminal
Death penalty
FBI
Gunshot
Habeus corpus
Handgun
Jail
Jury

Law enforcement
Midnight basketball
Murder
Police
Safety
Semiautomatic
Shotgun
Television violence
Victim
Violence

District of Columbia

DC
District of Columbia
Home rule
New Columbia
Statehood

Defense

Air force
Armed services
Armed forces
Army
ASRM
Ballistic missile
Base closing
Base closure
BRAC
C-17
D-Day
Defense
DOD
GI Bill
Intelligence authorization
Marine
Joint Chiefs
Military
Missile
Navy
Nuclear weapon
POW/MIA
Veteran
War

Education

Classes
College
Degree
Education
Elementary
Goals 2000
Head start
Illiteracy
Improving America's Schools
Intellectual
Learn/learning
School
Teacher
Student
University
Voucher

Energy

Crude oil
DOE
Energy
Foreign oil
Helium
Natural gas
NRC
Nuclear
Petroleum
Uranium

Environment

Arctic National
Army Corps of Engineers
Biodiversity
Biological
Birds
Canyon
Clean air
Clean water
Coastal barrier
Conservation
Desert
Drinking water

Earth Day
Endangered species
Environment
EPA
Fish and wildlife
Fish hatchery
Flood
Flow control
Forest
Global warming
Heritage area
Lake
Landfill
Lead paint
Litter
Marine mammal
Marine sanctuary
Minerals
Mines
National park
NPS
Ocean
Ozone
Park service
Pollution
Public land
Recycle
Redwoods
Rivers
Safe drinking
Salmon
Sewage
Wastewater
Wetland
Wild and scenic
Wilderness
Wildlife

Ethics

Diary
Ethics
Scandal
Post office scandal

Foreign Affairs

Africa
African National Congress
Aristide
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Belize
Bosnia
Boutros
Burundi
Canada
Castro
Central America
China
CIA
Cuba
Cyprus
Dalai lama
EU
Europe
Export
Fast track
Foreign
GATT
Genocide
Germany
Global
Haiti
Human rights
IMF
Import
International
Iraq
Junta
Kashmir
Kosova/o
Lithuania
Madagascar
Mandela
Middle east
Most favored nation
NAFTA
National endowment for democracy
Nations
NATO
Nicaragua

Northern Ireland
Peacekeeping
People's Liberation Army
Persian Gulf
Russia
Rwanda
Secretary of State
Somalia
South Africa
State Department
Sudan
Summit
Taiwan
Tariff
Tiananmen
Tibet
Trade
Turkey
UN
Ukraine
Vietnam
War crimes
WTO
World

Good Government

Campaign finance
Campaign reform
Campaign spending limit
Congressional accountability
Corruption
Discharge petition
Election reform
FEC
Federal acquisition improvement
Federal workforce reduction
Federal employees
Franked mail
Franking privilege
Free gym
Frequent flier
Gift ban
Government waste
Hatch act
Honoraria

Independent counsel
Independent expenditures
Lobbying disclosure
Lobbyists
Motor voter
National voter registration
Office furniture perk
PACs
Paperwork reduction
Pay freeze
Perks
Public financing
Register to vote
Reinventing government
Special interest
Streamline
Sunshine
Term limits
Travel cost reduction
Voter turnout
Waste in government

Health

AIDS
Alzheimer's
Ban on smoking
Biomedical
Black lung
Cancer
CDC
Coverage
Doctor
Employer mandate
ERISA
Health
HMO
Immunization
Long term care
Malpractice
Medicaid
Medical
Medicare
NIH
Nurse
Organ donation

Parkinson's
Patient
Pharmacy
Physician
Ryan white
Surgeon
Tobacco
Vaccine

Housing

FHA
Housing

Leave policy

Family and Medical leave
Leave policy

Race

African-american
American Indian
Asian American
Assyrian American
Black
Busing
Native American
Cherokee
Cesar chavez
Chinese American
Civil rights
Discrimination
Equal employment
Filipino
Freedom summer
Hispanic
Japanese American
King holiday
Navajo
Nondiscrimination
Rodney king
Toni Morrison

Transportation

Airline
Aviation
BART
Bridge
Commercial flight
Cruise ship
Cruise vessel
Federal railroad
Flight attendant
High speed rail
Highway
ISTEA
Light rail
Railroad
Transportation

Poverty

AFDC
Food stamp
Welfare
Social Security

Science

Aeronautic
Biotechnology
NASA
Science
Space station
Supercollider

Children's Issues

Foster care
Child/Children's Health
Child/Children's Nutrition
Child Abuse
Amber
Polly Klaas
Child/children's safety
Head Start
Child tax
Child support

Marginalized groups

- 2 = Children (children*, grandchildren*, child*, kids*, young people*)
- 3 = Students (student*)
- 4 = African Americans (African American*, black*, minority*)
- 5 = Global poor/oppressed (If coded 9 and coded as 5 if foreign = 1)
- 6 = Small Business/Family Farmers (small business*, family farm*)
- 7 = Mentally ill (mentally ill*, mental illness*)
- 8 = Hispanics (Hispanic*, Cuban*, Latino*, Latina*,
- 9 = Poor (poor, low-income, unemployed, homeless, impoverished)
- 11 = Immigrants (immigrant*, naturalized*, illegals)
- 12 = Disabled (Disabled)
- 14 = Native Americans (Native American*, tribal)
- 17 = Gay/Lesbian (gay*, homosexual*, same-sex*, same sex*, lesbian*)
- 19 = Volunteer (volunteer*)

Female Symbols

Private/Traditional Roles:

- Widow/Family member of veteran
- Caretaker
- Pregnant women
- Mother
- Housewife
- Victim of crime
- Nurse
- Domestic worker

Public/Modern Roles:

- Judge
- Activist
- Immigrant
- Working mother
- Working woman (includes sexually harassed women)
- Poor mothers/Single parent
- Women in the military
- Small business owner
- Firefighter/Police officer/Non-traditional women
- Farmer
- Athletes/Students

Appendix B

Keywords for Style Chapter

Inclusive Pronouns: WE, OUR, US

Inviting Audience Action:
LET THE PRESIDENT KNOW
CALL YOUR REPRESENTATIVE
CALL YOUR MEMBER
CALL YOUR CONGRESS*
CALL YOUR SENATOR*
PUBLIC HAS A RIGHT
PUBLIC'S RIGHT

Identify With Constituency:
MY HOME STATE
MY STATE
MY CONSTITUENTS
LIKE ALL AMERICANS
OUR STATES
OUR STATE
PEOPLE IN MY STATE
EVERY AMERICAN
OUTSIDE THE STATE
AS THE REPRESENTATIVE
REPRESENT
IN [STATE]
PEOPLE OF [STATE]
AS SENATOR FROM [STATE]
PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF [STATE]

In Contact With Constituency:
EMAILS WE HAVE RECEIVED
I VISIT
COME INTO MY OFFICE
I TALKED
I TALK
I MET WITH
I TRAVELED
I WAS AT
EVERYWHERE I GO
I HAVE RECEIVED
I LEFT

MY VISIT
AS WE TALK
PEOPLE IN MY STATE
OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT
I HAVE VISITED
NOTE I RECEIVED
WE MET
I MEET
I AM OUT IN
WROTE TO ME
PUBLIC COMMENTS
I HAVE HEARD FROM
OUR ROUNDTABLE
WHAT I HEARD
I HAVE HEARD
I HAVE ALSO HEARD
I HELD
IN TOWNS LIKE
I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH
I COULD TALK TO
MEETINGS I HELD
I GO HOME
I WENT HOME
WE HEARD

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