Legislating social justice policy: a case study of sponsored legislation by black congresswomen during the 108th congressional session

Aisha L. Haynes-Belizarie

Clark Atlanta University
The focus of this case study examines black congresswomen in the United States during the 108th Congressional Session and their legislative advocacy for social justice through progressive policies. The questions guiding the research were:

RQ1: Did black congresswomen, in the 108th Congressional Session, use the sponsorship of legislation to advocate social justice through progressive policies?

RQ2: What was the frequency of issues addressed in the legislation and the top five issues advocated?

RQ3: What was the outcome of sponsored legislation?

This case study examined 300 pieces of legislation sponsored by black congresswomen during the years of 2003 and 2004. The data collected were coded and analyzed using descriptive statistics. The findings revealed that black women in Congress almost exclusively sponsor legislation that advocated social justice through
progressive policies. Issues that were strongly advocated were in the categories of (1) Civil and Human Rights, (2) Women and Children, (3) Health and Safety, and (4) Education and Labor.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to give honor and glory to God and my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ for giving me strength and carrying me when I could not carry myself through this endeavor. I thank my husband John, my son Isaiah, my mother Kali, my step-father Kweku, and my sister Almitra for their love, patience, and encouragement. I am very grateful to my wonderful committee: Dr. Robert B. DeJanes, Dr. Johnny L. Wilson, and Dr. Josephine Bradley who have worked tirelessly with me throughout the years to bring this project to fruition. I thank my best friend Verlinda who made tremendous contributions to this project and has supported me throughout my academic career. I thank my friends and colleagues Holly, Angela, and Crystal for their constructive critiques and assistance with editing. I thank my pastor Dr. Gerald Durley for his wise counsel and support. Thank you to my medical team Dr. G. E. Walker, Dr. E. D. Butler, Dr. E. Fresh, and Dr. M. Lineberger for keeping my temple running. I thank my friend Dr. Charles Black, whose support and mentoring was crucial during the early stages of my program. I thank Ms. Y. Baskin for formatting my paper. Finally, I thank the entire Department of Political Science for their contributions to my academic development over the many years.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to analyze how black women in the United States 108th Congressional Session used the legislative process to advocate social justice and progressive policy issues through the sponsorship of legislation. The subjects of this study were the thirteen black congresswomen who served during the 108th Congressional Session from 2003-2004. They were all members of the Democratic Party and the Congressional Black Caucus. These women were Congresswomen Corrine Brown from Florida, Julia M. Carson from Indiana, Donna Christensen from the Virgin Islands, Sheila Jackson Lee from Texas, Eddie Bernice Johnson from Texas, Stephanie Tubbs Jones from Ohio, Barbara Lee from California, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick from Michigan, Denise Majette from Georgia, Juanita Millender-McDonald from California, Eleanor Holmes Norton from the District of Columbia, Maxine Waters from California, and Diane Watson from California.¹

Black congresswomen, although a small minority (13 out of 535), have been a powerful voice for the disenfranchised,² marginalized, and underrepresented populations.

¹ From this point forward, party identification for members of Congress will be noted by “D” for Democrat and “R” for Republican. State identification will be identified by the state’s two letter abbreviation. For example, Corrine Brown (D-FL).

² The word disenfranchised or disfranchised refers to the denial of voting rights. The researcher chooses to use disenfranchised because it is used by public officials more often than latter.
Their advocacy brings national attention to issues that are far too often ignored by mainstream society and policy-makers. Black congresswomen address issues of justice, equality, fairness, and improving the quality of life, not just for the oppressed and the marginalized, but also for society as a whole. Throughout the history of the United States black women have played an active role in the major social and political movements such as the abolitionist movement, the universal suffrage movement, the women’s suffrage movement, the civil rights movement, and the women’s movement beginning in the late 1960s to present day. These movements have shaped this country’s social and public policies.

Although black women were an instrumental force behind the Abolitionist Movement and the passage of the 15th and 19th Amendments, they would not be able to enjoy the rights and privileges that these struggles had won for white women and temporarily for black men. Electoral politics in the United States have historically excluded the participation of black women due to their oppressed social, economic, and legal status. For the most part, black women would not experience the full rights of citizenship until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Black women’s involvement in the Abolitionist and Civil Rights Movements, whether acknowledged are not, appear to have had an active role in shaping American social and political policy. Though polarized from the social, political, and economic institutions of America, black women; however, have surprisingly managed to be advocates and activists for equality and justice and the voice of opposition to racism, sexism, and injustice. History shows that black women have been trailblazers in the fight
for social justice and progressive policies in the United States from the grassroots community organizations to the halls of Capital Hill and the international arena.

Rationale for the Study

The rationale for this study is built on the findings in the 2002 Masters Thesis written by the researcher on Congresswomen Maxine Waters and Cynthia McKinney. The study found that Congresswomen Waters and McKinney almost exclusively sponsored legislation and advocated for issues concerning social justice. The study showed that Waters and McKinney sponsored legislation that (1) provided opportunities for those who are at a social and economic disadvantage, (2) brought attention and recognition to the plight of the marginalized and underrepresented, (3) advocated for change in policies that disproportionately and negatively impact minorities, women, children, and the poor, and (4) give a voice to those who have been silenced in the mainstream political arena. The researcher concluded that a sample population of black women in Congress provided this data than there could also be similar findings for the entire population of black women in Congress. The researcher asserted that there was a "black woman legislative advocate theory" that had the following tenants: (1) a common historic experience of marginalization and exclusion from the political process, (2) a desire to advocate for the disadvantage and underserved communities, (3) a desire to provide a voice of strength for progressive policies and vigorous dissent for policies that


4. Ibid.
disproportionately harm the underserved communities, and (4) the usage of the legislative process as the vehicle to advocate social policy.

The climate of American politics and government has changed drastically over the past few years. The 2006 and 2008 elections have catapulted the status of blacks and women in United States electoral politics. In 2006, the Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives under the historic leadership of Nancy Pelosi as the first woman to be Speaker of the House. Even more transformative was the 2008 election of the first black president of the United States, Barack Obama. These changes have further opened the doors for minorities in politics; however, there still remains an uphill battle for the expansion of fairness and equality in our politics. Although we have a black president and a woman who was speaker of the house, racism and sexism are still alive and well, presenting a continuous and unrelenting battle to move America towards fairness and equality.

The time period and focus of this study was legislation sponsored between 2003 and 2004, which was the 108th Congressional Session. Therefore, it is important to understand the political challenges faced by blacks, women, and black women along with the political history that led up to the extremely conservative climate of the 108th Congress. The 1990s brought shifts in the Congress from majority Democrat to majority Republican and advances in the conservative agenda such as tax cuts, traditional family values, cuts in social programs, roll-backs of civil rights, and the out-sourcing of American jobs overseas. These changes were then amplified in the 2000 presidential election, when Al Gore won the popular vote; however, the Supreme Court’s decision in
Bush vs. Gore resulted in George W. Bush winning the Electoral College vote and the presidency. In 2001, the United States was attacked by terrorists on September 11, catapulting the American agenda towards war in Afghanistan and Iraq causing restrictions on civil liberties and rights through the passage of the U.S. Patriot Act. Despite the United States being at war with two nations, President George W. Bush passed an historic tax-cut which deepened the economic wound.

The re-election of George W. Bush in 2004 expanded the conservative agenda that focused on pre-emptive war and military spending, cuts in education, anti-gay legislation, religious fundamentalism, a rise in healthcare and energy expenses, and an attempt to privatize social security. As a result of these changes in American government and politics, the battle for social justice and progressive policies came under attack from the conservative right. Also, the American people were extremely divided on ideology, direction, and values. The challenges black women faced in 108th Congress were more difficult than previously as they advocated for social justice and progressive policies.

Significance and Contribution of the Study

This study offers available new information regarding black women national legislators and their chosen roles as social justice and progressive policy advocates. After a rigorous review of the literature, the researcher located one publication that was dedicated exclusively to the examination and recognition of all black congresswomen: African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History by LaVerne McCain Gill (1997), which gives a good historical as well as biographical background on
black women in Congress, although the text is more historical in scope.5 This study seeks to first define a theory through the exploration of a historical context and an analysis of the philosophical principle of social justice. Secondly, application of the theory to sponsored legislation designed to promote a social justice agenda through progressive policy advocacy by black congresswomen within the national legislative process of American politics and government.

This study contributes to academia in the areas of political science, black studies, sociology, history, and women’s studies. This contribution illustrates the ability of black women, despite their history of oppression and exclusion, to push an agenda and encourage dialogue on social justice issues that the majority of legislators might either ignore or dismiss as non-issues. Additionally, this study helps supplement the lack of literature on black women in the political arena.

Although black men and white women legislators tend to also advocate for progressive policies, this study is about black congresswomen and their unique position of being at the intersection of both race and gender. Both race and gender are two marginalizing factors that black congresswomen must overcome.

**Theoretical Framework**

The primary theoretical framework for this study was developed by the researcher based on a combination of black feminism, black woman’s standpoint theory, social justice theory, critical social theory, and behavior theory. Together these theories, along with the findings in the 2002 Masters Thesis study, are the basis for the researchers

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“black woman’s legislative advocate theory.” Black feminist scholar, Patricia Hill Collins, describes black feminism in the United States as a dialectic relationship between two opposing positions of “oppression and activism.” Furthermore, Collins asserts the need for black feminism, “As long as black women’s subordination within the intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation persist, black feminism as an activist response to oppression will remain needed.” Additionally, Collins maintains that:

As a critical social theory, black feminist thought aims to empower African-American women within the context of social injustice sustained by intersecting oppressions. Since black women cannot be fully empowered unless intersecting oppressions themselves are eliminated, black feminist thought supports broad principle of social justice that transcend U.S. [black] women’s particular needs. Standpoint theory suggests that, based on a person’s position and situation in life, comes a shared knowledge or perspective of what is needed to study and advance causes and concerns of people sharing the same standpoint. Patricia Hill Collins describes the black woman’s standpoint theory as, “Those experiences and ideas shared by African-American women that provide a unique angle of vision on self, community, and


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

Collins quotes Katie Cannon’s observation of the core theme of black woman’s standpoint theory:

Throughout the history of the United States, the interrelationship of white supremacy and superiority has characterized the black woman’s reality as a situation of struggle—a struggle to survive in two contradictory worlds simultaneously, one white, privileged, and oppressive, the other black, exploited, and oppressed.11

Black feminism and the black woman’s standpoint theory subscribe to generalization and a group theory mentality, although, there are differences within all groups, black feminism and the black woman’s standpoint theory maintain that the shared experiences and struggles out-weigh the differences. Although women in general have been oppressed throughout history, the struggles of black women breed an activism that in scope reaches far beyond the white feminist movement. Whereas the white feminist movement focuses on equality and opportunity for women, the black feminist embraces these issues as well as justice and uplifting the race. Black women have been empowered by struggle that foster characteristics creating a climate for the development of activism and advocacy for justice. Patricia Hills Collins proclaims the struggles of the black woman to survive in a world in which the black woman is not protected from physical and sexual violence has made her ‘independent and self reliant.’12

The theory of social justice is often the motivating force behind movements such as civil rights, women’s, labor, and environmental. The basic idea of social justice can easily be defined by three basic points: (1) Removing obstacles and allowing access to...

11. Ibid., 26.
12. Ibid., 25-27.
fair and equal opportunity and treatment, (2) allowing all to achieve their maximum potential in life, and (3) empowering people to improve their quality of life. However, the theories of social justice are often associated with political philosophers such as John Stewart Mill and John Rawls. Social justice activism and advocacy as a vehicle of change can be associated with Dr. Martin Luther King’s philosophy of non-violent social change in the United States.

The theory of utilitarianism supports a society that advocates social justice. John Stuart Mill’s theory of utility is summarized by author Karen Lebacqz who notes that, “utility” or the “greatest happiness principle” holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure in the absence of pain . . .”\(^{13}\) Lebacqz describes six situations which Mill finds unjust: (1) depriving people of things to which they have a legal right, (2) depriving them of things to which they have a moral right, (3) people not obtaining what they deserve—good to those who do right, and evil to those who do wrong, (4) breaking faith with people, (5) being partial, i.e., showing favor where favor does not apply, and (6) treating people unequally.”\(^{14}\)

John Rawls’ theory of social justice focuses on justice and fairness as applied to a group. Rawls states, “A person quite properly acts, at least when others are not affected, to achieve his own greatest good, to advance his rational ends as far as possible. Now

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why should not society act on precisely the same principle applied to the group...”15

Rawls further states that, “Social justice is the principle of rational prudence applied to an aggregative conception of the welfare of the group...”16

For Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the issue of social justice expanded far beyond fairness and opportunity, and focused on the central core of ethics and morality, presented in the scripture messages of Christianity’s love, compassion, righteousness, and humanity. In 1963, Birmingham, Alabama was sweltering with violence against blacks attempting to end segregation and advance civil rights. The Birmingham local white clergy blamed Dr. King for causing violence by challenging the segregation laws. In Dr. King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” he discusses why protest and breaking the laws of segregation were a just action in the eyes of God, he states:

A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law, is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority...[h]ence, segregation is not only politically, socially, and economically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful.17

As Dr. King explained, by using the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, when a portion of society is unjust it damages all in society. Moreover, it is ethically and morally against the will of God. Injustice cannot be contained or suppressed forever because of its


16. Ibid.

17. Martin Luther King, Jr., Why We Can’t Wait (New York: Mentor of Penguin Group, 1964), 82.
toxicity spreads to all corners of human existence. Dr. King said it best, “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”18

The relationship between social justice and progressive policy is that out of action motivated by social justice comes progressive policy. An example of progressive policy would be legislation and public policy that addresses and attempts to provide access and even the playing field in society. Social justice issues such as voting rights, social security, labor and wages, education, healthcare, civil liberties, are all advanced through progressive policies. Examples of acts of Congress that have resulted in progressive policies would be the Social Security Act 1935, the Civil Rights Act 1964, the Voting Rights Act 1965, the Americans With Disabilities Act 1990, and the Family Medical Leave Act.

The next major theory of this study is based on the black woman’s “critical social theory.” Explained by Patricia Hill Collins as a struggle for justice and fairness within groups that hold a place in society where they lack decision-making power. Collins states:

Critical social theory constitutes theorizing about the social in defense of economic and social justice . . . critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing groups of people differently placed in specific political, social, and historic contexts characterized by injustice.19

Collins points out that the critical social theory differs from the other social justice theories in that it is not developed from the standpoint of the elite, and it seeks to define

18. Ibid., 77.

social justice for the group instead of the individual.\textsuperscript{20} Collins suggests that social justice theories based on what the elite view as justice and fairness, relies too heavily on the relationship between the classes. Although the critical social theory is a more accurate theory to apply to the struggle of black women and their communities, social justice theories of Mill and Rawls are still very relevant to this study due to the relationship between the social classes and decision-makers.

Another theory of this study is based on some elements of modern "behavioral" political science. Thomas Dye describes modern behavioral political science as the study of "activities, of voters, interest groups, legislators, presidents, bureaucrats, judges, and other political actors."\textsuperscript{21} The reason for studying the behaviors of these groups and individuals is to find "patterns of activities" resulting in a "policy process" that is defined as "a series of political activities—problem identification, formulation, legitimization, implementation, and evaluating public policy."\textsuperscript{22} This had been the traditional way of studying political science, but, according to Dye, this process focuses on the "content."\textsuperscript{23} A portion of this study will look at the "how" and "should" of legislative activities, however, the bulk of the research will focus on the content of legislation.

This study sought to use a theoretical framework based on a combination of black feminist theory, black woman's standpoint theory, the social justice theory, the critical social theory, and the behavioral theory. It is the researcher's position that there is a

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 23-24.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 24-25.
"black woman legislative advocate theory." The elements of the theory consist of five basic themes: (1) the idea and desire to make progressive social change for her community and society as a whole, (2) to have a history of activism, advocacy, and service to the community and public, (3) to understand that politics is a tool to advance social justice, (4) to primarily introduce legislation that recognizes the marginalized and the underrepresented perspective, experience, impact, and contributions, and (5) to operate from a position motivated by what is fair and just.

Limitations of Study

One of the limits of studying public officials is access, especially on the national level. Therefore, the researcher has designed a study that can adequately and equally measure activities of all the black women in Congress through the analysis of sponsored legislation. The time period for legislation studied is from 2003 through 2004, the 108th Congressional Session; three hundred pieces of legislation were analyzed. The study examines legislation in which each congresswoman was the lead sponsor. Legislation that is co-sponsored was not examined because it totals in the thousands and that is too cumbersome for a dissertation. The lack of literature on black women in politics also places limitations on the study; however, the researcher used literature written on women in politics and blacks in politics to fill this gap.

Research Questions

This research sought to investigate whether black women in Congress are legislative advocates for social justice and progressive policies using the process of
legislative sponsorship. Specifically, the research sought answers to the following research questions?

RQ1: Did black congresswomen in the 108th Congressional Session use the sponsorship of legislation to advocate social justice through progressive policies?

RQ2: What was the frequency of issues addressed in the legislation and the top five issues advocated?

RQ3: What was the outcome of sponsored legislation?

Methodology

This is a mixed methodology research design. This research is an exploratory case study utilizing content analysis and descriptive statistics. The purpose of this study was to analyze how black women in the United States Congress use the legislative process to advocate social justice and progressive policy issues through the sponsorship of legislation during the 108th Congressional Session. The data collected from the 108th Congressional Session answers the research questions. The 108th Congressional Session was held 2003 through 2004. All legislation that was sponsored by the thirteen black women in Congress, in which the congresswomen were the lead sponsors, was analyzed. There are three hundred pieces of legislation to be analyzed. The major source of data was collected from the official U.S. Congressional database found on www.thomas.gov. By using this website, the researcher was able to access an immense collection of legislation. In addition to the analysis of legislation, the researcher used data from excerpts from House floor debates, books, journals, census data, and articles to support findings.
This case study is exploratory. Prior to the researcher’s pilot study of legislation sponsored by Congresswomen Maxine Waters and Cynthia McKinney, the researcher was only able to uncover one book written about all black women in Congress and none that focused on black congresswomen and using legislation to advocate an agenda. According to Robert K. Yin, any of the traditional strategies for research such as survey, archival analysis, history, and case study can be used for exploratory research. The case study method was selected because case studies are used to examine phenomena either as a single case or multiple cases of individuals, organizations, movements, and institutions over a prescribed duration of time. Yin also states that case studies can vary in terms of strategies and can be more productive if a mixed method of both qualitative and quantitative approaches is employed.

Content analysis was used as a technique to determine the meaning, theme, or frequency of textual, audio, and visual collected data. Content analysis allowed for further to identification and examination of the legislation that represented a social justice and/or a progressive policy issues. The researcher coded and constructed ten categories that represent the social justice and progressive policy issue themes that are found in


legislation sponsored by black congresswomen during the 108th Congressional Session. Eight of the ten categories represented the variable of social justice and progressive policy issues. Category nine represented issues that are not covered in categories one through eight. Finally, category ten represented issues and policies that are non-progressive and do not represent any social justice issues. Research question 1 was measured and answered by analyzing the legislation sponsored by black women in Congress during the 108th Congressional Session in which they were the lead sponsors. Issues addressed in legislation sponsored by each black congresswoman was be logged in by category. Some legislation can address more that one issue and be counted for frequency in more than one category. The total number of issues addressed in each category answers the first research question.

Descriptive statistics was used to answer the research questions 2 and 3. The frequency of issues addressed determined which issues each congresswoman most frequently advocated and how they were prioritized. The outcome represents the frequency and percentage of passage rates of each piece of legislation. Validity was established by each of the categories were designed to be both mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Although one piece of legislation may address several issues, it is the issue advocacy for social justice and progressive policy frequency distribution that is being measured and not the frequency of legislation.

Because this is a non-reactive study, interviews and surveys were not necessary. According to research methods author W. Lawrence Neuman, non-reactive studies have

been found to beneficial and often more reliable than direct contact with the subjects being studied because the researcher does not have to rely on the truthfulness of the subjects’ responses. Researchers need always be concerned not only with their own bias, but also the bias of the subjects or the subjects desire to appear favorably in an interview or survey. Access to elites such as public officials, especially on the national level, is very difficult and sometimes impossible unless the researcher has an inside connection or a “sponsor” that will vouch for the researcher. The decision to study sponsorship by analyzing the text of legislation allowed the researcher to make generalizations about black congresswomen’s advocacy for social justice and progressive policies, as well as conduct a complete study of all thirteen of the black congresswomen.

**Definition of Social Justice and Progressive Policy Categories**

1. Civil and Human Rights—concerned with racial equality, enfranchisement, anti-discrimination, anti-violence, anti-poverty issues related to racial minorities, the disabled, seniors, the poor, immigrants, and people in developing nations. This term is also concerned with the promotion of the general well-being, progress, and recognition of these people.

2. Women and Children Rights—concerned with equality, anti-discrimination, anti-violence, anti-oppression, reproductive rights, and anti-poverty issues as related to the promotion of the general well-being, progress, and recognition of women and children.

3. Health and Safety—concerned with the development of measures that will promote health and wellness such as clinics, health awareness programs, illness prevention programs, nutrition and food programs, government sponsored health care assistance, patients rights, and health care access. This category is also related to issues concerning product and consumer safety as well as emergency disaster relief.

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30. Ibid., 152-153.
4. **Education and Labor**—concerned with the development of programs that lead to progress in education such as new educational facilities, material, and teachers or the improvement of existing structures and programs. Also, included are programs, facilities, and materials that promote skills and training toward employment development. Labor issues such as the right to organize, out-sourcing, employment laws, wage and benefits increases, retirement and pension, and international trade’s impact on the U.S. job market.

5. **Housing, Community, and Economic Development**—concerned with the development of measures to promote safe and affordable housing and shelters. This category also addresses development of programs that will enhance low-income communities, promote business development, entrepreneurs, and community centers.

6. **Crime and Drugs**—concerned with programs and studies that address the root of crime and drugs and progressive measures to end criminal activities and alternative to mandatory minimums for non-violent crimes. This category also addresses investigating agencies, individuals, and institutions that contribute to the distribution of drugs and criminal activity. Also programs that address gang violence and gun control as well as program designed to rehabilitate individuals as productive citizen.

7. **Peace and Security**—concerned with ending war, nuclear proliferation, and promoting peace. This category also addresses progressive measures for homeland security such increased screening of imports, advanced technology in airports, increased funding and training for first responders, protection of nuclear plants, transportation systems, and water systems. Also included are stricter regulations for weapons sales or trade.

8. **Environment**—concerned with promoting a healthy and safe environment as it relates to production, sales, and transportation of chemicals and fuel. Also includes the preservation of nature, recycling, clean air, clean water, and the protection of wildlife.

9. **Other**—concerned with any bill that does not fall into the above mentioned categories or are neither socially progressive nor socially non-progressive.

10. **Non-Progressive**—concerned with any piece of legislation is opposite to the above categories in terms of social justice and progressive policies.
Definition of Concepts

1. Advocacy—refers to the presentation of social justice and progressive policy issues by black congresswomen through the legislation sponsorship.

2. Asian—refers to person from the continent of Asia as well as Pacific Islands.

3. Black—refers to persons of African decent. The term black will also be used interchangeably with African American, Negro, and Colored. For the purpose of clarity, black is preferred by the researcher; however, African American, Negro, and Colored are terms that have been used throughout history to refer to the black race. The terms minority and people of color may also include blacks along with other racial minorities such as Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans.


5. Hispanic—refers to a person of Hispanic and Latino background that originated from countries in Latin America.

6. Legislation—refers to bills, resolutions, and amendments that are introduced in Congress.

7. Marginalized Populations—refer to those who have been left out of the mainstream social institutions due to race, class, gender, age, and disability.

8. Social Justice—refers to measures used to advance the condition and improve the quality of life for families, women, children, the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and minorities. Social justice seeks measures towards equality and providing access to those that have been shut out of, or turned away from, the mainstream society. Social justice and economic justice are also terms that may be used in connection with progress.

9. Mixed Race—refers to a person of two or more races.

10. Progressive Policies—legislation that seeks to implement social justice and the advancement of society as a whole seeking to allow all to reach their maximum potential.

11. Underrepresented Populations—refers to those in minority groups and those who are marginalized, oppressed, disenfranchised and not fully represented in government.
Organization of Dissertation

The organization of this research proceeds in the following manner. Chapter I consists of the introduction, statement of the problem, rationale for the study, significance and contribution of the study, theoretical framework, limitations, hypothesis, methodology, definition of concepts, organization of dissertation, and anticipated findings. Chapter II consists of the historical context of the United States government and its exclusion of blacks, women, and black women from the political process. This chapter also chronicles major events in history where black women participated in advocacy for social justice movements such as abolitions, reconstruction, suffrage, civil rights, women's rights, and the Republican backlash. This chapter analyzes literature that illustrates historical events that fostered and created the black feminism, the black woman's standpoint theory, and the black woman legislative advocate theory. Chapter III consists of the review of literature in the form of studies, theories, and doctrines that analyze the political activity and public service of blacks, women, and black women. This chapter also focuses on why contributions from women and blacks have historically been excluded from studies in political science. Chapter IV consists of the background, history, and district demographics of the congresswomen and their congressional districts. This chapter also focuses on the committees they serve. Chapter V consists of the analysis of legislation sponsored by black women in Congress during the 108th Congressional Session. Chapter VI consists of the conclusion of the study and recommendations for the future.
Anticipated Findings

The researcher expects to find that black women in Congress advocate social justice and progressive policies, as well as, address issues that many may shy away from because the issues are controversial. In addition, the researcher anticipates that black congresswomen with a longer tenure will be top legislators, sponsoring more legislation and more aggressive legislation than newer congresswomen.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter explores the historical context of the United States government and its exclusion of blacks, women, and black women from the political process. This history lays the foundation for the researcher theory of the black woman legislative advocate theory through the analysis of the historical marginalization of blacks, women, and black women from the mainstream political system and the power structure of American society.

This chapter chronicles and analyzes major events in history where black women participated in advocacy for social justice movements such as abolition, reconstruction, universal suffrage, women’s suffrage, civil rights, and women’s rights. This chapter analyzes literature that illustrates historical events that fostered the formation of the theories of black feminism, the black woman’s standpoint theory, and the black woman’s legislative advocate theory discussed in chapter one. The literature in this chapter establishes the doctrines and social norms that marginalized blacks, women, and black women from political power. However, this marginalization fostered an environment of political activity outside of elected office that was the impetus to blacks, women, and black women gaining power to become elected officials. The marginalization and exclusion of black women both by law and culture as well as the socioeconomic status
of black women because of race and gender provides a platform for diverse issue advocacy.

The United States Congress is perhaps the most diverse branch of government and the most interesting. Congress, especially the House of Representatives, is the voice of the people and of the people. They represent every race, every culture, every religion, every gender, and every region of the country. From the northern industrial cities to the southern and mid-western agricultural rural towns, as well as the tourism industry and fisheries of coastal communities; the United States Congress represents every voice of the land. Through district representatives, issue advocacy can range from the concern for individual communities such as the development of community centers to issues of national concern such as national security, social security, unemployment, education, and health care. Depending on the demography of a congressional district, local concerns may mirror national concerns or have complete autonomy of their own.

There are currently 435 voting Representatives in the House and 100 Senators in the Senate Chamber. Every two years we elect a Representative to the House to be our voices on Capital Hill. In a bicameral legislature of 535 voices and votes, a Representative must not only have the ability to stand out in a crowd, but he or she must also have the ability to build alliances and coalitions. An even greater challenge is to the delegates in the House who have a voice but do not have a vote on legislation. Two of the thirteen congresswomen, Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) and Donna Christiansen (D-VI), have no voting power. Congresswoman Holmes Norton represents the capital, Washington, DC, which is a special district, while Congresswoman Christiansen
represents the U.S. Territory of the Virgin Islands. All of the thirteen congresswomen embody a double minority—black and female. These women advocate a diversity of issues that present both challenges and victories.

The Exclusion of Blacks and Women from U.S. Electoral Politics

For the majority of this nation’s history, the aspiration to hold an elected office and the success of achieving this goal was a concept that was almost inconceivable for black women in America to obtain. Throughout the history the United States, blacks and women have been regarded as second class citizens and prior to the Civil War the legal status of most blacks was that of a piece of property. It was also the widespread belief that the intellectual capacity of women was not that much more advanced than that of children. In fact, during the time of the establishment of the United States, women’s legal status and decision-making ability were tied to their husbands because the law viewed husband and wife as one; giving the husband the right to think, chastise, and enter into contracts for his wife.¹

In 1787, fifty-five men went to Philadelphia with the intent to develop a new document that would be the framework for the consolidation of the thirteen sovereign states into a “more perfect union;” hence, The Constitutional United States of America was created.² The convention was exclusionary and the attendees represented the elite


These men have come to be known as the Founding Fathers, the Framers, and the Federalist. All of the Founding Fathers were white men that had the insight to form a government that would not be governed by a monarchy—they championed "government by the people;" however, "government by the people" did not include blacks, women, and Native Americans whom were not represented at the Constitutional Convention.4

The future of all people that lived in the United States would be determined by the Founding Fathers. Unfortunately, not everyone had a voice in how the ideals of this new style of government were to be executed. The formation of the United States was the creation of a democratic republic where people elect their leaders; however, "the people" to be represented were not the masses but instead a small group of privileged individuals. The privileged were white men that owned property.

American history scholar Charles Beard offers an "economic interpretation" to the gathering in Philadelphia. It is Beard’s theory that the fifty-five Framers in Philadelphia came together to protect their interests. These men were large land owners, slaveholders, bankers, creditors, shippers, manufactures, professionals, and capitalists.5 In addition to their higher than average social positions, the Framers of the Constitution were all white men who owned property. Beard further asserts that the Constitutional Convention’s

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3. Ibid.


purpose was for these men to protect their property and find a way to collect the debt left over from the Revolutionary War.\(^6\)

Thomas Dye and Harmon Zeigler also suggest that the Constitution is a document that is the result of elitist class' efforts to insure their economic futures. According to Dye and Zeigler, "At least forty of the 55 delegates were known to be holders of public securities; fourteen were known to be land speculators; twenty-four were moneylenders and investors; eleven were engaged in commerce or manufacturing; and fifteen owned large plantations."\(^7\) They also claim that there is no real "separation of powers" but rather powers that are distributed by the elite class.\(^8\) Dye and Zeigler further state that equality was not meant for everyone to have an equal station in life or become equalized by government initiatives, but that the laws equally protect "life, liberty, and property." It was, however, expected for government to aid in the increase and expansion of capital. Many of the Founding Fathers were hypocrites because they were slave owners denying equal distribution of the mentioned "inalienable rights."\(^9\)

During the Constitutional Convention there was great debate over taxes and representation. The wealthy southern slaveholders wanted to count slaves for the purpose of representation; however, they did not want their slave population to be taxed. The northern businessmen did not want to give southerners more power by including

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6. Ibid.


8. Ibid., 52.

individuals who were counted for representation but did not vote and were not taxed.\(^{10}\) Another major concern for the south was the ability to continue the slave trade because labor was needed for the less populated states and the northern states knew that the slave trade and slave labor would produce overall wealth for the entire country.

The final compromise came with the Connecticut Plan, introduced by William Samuel Johnson, which called for equal representation in the upper house, giving each state two senators, and the lower to have representation based on population.\(^{11}\) The final compromise is what has become known as the Three-Fifths Compromise. Slaves would be counted as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of representation and taxation.\(^{12}\) Opposed to the counting of slaves for the purpose of representation, Governor Morris from Pennsylvania states:

> The inhabitants of Georgia [or] South Carolina who goes to the coast of Africa, and in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity tears away his fellow creatures from their dearest connections and dams them to the most cruel bondage, shall have more in Government instituted for protection of the rights of mankind, than the citizens of Pennsylvania or New Jersey who view with laudable horror, so nefarious a practice.\(^{13}\)

Although many of the northern states did not approve of the slave trade or the counting of slaves for representation, compromise was made by southern states to allow the federal government to regulate commerce and in exchange, the north accepted the three-fifths

\(^{10}\) Ibid.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 39-40

\(^{12}\) Ibid.

representation and the import tax on slaves until the legally prescribed end of slave importation in 1808.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{The Legal Status of Women in the United States}

The creation of the United States of America came about during era of the coverture doctrine which meant the husband and wife were one, with the husband covering or operating in the interest of the wife.\textsuperscript{15} The original thirteen colonies that would later become the United States of America used English common law to define a woman's legal status. William Blackstone asserts:

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and \textit{cover}, she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law-french a \textit{feme-covert}; is said to be \textit{covert-baron}, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her \textit{baron}, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her \textit{coverture}. Upon this principle, of a union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by the marriage. I speak not at present of the rights of property, but of such as are merely \textit{personal}.\textsuperscript{16}

This statement by Blackstone exemplifies the position that not only is a woman is weak and vulnerable needing the "covering of a man," but that her legal person also belongs to her husband. Justification for this doctrine can be traced back to Biblical principles. Dating back to the beginning of time, many men have found this assertion to be honorable and even chivalrous; however, the doctrine of coverture left women voiceless and restrained from active participation in political activity. Blackstone further

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 2.
\end{flushleft}
asserts that because the husband is responsible in the covering and controlling of his wife, he has the right to control her actions. He states:

The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehaviour, the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children; for whom the master or parent is also liable in some cases to answer.17

This quote highlights the frame of thought that a woman should be controlled to the point of physical correction and constraints. The quote does state that it is the "old law" that allows for this action. Blackstone goes on later to assert that in the upper classes physical punishment is considered to be ancient or barbaric; however, in the lower classes it is still a common practice and the law allows for this behavior.18

In the United States we give great respect and deference to our Founding Fathers. Although the researcher previously used Charles Beard’s economic interpretation to draw attention to the exclusion of minorities and women from the Constitutional Convention and, moreover, the role of social class based security, the researcher does maintain that the Founding Fathers created a political masterpiece where the foundation was based on input from the citizens. The political masterpiece that is The Constitution of the United States and the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence constructed the roadmap and standards for democracy around the world. With all due respect to the Founding Fathers, the researcher finds that the exclusion of women and minorities from political participation should be examined in order to discern if the statements in the forementioned documents were hypocritical.

17. Ibid, 3.

18. Ibid.
Thomas Jefferson wrote in the *Declaration of Independence* that “all men were created equal.” On the outset of this statement women were completely excluded. Secondly, Thomas Jefferson, owned slaves. Observers may wonder how in one instance an argument is made against the King George of England for oppressing and restricting freedom of men in the colonies and in another instance, those who advocate that freedom and that natural rights are only God given, could in good conscience, own another human being.

Virginia Sapiro asserts that the Founding Fathers purposely excluded women from the political process when she quotes Herma Kay Hill’s examination of Jefferson’s writings where Jefferson states, “Were the state a pure democracy there would still be excluded from our deliberation women, who, to prevent deprivation of morals and ambiguity of issues, should not mix promiscuously in the gathering of men.” 19 Jefferson asserts that politics is so complex, and at times unsavory, that if a woman participates she will somehow be confused and, moreover, be placed in a position where her virtue and purity would be compromised. Now, one could avow that Jefferson’s position was that of a southern gentleman of his time—and to some extent that may be true; but, the researcher contends that Jefferson along with the rest of the Founding Fathers wanted to maintain the status-quo of superiority that their race, class, wealth, and gender afforded them.

To further support the position of the researcher and to again amplify the issue of hypocrisy, Jefferson also in contrast to the former quote, retains that a woman’s physical

beauty and peace of mind is best served by staying out of political activity. Thomas Jewett quotes Jefferson’s position: “. . . Our good ladies, I trust, have been too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics. They are contended to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning home from political debate. . . It is a comparison of Amazons to Angels.”20

The researcher finds Jefferson to be contradictory because he states, in one instance, to be concerned about a woman’s confusion and virtue and on the other hand he is claiming her to be wise to retain her beauty by staying at home and concerning herself with being a comfort to her husband. The woman should represent an angelic slice of heavenly serenity. However, one could argue that Jefferson was using “wrinkling her forehead” as a metaphor for an expression of confusion. Either way, the message from the Founding Fathers is that a woman’s reserved place in society is inside the home and not in the political arena.

The angelic and virtuous disposition of a woman was reserved for white women. Social class did play a role in the level of delicacy and fragility associated with the nature of womanhood. The appearance, dress, and demeanor of wives and daughters of wealthy men were expected to be impeccable and flawless. Their presentation symbolized the man’s social and political and status.21 Jewett quotes a passage in a letter Jefferson wrote to his daughters regarding their appearance:


21. Ibid.
A lady who had been seen as a sloven or slut in the morning will never efface
the impression she has made, with all dress and pageantry she can afterwards
involve herself in . . . hope therefore, the moment you rise from bed, your first
work will be to dress yourself in such style as that you may be seen by any
gentleman without his being able to discover a pin amiss.  

While white women were put on pedestals during the eighteenth and nineteenth
centuries, black women were regulated to a position of servitude and sexual exploitation
as members of a sub-human class. Black women were exploited both sexually and
physically. Black women had no rights to their bodies, their children, their life, or their
destiny. Black women were regarded as property. Black women performed duties of
both domestic and physical labor. When it came to workloads, there was no distinction
made between black men and women. Black women were also voiceless when it came to
their bodies, which were also deemed property, specifically for the slaveholder’s sexual
pleasure and breeding. Author bell hooks states, “Then, black women’s bodies were
discursive terrain, the playing field where racism and sexuality converged. Rape as both
right and rite of the white male dominating group was a cultural norm.”

According to Patricia Hill Collins, not only was the black woman expected to
perform every duty of both man and woman, the very institution of slavery produced the
black woman’s many different functions as commodities that set the stage for stereotypes
and expectations that have lasted for years. Collins proclaims:

. . . Objectifying black women agricultural workers as mules justified working
them as if they were animals. The institutionalized rape of enslaved black

22. Ibid.

23. bell hooks, Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics (Boston, MA: South End Press,
1990), 57.

24. Patricia Hill Collins, Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism
(New York: Routledge, 2005), 56.
woman spawned the controlling image of the Jezebel or sexually wanton black woman. This representation redefined black women's bodies as wild, unrestrained sexuality that could be tamed but never completely subdued. The image of the breeder woman emerges to defend the reproductive policies of slavery that encouraged enslaved black women to have many children. Sexuality and fertility were neither designed for black women's pleasure nor subject to her control. The system was designed to stamp out agency and annex black women's bodies to a system of profit.  

The oppression of black women by white men and women during this era produced a double-edged inferiority status for black women, which was never a worry for white women. Black women were the mammies, cooks, wet nurses, housemaids, field workers but they were also assigned the role of "mistress, whore, and breeders."  

As the world functioned in the birthing years of our nation and early history, there was a clear distinction that white women were too delicate and simple minded for political participation and black women were just exploitable property who were uneducated possessing the knowledge to work and breed. Abolitionist and Suffragette, Sojourner Truth, dispelled the myth of women being too delicate and virtuous to be involved in voting by comparing her reality of womanhood to that of a white woman. In Truth's famous speech, "Ain't I A Woman?" delivered in 1851 at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio she states:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! Ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have plowed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear

25. Ibid.

the lash as well! And ain’t I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother’s grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain’t I a woman?27

Sojourner Truth gave voice to the issues of double standards when it came to white women and black women. During this speech question, Truth asserted why intelligence should matter in voting rights because the humane thing to do is to let all have opportunity. Another argument being posed by men in attendance was to restrict women from not having the same rights as men was because Christ was a man. Sojourner pointed out in her speech, “Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.”28

**Blacks and Women Move Toward Equality and Social Progress**

During the early foundational years of the United States and through the Civil War, Fifteenth Amendment, Nineteenth Amendment, and up until the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black women for the most part remained disenfranchised. Throughout this period, the thought of a black woman having the right to vote was met with great opposition and to most people it was inconceivable that black women would ever be elected to public office. In addition to the disenfranchisement of slaves and women; many free blacks could not vote; Native Americans could not vote; and whites who did not own property could not vote.

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28. Ibid.
Although black women were excluded from formal politics, exclusion did not stop them from being politically active. The first woman to speak politically in a public forum and actually leave a text of her speeches was Maria Stewart. Maria Stewart was a black woman who worked as a domestic for a white clergy family in the north. 29 Maria Stewart lectured in 1831 calling for women to reject the oppressive roles in which they had been assigned by society and to recognize that sexism, racism, and classism, have aided the dominate white male culture in repressing the goals and desires of black women and women as a whole. 30 Maria Stewart wanted women to embrace their roles as mothers because of the power that mothers have to shape and mold the minds of their children to create a “powerful mechanism of political action.” 31 Collins quotes Stewart speech from a compilation edited by Marylin Richardson. Stewart declares: “O, ye mothers, what a responsibility rests on you! . . . You have souls committed to your charge. . . It is you that must create in the minds of your little girls and boys a thirst for knowledge, the love of virtue. . . and the cultivation of a pure heart.” 32

Collins proclaims that Maria Stewart was probably the first black woman that we can point to whom professed black feminist ideology stressing that in order for blacks to improve their lives, the lives of the subsequent generations and community must also be


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 2.

empowered.\textsuperscript{33} Even though Maria Stewart lived in the north and was considered "free," the rights of citizenship for slaves and free black did not differ much.

While history focuses primarily on the southern states, slavery existed in both the north and the south. Sojourner Truth was born a slave in New York and became free in 1827 when slavery was outlawed in that state.\textsuperscript{34} As an act of anger and defiance to the new law, her master sold her son Peter (Truth had 13 children while she was a slave and most of them had been sold away from her) to an Alabama slave trader. White abolitionists Isaac and Maria Van Wagener assisted Truth with filing a lawsuit against the slave owner and she won.\textsuperscript{35} This was the first case dealing with this issue where a black woman won against of white man.\textsuperscript{36} Sojourner Truth traveled across the U.S. calling for social justice by using biblical principles and the love of Jesus as an appeal to end the cruelty and inhumanity of slavery.

The question of whether or not slaves had rights as a citizen to sue someone was tested by the infamous 1857 \textit{Dred Scott v. Sanford} Supreme Court decision that mandated that Dred Scott could not sue his master for his freedom because he was "property" and was not represented or protected by the Constitution. Author J. Owens Smith, et al., quotes Chief Justice Taney:

\begin{quote}
The question before us is: whether the class of person (Negroes) described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people and are constituent members of the sovereignty? We think they are not and that they are not
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[33] Patricia Hill Collins, \textit{Black Feminist Thought} \textit{2nd ed.}, 2.
\item[35] Ibid.
\item[36] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘citizen’ in the Constitution and therefore can claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States.\footnote{Owens Smith, Mitchell F. Rice, Woodrow Jones, Jr., \textit{Blacks and American Government: Politics, Policy and Social Change} 2nd ed. (Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.), 22.} During a seminar to commemorate the two hundred year anniversary of the \textit{Constitution of the United States} in 1987, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall points out the inferior status assigned to blacks as stated by Chief Justice Taney in the 1857 Dred Scott decision:

\textit{... They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race. ... and so far inferior, that they had not rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for this benefit. ... Accordingly, a negro of the African race was regarded ... as an article of property, and held and bought and sold as such ... [N]o one seems to have doubted the correctness of the prevailing opinion of the time.}\footnote{Thurgood Marshall, “Race and the Constitution,” \textit{American Government} 88/89, Annual Editions (Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.), 33.}

Not only did the Dred Scott decision deny the rights of citizenship to enslaved blacks, but it also stated that the Negro race as a whole was not considered citizens. This was devastating to blacks because the highest court of the land avowed that blacks basically shared the same ranks of cattle or a plow—just a piece of property that demanded no respect or human kindness. Now one can argue that some of the scars of slavery on both blacks and whites in the United States are rooted in the psychological damage caused by allowing the controlling group to deny the basic human tenderness that separates humans from plant and animal life. To show empathy as a slave holder would contradict maximizing profit. To show compassion in the way God directs human beings to do
would put at risk the economic foundation of the south and the nation. Economics was the driving force behind allowing slavery to continue for centuries.

The psychological damage of watching a mother being sold away from her child; a person being whipped to death, set a fire, dismembered, disfigured, or tortured without a second thought or concern as to the morality or legality of those practices has had a lasting affect on all who were involved. The inhumanity of slavery increased the incidents of slave revolts and runaways by the 1800s. Abolitionists worked the Underground Railroad, a network of safe houses and individuals, which assisted runaway slaves. Harriet Tubman, a runaway slave, became one of the most famous “conductors” of the Underground Railroad and returned to the south several times to lead over three hundred slaves to freedom earning her the name “Black Moses.” Tubman risked her life time after time because she believed that God had called her to deliver her people. Amy Alexander states: “Like Sojourner Truth, Harriet believed that God had planned for her a special mission in life. And by following His lead—which she likened to the North Star, which guided her on clandestine travels—Harriet felt she would always find the right path.”

Harriet Tubman’s convictions and bravery rivaled that of any man. Her mission was fueled by unshakable faith and tenacious hope. Her work was a form of political activism because she fought a wicked system by breaking an unjust law. Tubman’s life


40. Ibid., 22-23.
was in constant danger with a forty-thousand dollar bounty on her head. Her advocacy for social justice and universal suffrage continued throughout her life as she became a scout and a nurse for the Union Army and a speaker and advocate for the Women's Suffrage Movement.

The years that foreshadowed the Civil War were met with political vehemence represented by factions stretching from every corner of the nation. With the discovery of gold in California in 1849 and the rapid expansion westward, the nation became even more divided over how states would be admitted to the Union—slave or free. Congress debated fiercely over the Compromise of 1850 as noted by historians John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr.:

After considerable debate by Clay, Calhoun, Douglass, Seward and Chase, an agreement was reached which proved that (1) California should enter the Union as a free state; (2) the other territories would be organized without mention of slavery; (3) Texas should cede certain lands to New Mexico and be compensated; (4) slaveholders would be better protected by a stringent fugitive slave law; and (5) there should be no slave trade in the District of Columbia. This compromise was a focal point that prompted the cries for secession by the southern states. The next major congressional act that further divided the slave verses free debate was the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. This law allowed the question of slavery to be decided by the affected territories which began the bloody conflict over whether Kansas

41. Ibid., 23.
42. Ibid., 24-25.
44. Ibid., 193.
would be a free or slave state. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and
the Dred Scott decision were all instrumental in leading to the Civil War. President
Abraham Lincoln implemented the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, which set slaves
free in states that rebelled against the Union; however, slaves in other states that were not
in rebellion, would not be freed until the end of the Civil War.

At the close of the Civil War, all political power was seized from the Confederate
states. The white power structure of the Antebellum South was forced to ratify the 13th,
14th, and 15th Amendments in order to be admitted back into the Union. These
Amendments to the U.S. Constitution are known as the Civil War Amendment and the
Civil Rights Amendments. For the first time in history, participation in the American
political process was open to the masses of black men. Due to Union troop occupation of
the south, blacks were able to become elected to political offices throughout the south on
the local, state, and federal levels. Between the years of 1869 and 1901 twenty-two
African American men served in the United States Congress. Hiram Revels and
Blanche K. Bruce, both serving in the U.S. Senate, represented the states that had one of
the most cruel and oppressive forms of slavery—Mississippi. Hiram Revels was elected
to fill Jefferson Davis’ Senate seats in 1870 and Blanche K. Bruce was elected in 1874
becoming the only two blacks to hold Senate seats in the U.S. Congress until the election
of Edward Brooke from Massachusetts in 1966.

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 617.
47. Ibid., 241-242.
48. Ibid., 242.
Southern states experienced an explosion of black political representation after the Civil War. Historians John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss Jr. state:

Of the twenty blacks who served in the House of Representatives, South Carolina sent the largest number, eight, and North Carolina followed with four, three of whom served after Reconstruction. Alabama sent three, and Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia, one each. It was the Forty-first Congress in 1869, that blacks, three of them, first made their appearance in the federal legislature. In the next Congress there were five. The peak was reached in the Forty fourth Congress when seven black men sat in the House of Representatives. 49

Post Civil War Political Participation of Blacks and Women

The surge of political participation among blacks after the Civil War was a representation of the former slaves' belief that once the shackles were removed, justice could be found at the ballot box. Although the 15th Amendment gave black men the right to vote, women were still disenfranchised. Both black and white women were active leaders and participants in the Abolitionist Movements and the fight to ratify the Civil Rights Amendments. 50 Regardless of the grassroots political activism of women during this time, most white women were still considered fragile and unfit for work outside of domestic and child rearing activities. The doctrine of “separate spheres” promotes the theory that women’s responsibilities stem from activities center around home life. 51

According to authors Barbara J. Nelson and Kathryn A. Carver:

49. Ibid.


Both before and after abolition most women were denied the full range of political and civil rights because the law, public philosophy, and social mores said women lacked the economic independence and innate capacity for independent political judgment. The reasoning failed to acknowledge that first white men’s, and then all men’s political participation was not truly independent based as it was on the unacknowledged domestic, reproductive, and social contribution of women. When women won national suffrage in 1920, the laws about electoral participation changed, but not the public philosophy of men’s superiority or the gender division of labor on which democratic institution are based.52

During the Reconstruction and post Civil War era, black women found that their political activism extended further than just having a right to voice their opinion, but rather their voices were needed to call for racial uplift and social justice. Education and political activism became key components to improving the lives of blacks across the nation, but especially in the south. The Hayes-Tilden Election of 1876 was the first step in a series of efforts to disenfranchise black men. To win the election, Ruther B. Hayes promised southern leadership he would remove the Union troops from the south, returning power to southerners to exercise as they please.53 From 1876 to the “separate but equal doctrine” in the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision, the south executed a systematic program to disenfranchise black voters. Mob violence, threats to livelihood, laws against peaceful assembly, poll tax, literacy tests, and the grandfather clause were all methods used to successfully disenfranchise blacks. By the turn of the early 1900s, blacks had been disenfranchised.54 These events influenced black women


53. John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., From Slavery to Freedom, 252-254.

54. Ibid., 254-263.
educators, activists, and feminists like Ida B. Wells Barnett and Mary Church Terrell that were born to former slaves but had a passion for social justice.  

Ida B. Wells Barnett was born in Mississippi in 1862 during the Civil War. She became a teacher and moved to Tennessee taking her younger siblings after her parents died the yellow fever epidemic of 1878. In 1884 her frustration with Jim Crow segregation inspired her to sit in the first class “whites only” compartment of the train she rode to work and she refused to move to the second class smoking car that was reserved for blacks. The conductor, along with two other white men, dragged her out of her seat and threw her off the train at the next stop in front of cheering white passengers. Wells vs. Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad became one of the first challenges and wins in a southern state to the post Reconstruction segregation laws. Ida B. Well-Barnett became a political activist and was most famously known for her writings about lynching, universal suffrage, and the injustices of Jim Crow which she published in her newspaper Free Speech. She later moved to Chicago where she became a pillar of the community as an educator and established organizations that helped southern blacks new


58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.
to Chicago find housing and jobs. Mary B. Well-Barnett organized other women to become social activists and in 1913 began the Alpha Suffrage Club which was the “first black suffragist group in the nation.”

Mary Church Terrell was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1963 to parents who had just become emancipated. She graduated from Oberlin College in Ohio in 1884, becoming “one of three black women to receive a B. A. degree that year.” She became an educator teaching at Wilberforce University while also becoming a social activist for the suffrage movement and she later became a founding member of the National Association of Colored Women. Formed as a mission to uplift the black community, the National Association of Colored Women chose the motto “Lifting While We Climb.” Author Dorothy Sterling writes about the activities of the association: “At a time when few social services were available, the women started kindergartens and day nurseries, night schools, normal schools, and homes for the aged and infirm. In rural areas they taught the basics of hygiene and nutrition; in cities they set up courses in nurses’ training.”

60. Amy Alexander, Fifty Black Women Who Changed America, 32-33.
61. Ibid., 33.
62. Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers, 121.
63. Ibid., 127
64. Amy Alexander, Fifty Black Women Who Changed America, 37.
65. Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers, 131.
66. Ibid.
Mary Church Terrell became a teacher in Washington, DC and was a strong advocate for improving the education of black children. She became a bastion of the upper-class black community. In 1895 Mary Church Terrell became the first African American and first woman to be appointed the board of education in Washington, DC.67

The issue of lynching was one that black communities across the country spoke out against in churches, black newspapers, and through political affiliations and associations. Tom Moss was a friend of both Ida B. Well-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell. He owned a grocery store in Memphis and was lynched because the white owner of a competing store began to lose money. Wells-Barnett and Terrell both used their standing and vehicles of advocacy to speak out against this horror. Wells-Barnett wrote about it in her paper *Free Speech* and began to document all lynching by writing about them. Author Dorothy Sterling quotes Wells-Barnett response to Moss’ lynching:

I have no power to describe the feeling of horror that possessed every member of the race in Memphis when the truth dawned upon us that the protection of the law was no longer ours. . . For twenty-five years, Memphis’s black citizens had been working diligently, sure that if they were educated and respectable they would win acceptance from whites. Respectable! No one has been more respectable than Tom Moss.68

Mary Church Terrell was also devastated by what happened to Tom Moss. She went to Fredrick Douglass seeking a way to advocate against lynching practices. Sterling states: “Mary Church Terrell and Frederick Douglass visited the White House to ask President Benjamin Harrison to condemn lynching in his annual message to Congress. Although


Douglass ‘eloquently pleaded the case for anti-lynching legislation,’ she recalled, the president took no action.”

Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell both used their voices and political vehicles to speak out against lynching. While Wells-Barnett used her newspaper, Church Terrell used her connections to reach political decision-makers, including having the ear of the President of the United States. History sometimes compares the two women. Although both were considered to be “club women,” who were black women that organized social groups that engaged in political activity to speak out against injustice and improve the conditions of not only the black community but also women in general, Ida B. Wells-Barnett was considered by some be as social activists that was militant, outspoken, aggressive, and willing to stand her ground in the face of controversy. She was a grass-roots activist who worked directly with the downtrodden. Mary Church Terrell was considered to be more of an advocate where she was associated with using methods for social change through organizations, political advocacy groups, and personal associations with decision-makers. Both of these women fought against social injustice on behalf of blacks and women. They did not view these causes as separate battles—it was about lifting people out of positions of oppression and giving a voice to the voiceless. However, they would soon find out that within the suffrage movement there was strife that divided the movement along racial lines.

69. Ibid. 131.
The Suffrage Movement and the Divide among Race

Blacks and white women worked together during the abolition and suffrage movements. It was during this time that many white women began to break the mold of the separate spheres doctrine and become politically active outside the home. After women abolitionists were turned away from the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton returned to the United States to establish a conference on women’s rights.70 The convention for women’s rights held in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 was considered to be the official beginning of the Women’s Suffrage Movement.71 Fredrick Douglass attended the Seneca Falls meeting and he became “the first male of any color to advocate publicly for women’s suffrage.”72

There were no black women at the Seneca Falls convention and the women who organized and attended the convention were middle and upper class white women.73 Author and activist Angela Davis critiques the positions taken by Cady Stanton and the declarations made at Seneca Falls:

The emphatic focus of the Seneca Falls Declaration was the institution of marriage and its many injurious effects on women: marriage robbed women of their property rights, making wives economically—as well as morally—dependent on their husbands. Demanding absolute obedience from wives, the institution of marriage gave husbands the right to punish their wives, and what is more, the law of separation and divorce were almost entirely based on male


supremacy. As a result of women's inferior status within marriage, the Seneca Falls Declaration argued, they suffered inequalities in education institutions as well as in the professions.\textsuperscript{74}

Davis makes the point that the women' rights movement embraced the perspective of the white housewife and did not include the additional challenges black women faced. Considering that Women's Suffrage Movement was born out of the Abolitionist Movement one would assume that there would be consideration for the issues that black women faced whom were oppressed by both their color and sex. Angelina and Sarah Grimke were two black women who were abolitionists that lectured about the added oppression of slave women.\textsuperscript{75} They were condemned by the men in the religious communities for stepping out of a woman’s place for which the Grimke sisters found themselves at the convergence of abolition and women’s rights.\textsuperscript{76}

The division between the abolitionists and the suffragettes began to widen with passage of the 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} Amendments. Susan B. Anthony and Fredrick Douglass had a long history of friendship and support for the causes of abolition and extending suffrage to blacks and women.\textsuperscript{77} As abolitionists fought for support of the 15\textsuperscript{th} Amendment, the men found that supporting universal suffrage at the same time weakened their efforts. Suffrage for women would have to be addressed latter. This angered many white women because many of them felt that they suffered a form of enslavement to men because of their gender. Angela Davis quotes Fredrick Douglass’ plea to the white women:

\begin{itemize}
\item 74. Ibid., 53.
\item 75. Ibid., 40-43.
\item 76. Ibid.
\item 77. Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race, and Class, 82; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote: 1850-1920, 26.
\end{itemize}
When women, because they are women, are dragged from their homes and hung upon lamp-post; when their children are torn from their arms and their brains dashed upon the pavement; when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have the same urgency to obtain the ballot.  

Douglass' vivid illustration of the exigency of black people's need for the protection and political voice that enfranchisement would bring would still not be enough for many white suffragettes and the movement would continue to fragment.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton found it insulting that black men who were uneducated would have the right to vote over educated white women and encourage the women's movement to become more radical. Stanton stated that she would not accept "ignorant Negroes and foreigners to make laws for her to obey." The Women's Suffrage Movement found that they needed to further distance themselves from the appearance of any sympathy towards the plight of black in order to gain support of southern white women. The black women in the suffrage movement found that the relationships they had formed with their "sisters" in the struggle would take a backseat to race.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Susan B. Anthony were dear friends. Wells-Barnett admired Anthony and often collaborated with her on suffrage efforts. Wells-Barnett was staying at Anthony's home when Anthony's stenographer refused to assist Wells-Barnett with some letter dictation that Anthony had assigned the stenographer to do. When the stenographer told Anthony, "It is all right for you, Miss Anthony, to treat Negroes as

78. Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race, and Class, 82.
80. Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race, and Class, 110.
equals, but I refuse to take dictation from a colored woman,” she fired her.  
Ida B.

Wells would often write that she wished Susan B. Anthony would take a more public stand against racism, the same way she did in private and support the black women suffragettes.  
When Anthony stated that she did not want to “awaken the anti-black hostilities” of the southern whites, Wells-Barnett admonished her and stated that Anthony’s behavior and silence only affirmed racism and segregation.  

The 1913 March for Women’s Suffrage in front of the White House was supposed to be a moment of solidarity among all women in the movement. The event was organized by the National American Women’s Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the National Women’s Party (NWP).  
Many of the white suffragists refused to march side by side with the black suffragists. The organizers of the march decided that they would segregate the march and have the black women march in the rear of the parade—behind the white women.  
When Ida B. Wells-Barnett was approached with this plan, that had the support of both northern and southern white women, Well-Barnett responded: “The southern women have tried to evade the question time and time again by giving some excuse or other every time it had been brought up. If the Illinois women do not take a stand now in this great democratic parade then the colored women are lost.”

81. Ibid.
82. Ibid, 111.
83. Ibid. 111-112.
85. Ibid., 122.
Well-Barnett left the parade processional and as the women began to march she jumped in and march alongside the white suffragists that represented her state of Illinois. She decided that she would not be marginalized by anyone. Just as she fought not to be regulated as a second class citizen when she battled to stay in the “whites only” section of the trains years earlier, Wells-Barnett’s took action and physically denounced the racist measures asserted by the Women’s Suffrage Movement. The willingness of women such as: Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Well, Mary Church Terrell, Angelina and Sarah Grimke to stand up and speak out against racism and sexism during the tumultuous periods of abolition and women’s suffrage, illustrates black women’s courage and fortitude in the face of adversity. Black women did not have the pleasure of separating their battle of race and sex, they were black women and they had to challenge black men and white women to solidify there place at the table. It is this model in which the women of the Civil Rights Movement would have to follow.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Role of Black Women

Although the passage of the 19th Amendment gave white women the right to vote, black women were still largely disenfranchised until the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Violence and intimidation had disenfranchised blacks in general, especially in the south. When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955, she helped spark the next wave of black political protect—the Civil Rights Movements. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s was led by men but

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., 122-123.
often organized by women. Author Charles Payne states: "Women took civil rights workers into their homes, of course, giving them a place to eat and sleep, but women also canvassed more than men, showed up more often at mass meetings and demonstration, and more frequently attempted to register to vote." Even women who played leadership roles such as Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker, and Septima Clark were more often than not in the shadows of men.

The women of Montgomery, Alabama—just as the women their predecessors Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Mary Church Terrell—brought the women in the community together through organizations. The Women's Political Council (WPC) was founded by Mary Fair Burke and Jo Ann Robinson whom were professors at Alabama State College. The WPC was successful at bringing middle class and working class women together to organize around political issues of injustice. Rosa Parks was a member of the WPC as well as a secretary for the local office of National Association of Colored People (NAACP). When Rosa Parks was arrested for not giving up her seat to a white man, it was the WPC that went into action and organized the community for a boycott of the buses. The president of the Montgomery NAACP, E.D. Nickson, when to the ministers in the community and recruited the twenty-six year old Martin Luther King, Jr.


89. Ibid.


91. Ibid., 94-97.

92. Ibid., 111-113.
to become the movement's spokesperson. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed and as history famously notes, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was catapulted into the leadership of the Civil Rights Movement.

Participatory democracy is a form of political activity that focuses on grassroots organizing that does not focus on leadership and pedigree but rather on ordinary people uniting for a common cause and using direct action to push forward a political agenda. In many ways, the success of the Civil Rights Movement was a combination of participatory democracy, charismatic leadership, and the moral argument for social justice. Ella Baker taught communities the power of participatory democracy and how to develop leadership amongst themselves. Ella Baker worked thought the south setting-up new offices for organizations such as the NAACP and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), training mostly young people and women in protest tactics such as direct action and civil disobedience. In addition to training for protest, Baker and many of the other women of the Civil Rights Movement taught people to read in order to pass the literacy tests, education people on the political process, and instructed them on how to register to vote.

93. Ibid., 111-116.
95. Ibid.
Fannie Lou Hamer became a field secretary for SNCC after she was fired from her job on a plantation in Mississippi for trying to register to vote. Fannie Lou Hamer was an outspoken yet compassionate leader. Her grassroots leadership inspired the masses in Mississippi to become involved in the struggle for civil rights. During the 1950s and 1960s it was very dangerous to get involved in any movement that called for an end to segregation. People were beat, jailed, fired and even killed for becoming involved. Nowhere was this more prevalent than in Mississippi—the Deep South.

Fannie Lou Hammer had been beat so badly in jail that she lost some feeling and mobility in her arms.

The solid southern Democratic Party, developed the “White Primaries” which excluded blacks and resulted in the inability of blacks to choose electoral candidates. In 1964 the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was established to represent the black people from Mississippi since they were excluded from the state democratic party—the Mississippi Regulars. As one of the co-founders of the MFDP, Hamer testified at the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City about the cruel treatment and


99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.
disenfranchisement of blacks. In an effort to unseat the white Democratic Party she testifies, “If the Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America . . . Is this America? The land of the free, home of the brave? Where we have to sleep with our telephone off the hook because our lives be threatened daily?” Many of the black male leadership included Martin Luther King, Jr. wanted Hammer to compromise her position on unseating the white democrats from Mississippi and observe as “at large delegate.” Hammer rejected the compromise stating that it was, “Token rights, on the back row, the same as we got in Mississippi. We didn’t come all this way for that mess again.”

As a result of the protest, boycotts, marches, and sit-ins for civil rights during the 1950s and 1960s, in 1964 the Civil Rights Act was passed and in 1965 the Voting Rights Act was passed. The Civil Rights Act was passed and in 1965 the Voting Rights Act was passed. The Civil Rights Act called for an end to segregation and discrimination and the Voting Rights Act made measures of disenfranchisement illegal. Any changes to voting practices in states that had historically disenfranchised blacks had to be approved by the Federal District Court or the U.S. Department of Justice. By 1970 there had been ten blacks elected to the U.S. Congress and eighty-six women.

In 1969 Shirley Chisholm became the first black woman to serve in the Congress followed by Barbara Jordan in 1973 becoming the first black woman from the south to be

101. Ibid., 32.

102. Ibid., 33.

103. John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., From Slavery to Freedom), 624-634.

elected to Congress. Chisholm represented New York from 1969 until 1983 and Jordan represented Texas from 1973-1979. Chisholm became an outspoken voice for the poor, minorities, women’s rights, and anti-war policies. She was the first women and black to campaign for the nomination of a major political party for the U.S. presidency minus the support of the women’s organization and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Barbara Jordan was praised for her skills as an effective orator. Jordan entered Congress during the Watergate scandal and as a member of the Judiciary Committee, she voted to impeach President Richard Nixon. She gained national attention from her infamous introduction. The introduction as quoted by author LaVerne McCain Gill states:

> Earlier today, we heard the beginning of the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, ‘We the People.’ It is very a eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that ‘We the People.’ I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But, through the process of Amendment, interpretation, and court decision, I have finally been included in ‘We the People.’ Today, I am an inquisitor. I believe hyperbole would not be fictional and would not overstate the solemnness that I feel right now. My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution.

Although the black women pioneers such as Shirley Chisholm, Barbara Jordan, Yvonne Burke, and Cardiss Collins would be a tiny minority in Congress, both their presence and the agendas they proposed could not be ignored. The election of 1992 would increase the


106. Ibid., 18, 27.

107. Ibid., 40.
number of black women in Congress to eleven and produce the first black woman Senator, Carol Mosley-Braun from Illinois. In 2004 Carol Mosley-Braun, following the in footsteps of Shirley Chisholm, would run for President of the United States.

Senator Carol Mosley-Braun, becoming first black woman senator, and only the second black senator since Reconstruction, was a remarkable feat. As a trailblazer, she cleared the path for that Senate seat to be held by another black senator—Barack Obama. In 2008, Senator Barack Obama became the first black President of the United States of America. From slavery to the presidency, the commitment of uplifting the race through education, social justice advocacy, grassroots organizing, faith, and the sheer hope in the idea that American could begin to heal its painful history—a history that in would be incomplete and only half the story without the courage of black women. Though not elected, First Lady Michelle Obama, exemplify the image of a strong black woman.

108. Ibid., 6-8.
CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Study of Women in Political Science

The fact that science and politics are both occupations that are inherently associated with the intelligence and activities of men, it is not surprising that the study of women in politics and political science has historically and traditionally been examined from a male frame of reference. The discipline of political science has focused on the tenets of electoral politics, style and effectiveness of leadership, the decision-making process, and the political advocacy primarily from the perspective of men and about men. Moreover, the epistemology and methodologies used for analysis are drawn from lens of a skewed one-sided angle. One could also argue that the minority perspective is also skewed due to the lack of minority researchers. This chapter reviews the literature of the study of women, blacks, and minorities in political science, as well as, women, blacks, and minorities in politics.

Women constitute half of the world’s population; however, women’s involvement in the public sphere and contributions to social progress have often been overlooked or trivialized by academia, history, and society. Authors Susan J. Carroll and Linda M. G. Zerilli, in their article “Feminist Challenges to Political Science”, examine and critique the framework and perspective used for studying women in political science. They note:
(1) Empirical research in political science [has] traditionally excluded women as political actors and rendered them either invisible or apolitical, (2) Research has attempted to add women into politics, to make them visible as political actors, while accepting the dominant framework of political analysis, and (3) Research that calls existing frameworks and assumptions into question work within this category suggest that our dominate framework cannot accommodate the inclusion of women as political actors and that many of the frameworks, assumptions, and definitions central to political science must be re-conceptualized.¹

Author Barbara J. Nelson examines the role of women in the field of political science. Nelson states that the traditional study of politics has excluded women as "political actors," "primary subjects," "appropriate commentators," or possessing any relevant "perspective" to make decisions and draw conclusions.² Nelson also proclaims that the exclusion of women from the public arena of politics has to do with the "separate spheres" approach to gender assigned roles. She adds:

Politics, the sphere of 'public' life that deals with establishing, interpreting and enforcing the rules of personal and community relations, has not been a place that has welcomed women. Instead, women are viewed as the 'natural' inhabitants of the private sphere—the family—where they may also be subject to the control of the men in their families.³

The spheres of public and private life and the assumptions about the abilities and capabilities of women have been the hallmark of an exclusionary rational that has created and maintained the philosophies, traditions, and policies of political institutions. The 1873 U.S. Supreme Court case Bradwell v. Illinois illustrates the rationale used to deny women the right to work in the public and political arenas. Justice Bradley writes:


3. Ibid.
Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupation of civil life. The constitution of the family organization, which is founded in the divine ordinance, as well as the nature of things, indicated the domain and function of womanhood. The harmony, not to say identity, of interest and views which belong, or should belong, to the family institution is repugnant to the idea a woman adoption distinct and independent career from that of her husband.\footnote{J. Ralph Lindgren and Nadine Taub, \textit{The Law of Sex Discrimination} (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1988), 13.}

Justice Bradley not only creates justification for the exclusion of women from public life based on a male interpretation of women's "natural" physical status due to child bearing and rearing, but he also states the she should not seek any interests that are not interests of her husband. Justice Bradley goes on to write:

> In the nature of things, it is not every citizen of every age, sex, and condition that is qualified for every calling and position. It is the prerogative of the legislator to prescribe regulations founded on nature, reason, and experience for the due admission of qualified persons to professions and calling demanding skill confidence.\footnote{Ibid.}

The plaintiff in this case, a women's suffrage activist named Myra Bradwell, who had passed the Illinois bar exam, was denied the right to practice law because the Court found her unfit for the profession based solely on the assumptions of her gender role. The decision allowed for the discrimination of women in public professions for many years to come. Although race was not mentioned in this decision, the terms, "delicacy" and "timidity" were reserved for middle class and rich white women. Black women were also regulated to the domain of domesticity, but in the capacity of domestic workers. However, domesticity was overlooked when it came to black women and poor white women supplying labor for farming and light factory work. The only professions outside
the home that were available to educated women and accepted by society were teaching, nursing, and social work. These are professions centered around the domestic terrain of child rearing and care giving.

Jewel Limar Prestage, the first black women to receive a doctorate degree in political science, states that in the 1960s and 1970s there was very little research on blacks and women, and that most of the data for research in these areas had to be gathered from outside of political science such as “African American women’s sororities, African American journalists, and popular magazines directed to African American readers.” In addition to the lack of scholarly research in the area of black women, there was an overwhelming lack of black women in the field of political science. “In the late 1960’s, the profession was estimated to be 97% non-black and 90% male.”

The Study of Women and Blacks in Public Office

In 1916 Jeannette Rankin became the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Congress. Her first vote would be a vote on whether the U.S. would enter into World War I—she voted “no.” Although the U.S. did enter World War I, Rankin’s vote symbolized the attributes of compassion, peace, and social progress that would be assigned to women legislators for years to come. It would be the end of the 20th century before the U.S. would have a significant number of women in Congress to actually begin


7. Ibid., 721.


to study any patterns. The election of 1992 brought about sweeping changes for both blacks and women by "almost doubling their numbers" in Congress.\textsuperscript{10}

The majority of studies conducted on public officials have been conducted from the male perspective. These studies have failed examine the presence of women and their impact on the overall structure and agenda of public life and institutions. In a series of studies on women in public offices conducted by Rutgers University, Center for American Women and Politics, \textit{Reshaping the Agenda: Women in the State Legislatures}, the authors proclaim that women legislators do make a difference in regards to: "The extent to which legislators consider how legislation will affect women as a group; expenditure priorities for the state; and the number of bills passed dealing specifically with the problems faced by women."\textsuperscript{11} The study revealed that when asked if women make a difference they found that 85 percent of women and 74 percent of men "Consider Legislation's Impact on Women;" 75 percent of women and 60 percent of men think that women make a difference in regards to "Affecting Expenditure Priorities;" and 87 percent of women and 76 percent of men think that women make a difference in "Bills Passed Dealing with Women."\textsuperscript{12}

In another report of the series from the Center for American Women and Politics, \textit{Voices, Views, Votes: The Impact of Women in the 103rd Congress}, Debra L. Dodson, et al., focused on the impact of women in the 103rd U.S. Congress. The number of women

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid. 3, 97.


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 12.
elected in 1992 increased women’s numbers and influence in Congress with 19 new women in the House of Representatives and four women in the Senate. The number of women in the House during the 103rd Congress rose to 47 and the number in the Senate to six giving a total of 53, the largest number of women federal legislators in history. All the women in the Democratic Party were members of the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues (CCWI); half the Republican women were members. The focus was on whether the women made a difference on wide range of policy issues ranging from “women’s issues” to issues that have traditionally been considered “men’s domain.” Issues ranged from a vast spectrum: “women’s health, abortion, health care reform, the crime bill, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).”

This study found that one area of particular success was the area of women’s health. Congresswoman Carrie Meek (D-FL) was able to get funds for Lupus which is an auto-immune disease that overwhelmingly effects black women; Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Rosa Delauro (D-CT) were able to get $600 million dollars for breast cancer research and funding for cervical and ovarian cancer prevention; and women in the Senate such as Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Patty Murray (D-WA) and Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) were successful in getting appropriation for the same.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 13.
16. Ibid., 2.
17. Ibid., 4.
Women in the 103rd Congress had a significant impact on public policy issues. They worked hard to organize coalitions with both male and female colleagues across party lines on issues such as the Family Medical Leave Act, Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances, stalking, violence against women, the treatment of juveniles in the criminal justice system, and the list goes on. Senator Diane Feinstein was so relentless about an assault weapons ban that she lobbied every member of Congress and if they did not listen, she lobbied their mothers. Senator Carol Mosley-Braun (D-IL) and Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) were able to reshape the perspective on issues with racial implications. For example, Mosley-Braun was able to stop the renewal of a patent for the insignia of the Confederate flag and Cynthia McKinney spoke on how she was able to bring focus within the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues to the plight of low income women seeking abortions and the importance of federal funds.

A third study on the “Impact of Women in Public Office” series report edited by Debra L. Dodson, Gender and Policymaking: Studies of Women in Office, found that women were more supportive of legislation and assertive about legislation concerning women and children:

One of the ways women legislators make a difference is through their different policy priorities than male legislators. Women are more likely than males to list among their top five priorities bills in the last session as legislation regarding children and families. Thirty-eight percent of women had at least one bill dealing with these issues compared to only 13 percent of men. In addition, 10 percent of women had at least one bill on women’s

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 4-14.
20. Ibid., 13.
21. Ibid., 12.
issues among their priorities compared to just 3 percent of men. Women, however, are somewhat less likely than men to give priority to bills primarily concerning business (43 percent vs. 59 percent).  

A study about the impact of women in the Arizona Legislature by Michelle A. Saint-Germain at the University of Arizona focused on bill sponsorship and the impact of women’s input on the policy-making process and the output success rate. The study found that the presence of women legislators did make a significant impact on “traditional” women’s issues such as childcare, welfare, and reproduction as well as a significant impact on overall legislation. However, when it came to bills that sought to improve the status of women or “feminist bills,” not only were the number of bills introduced in this category significantly lower than the “traditional” category, the level of support by both men and women legislators was significantly lower.

Saint-Germain quotes Rosabeth M. Kanter’s 1977 study about women and tokenism. Kanter implies that tokens have “high visibility, their differences are the subject of polarization or exaggeration, and all tokens are viewed as stereotypical members of their group.” There are two kinds of tokenism responses claims Kanter—“over achievement” or “invisibility.” Kanter proclaims that women who want to blend in and not stand out experience a “fear of success” when compared to their male


24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 958.
The label of tokenism is also attached to blacks as well as women. Moreover, while the researcher agrees with the assessment of the Kanter study, tokenism takes on a much more negative connotation in the black community. A black public official that is labeled a token is assumed to be selling-out the race for personal gain or acceptance into the mainstream, whereas women are expected to still advocate for the causes of women; however, it is more widely accepted by other women when women public official emulate the protocol of the mainstream male dominated arena. For black women public officials, they find themselves in a divide between race and gender.

Susan J. Carroll’s study of women and their perception regarding their roles in congress found that most female legislators find that they are in some way “surrogates” for women not only in their districts or states, but also for woman across the nation and the globe. They felt that it was their duty to present and advocate issues that pertain to women as well open door that provide opportunities for other women. The study also found that when it came to the way women have a shared experience as “caregiver” and “consensus builders” and the way when legislators approach problems is based on the desire to reach a solution through consideration and consensus. Carroll also asserts that minority women legislators do share the same concerns as do their white counterparts; however, there are special considerations when it comes to issues of people of color. She

26. Ibid.


28. Ibid., 2-4.

29. Ibid., 6-7.
states, "... some woman of color expressed the inseparability of their identities as, and their responsibilities to, people of color and women."\textsuperscript{30} Black female legislators find themselves also "surrogates" for the triple responsibility of the black race, women, and black women whether they represent them in their districts or not.

The desire to find consensus is a quality that many woman legislators strive to accomplish. Women legislator who ascribe to feminist ideology are found to be more accommodating of other groups such as racial minorities. In a study conducted by Pamela Johnston Conover, states her findings:

In terms of ideology, feminist women are more egalitarian, more liberal, and less symbolically racist in their beliefs than are non-feminist women and all men. In terms of policy, feminist women are less hawkish and are more likely to support egalitarian policies for women and [b]lacks, guaranteed jobs, affirmative action, and aid to big cities than are non-feminist women and all men.\textsuperscript{31}

A study conducted by Amy Caiazza at the Institute for Women's Policy Research found that, "Women have and impact at a more aggregate level across the U.S. states, and their presence in elected office encourages states to pursue policies that are relevant and beneficial to women’s lives."\textsuperscript{32} The Caiazza study further asserted that there is a context in which women legislators can make a significant impact on policies that affect women. Caiazza states that, "The right political culture—including both party and attitudes toward women in office—plays an important role both in advancing policy when women

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 5.


are in office and in women winning office in the first place.”33 She further states that public support from women and “Democratic dominance” in the legislatures all contribute to the success of women and their ability to advance women friendly legislation.34

The study conducted by Alana Jeydel and Andrew J. Taylor on the effectiveness of women from the 103rd to the 105th Congressional Session also supported the Caiazza theory of that their must be a context of the “right political culture.” However, the Jeydel and Taylor study suggest, “Legislative effectiveness, we show, is more a function of seniority and membership in important House institutions such as influential committees, the majority party and leadership positions within the party and committee systems than it is of gender.”35 In contrasting the literature, the researcher finds that because the Democratic Party tends to be the party that in recent history has supported the inclusion of minorities and women—elevating both groups to leadership positions—the effectiveness of blacks and women rest on a sizable majority of the Democratic Party in both state and federal legislatures.

In a study conducted by Anne N. Costain and Steven Majstrovic, they examined the influence of social movements and public opinion on the support for women and women’s issues, they found that when the women’s movement was active, Congress and

33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
public opinion are more supportive of women’s issues and vice versa.\textsuperscript{36} Strong leadership on women’s issues in the legislature is expected by women’s and other socially progressive groups. One of this issues many women face is whether are not they should try to run as asexual rather than as a women. It is the same dilemma faced by many blacks, whether or not to run as a representative of the race or as a race neutral or race transcending candidate.

In a study conducted by Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes, they suggest that women should not try to down play the fact that they are women, but rather embrace it.\textsuperscript{37} The authors argue that issues that are aligned with women such as education, family advocacy issues, programs for children, and health issues, “...women can use stereotypes to their advantage by stressing issues that voters associate favorably with female candidates and by targeting female voters.”\textsuperscript{38} One could argue that this strategy was learned by Hillary Clinton in the 2008 Democratic Primary race. Hillary Clinton was running as experienced and having the toughness of a man but it was not until she broke-down and shed a tear one day prior to the New Hampshire primary that she drew the overwhelming support of women and some men. However in contrast, Barack Obama could not run as a “black candidate” or even show that in some way he would favor the black community—he had to be race neutral. The researcher argues that for a black candidate that is in a


\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 245-246.
district that is primarily black, running as a “black candidate” that advocates a strong socially progress agenda is an asset; however, in a racially diverse area, a black candidate—whether male or female—will find that running on race and gender neutral issues and aligning one’s self with the core working and middle-class values may prove to be more fruitful.

Black Leadership and Black Politics

The context in which one studies black leadership and black politics is a complex one. It is a context that is multifaceted where race, class, gender, history, sociology, and politics all intersect. Some researchers and authors pick a few tenets on which to focus while others attempt to place a condensed basic framework. In a review by Michael Dawson of Hanes Walton’s book, Black Politics and Black Political Behavior: A Linkage Analysis, Dawson outlines Walton’s four major theoretical points:

First, one cannot undertake quality research into black politics, Southern politics, or indeed American politics without understanding the centrality of not only racial conflict but of black politics as a key element of racial politics. Second, such research cannot be competently done unless one understands the historical and social context and continuities to be found in black politics . . . Third, one can competently conduct such research or understand black politics unless one has a knowledge and appreciation of the early pioneers in the field . . . Finally, qualitative studies—particularly but exclusively comparative case studies—can provide the type of nuanced descriptive research that provides the material for theory building and against which deductive theories can be tested.39

The researcher agrees with the Walton theoretical framework; moreover, the researcher asserts that this approach is also necessary to study women and black women.

Moreover, creating theories through descriptive analysis is one of the ways researchers have defined phenomena in black politics. Some behaviors have been assigned descriptive labels that in the larger black community have overtime become restrictive and some might argue derogatory. Wallace Sayre, in his review of one of the early studies on black leadership by James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership*, describes black leaders in Chicago:

Two styles of Negro leaders emerge: the “militant” and the “moderate.” Among civic leaders the author discovers three types: prestige leaders, token leaders, organizers, and a hoped-for fourth type, the “New” Negro, more militant, confident, selfless. This new type of Negro leadership is beginning to show itself in trends toward middle-class leadership, increased emphasis on status ends, the rise of professionally staffed civic groups, broader contacts with white groups, and a possible “new merger” fusing civic action and politics.40

In *Race Matters*, Cornel West describes three basic types of black leaders, “race-effacing managerial leaders, race-identifying protest leaders, and race-transcending prophetic leaders.”41 According to West, the race-effacing political leader is similar to Tom Bradley, the former mayor of Los Angeles. He reaches for the white constituency while still trying to hold on to the black, and by doing this, black goals and issues become diluted.42 The race-identifying protest leader, West claims, want to go back to the days of Martin Luther King, Ella Baker, and Fannie Lou Hamer where racial justice was the basis of their platform—these type of leaders are often forgotten in today’s political


42. Ibid.
arena. West claims that these types of leaders can be viewed as emotional and their personal feelings dictate their political platform rather than well thought out strategic planning. Finally, there are the race-transcending leaders such as Harold Washington who, according to West, needed to possess “personal integrity and political savvy, moral vision and prudential judgment, courage defiance and organized patience."

The researcher finds and interesting phenomenon in the Wilson and West examination of black politics. These books were written about thirty years apart and interestingly, they both touched on black leadership that came out of Chicago (Wilson studies blacks in Chicago and West used Jesse Jackson and Harold Washington in his analysis—both out of Chicago). The interesting contrast is that the first and only black women senator, Carol Mosley-Braun came out of Chicago, Illinois also the first black president Barack Obama, is from Chicago. Both of Mosley-Braun and Obama have been described as “race transcending” leaders and were able to win state-wide and nation-wide elections without focusing on race. Carol Swain, in her review of Minority Representation the Quest for Voting Equality, critiques the authors and states that some research is “advocacy literature” which tends to ignore the fact that minority candidates are beginning to be elected in districts that are not majority-minority.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 60-61.

Robert Singh, in *Congressional Black Caucus*, discusses of the symbolic versus the substantive leader. Singh states that leaders should reflect their constituency, but even when this done, too often the concerns of minorities are overshadowed by the concerns of the majority. Since the Republican Revolution of the 1990s, many black elected officials find themselves compromising and sometimes abandoning issues that impact blacks such as welfare, housing, job training, and racial equality just to stay in the political game.

**Building Coalitions: Black Women Activism and Advocacy**

It is often the case that blacks and women find that they must build coalitions with other minorities in elected office. However, Janet A. Flammang proclaims that white women are often only sensitive to oppression of being a woman but not to understanding the “double burden” of issues concerning black women. A problem that all elected officials face is when building coalitions with others they either have to do some “logrolling,” which is support of someone else’s bill in order to gain support for their legislation, compromise by diluting their bills, or commit to non-legislative favors.

Congresswoman Cardiss Collins, an African-American woman, who served over 20 years in Congress now retired, explains how when she entered politics in the 1970s the

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47. Ibid., 5-6, 13-14.


political climate supported radical change and equality for women and minorities. However, in the politics of the 1990s things were different. She states, “But the political climate has changed for a wide variety of complex reasons, and I’ve observed not only the election of an increasing number of conservative members but watched a steady stream of my colleagues modify their view to become more moderate.”

The plight of being in the two most oppressed and repressed social and cultural classes—black and women—poses the question of how does one study the two as separate variables? Can race and gender be separated? Rosalyn Terborg-Penn proclaims that, “The struggle for suffrage among African American Women was different from that of white women and African American men because racism did not limit white women and sexism did not limit African American men.” Terborg-Penn concludes that in order to study black women she must study them from both a “black nationalist” and a “women-centered perspective.” She states:

I concluded that I needed both because too many variables influencing the political experience of African American women involved both race and gender. As a result, I developed a black nationalist feminist perspective, in which I challenged other feminist approaches to constructing women suffrage movement history.”

As stated earlier in the research, black women have played a fundamental role in all of the social and political movements of the 19th and 20th centuries. As political and social justices activists, black women have been the backbone and home base of the


52. Ibid.
organizing efforts of grassroots politics. In *Women of the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford et al., Charles Payne proclaims the vital and often overlooked role black women played in the civil rights movement. He states:

> It is true that, historically, black women have always fulfilled social roles not commonly played by women in white society, but that has not always led to the kind of significance of political activity that existed in rural Mississippi in the 1960s. The higher degree of participation by women is interesting too because the standard position among political scientists has been that, ‘Women all over the world are less active in politics than men.’

Social and political activism by black women can be seen in almost every type of grassroots organization that focuses on racial, social, and gender justice. Black women are involved in the quest for community uplifting and improving the quality of life for themselves and their families. Marsha J. Darling’s chapter on “African-American Women in State Elected Office in the South,” which appears in *Women and Elective Office*, edited by Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox writes about the calling of black women to serve in public office when she writes:

> Black women had to empower themselves to challenge many constructed forms of privilege and morality to create something emancipating and self-affirming. The tenacity, moral purposefulness, and inclusive vision of an African-American female is bread strongly in the held belief in many black women that their virtue increases as does their calling to undertake public service in order to make a positive difference.

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Cheryl Townsend Gilkes research focuses on black women and their commitment to community work. Gilkes asserts that black women have experienced a sense of "anger" and a "culture of resistance" from years of oppression from slavery, Jim Crow, and urban poverty that make them so determined to fight for justice and equality. Gilkes further professes that black women should use this source of anger and direct this into positive energy to fight for the improvement and "uplifting" of the race.

Nancy Naples examines the activism of black and Latino women in grassroots politics and organizing. She proclaims that the responsibility of minority women is to improve their quality of life for their families and community from dealing with "everyday racism" and oppression. She further states that there is a commitment of these women to be the nurturers of their community, makes certain that health, education, well-being, and opportunities are available for their families and others in the community. Naples refers to these actions as "Activist Mothering" and "Community Caretaking," stating, "Activist mothering includes self-conscious struggles against racism, sexism, and poverty."

A study conducted by Rosalee Clawson and John A. Clark indicates that black women activists were primarily molded and influenced by "the civil rights movement, the


57. Ibid., 113-114.

58. Ibid., 114.
women's rights movement, and the black church." Clawson and Clark further state that within the black community these movements and institutions provided a public arena for organizing and social justice activism where racial and gender equality issue advocacy was inseparable. Moreover, these movements and institutions also provided the apparatus for black women to rise to leadership positions within the Democratic Party in the South.

Moreover, researcher Susan J. Carroll found that although there are many commonalities between women legislators of all races, black women in Congress find that they are in a unique position for a dual level advocacy. She quotes Senator Carol Mosley Braun:

...I'm an African American; I'm a female. Neither of those particular constituencies have traditionally had much of a voice here in the United States Senate and particularly with regard to policymaking and lawmaking. So to the extent to that I bring those experiences to the mix, I think that not only does that help and enhance the effectiveness, the efficacy is the word, of women in our policymaking process, but also helps the body as a whole.

Additionally, Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney states: "...I am an African American woman who has a certain set of life experiences that differentiate me from the typical male member of Congress. Therefore, I bring that to the institution, and the institutions


60. Ibid., 211-221.

61. Ibid.

is changed and enhanced because of the difference I bring."63 Thus, Congresswoman Eva Clayton states: "... [T]o the extend that African-American women would know more women that come from a disadvantaged community, or know of a different type of struggling woman, or heads of household, or women who are living on limited means, I think our voices would put those faces in debates . . ." observed by black congresswomen detail the inherent burden of representing two marginalized communities that in fulfilling their responsibilities is not only realized, but it is embraced. Furthermore, these congresswomen also exhibit a sense of responsibility to those who are shut-out from receiving services. They know that their presence requires advocacy for those whose are voices have been silenced either through oppression or through the sheer lack of opportunity.

63. Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

THE BACKGROUND, COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS, AND DISTRICTS OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE 108TH CONGRESSIONAL SESSION

This chapter discusses the background and history of the black congresswomen of the 108th Congressional Session. Their committee assignments and the demographics of their congressional districts will also be examined. The background and history of black congresswomen exhibits the development of an ideology based on life experiences. A person’s frame of reference is often shaped by events and encounters in life based on social, economic, and political culture. Most of the black congresswomen were born into a society where Jim Crow laws impacted where they could attend school and their career aspirations. Even the black congresswomen who were not born in the south encountered discrimination at some point in their lives. Fortunately, affirmative action policies during the late 1970s and 1980s afforded opportunity to blacks and women. The black women of the 108th Congressional Session were able to benefit from these policies.

Committee assignments in Congress reflect the type of legislation a member will sponsor. Many members of Congress serve on a few committees; however, most of the black congresswomen tend to serve on several committees and sub-committee. This strategy enables them to have legislative influence and the ability to address the specific needs of underrepresented populations. This strategy also gives voice to issues that otherwise would not be considered.
Additionally, selected demographic data charts have been calculated from each congresswoman’s district to help further illustrate the social, political, and economic characteristics.

Selected demographics from the 2000 U.S. Census were used, when appropriate, to highlight the differences between the national demographics and the congresswomen’s districts. Black communities tend to lag behind national statistics in social and economic indicators such as education, income, homeownership, and married families; however, there tends to be a higher rate of negative social and economic indicators such as poverty levels and single parent head of households. The national census tables (Tables 4.1 – 4.3) are presented at the beginning of this chapter and are referenced throughout the chapter. Each congresswoman’s district is referred to in the examination of that congresswoman.

Table 4.1. U.S. Census Data on National Demographics Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>211,460,626</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>34,658,190</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>2,475,956</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>10,252,998</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>35,305,818</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>6,826,228</td>
<td>2%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15,359,073</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>281,421,906</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Mixed race indicates two or more races
**Percentages exceed 100% due to the ability to claim one race and a combination of races for Hispanic
Table 4.2. U.S. Census Data on National Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>27,230,075</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>54,493,232</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>12,900,103</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>6,620,945</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>69,815,753</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$41,994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.3. U.S. Census Data on National Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>52,168,981</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>38,351,595</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>11,512,833</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>28,317,792</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>16,144,813</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Congresswoman Corrine Brown

Congresswoman Corrine Brown represents the Third Congressional District of Florida which includes the cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, Daytona Beach and Gainesville, Florida.1 Congresswoman Brown was born and raised in the city of Jacksonville. Congresswoman Brown’s educational background consists of a Bachelor of Science degree in 1969 and a Master of Art degree in 1971 from Florida Agriculture

and Mechanical University. She went on to earn an Education Specialist degree from the University of Florida in 1974 and worked as a professor and counselor at the University of Florida, Edward Waters College, and Florida Community College prior to becoming an elected official.

From 1982 through 1992 Corrine Brown served in the Florida State House of Representatives and in 1992, Brown was elected to serve in the House of Representatives in the United States Congress. Congresswoman Brown serves on the following Congressional Committees: She is currently the ranking member of the Transportation Subcommittee on Railroads, Pipelines and Hazardous Materials; the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure as well as the Subcommittee on Aviation and the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation; the Committee on Veterans Affairs; the Health Subcommittee; and was a former ranking member of the Oversight and Investigation Committee.

Congresswoman Brown has fought to bring jobs and improve the infrastructure in the State of Florida. While Florida is a major donor state in tax revenue to the federal government, for many years Floridians did not receive their equal share of funding to

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3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
improve infrastructure. Corrine Brown has been successful in acquiring funding for bridges, airports, and highways in Florida. She has called hearings to advocate for better healthcare and educational benefits for veterans as well as the need to address specific concerns of women veterans. Congresswoman Brown’s racial demographics for her district are represented by the following top four groups in descending order: black - 51 percent; white - 36 percent; Hispanic - 9 percent; and Asian - 2 percent (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4. Corrine Brown (D-FL-3): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>222,408</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>311,942</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>2,437</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>10,363</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>56,415</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>8,365</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,733</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>615,663</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


With over half of her district representing blacks and almost two-thirds of the district representing minorities, Brown’s advocacy for issues addressing civil and human rights is representative of the composition of her constituency. Although 19 percent of families live under the poverty level and the median household income is only $30,763


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.
annually, home ownership is over 53 percent representing over half of the households in the district (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Corrine Brown (D-FL-3): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>76,765</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>82,248</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>13,496</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>56,003</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>29,375</td>
<td>19%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>131,415</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>$30,763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Poverty level calculated by poverty status of family.

One of the interesting demographics of Congresswoman’s Brown’s district is that of educational attainment. Two of the areas that exceed the nation average are diploma and degrees for “High School” 39 percent and “Associate’s” 7 percent (see Table 4.6). The national average for “High School” was 29 percent and “Associate’s” 6 percent (see Table 4.3). One explanation could be because Florida has a lot of nursing homes and positions such as Certified Nursing Assistant, Licensed Practicing Nurse, and other medical/technical careers for which an associate’s degree is needed.
Table 4.6. Corrine Brown (D-FL-3): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>147,153</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>76,368</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's</td>
<td>26,647</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>33,680</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>17,066</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Florida is a state with a wealth of natural beauty and resources. The peninsula state has an economy that is primarily driven by tourism to its numerous beaches, lakes, resorts, and theme parks. Congresswoman Brown has been successful in having the St. Johns River added to the American Heritage River list and has been recognized by environmental advocacy groups such as the Sierra Club for her tireless efforts to get federal protection for rivers, lakes, and beaches in Florida as well as fighting off shore drilling.9

**Congresswoman Julia Carson**

Congresswoman Julia Carson represented the Seventh Congressional District which includes greater Indianapolis, Indiana. Congresswoman Julia Carson was born in 1938 to single mother in Louisville, Kentucky.10 She grew up poor in Indianapolis

9. Ibid.

working odd jobs and married right after graduating from high school. She had two children and soon after divorced her husband. She attended Martin University and Indiana University but left school when she got a good paying job as a secretary for the United Auto Workers union. She worked for Representative Andy Jacobs as a caseworker and a district aide and later became a representative in the Indiana state legislature in 1973.

In 1996 Julia Carson was elected to the United States House of Representatives where she severed until she lost her battle with lung cancer 2007. Congresswoman Carson served on the Banking and Financial Services Committee, the Veteran Affairs Committee, and the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

She was instrumental in getting road and highway improvement funds for Indiana as well as advocating for financial literacy and education for low income and first time home buyers. Congresswoman Carson always felt that women civil rights advocates paved the way for her so in the 106th Congress she sponsored legislation that awarded Rosa Parks the Congressional Gold Medal. Congresswoman Carson was also

11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
instrumental in having Rosa Parks, the first woman ever, to lie in state in the Capital Rotunda when Parks died in 2005.\textsuperscript{19}

The racial demographics for the top five groups in Congresswoman Carson's district are as follows in descending order: white - 60 percent; black - 30 percent; Hispanic - 3 percent; Mixed Race - 3 percent; and Asian - 1 percent (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Julia Carson (D-IN-7): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>381,749</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>190,889</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>7,617</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>34,443</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>19,129</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>636,041</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census 2000, American Community Survey, 2003. \textit{P003 Hispanic or Latino by Race}. Congressional District 7 Indiana, 108\textsuperscript{th} Congress. http://factfinder.census.gov (accessed December 30, 2010); Data calculated by frequency of population. Percentages are based on the total number of population divided by race. Mixed race is based on two or more races.

Congresswoman Carson's district is an anomaly when compared with the racial demographics of other black congressional districts because her district is majority white and the minority representation is a little more than half of the white majority. Part of the justification of minority-majority voting blocks and districts is that the only way blacks and other minorities can get fair representation is if their districts are designed to hold a minority-majority. Long before Barack Obama became the first black president of the United States, showing that white people will vote for black people, Congresswoman

\textsuperscript{19. Ibid.}
Julia Carson was representing the Seventh Congressional District in Indiana. The "Median Household Income" was $35,294 which is about $7,000 dollars less than the national average (see Tables 4.2 and 4.8). Given Carson's labor union background it is not surprising that she represented a district that had a strong blue collar presence.

Table 4.8. Julia Carson (D-IN-7): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>89,369</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>96,141</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>12,682</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>49,805</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>41,601</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>137,117</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>$35,294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another finding that was very interesting was that the educational attainment of the population in Carson's district was very closely aligned with the national average. The category for "Educational Attainment" for Congresswoman Carson is as follows in ascending order in regards to degree obtained: High School - 32 percent; Some College - 21 percent; Associate's - 6 percent; Bachelor's - 14 percent; Graduate - 8 percent (see Table 4.9). The category for "Educational Attainment" for the U.S. Census 2000 was as follows in ascending order in regards to degree obtained: High School - 29 percent; Some College - 21 percent; Associate's - 6 percent; Bachelor's - 16 percent; Graduate - 9 percent (see Table 4.3).
Table 4.9. Julia Carson (D-IN-7): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>127,298</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>82,746</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>25,324</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>56,544</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>31,861</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Donna Christensen**

Congresswoman Donna Christensen is a Delegate to the United States Congress representing the territory of the U.S. Virgin Islands. She was born in Teaneck, New Jersey in 1945 to an upper middle class family. She earned a Bachelor of Science degree from St. Mary’s College in Notre Dame, Indiana in 1966 and went on to earn a Doctor of Medicine degree from George Washington University in Washington, DC in 1970. Donna Christensen was a physician and medical director of St. Croix Hospital in the Virgin Islands and went on to serve as commissioner of health for the Virgin Islands.

Donna Christensen was elected to Congress in 1996 and was the first woman physician in Congress as well as the first woman to represent an off shore territory of the United States.

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21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.
United States.\(^{23}\) Congresswoman Christensen serves on the following committees: the House Energy and Commerce Committee; the Committee on Natural Resources; the Energy and Commerce Subcommittees on Health, Telecommunications and the Internet and Oversight Investigations; and former chair of the Natural Resources Subcommittee on Insular Affairs.\(^{24}\) As a delegate to Congress, Donna Christensen can not vote on legislation that comes to the House Floor for a vote; however, she can vote in committee and sponsor legislation. Congresswoman Christensen is an advocate for enhancing rights and government benefits for the United States Territories as well as an advocate for healthcare, preserving natural resources, and the environment.\(^{25}\)

The racial demographics for the top five groups in Congresswoman Donna Christensen’s district in the Virgin Islands are as follows in descending order: black - 76 percent; Hispanic - 14 percent; white - 13 percent; Other - 7 percent; and Mixed Race - 4 percent (see Table 4.10). It is not surprising that the Virgin Islands have the highest populations in the category of “black,” 76 percent, of the congressional districts studies. The Virgin Islands are a territory of the United States and a former slave colony of the British. What was surprising was that there were not a larger number of people in the category of “Hispanics,” 14 percent, considering that it is a Caribbean island that is considered part of Latin America. An interesting finding is that the racial demographics are almost reverse of those found in the national census numbers.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.


Table 4.10. Donna Christensen (D-VI): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14,218</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>82,750</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>15,196</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>3,792</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7,852</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>108,612</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The U.S. Census 2000 show the national average population in the categories identifying as “white” as 75 percent and “black” as 12 percent while the Virgin Island show “black” as 75 percent and “white” as 13 percent (see Tables 4.1 and 4.10).

Regarding social and economic data, there is a stark difference between the national average and the Virgin Islands. The U.S. Census 2000 shows the national average for the categories for household types are as follows: Female Head of Household - 12 percent; Under the Poverty Level - 9 percent; and Median Household Income - $41,994 (see Table 4.8). In contrast these same social and economic indicators for the Virgin Island show a much bleaker picture. Household types for the Congresswoman Christensen’s district are as follows: Female Head of Household - 25 percent; Under the Poverty Level - 29 percent; and Median Household Income - $24,704 (see Table 4.11).
Table 4.11. Donna Christensen (D-VI): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>12,269</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>13,498</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>10,132</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>7,635</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>18,678</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median Household Income: $24,704


Congresswoman Christensen’s district shows that households that are headed by females are twice the national average and households that live under the poverty level are three times as high as the national average. The median household income is also significantly lower. These social and economic indicators explain why Congresswoman Christensen is fighting so hard to get the territories of the United States to have a more equitable share of aid and economic investment (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12. Donna Christensen (D-VI): Constituency Demographics Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>17,044</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>9,425</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>2,269</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>4,148</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee represents the 18th Congressional District which is located in Houston, Texas. She was born in Queens, New York in 1950 and went on to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from Yale University in New Haven Connecticut in 1972 and a Juris Doctorate degree from the University of Virginia Law School in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1975.26 In 1977 Jackson Lee became a member of the congressional staff for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations that investigated the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.27 Sheila Jackson Lee practiced law in Texas and went on to become a municipal court judge in 1987, moving on later to become on of the first black women be a at-large member of the Houston City Council in 1990.28

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee was elected to Congress in 1994—the year of the Republican takeover led by Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. Jackson Lee was elected president of the Democratic freshman class and used her appointment to the Judiciary Committee to advocate for the poor and minorities as she submitted numerous amendments to major legislation such as the Crime Bill and entitlement programs such a Medicare and Medicaid.29 Congresswoman Jackson Lee fought for funding for juvenile boot camps that focused on rehabilitation instead of punishment as well as the


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

preservation of essential medical procedures that were covered by Medicare and Medicaid.30

Congresswoman Jackson Lee serves on the House Judiciary Committee, the Homeland Security Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee, and was recently named chair of the Homeland Security Subcommittee on Transportation Security and Infrastructure Protection.31 She is one of the founders and co-chairs of the Children’s Caucus whose purpose is to advocate for the rights and welfare of children worldwide.32 Sheila Jackson Lee has come to be known as a very influential and effective legislator. According to her website, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee has been recognized by “Ebony Magazine as one of the 100 Most Fascinating Black Women of the 20th Century. The Congressional Quarterly named Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee as one of the 50 most effective members of Congress. U.S. News and World Report named her as one of the 10 most influential legislators in the House of Representatives.”33 Even in this study, Sheila Jackson Lee is the leading sponsor of legislation.

The racial demographics for the top five groups in Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee’s 18th Congressional District in Houston, Texas are as follows in descending order: black - 42 percent; Hispanic - 37 percent; white - 18 percent; Asian - 2 percent; and Native American, Mixed Race, and Other were all less than 1 percent (see Table 4.13).

30. Ibid.


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.
Table 4.13. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX-18): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>114,195</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>264,516</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>14,329</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>233,657</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>5,438</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>634,183</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The findings show that this congressional district with 70 percent of the district representing large minority populations of blacks and Hispanics. Although Congresswoman Jackson Lee is overwhelmingly minority, there is a great deal diversity in the type of legislation she sponsors (this is explained in more detail in Chapter 5).

The social and economic indicators such as household types and median income differ significantly from the national average. The *U.S. Census 2000* shows the following household types: Female Head of Household - 12 percent; Under the Poverty Level - 9 percent; and Median Household Income - $41,949 (see Table 4.2). In comparison, Congresswoman Jackson Lee's congressional district shows the following data: Female Head of Household - 21 percent; Under the Poverty Level - 22 percent; and Median Household Income - $31,075 (see Table 4.14). These findings show households that are headed by women are double the national average as well as families living under the poverty level are also double the national average. Median household income is almost $10,000 less than the national average.
Table 4.14. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX-18): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>72,886</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>83,778</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>14,222</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>49,893</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>51,290</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>104,617</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Household Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$31,075</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.15. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX-18): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>106,390</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>65,737</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>15,450</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>39,704</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>22,956</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson**

Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson represents the 30th Congressional District in Texas. Her district includes large parts of Dallas, including the downtown central business district, and several suburban cities in the Dallas metropolitan area.34

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Eddie Bernice Johnson was born in Waco, Texas in 1933 and grew up dreaming of becoming a nurse, but had to leave Texas to pursue her nursing certificate because the Texas schools were segregated.\(^{35}\) She earned her nursing certificate from St. Mary’s College at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana in 1955 and later went on to earn a Bachelor of Science from Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas in 1967.\(^{36}\) Johnson earned her Master of Public Administration degree from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas in 1976 and went on to become the chief psychiatric nurse and psychotherapist for the Veterans Administration hospital in Dallas, Texas.\(^{37}\)

In 1972, Eddie Bernice Johnson was elected the Texas House of Representatives and because of her tireless advocacy for working class families and children, President Jimmy Carter appointed her to Regional Director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1977.\(^{38}\) In 1987, Johnson was elected to the Texas State Senate where she served until 1992 when she was elected to Congress, becoming the first black woman to be elected from the Dallas area.\(^{39}\) Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson serves on the following Committees: the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee; the House Committee on Science and Technology; the Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment; the Subcommittee on Aviation; the Subcommittee on Railroad, Pipelines,


\(^{37}\) Ibid.

\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Ibid.
and Hazardous Materials; and she is the chair of the Subcommittee on Water and the Environment.\textsuperscript{40}

Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson is known as a powerful advocate and leader serving as a Senior Democratic Deputy Whip, the Chair of the Texas Democratic Delegation, and she was the Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus during the 107th Congress.\textsuperscript{41} Johnson has been recognized as one of the most effective leaders in Congress with her sponsorship and co-sponsorship of over 120 bills that were passed during her tenure and signed into law.\textsuperscript{42} She is also considered a stateswoman and advocate for human rights through her international “Women for World Peace” initiative.\textsuperscript{43}

The top five categories for racial demographics in Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson’s 30\textsuperscript{th} Congressional District in Dallas, Texas is as follows in descending order: black - 39 percent; Hispanic - 37 percent; white - 21 percent; Asian - 2 percent; and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.16). Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson’s district is mostly black and Hispanic. One interesting finding in this district is that while this district has a high number of households living “Under the Poverty Level” 20 percent, which is twice the national average of 9 percent (see Tables 4.17 and 4.2); however, the number of married couples and homeowners is high for a minority district.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{41} Eddie Bernice Johnson, Official Congressional Website, http:ebjohnson.hous.gov (accessed July 2, 2010).

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
### Table 4.16. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX-30): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>133,442</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>251,027</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>13,837</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>241,168</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>9,535</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>649,618</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census 2000, American Community Survey, 2003. *P003 Hispanic or Latino by Race*. Congressional District 30 Texas, 108th Congress. [http://factfinder.census.gov](http://factfinder.census.gov) (accessed December 30, 2010); Data calculated by frequency of population. Percentages are based on the total number of population divided by race. Mixed race is based on two or more race.

### Table 4.17. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX-30): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>64,248</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>90,705</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>12,610</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>41,802</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>43,332</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>106,862</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>$36,131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Household types in the categories of “Married” show a finding of 41 percent and “Homeowners” is 49 percent. Although the national average in the *U.S. Census 2000* for the categories of “Married” show a finding of 52 percent and “Homeowners” 66 percent, Congresswoman Johnson’s congressional district social and economic indicators in these
categories are significantly lower than the national average, but is good compared to many other minority districts (see Tables 4.17).

The categories of "Median household Income" is about $5,000 less than the national average and "Educational Attainment" is within 3 to 4 percentage points of the national average which is also good for a minority district (see Tables 4.18 and 4.3). The Dallas area is known for being an oil and gas Mecca. An assumption can be made that the wealth of the city softens the disparities between the national average in social and economic indicators.

Table 4.18. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX-30): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>101,815</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>69,882</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's</td>
<td>17,119</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>40,754</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>25,425</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones**

Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones represented the 11th Congressional District in Ohio. The district is centered in Cleveland, Ohio and some of the surrounding suburbs. Stephanie Tubbs Jones was born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1949. She liked helping people and went on to Case Western University in Cleveland, Ohio to earn a

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Bachelor of Arts degree in Social Work in 1971 and a Juris Doctorate in 1974. Jones worked as assistant general council to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and in 1981 she was elected judge to the Cleveland Municipal Court. In 1983, Jones was elevated to judge in the Court of Common Pleas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and later in 1991 she became a prosecutor for Cuyahoga County, Ohio—becoming the first black in the state and the first woman to become prosecutor of a major American city.

In 1998, Stephanie Tubbs Jones was elected to Congress. Congresswoman Jones served on the Financial Services Committee, the Ways and Means Committee, and became the first black woman to chair a standing committee—the Standards of Official Conduct Committee. Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones used her position on the Financial Services Committee to allocate funding for businesses and housing in minority and working class communities. She also used her influence of the Ways and Means Committee to prompt investigations into sub-prime mortgage fraud and predatory


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

lending.\textsuperscript{51} Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones sponsored the Child Abuse prevention and Enforcement Act of 1999, the Uterine Fibroids Research and Education Act, and the Count Every Vote Act.\textsuperscript{52} She was an avid supporter of the 2008 presidential candidacy Senator Hillary Clinton. In fact, she was one of the last to switch her super-delegate vote from Clinton to Obama, long after Clinton dropped out or one can say forced out. Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones died unexpectedly from a brain aneurism on August 20, 2008, just days before the Democratic Convention on Denver, Colorado.\textsuperscript{53}

The top five categories for the racial demographics for Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones' 11\textsuperscript{th} Congressional District in Cleveland, Ohio is as follows in descending order: black - 60 percent; white - 31 percent; Hispanic - 2 percent; Asian - 2 percent; and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.19). The first and most notable finding is that the district almost two-thirds black. The second largest population is almost a third white, Asians and Hispanic representation at 2 percent each. Many of the districts in this study tend to have more diversity in the minority population. The social and economic indicators of household types that tend to run fairly consistent and almost double of the national in minority-majority districts are “Female Head of Household” 25 percent and “Under the Poverty Level” 21 percent (see Tables 4.20 and 4.2).

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
Table 4.19. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH-11): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>200,649</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>342,448</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>9,423</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>9,558</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>5,474</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,989</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>570,541</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.20. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH-11): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>96,625</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>80,287</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>6,856</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>62,151</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>54,395</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>106,708</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Household Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$29,442</strong></td>
<td><strong>$29,442</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The “Median Household Income” is $29,422 which is about $11,000 dollars less than the national average (see Table 4.20 and 4.2). Cleveland, like many American urban centers in the Rustbelt of the country has experienced an economic downturn with outsourcing of the manufacturing industry which has had a tremendous impact on blacks and lower-middle class whites.
In regards to education, one interesting finding in Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones’ district is that the categories for “High School” show 29 percent, “Some College” 21 percent, and “Associate’s” 6 percent is exactly the same for the national average in the *U.S Census 2000* (see Tables 4.3 and 4.21). However, those individuals that hold a graduate or professional degree are higher than the national average, 12 percent for the category of “Graduate,” while the national average is 9 percent. The high rate of persons holding graduate and professional degrees is probably due to the multiple colleges and universities in the area such as Case Western University, Oberlin University, John Carroll University, Notre Dame College, Kent State University, Cleveland University, and University of Akron.54

Table 4.21. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH-11): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>109,174</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>78,979</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>22,551</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>50,618</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>43,553</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Caroline Cheeks Kilpatrick**

Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick represented the 13th Congressional District in Detroit, Michigan. She was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1945 and began her

college studies at Ferris State University in Big Rapids, Michigan then later attended Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan where she earned a Bachelor of Science degree in 1970. In 1977, she earned a Master of Science degree from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan and taught business education in the Detroit Public Schools. Kilpatrick was elected to the Michigan State House of Representatives in 1979 where she served until she was elected to the Congress in 1996. Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick served on the House Appropriations Committee, the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, and the Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation, Housing and Urban Development. The Appropriations Committee is one of the most powerful committees in Congress because it is the committee from which all funding for all levels of the federal government is allocated. Congresswoman Kilpatrick has been successful in securing billions of dollars for the state of Michigan in funding for transportation, housing loan programs, infrastructure repair and maintenance as well as education with a focus on science, technology, and math. During the 110th Congressional Session, Congresswoman Kilpatrick served as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.


56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.


59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.
The top five categories for the racial demographics for Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick’s 13th district in Detroit in descending order is as follows: black - 59 percent; white - 30 percent; Hispanic - 9 percent; Mixed Race - 2 percent; and Native Americans, Asians, and Other with less than 1 percent (see Table 4.22). Almost two-third of the population is black.

Table 4.22. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI-13): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>181,985</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>361,577</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4,373</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>52,772</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>10,972</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,301</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>614,771</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Detroit has been a Mecca for blacks during the Twentieth Century because of the good paying jobs in the automotive industry. Detroit also became the center of black music in the 1950s and 1960s with the headquarters of Motown Records. Household types followed the pattern of most urban centers with the number of “Female Head of Household” at 28 percent which is more than double when compared to the national average of 12 percent (see Table 4.23). What is even more reveling is that the category of families “Under the Poverty Level” is 26 percent while the national average is only 9 percent. This is almost three times the national average (see Table 4.23 and 4.2).
Table 4.23. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI-13): Constituency Demographics
Household Type and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>80,435</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>65,119</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>11,087</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>62,954</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>59,898</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>121,770</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Household Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$30,212</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Education attainment for “High School” is 33 percent for this district which is 4 percent higher than the national average of 29 percent (see Tables 4.24 and 4.3). The automotive industry provided high paying jobs that were readily available for high school graduates and did not require higher education. However, as Ford, Chrysler, and General Motor began to lose ground to Japanese car makers, beginning in the 1980s, factories began to shut down and Detroit began to suffer urban decay. This could explain why the category for “Median Household Income” is $30,212 which is almost $10,000 less than the national average. One bright spot is that over half of the district are homeowners (see Table 4.23), which most likely is attributed to those who did well during the auto industry boom. During the primary elections of 2012, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick lost her seat.
Table 4.24. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI-13): Constituency Demographics Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>118,794</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>78,614</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>19,287</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>32,968</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate and Professional</td>
<td>24,212</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Barbara Lee**

Congresswoman Barbara Lee represents the Ninth Congressional District which is centered in Berkeley, California and the surrounding suburbs of Alameda County.

Barbara Lee was born in El Paso, Texas in 1954. She earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Mills College in Oakland, California in 1973 and a Master of Social Work from the University of California in Berkeley, California in 1975. Barbara Lee began as an intern for Congressman Ron Dellums where she worked her way up to become his chief of staff. From 1991 to 1997 she served as a member of the California State Assembly and from 1997 to 1998 she served as a state senator before she ran for and won the congressional seat vacated by Ron Dellums in 1998 special election.

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62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.
Congresswoman Barbara Lee serves on the following committees: The House Appropriations Committee; the International Relations Committee; the Financial Services Committee; and the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Committee. She also serves on the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere and the Subcommittee on African and Global Health as well as the chair of the Congressional Black Caucus for the 111th Congress. Barbara Lee is a strong advocate for promoting the education and treatment of HIV/AIDS worldwide by sponsoring numerous pieces of legislation that provides funding to fight the spread of the disease. Barbara Lee is also known as a strong woman of principle when it comes to issues of war and peace. She was the only member of Congress to vote “no” to the bill that declared war in Afghanistan after the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001. Congresswoman Lee has been an anti-war advocate for years and thought that United States did not have enough information at that point to declare war.

The top five racial categories for Congresswoman Barbara Lee’s Ninth Congressional District in Berkeley, California is as follows in descending order: white - 39 percent; black - 22 percent; Hispanic - 20 percent; Asian - 15 percent; and Mixed Race - 3 percent (see Table 4.25). This district is very diverse with substantial numbers of people representing at least four racial groups.

65. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
Table 4.25. Barbara Lee (D-CA-9): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>239,930</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>136,330</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>2,418</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>89,858</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>122,075</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>18,163</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6,754</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>615,531</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Like Congresswoman Julia Carson, Congresswoman Barbara Lee’s district is majority “white” showing 39 percent (see Table 4.7); however, Lee’s district is very unique in that it has a diversity of different distinct racial groups. Another quality that distinguishes this district from many others is that the poverty level is low compared with the other districts in this study, and only 3 percent higher than the national average (see Tables 4.26 and 4.2). The category for “Educational Attainment” is as follows: high school - 18 percent; some college - 18 percent; Associate’s - 7 percent; Bachelor’s - 22 percent; and Graduate - 19 percent (see Table 4.27). Congresswoman Lee’s district enjoys two very famous academic institutions: The University of California Berkeley and Mills College. The educational attainment of this district exceeds the national average with those who hold bachelors degree at 6 percent higher than the national average and graduate degrees 10 percent higher (see Tables 4.27 and 4.3).
Table 4.26. Barbara Lee (D-CA-9): Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>77,473</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>88,283</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>13,392</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>31,738</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>29,407</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>106,048</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median Household Income: $51,068


Table 4.27. Barbara Lee (D-CA-9): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>73,172</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>72,800</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's</td>
<td>26,360</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>90,950</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>75,463</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The researcher can deduce from this data that there is a relationship between low poverty levels and education. Another conclusion the researcher can draw is that the higher the education attainment of the electorate the lower the poverty rate.

Congresswoman Denise Majette

Denise Majette represented the Fourth Congressional District which includes DeKalb County and some areas of Gwinnett, and Rockdale County in Georgia. Denise
Majette was born in Brooklyn New York in 1955. Denise Majette attended Yale University where she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1976 and went on to earn a Juris Doctorate form Duke University in North Carolina in 1979. Majette worked as a staff attorney for the Legal Aid Society in North Carolina as well as an adjunct professor at Wake Forest University. In 1992 she became an administrative law judge for the Georgia state board of workers' compensation and later was appointed to the state court of DeKalb County by Governor Zell Miller in 1993.

Denise Majette was elected to Congress amid a firestorm of controversy. Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney was the first black woman to be elected to Congress from the state of Georgia in 1992. She was an outspoken advocate for social justice and quickly became known for her fiery uncompromising, non-conforming, non-apologetic style of politics. Days after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney made statements suggesting that the Bush Administration were forewarned about the attacks and could have possibly allowed them to happen so the county could go to war and corporations that had ties to Bush

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70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. *Women in Congress "Denise Majette"* http://womenincongrss.house.gov/member-profiles/profiles/profile.html?intID=150 (accessed July 2, 2010); *Women in Congress "Cynthia McKinney"* http://womenincongrss.house.gov/member-profiles/profiles/profile.html?intID=164 (accessed July 2, 2010); The researcher has done extensive research on Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney and Congresswoman Denise Majette by working on McKinney's congressional campaign in 2002 and again in 2004. In addition to this observational firsthand primary resource, the researcher conducted the pilot study on Cynthia McKinney and Maxine Waters that was the impetus for this study.
Administration could profit. There was an immediate and severe back-lash against McKinney and the ball began to roll on finding a replacement for her seat.\textsuperscript{74} Moreover, the researcher predicted McKinney would lose her seat based on other factors such as her middle class and upper class constituents did not feel that McKinney represented their interest. McKinney focused a lot of her energy on international relations and human rights world wide.

Denise Majette received millions of dollars from all over the United States to defeat Cynthia McKinney. Georgia has open primaries and many republicans took advantage of the opportunity to oust McKinney. During the primary election for the Fourth Congressional District in 2002, republican voters crossed-over and voted for Majette which gave her 58 percent of the vote—ending McKinney’s ten years of service in Congress.\textsuperscript{75} Denise Majette won the November election and she was on her way to Congress.

Congresswoman Denise Majette served on the Budget Committee, the Education and Workforce Committee and the Small Business Committee.\textsuperscript{76} Majette also served as Assistant Democratic Whip and president of the Democratic Freshman Class.\textsuperscript{77} Majette was a critic of President George W. Bush on the lack of funding for education, domestic violence programs and called the Medicare prescription Drug and Modernization Act a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
“sham.” After one term, Congresswoman Denise Majette left her House seat to run for the United States Senate while Cynthia McKinney ran for her old seat. Majette lost her bid for the Senate and McKinney won back her Fourth District seat for one more term. Denise Majette continues to run for various political offices in Georgia.

The top five categories for racial demographics for Denise Majette’s Fourth Congressional District are as follows in descending order: black - 54 percent; white - 31 percent; Hispanic - 10 percent; Asian - 4 percent, and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.28).

Table 4.28. Denise Majette (D-GA-4): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>191,700</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>335,858</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>26,644</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>60,316</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>8,227</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Population 624,291 100%


The data show that over half of Majette’s district is black and nearly 70 percent is minority. This district have some high social-economic indicators compared to other districts in this study such as half of the constituents in the district are homeowners and 38 percent are married couples (see Table 4.29). Additionally, the category of “Median

78. Ibid.
Household Income” shows $47,122 which is about $6,000 more than the national average of $41,994 (see Table 4.29 and 4.2).

Table 4.29. Denise Majette (D-GA-4): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>77,696</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>92,237</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>14,723</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>44,552</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>19,316</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>137,235</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Household Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$47,122</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The category for “Educational Attainment” is as follows: high school - 23 percent; some college - 22 percent; Associate’s - 7 percent; Bachelor’s - 22 percent; and Graduate and Professional - 15 percent (see Table 4.30). This district has a high percentage of people holding bachelor’s and graduate degrees that exceed the national average by 6 percent for bachelor’s degrees and 6 percent higher for graduate and professional degrees. Majette’s district is considered one of the most educated and economically successful districts for blacks in the U.S. This can be attributed to the draw of the colleges at the Atlanta University Center which holds the largest consortium of Historically Black Colleges in the U.S.
Table 4.30. Denise Majette (D-GA-4): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>73,172</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>72,800</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>26,360</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>90,950</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate and Professional</td>
<td>75,463</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Many people who came to school often stay in Majette’s district after they graduate, thus creating a highly educated and economically stable black middle class.

**Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald**

Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald represented the 37th Congressional District in California which includes the Los Angeles, Compton, and Carson City.

Juanita Millender-McDonald was born in Birmingham, Alabama in 1938 moving to California after her mother’s death. She earned a Bachelor in Science degree from the University of Redlands in Redlands, California in 1981 and went on to earn a Master of Arts degree from California State University in Los Angeles in 1988. Juanita Millender-McDonald was an educator for several years with the Los Angeles Unified School District, first as a math and English teacher and later as an administrator directing

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80. Ibid.
the gender equality programs. She served as a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in the 1980s and in 1990 she was elected to the city council of Carson City later becoming Mayor pro tempore from 1991 to 1992.

In 1992, Millender-McDonald was elected to the California State Assembly where she severed until a special election was held in 1996 to fill the congressional seat that was vacated by Walter Tucker, III. Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald served on the following committees: the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee; the Small Business Committee the Subcommittee on Workforce, Empowerment, and Government Programs; the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Tax, Finance, and Exports; the Chair of the House Administration Committee; and as Co-Chair for the Democratic Caucus for Women’s Issues. She had always been a strong advocate for education, women’s and children’s rights and issues and worked on securing funding for programs that assisted in improving their health and well-being. Millender-McDonald was very successful in obtaining funding for her state and district for repairs and construction of federal highways. Congresswoman Millender-McDonald sponsored the Terrorism Threat to Public Transportation Assessment Act, the Nuclear Waste Responsible Component and Protection Act, and the Transportation Equity Act.

81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald and her colleague Congresswoman Maxine Waters were the leading voices in calling for the investigations on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) role in the Iran-Contra and crack-cocaine trade.\textsuperscript{87} Crack-cocaine had such a devastating affect on the black community, especially in the Los Angeles area. In April of 2007 Juanita Millender-McDonald took a leave of absence from the Congress so she could receive treatment for cancer and work on the rehabilitation of her health.\textsuperscript{88} On April 22, 2007 Congresswoman lost her battle with cancer.\textsuperscript{89}

The top five racial categories for Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald 37\textsuperscript{th} Congressional District in California is as follows in descending order: Hispanic - 51 percent; black - 21 percent; white - 14 percent; Asian - 11 percent; and Mixed Race - 2 percent (see Table 4.31). These finding show that this congressional district overwhelmingly minority with over three-fourths of the constituency and over half of the district is Hispanic (see Table 4.31). This district is a very diverse district but also holding a significant Asian population. The socioeconomic indicators are similar to many of the other districts in this study with a high percentage of “Female Head of Household” at 20 percent and “Under the Poverty Level” at 21 percent which are both almost twice the rate of the national average (see Tables 4.32 and 4.2).

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
Table 4.31. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA-37): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>93,627</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>139,615</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>2,412</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>73,599</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>336,253</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>12,963</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>658,961</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.32. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA-37): Constituency Demographics on Household Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>50,204</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>79,977</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>15,360</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>39,360</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>40,826</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>79,629</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Household Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$34,901</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another interesting finding is that the category for "Married Couples" is 40 percent. Although it is 12 percent lower than the national average it is higher than many of the districts in this study (see Tables 4.32 and 4.3). This finding could be contributed to the high number of Hispanics that live in the district and while they may lag behind in
household income, with this congressional district show the median household income around $6,000 dollars lower than the national average (see Tables 4.32 and 4.2), Hispanic families do to tend have a higher marriage rate than black families. One interesting finding for Congresswoman Millender-McDonald’s district is that the “Educational Attainment” chart was very close to the national average category for “Bachelor’s;” it is 13 percent which is only 3 percent lower than the national average (see Tables 4.33 and 4.3).

Table 4.33. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA-37): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>97,652</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>74,904</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>27,486</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>52,020</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>18,280</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton

Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton represents the District of Columbia—Washington, DC. She was born in Washington DC in 1937 while the nation’s capital was still segregated and was inspired by the works of civil rights activist, Mary Church Terrell, who was instrumental in desegregating many of Washington’s public and private...
Eleanor Holmes Norton earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Antioch College of Antioch University in Yellow Springs, Ohio in 1960 and went on to pursue a dual degree—a Master of Arts in American Studies in 1963 and a Bachelor of Law in 1964 from Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. From 1964-1965 she served a law clerk to Federal District Court Judge A. Leon Higginbotham and then moved on to work as an assistant legal director for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Norton worked as the executive assistant to the mayor of New York from 1971 to 1974 and went on to serve as chair for the New York City commission on human rights from 1970 to 1977. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter selected Eleanor Holmes Norton to serve as chair for the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and in 1982 became a professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

Eleanor Holmes Norton was elected to Congress in 1990 to serve as the first Delegate from the District of Columbia. Washington DC is unique in that it is a district and lacks the full rights of citizenship that the states enjoy. The status of statehood has been a constant battle for Norton because although she can vote in congressional committees—she can not vote on the House Floor for final passage of legislation.


91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.
Congresswoman Norton serves on the following committees: the Committee on Homeland Security; the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform; the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure; and she is the chair of the Subcommittee on Economic Development, Public Buildings, and Emergency Management.96

Congresswoman Norton has been a lifetime advocate for civil and women's rights and believes that denying Washington, D.C. residents the full rights of citizenship, which of whom are mostly black, is a stark reflection of taxation without representation. She has been successful in acquiring funding for programs that advance education, jobs, and home ownership to Washington, DC.97 Norton was able to obtain up to $10,000 per year for college for any student that graduates high school in Washington, DC and a $5,000 tax credit for anyone who buys a home in the District.98

The top five racial categories for Eleanor Holmes Norton's congressional district in Washington DC are as follows in descending order: black - 58 percent; white - 27 percent; Hispanic - 10 percent; Asian - 3 percent; and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.34). This district is over three-fourths minority and over half black. One of the reasons for the large minority population is the draw of the federal government. Many blacks obtained middle class social and economic status through government employment largely due to affirmative action policies.


97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.
Table 4.34. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>143,301</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>308,871</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>16,651</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>51,900</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>5,569</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,155</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>528,759</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


One interesting finding, in the showing of this data, there is a very high number of single people. The category for “Single” shows 45 percent which almost twice the national average of 26 percent (see Tables 4.35 and 4.2). The reason for this could also be the high number of young political aids, activists, and lobbyist in Washington DC that are young and those who are enrolled in the many educational institutions.

Another interesting finding is that the category for “Median Household Income” which showed that Congresswoman Norton’s district at $42,118 slightly above the national average showing $41,994 (see Tables 4.35 and 4.2). The category for “Educational Attainment” shows the constituents in Congresswoman Norton’s district hold a both bachelor’s and graduate degrees at a higher level than the national average. The category for “Bachelor’s” degrees for this district is 20 percent while the national average is 16 percent and the category for “Graduate” degrees is 25 percent while national average is 9 percent (see Tables 4.36 and 4.3). The high rate of graduate and professional degrees can also be attributed to federal government careers.
Table 4.35. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>112,249</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>55,606</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>9,198</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>47,760</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>45,575</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>76,306</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median Household Income $42,118


Table 4.36. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>78,164</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>52,043</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s</td>
<td>12,338</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>74,565</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>93,743</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Congresswoman Diane Watson**

Congresswoman Diane Watson represented the 33rd Congressional District which includes parts of Los Angeles and Culver City, California. Diane Watson was born in
Los Angeles in 1933. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in Education from the University of California in Los Angeles, California in 1956 and went to graduate school to earn both a Master of Arts in Psychology from California State University in Los Angeles and a Doctorate degree in Education Administration Claremont Graduate University in California in 1987. Watson worked as a school psychologist and teacher from 1967 to 1971 and then went on to work as a health occupation specialist for the Bureau of Industrial Education for the California Department of Education. In 1975, she became the first black woman to be elected to Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education where she became known for advocating diversity and raising expectations and standards.

Diane Watson served in the California State Senate from 1978 to 1998 and in 1999 she was appointed Ambassador to the Federated States of Micronesia by President Bill Clinton. After the death of Congressman Julian Dixon, Watson ran for his seat in a special election and was elected to Congress in June of 2001. Congresswoman Diane Watson serves on the following committees: the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee; the House Foreign Affairs Committee; the Subcommittee for Domestic Policy; the Subcommittee for Information Policy, Census,

100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
and National Archives; the Subcommittee for Africa and Global Health; the
Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Global Environment; the Subcommittee on
Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade; and she is the chair of the Subcommittee on
Government Management, Organization, and Procurement.\textsuperscript{105} Congresswoman Watson
has been a strong advocate for educational programs that focus on assisting low income
mothers move from welfare to work as well as childcare programs that assist these
women.\textsuperscript{106}

The top five racial categories for Congresswoman Diane Watson are as follows in
descending order: Hispanic - 39 percent; black - 26 percent; white - 21 percent; Asian -
11 percent; and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.37). One factor to point out in this
data is that this district is very diverse and over three-fourths of the district is minority
with the Hispanic population making up the largest constituency at 39 percent (see Table
4.37). The social and economic data for Congresswoman Watson show the lowest rate
one of homeownership in this study. The category for “Homeowners” is 27 percent
which is less than two-thirds of the national average of 66 percent (see Tables 4.38 and
4.2). The category for “Median Household Income” is $35,597 which is about $6,000
less than the national average (see Tables 4.38 and 4.2).

What makes this district so intriguing is that the indicators of low homeownership
do correlate with the poverty level and income; however, the education level at the
bachelors and graduate level exceed the national average.


\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
Table 4.37. Diane Watson (D-CA-33): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>127,248</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>162,361</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>69,119</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>242,306</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>8,588</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,479</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>613,809</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.38. Diane Watson (D-CA-33): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>90,270</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>83,332</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>9,250</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>39,197</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>47,121</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>63,436</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$35,597</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The categories for “Bachelor’s” degrees are at 21 percent in the district while the national average is 16 percent (see Tables 4.39 and 4.3). The categories for “Graduate” degrees in the district are 11 percent while the national average is 9 percent (see Tables 4.39 and 4.2). Diane Watson left the Congress in 2010.
Table 4.39. Diane Watson (D-CA-33): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>85,980</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>70,165</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's</td>
<td>26,789</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>87,406</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>46,146</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Congresswoman Maxine Waters

Congresswoman Maxine Waters represents the 35th Congressional District which includes South Central Los Angeles and Inglewood, California as well as some surrounding suburban areas. Maxine Waters was born in 1938 in St. Louis, Missouri to a single mother who raised 13 children. As a young child growing up on welfare, Maxine Waters had to fight for everything and at a young age realized that her condition in life and her community was vastly different from those in the white community. She was fascinated by the United States Constitution and wondered who was advocating for the poor and minorities. Waters earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from California State University in Los Angeles, California in 1970 and after graduation she worked as a


108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.
teacher and a Head Start volunteer coordinator. From 1977 to 1991 Maxine Waters served as a member of the California State Assembly and in 1990 she was elected to Congress.

Congresswoman Waters serves on the following committees: the House Committee on Financial Services; the House Judiciary Committee; the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit; the Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy, Trade and Technology; the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security; the Subcommittee on Immigration, and she chairs the Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy, Trade and Technology. She served as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus from 1997-1998 and was named Chief Deputy Whip of the Democratic Party in the 106th Congressional Session. Maxine Waters is no stranger to controversy or opposition. She is probably the most outspoken member of Congress and is unrelenting when it comes to giving a voice to the marginalized and disadvantage. She is known for her fiery uncompromising House floor speeches as well as her willingness to use all means of speech and protest to advance a cause.

Although Congresswoman Waters has been a concrete figure in the Democratic Party for decades, she has no problem going against the party or the president when she thinks a policy negatively impacts women, minorities, or the disadvantage. Waters political activism became national news when she chained herself to the White House gate and was arrested in protest of the Clinton Administrations policy and involvement in

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.
Haitian coup in 1994. Congresswoman Waters also gained national attention when she called for an investigation into the CIA’s covert activities in the Iran-Contra operation and their role in bringing crack-cocaine into Los Angeles. Water has acquired millions of dollars in funding for her district for AIDS/HIV treatment and education for minority as well as millions of dollars in loans and grants for economic and infrastructure development in her districts and other minority districts.

The top five racial categories for Congresswoman Maxine Waters are as follows in descending order: Hispanic - 48 percent; black - 32 percent; white - 11 percent; Asian - 7 percent; and Mixed Race - 1 percent (see Table 4.40). Congresswoman Waters district is the highest number minority-majority district with 89 percent of her district non-white with the Hispanic population at almost 50 percent (see Table 4.40).

Table 4.40. Maxine Waters (D-CA-35): Constituency Demographics on Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>72,762</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>214,707</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>48,460</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>320,751</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>7,001</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4,526</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>668,207</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
This district, as with many others in the study, show categories for “Female Head of Household” and households “Under the Poverty Level” as double the national average (see Tables 4.41 and 4.2). The category for “Median Household Income” in this district is $6,000 below the national average (see Tables 4.41 and 4.2). The table for “Educational Attainment” is below the national average in every category except for the category “Some College” is at 20 percent which only 1 percent under the national average of 21 percent (see Tables 4.42 and 4.2). With top universities in and around this district like University of Southern California and University of California Los Angeles, these numbers could be attributed to the hopes of many in this district to reach out of poverty and go to college; however, finances and other hardships interrupt the reality of obtaining a degree. The 35th District of California became famous in the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Even though it has been twenty years, the district still bears some of the burned out buildings from the riots.

Table 4.41. Maxine Waters (D-CA-35): Constituency Demographics on Household Types and Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>45,900</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>72,873</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Head of Household</td>
<td>21,222</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Head of Household</td>
<td>51,160</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Poverty Level</td>
<td>41,852</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners</td>
<td>67,092</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$35,955</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.42. Maxine Waters (D-CA-35): Constituency Demographics on Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>101,834</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>80,611</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's</td>
<td>23,047</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>43,018</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>18,198</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The thirteen United States Congresswomen that are discussed in this chapter all have something in common—they are motivated by a desire for social justice and most of them look to those women in the struggle of civil rights and women’s rights that came before them. These congresswomen represent major urban centers in the United States and are met with the challenges of advocating for those in society who are considered voiceless. These congresswomen began their careers in public service as educators, social workers, healthcare professionals, lawyers, or labor activists. Their shared background experiences developed a fire in them that led them to reach beyond their communities and become legislative advocates on the national platform and the world stage.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA: THE BLACK WOMAN LEGISLATIVE ADVOCATE THEORY

The researcher began this study attempting to prove that there was a theory in the actions and behavior of black women in Congress that needed to be analyzed. Rooted in the theories of black feminism and black woman’s standpoint theory, the researcher has developed the black woman legislative advocate theory which asserts the following: (1) a common historic experience of marginalization and exclusion from the political process, (2) a desire to advocate for the disadvantage and underserved communities, (3) a desire to provide a voice of strength for progressive policies and vigorous dissent for policies that disproportionately harms the underserved communities, and (4) the usage of the legislative process as the vehicle to advocate social justice policy.

This chapter analyzes the data and findings of three hundred pieces of legislation that were sponsored by black women in Congress during the 108th Congressional Session which cover the years 2003 through 2004. In this chapter, the researcher answers the following research questions:

RQ1: Did black congresswomen in the 108th Congressional Session use the sponsorship of legislation to advocate social justice through progressive policies?

RQ2: What was the frequency of issues addressed in the legislation and the top five issues advocated?

RQ3: What was the outcome of sponsored legislation?
The methodology for this study is a mixed research design that uses both content analysis and descriptive statistics using frequencies and percentages. The content analysis was used in both the historical content and parts of the literature review to establish a common theme for black women in political life. The result of this thorough review of history, politics, and social interaction of black women in American society proved that they had always been marginalized and oppressed from mainstream life and social institutions. However, this oppression did not succeed in quelling the outrage of injustice and the desire for equality—it ignited it. The desire to fight for social justice and progressive policy became a mission for black women.

The Finding, Analysis, and Explanation of the Data

RQ1: Did black congresswomen in the 108th Congressional Session use the sponsorship of legislation to advocate social justice through progressive policies?

The answer to this research question is yes (see tables labeled Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation tables for each congresswoman). As illustrated by these tables, one can conclude that black congresswomen sponsored legislation that fell in the categories that addressed social justice and progressive policies. A few of the congresswomen had a small percentage of sponsored legislation that fell in the “Other” category but none of the congresswomen had legislation that fell in the “Non-Progressive” category (see the Definition of Concepts in Chapter I to define category coding). What is significant about these findings is there are ten categories with eight of the categories representing social justice issues and progressive policies. Moreover, the data show that the majority of the sponsored legislation appeared in these eight
categories. This proves the black women legislative advocate theory. However, the researcher go beyond just the proof of the theory and the statement that black women in Congress almost exclusively sponsor legislation that advocate social justice through progressive policy, the study explores what kind of issues are being advocated through the sponsorship of legislation.

RQ2: What was the frequency of issues addressed in the legislation and the top five issues advocated?

These findings are also exhibited in the Issues Advocated charts for each congresswoman. This question was very interesting because some of the congresswomen had an equal distribution of issues for which they advocated, while others were concentrated on only a few issues. This question was central to the study because it illustrated the primary legislative focus of each congresswoman. Although all of the congresswomen were co-sponsors of major legislation in Congress, this study only focuses on the legislation in which each congresswoman was the lead sponsor. Co-sponsorship is very relevant because often cosponsored legislation addresses major issues that are on the agenda for either the country or a particular political party and there is a lot of support for these issues. What makes lead sponsorship different is that there may not always be a groundswell of support; however, the congressperson sponsoring the legislation feels passionate about the issue and is willing to fight for this issue. It can be an issue that is relevant to the congressperson’s district, state, ethnic group, religion, or gender.

Another significant finding in this study was that there were many pieces of legislation that ended up being symbolic in nature. It is not unusual for public officials to
advocate for legislation that is symbolic, especially in minority communities. The researcher finds that symbolic legislation can also be important legislation as discussed in this chapter.

**Congresswoman Corrine Brown**

The statistical data show that Florida Congresswoman Corrine Brown’s top advocated issues were: Civil and Human Rights - 50 percent; Women and Children - 20 percent; and Health and Safety - 30 percent (see Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Corrine Brown (D-FL-3)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Corrine Brown (D-FL-3),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed March 3, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Corrine Brown during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix A for legislation.

Congresswoman Brown did not have five issues that she advocated but rather she concentrated on a few. One could argue that this is a good strategy because it allows the congresswoman to have a resolute focus towards being effective in these areas. In the categories of “Civil Rights” and “Women and Children” the bills that Congresswomen
Brown sponsored focused on actions that would be considered symbolic such as the naming of facilities after community and civil rights activists; however, as stated earlier, symbolic legislation will be discussed later in this chapter. Legislation sponsored by Brown that addressed “Health and Safety” focused on hurricane emergency aid to Haiti after Hurricane Jeanne, the building of a new Veterans Affair’s facilities, and funding for research and awareness education for epilepsy. Surprisingly, given the congresswoman’s background in education as a professor and counselor at Florida Community College, the researcher expected to see more legislation that focused on education. Congresswoman Brown does have a history advocating for education, jobs, and programs that benefit the poor and middle class; however, during the 108th Congressional Session, she did not act as the lead sponsor on these issues.

**Congresswoman Julia Carson**

Julia Carson represented the Seventh District in Indiana. During the 108th Congressional Session the statistical data show that Congresswoman Carson’s top five advocated issues were as follows: Other - 31 percent; Housing, Economic and Community Development - 25 percent; Civil and Human Rights - 19 percent; and Women and Children - 13 percent. There was a tie for fifth place: Crime and Drugs - 6 percent and Peace and Security - 6 percent (see Table 5.2).

Congresswoman Carson has a good distribution of issues for which she advocated. Although “Other” category has the largest percentage of legislation advocated, which was largely symbolic, there were significant pieces of legislation in “Housing, Economic, and Community Development.”
Table 5.2. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Julia Carson (D-IN-7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Julia Carson (D-IN-7),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed March 10, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Julia Carson during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix B for legislation.

Carson served on the Financial Services Committee and sponsored bills that addressed consumer protections in regards to credit. House Resolution 1729 addressed the abuses of credit reporting services. Congresswoman Carson wanted consumers to be informed when negative information was put on a person’s credit report because too often people are unaware of incorrect information being placed on their credit reports which can have a negative impact on buying a home or getting a loan. In H.R. 3331, Congresswoman Carson advocates to amend the Consumer Credit Protection Act by protecting citizen from predatory lending and deceptive debt collection services. Many inner-city communities have a disproportionate number of these agencies that prey on people who are often lured into a situation where the consumer can be exploited. Carson also advocated to amend the Help America Vote Act to include veterans that had felonies and completed their sentences reinstatement of voting rights.
Congresswoman Donna Christensen

Congresswoman Donna Christensen represents the Virgin Islands. During the 108th Congressional Session, the statistical data show that Congresswoman Christensen’s top five advocated issues were as follows in descending order: Housing, Economic, and Community Development - 23 percent; Other - 23 percent; Health and Safety - 15 percent; and Environmental - 15 percent. There was a three-way tie for fifth place: Civil and Human rights - 8 percent; Education and Labor - 8 percent, and Peace and Security - 8 percent (see Table 5.3). Many of Congresswoman Christensen’s pieces of sponsored legislation in the top two areas of “Housing, Economic, and Community Development” and “Other” addressed issues of establishing rights, federal protections, and funding to the Virgin Islands as well as other United States territories.

Because of the Virgin Islands’ natural environmental beauty, many of the bills that were sponsored under “Housing, Economic, and Community Development” are also categorized under “Environmental.” House Resolution 1595 addressed gaining support of federal land managers and designated gateway communities while H.R. 2663 addressed designating Castle Nugget Farms located in St. Croix to be named as part of the National Parks System. In the area of “Civil and Human Rights” Christensen advocated in H.J. RES. 101 to amend the United States Constitution to extend regular voting right in presidential elections to the territories. The United States territories can participate in the primary elections; however, they can not cast a vote for president.
Table 5.3. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Donna Christensen (D-VI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Donna Christensen (D-VI),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed March 17, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Donna Christensen during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix C for legislation.

Residents of the territories can come to the mainland United States and vote for president, but can not do it from home. Delegates from the territories believe that this is a form of second class citizenry.

The other side of the argument is that the off-shore territories still maintain many local customs, taxes, and a way of life that is not fully assimilated with the mainland United States; therefore, the territories such as the Virgin Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, and American Samoa in some way should feel privileged to have Delegates to represent them in Congress although they do not have full voting power. Some may also argue that if the full rights of citizenship were extended to the territories, there would be a significant increase in minority voting power which is not an issue that is popular with mainland majority whites.
Residence of these territories are considered United States citizens and can travel back and forth to the United States for business, leisure, and education without having to obtain a passport or visa. Congresswoman Christensen advocated for the full rights of citizenship as well as all available funds to improve issues such as education and health care for all lower income people. In H.R. 789, she advocated for loan forgiveness as an incentive for teacher in economically depressed areas rural areas as well as in the territories and Indian Reservations. Congresswoman Christensen is also a medical doctor and this is an area in which she has a strong passion to help the less advantaged. In H.R. 675 she advocated the removal of caps on Medicaid payment for the territories and for care to be increased to match the rate of payment given to states. In H.R. 3588, Christensen fought to establish health empowerment zones in economically depressed areas where there are disproportionate numbers of sick people who do not have access to regular and quality medical care. Economic empowerment zones were the driving force of many urban development projects in the 1990s. The idea of a health empowerment zone is a good one that could help close the disparity gaps between the rich and the poor in regards to healthcare.

**Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee**

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee represents the 18th Congressional District in Texas. During the 108th Congressional Session, the statistical data show that Congresswoman Jackson Lee’s top five advocated issues were as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 23 percent; Other - 17 percent; Health and Safety - 15 percent; Women and Children - 15 percent; and Education and Labor - 14 percent (see
Table 5.4. Congresswoman Jackson Lee sponsored 68 pieces of legislation during the 108th Congressional Session. She has a good distribution of issues and has sponsored legislation in every category except “Non-Progressive.” In the area of “Civil and Human Rights,” Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee advocated for a diversity of issues.

Table: 5.4. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX-18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
<td><strong>99%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session, Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX-18),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed March 19, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. Totals equal 99 percent due to rounding. See Appendix D for legislation.

In H.CON.RES. 451 which also falls under the category of “Education and Labor,” Jackson Lee attempted to right the wrongs of the past by fighting to establish a scholarship fund for former students of Prince Edward County, Virginia that closed schools rather than comply will the desegregation order of Brown vs. The Board of Education in 1954, thus, denying blacks students education. In H.R. 80, which is in both categories of “Civil and Human Rights” as well as “Crime and Drugs,” Jackson Lee advocated for federal enforcement of hate crimes. The infamous 1990s case of James
Byrd, a black man from Texas who had been dragged behind a pick-up truck driven by two white men resulting in the dismemberment of his body, was one of that cases the highlighted the need for hate crime legislation.

Also, in the area of “Civil and Human Rights,” “Women and Children,” and “Education and Labor,” Congresswoman Jackson Lee advocated for common-sense legislation regarding immigration. House Resolution 84 focused on amending the Immigration and Nationality Act to allow children of illegal aliens, whom were brought to the United States by their parents, the right to continue their education. Texas is a boarder state that has a large Hispanic population and many of Jackson Lee’s constituents are Latino. Congresswoman Jackson Lee also advocates for reforming the diversity in the visa program in H.R. 3918 and supports the adjustment in immigration status for Haitians and Liberian seeking political asylum and family re-unification. Although Haiti is considered a democracy, it is a failed state. There is wide-spread corruption and almost a non-existence of government. It is the poorest country in the western hemisphere and the recent devastating earthquake of 2009 has only intensified the already distressing condition. However, Haitians find it very difficult to legally enter the United States. As a matter of fact, the poorer and blacker the country, the higher level of difficulty experienced in entering the United States legally.

In H.R. 77 and H.R. 78 Congresswoman Jackson Lee advocated legislation in the areas of “Women and Children” and “Health and Safety.” These bills support a national system that would prevent infant abduction from hospitals by having a national registry for mother and child. There are many cases where babies have been abducted from
hospitals because of loose security. House Resolution 76 is a bold piece of legislation to be sponsored by any southerner but especially a Texan. House Resolution 76 fights to amend the Brady Hand Gun Bill and raises the age that someone can purchase a gun from 18 to 21. The bill also advocates that guns and ammunition be stored separately in any home where there are children as well as requiring gun safety locks. The bill further demands that a child must be accompanied by a parent in order to attend a gun show.

**Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson**

Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson represents the 30th Congressional District in Texas. During the 108th Congressional Session, the statistical data show that Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson’s top five advocated issues were as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 29 percent; Women and Children - 23 percent; Other - 14 percent; and Education and Labor - 11 percent. There was a tie for fifth place: Health and Safety - 9 percent and Housing, Economic, and Community Development - 9 percent (see Table 5.5). In the categories of “Civil and Human Rights” and “Women and Children,” Congresswoman Johnson has sponsored a variety of bills that expand rights and support women around the world. “Peace and Security” is also included in H.CON.RES.114. In this bill Congresswoman Johnson advocated for women’s and civic groups to hold workshops and forums to promote world peace and to call for the recognition of world leaders to include women in the peace-building process. In H.CON.RES 196, Congresswoman Johnson advocated for women’s organizations in Iraq to be given funding and other assistance to help in the rebuilding efforts.
Table 5.5. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX-30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>101%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX-30),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed May 24, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. Totals equal 101 percent due to rounding. See Appendix E for legislation titles.

Congresswoman Johnson is known for advocacy for women around the world and believes that if more women have a seat at the decision-making table—better public policy would be formed. In House Resolution 354, Johnson advocated for non-profit organizations to increase the number of women and minorities on their governing board so that grassroots people can have an opportunity to be involved at the decision making level and not just the receiver of services. In the areas of “Health and Safety” Congresswoman Johnson advocated for school based programs to promote health and well-being in H.R. 811.

**Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones**

Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones represented the 11th Congressional District from 1999 until her sudden death from a brain aneurism in 2008. During the
108th Congressional Session, the statistical data show that Congresswoman Jones’ top five advocated issues were as follows in descending order: Women and Children - 20 percent; Health and Safety - 20 percent; Education and Labor - 20 percent; and Housing, Economic, and Community Development - 13 percent. There was a four-way tie for fifth place: Civil and Human Rights - 7 percent; Crime and Drugs - 7 percent; Peace and Security - 7 percent, and Other - 7 percent (see Table 5.6). Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones had a good distribution of issues across most of the categories.

Table 5.6. Issues Advocated in Sponsored Legislation by Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH-11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Economic/Community</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>101%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session, Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH-11),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed May 24, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. Totals equal 101 percent due to rounding. See Appendix F for legislation.

House Resolution 1613 Congresswoman Jones addressed “Civil and Human Rights,” “Women and Children,” and “Education and Labor.” In this bill, she advocated for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), tribally controlled universities, and heavily Hispanic populated institutions to be given funds to install fire
sprinklers and fire suppression and prevention technology in college dormitories. It is often the case, that HBCUs and other minority institutions are usually behind the curve when it comes to upgrading facilities. It is largely due to many of these institutions facing a lack of funding. In other bills that also discuss “Women and Children” as well as “Health and Safety” and “Education and Labor,” Congresswoman Jones was a strong advocate. In H.R. 734, she advocates for loan forgiveness programs for social workers and those who work with child protective services, hence, addressing a need for caring and qualified people to choose these careers that they may not have, due to student loan debt and the likelihood of modest salaries.

**Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick**

Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick represented Michigan’s 13th Congressional District from 1997 until 2011. The statistical data show that Congresswoman Kilpatrick’s top five issues advocated were as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 20 percent; Women and Children - 20 percent; Education and Labor - 20 percent; Other - 20 percent; and Health and Safety - 13 percent (see Table 5.7). The data show Congresswoman Kilpatrick’s advocacy for a good distribution of issues.

House Resolution 132 addressed “Civil and Human Rights” and “Housing and Community Development.” This bill advocates for minority and small businesses to have access to federal advertising procurements and allows the Small Business Administration (SBA) to assist contractors and sub-contractors to participate on a larger scale in the advertising industry.
Table 5.7. Advocacy Sponsorship Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI-13)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress, House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI-13),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed May 24, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix G for legislation titles.

In H.CON.RES 234, Kilpatrick advocated for “Health and Safety” by fighting for the preservation and funding of urban hospitals. The bill addresses the plight of urban hospitals serving the poor and uninsured patients, who otherwise would not have access to healthcare. These hospitals survive on Medicare and Medicaid payments causing them to operate in a deficit. The legislation states that additional funding is needed to keep urban hospitals open. Domestic violence is an issue for many military families due to post-trauma of war. House Resolution 4587 advocates for “Women and Children” by establishing an Office of Victim Advocate in the Department of Defense to address issues of domestic violence and sexual assault. Manufacturing is vital to the Michigan economy. Congresswoman Kilpatrick sponsored legislation that addressed labor issues in H.R. 3682. This bill required that the Buy America Act be upheld to purchase
manufactured goods for federal mass transportation projects and any waivers to buy foreign goods must be justified in writing.

**Congresswoman Barbara Lee**

Congresswoman Barbara Lee was elected in 1998 and currently represents the Ninth Congressional District in California. During the 108th Congressional Session, the top issues advocated by Congresswoman Barbara Lee were as follows in descending order: Health and Safety - 28 percent; Women and Children - 21 percent; in a third place tie, Civil and Human Rights and Peace and Security - 12 percent; and a tie for fourth place, Education and Labor and Housing and Community Development - 9 percent (see Table 5.8). Congresswoman Lee has advocated issues in almost every category with the exception of “Environment” and “Non-Progressive.” Lee represents a very diverse district in Berkeley, California and her legislative advocacy reflects that diversity. The category with the highest number of issues advocated is “Health and Safety” in which she advocated for a variety of health care legislation. In H.R. 300, Lee advocated for a United States Health Service that she proposed to operate to provide health care services to any American in need.

Congressman Lee suggested that this program be a division of the executive branch and operate regionally. She also advocates for numerous HIV/AIDS programs and also international health programs that focus on vaccinations, tuberculosis, and malaria.
Table 5.8. Issues Advocated by Barbara Lee (D-CA-9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108\textsuperscript{th} Congressional Session, Barbara Lee (D-CA),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed June 25, 2008); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Barbara Lee during the 108\textsuperscript{th} Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix H for actual legislation.

Congresswoman Lee became famous after September 11, 2001 for being the only member of Congress to vote against the declaration of war in Afghanistan. In protest to the Iraq war, Lee sponsored H.RES. 141 which disavowed the doctrine of pre-emptive strike and H.RES. 410, which inquired about the intelligence used to go to war in Iraq.

One trend that stood out in this study was Congresswoman Lee’s advocacy for Haiti. She sponsored four pieces of legislation that addressed the 2004 coup, hurricane disaster relief, and health care needs in Haiti.

**Congresswoman Denise Majette**

Congresswoman Denise Majette served the Fourth Congressional District in Georgia from 2003 until 2005. During the 108\textsuperscript{th} Congressional Session the statistical data show that Congresswoman Majette had only one advocated issue. That issue was in the category of “Environmental” (see Table 5.9).
Table 5.9. Issues Advocated Though Legislation by Denise Majette (D-GA-4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, "Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session Denise Majette (D-GA-4)," http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed March 3, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Denise Majette during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix I for legislation titles.

House Resolution 1618 was for the establishment of the Arabia Mountain National Heritage Area Act which advocated for a beautiful and pristine nature reserve in the DeKalb County in the Fourth Congressional District. Arabia Mountain has nature walks, hiking, and bike trails. The area joins Panola Park and Stone Mountain Parks as a slice of beauty within suburbia.

As stated earlier in Chapter IV, Denise Majette came into office due to the overwhelming efforts to oust Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney. Majette gained both local and national support from Democrats and Republicans to win the Fourth District. Financial support and a vigorous Republican cross-over voting campaign, swept Majette into office through a primary defeat of Cynthia McKinney. Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney was part of the original study, and the researcher had an opportunity to
document and participate in her campaign. What makes this study so intriguing is analyzing this same district only under a different representative.

Denise Majette's lack of legislation sponsorship illustrates her shortcomings when compared with other black women in Congress. The fact that she was the lead sponsor on only one piece of legislation highlights exactly what her purpose was in the Congress—to be a place holder. This analysis might sound harsh; however, when compared to her predecessor and her other colleagues she does not possess the same fighting spirit. Despite individual weakness, Majette was a team player in the Democratic Caucus of the Congress and co-sponsored several bills.

**Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald**

Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald represented the 37th Congressional District in California from 1996 until her death in 2007. During the 108th Congressional Session the statistical data show that Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald top advocated issues were as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 20 percent; Women and Children - 20 percent; Health and Safety - 18 percent; Peace and Security - 11 percent; and Education and Labor - 9 percent (see Table 5.10). Congresswoman Millender-McDonald has advocated a diversity of legislation with representation in every category except “Non-Progressive.”
Table 5.10. Legislation Sponsored by Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA-37)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>101%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session, Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA-37),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed November 9, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. Totals equal 101 percent due to rounding. See Appendix J for legislation titles.

Caring for a sick family member can be financially devastating for any family, especially low income families. In the categories of and “Civil and Human Rights” and “Health and Safety,” Millender-McDonald sponsored H.R. 1143 which allows states to expand Medicaid to more uninsured people and in H.CON.RES 228 she advocated more funding for the Nation Family Caregiver Support Program for those who provide informal and unpaid care for sick children and elder family members.

In the categories of “Women and Children” and “Crime and Drugs,” Millender-McDonald sponsored H.R. 1362 to enhance and fund programs that prevent violence against children. It is difficult to set future goals when a child grows up in an unstable environment. At age 18, children growing up in foster care are expected to become immediately self-sufficient. In H.R. 1401, Congresswoman Millender-McDonald advocated for mentoring programs for children in foster care. Congresswoman
Millender-McDonald advocated for a plethora of opportunities for young people to advance and set career goal. She sought funding for the Peace Corp and educational programs in technology and aviation.

**Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton**

Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton currently represents the District of Columbia Congressional District. During the 108th Congressional Session the statistical data show that Congresswoman Norton’s top five advocated issues are as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 21 percent; Education and Labor - 15 percent; Peace and Security - 13 percent; Other - 4 percent; and there were four categories in fifth place: Women and Children, Health and Safety, Housing and Community, Crime and Drugs, and Environment - 8 percent. One of the central issues under “Civil and Human Rights” for residents of the District of Columbia is the lack of full representation in Congress (see Table 5.11). Congresswoman Holmes addressed these issues in H.R. 1285 titled the No Taxation Without Representation Act which calls for the election of two senators and as many representatives as a similarly populated states.

Washington DC has a unique dilemma because it is both the nation’s capital and a local city. Control over issues such as education, law enforcement, development, and taxation is a constant tug-of-war between the local government and Congress—with the federal government winning in most cases. The issues of “Peace and Security” are intensified in the nation’s capital, especially after September 11, 2001.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed June 17, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix K for legislation titles.

In H.R. 2820, Norton advocated for the mayor of Washington DC to have the same abilities as governors with respect to the National Guard. In H.R. 4361, Norton advocated for increase security on public transportation in DC and the nation. The issues of “Education and Labor” were advocated by Norton in H.R. 2669 which called for fully accountable public alternatives school and H.R 3301 calls for more pre-kindergarten programs for children four years old and younger. Early education program are extremely helpful to low income families because it allows children to be better prepared when they actually start their primary education.

**Congresswoman Diane Watson**

Congresswoman Diane Watson represented the 33rd Congressional District of California form 2001 to 2011. During the 108th Congressional Session, the statistical
data show Congresswoman Watson’s top five issues advocated were as follows: Civil and Human Rights - 37 percent; Women and Children - 21 percent; Education and Labor - 16 percent; Health and Safety - 11 percent; Other - 11 percent (see Table 5.12).

In H.RES.793, Watson condemned efforts of voter suppression and intimidation. Although the height of the Civil Rights Movement was during the 1950s and 1960s, voter suppression is an issue of continuing significance in which black elected officials battle constantly. They understand that the survival of a minority voice requires free and fair elections.

Table 5.12. Advocacy Sponsorship Diane Watson (D-CA-33)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>101%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House Members of the 108th Congressional Session, Diane Watson (D-CA-33),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed June 26, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Diane Watson during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. Totals equal 101 percent due to rounding. See Appendix L for legislation titles.

The rise in globalization has caused many challenges for the United States. Watson addressed issues of “Education and Labor” in H.RES.576 which calls for stronger regulations on intellectual property rights in China. The legislation states the
Chinese have taken steps to stop copyright and intellectual property rights through the United States and Chinese governments working together to end this problem. This legislation passed; however, the U.S. still struggles with China to be honest about business.

Also related to globalization, issues of “Women and Children” and “Health and Safety” are addressed in H.R.4828 which requires the establishment of laws to ban toys containing lead and mercury. For decades, the United States has enjoyed cheap products; however, the health and safety of citizens, especially children has been compromised in the name of profits. Congresswoman Watson fought to promote safety over profit.

College hazing, especially in fraternities and sororities, encouraged Congresswoman Watson to sponsor H.R 1207 which demands the withholding of money to college students who participate in hazing.

**Congresswoman Maxine Waters**

Congresswoman Maxine Waters was elected in 1990 and currently represents the 35th Congressional District in California. During the 108th Congressional Session, the statistical data show the top five issues for Congresswoman Maxine Water’s district were as follows in descending order: Civil and Human Rights - 30 percent; Housing and Community Development - 15 percent; Health and Safety - 13 percent; and both Peace and Security and Other – 11 percent (see Table 5.13). Congresswoman Waters advocated issues in every category except “Non-Progressive.” Voting rights are important to all, but because of the history of disenfranchisement, it is very important to black people.
Table 5.13. Advocacy Sponsorship Maxine Waters (D-CA-35)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues Advocated</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Civil/Human Rights</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women/Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Health/Safety</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education/Labor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Housing/Community</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Crime/Drugs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Peace/Security</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-Progressive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress. House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session, Maxine Waters (D-CA-35),” http://thomas.loc.gov (accessed July 14, 2007); Data calculated by the frequency of issues advocated for by Congresswoman Maxine Waters during the 108th Congressional Session. Percentages are based on the total number of issues in categories advocated through sponsored legislation divided by the total number of issues advocated. See Appendix M for actual legislation.

In the category “Civil and Human Rights,” Waters sponsored H.R. 2090 which limits a state’s ability to redistrict only one time after reapportionment, unless it is mandated by a federal court. Several black congressional districts have been targeted for redistricting efforts once a state legislature changes in favor of Republicans. This has happened in Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Congresswoman Maxine Waters advocated for issues surrounding “Health and Safety” by sponsoring H.R. 1868 that supports treatment for diabetes in minority communities under the Public Health Service Act. Health Care in low income and minority communities is imperative. African-Americans are at the greatest risk for diabetes and diabetic complication. Waters also advocated in H.R. 2470 for medicine for the treatment of HIV/IDS in developing countries. Not only does she advocate for health issues, she advocates for debt relief in developing countries in Africa and Haiti.
Congresswoman Waters' district is notorious for drugs, gangs, and crime. It is not surprising that she would advocate H.AMDT 385 that mandates that Federal Prisoners be paid on hourly wage and that portion of it be held for their release. Having wages withheld until release, would give these prisoners a head start when they are released.

RQ3: What was the outcome of sponsored legislation?

Legislation Outcome

There are several ways to assess the outcomes. The first category that was examined was the “Number of Legislation Sponsored.” The top five congresswomen that sponsored the most legislation is as follows in descending order is: (1) Sheila Jackson Lee with 68 pieces of legislation, (2) Juanita Millender-McDonald with 50 pieces of legislation, (3) Maxine Waters with 33 pieces of legislation, and (4) Barbara Lee and Eleanor Holmes Norton tie with 31 pieces of legislation each (see Table 5.14).

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee is by far the leading sponsor of legislation with 68 pieces of legislation. The only other congresswoman that comes close is Juanita Millender-McDonald with 50 pieces of legislation (see Table 5.14). Shelia Jackson Lee in many respects is similar to her historic colleague of her congressional district, Barbara Jordan. Barbara Jordan had a wide range of issues that she advocated and made sure that there was always a piece of legislation in Congress with her name on it. Jordan was also one to work across party lines, as does Jackson Lee. Perhaps the standard and the bar for excellence had been set so high in this district. Jackson Lee works hard to make sure that the legacy continues.
Table 5.14. Outcome of Legislation Sponsored By Black Women in the 108th Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congresswoman</th>
<th>Number of Legislation Sponsored</th>
<th>Number of Legislation Passed</th>
<th>Percentage of Legislation Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrine Brown</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia Carson</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donna Christensen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheila Jackson Lee</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eddie Bernice Johnson</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie Tubbs Jones</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Cheeks-Kilpatrick</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Lee</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denise Majette</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanita Millender-McDonald</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor Holmes Norton</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxine Waters</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diane Watson</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress House, "Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session," http://thomas.loc.gov. The data for this chart was collected from the official websites of the 13 U.S. Congresswomen being studied. For accessed dates please see Appendix. Data calculated by taking the frequency of the number of legislation sponsored and dividing it by the number of legislation passed to arrive at the percentage of legislation passed.

The category of “Number of Legislation Passed” is also an important benchmark. The top six congresswomen to pass legislation is as follows in descending order: (1) Diane Watson with 6 pieces of legislation, (2) Sheila Jackson Lee, Juanita Millender-McDonald, and Eleanor Holmes Norton tie with 5 pieces of legislation, and (3) Eddie Bernice Johnson and Maxine Waters tie with 4 pieces of legislation (see Table 5.14). At first, one could argue that the more legislation one sponsors, the more likely it is to have a greater rate of passage. That assumption perhaps could be true when you see the majority of the congresswomen that are top legislators are also in the top ranking for legislation passed. However, the top congresswoman to have legislation pass was Diane Watson who sponsored 50 pieces of legislation with only 14 pieces of legislation to pass.
(see Table 5.14). Legislation is hard to pass. Many legislators spend years introducing the same bills in hopes of gaining enough support for passage. Just getting a bill out of committee is challenging especially in a polarized Congress.

The primary reason why Congresswoman Diane Watson was successful in passing 83 percent of her sponsored legislation was because it was symbolic (see Table 5.15). Symbolic legislation is often passed because it is easier and it does not command any major changes or significant funding.

Table 5.15. Symbolic Legislation Passage Rate by Black Women in the 108th Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congresswoman</th>
<th>Number of Legislation Passed</th>
<th>Number of Legislation Passed/Symbolic</th>
<th>Percentage of Legislation Passed/Symbolic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrine Brown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia Carson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donna Christensen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheila Jackson Lee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eddie Bernice Johnson</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie Tubbs Jones</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Cheeks-Kilpatrick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Lee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denise Majette</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanita Millender-McDonald</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor Holmes Norton</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxine Waters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diane Watson</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Congress House, “Sponsored Legislation by House members of the 108th Congressional Session,” http://thomas.loc.gov. The data for this chart was collected from the official websites of the 13 U.S. Congresswomen being studied. For accessed dates please see Appendix. Data calculated by taking the frequency of the number of legislation passed and dividing it by the number of passed legislation that was symbolic to arrive at the percentage of symbolic legislation passed.

It is much more appealing for a legislator to name a post office or community center after a beloved community or national activist, leader, or hero than to fight to the bitter end for legislation that might present a major partisan battle. Moreover, passage of
legislation is the key to constituent approval of the job performance of their elected officials. A street named after a famous civil rights leader, such as Joseph E. Lowery, is a daily reminder to the constituents in the neighborhood that their elected official has gotten something done. Symbolic legislation does also serve an important purpose. It is an opportunity for younger generations to learn about important people in their communities, and it is a way to continue the legacy of a great person as well as honor that person, searing his or her memory into the minds of generations to come.

Advocacy for the hard issues is at the heart of this study and advocacy for social justice legislation is the hard fight. The thirteen congresswomen in this study fight hard for their constituents. Some legislators use the method of co-sponsorship or amendments to get the pressing issues of their communities addressed.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher began this study seeking to examine if black women in Congress sponsored legislation that advocated social justice through progressive policy. The findings show that they almost exclusively sponsored legislation that advocated social justice through progressive policy. The black woman legislative advocacy theory was created by the researcher based on the following criteria: (1) The common historic experience of marginalization and exclusion from the political process, (2) a desire to advocate for the disadvantaged and underserved communities, and (3) using the legislative process to advocate social policy. The position of black women in American society is different than any other. They are members of two marginalized groups—blacks and women. What makes black women's experiences unique is that they share the history of slavery with black men and a history of second-class citizens with white women. Women of other minority groups are also considered double minorities; however, women of other minority groups do not share the history of the physical and emotional abuse that was entwined in the institution of slavery.

The Abolitionist, Suffrage, and Civil Rights Movements gave black women their first political platforms to voice their opposition to exploitation and oppression. Women such as Maria Stewart, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell, Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Ella Baker were just a few of the black women that worked both
behind scenes and in public forums to advocate for social justice and community uplift. The struggle for civil rights and social justice produced the two most important pieces of legislation that changing the political landscape in the United States forever—the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. These new policies cleared a path for two congressional trailblazers—Shirley Chisholm (1969-1983) and Barbara Jordan (1973-1979). Carol Mosley-Braun served from (1993-1999) and still remains the only black woman to be elected to the Senate (see Chapter II).

The black congresswomen of the 108th Congressional Session (2003-2004) faced uphill battles as they fought a polarized conservative Congress and White House. The mission of this conservative Congress was to impose austerity for social programs and promote tax-cuts for the wealthy. In this environment, it was difficult to get legislation passed, but these black women did. The black congresswomen of the 108th Congressional Session share many common experiences. Many of them grew up during segregation and experienced discrimination that ranged from exclusion from certain educational institutions and career opportunities. Despite these challenges, these women took advantage of the opportunities that were available outside of the South and through newly formed affirmative action policies (see Chapter IV). The collective backgrounds of the black congresswomen centered around education and career paths that were rooted in services to the community such as education, social work, law, counseling, medicine, and community and labor organizing (see chapter IV).

The black congresswomen of the 108th Congressional Session served on numerous committees which provided an adequate coverage of issues. By dispersing
themselves across multiple committees, they were able to provide a voice for those that were marginalized from the political process. The diversity that they represented on those committees introduced a perspective that comes from a lens of an outsider looking in. Quite often, the outsider can observe images and situations to which the insider is indifferent or insensitive. It is not because the insider does not care about the marginalized, but it is because the insider has not experienced the same frame of reference that the outsider has experienced. Many of the black congresswomen in this study represent urban centers. Most of these communities have socioeconomic issues with poverty, drugs crime, homelessness, unemployment, single parent households, and underfunded schools (see Chapter IV). Elected officials that come from outside of these communities may not see the importance of increasing funding for after-school programs, food stamps, or drug diversion programs. Because the black congresswomen come from inside these communities, they provide a lucid comprehensive representation and experience for the mainstream decision-makers.

The commonality amongst the black congresswomen of the 108th Congressional Session is in the types of legislation they sponsor. The most common legislative priorities addressed were in the following categories: Civil and Human Rights, Women and Children, Health and Safety, and Education and Labor (see Chapter V). The issue of voting rights was addressed by almost all of the congresswomen. They called for reforms in voting practices as a result of the 2000 presidential election debacle. Because of the advocacy and the passage of the Help America Vote Act, states purchased new voting machines, early voting was established, additional hours were added, and the ability to
cast provisional ballots was expanded. Because of these changes, there was an expansion in the electorate allowing it to become more diverse. This was instrumental in providing the environment to elect the first black president in 2008—Barack Obama.

Black congresswomen advocate for voting rights not only because it is essential for their own survival, but also because it increases the power and voice of the disenfranchised. Voting rights is an issue of continuing significance. After the 2010 midterm elections, Republicans took back the House of Representatives from the Democrats. This wave election ushered in Republican governors and state assemblies across the nation. Some may argue it was because the Democrats became too liberal while others state that the election of the first black president was too much of a change for conservative white Americans. In either case, the result of the 2010 elections was the role-back of voting rights. Conservative state assemblies and governors passed laws that would: (1) require state issued picture I.D., (2) reduce early voting days, (3) shorten polling hours, and (4) make it more difficult for community organizations to conduct voter registration drives. These new laws are being challenged by the first black Attorney General, Eric Holder, as he has directed Florida to stop voter suppression tactics.

Issues concerning women and children have always been strongly advocated by congresswomen of all races. There is no better advocate for the family than those who spend the most time with the family—women. Additionally, black feminists have focused their advocacy on the uplift of the family and community (see Chapters II and

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III. One issue that the congresswomen in this study have tenaciously advocated was pay equity for women. This is an issue where legislative advocacy eventually paid-off. Although those that study political science and public policy may argue the effectiveness of a legislator can only be measured by the ability to pass legislation, this study took a different approach. There are two pieces of legislation that have passed under President Barack Obama for which black women have relentlessly and tirelessly advocated—pay equity for women and the national healthcare bill. One of the central components of focusing on advocacy in this study was to draw attention to the fact that a voice can begin small and unnoticed; however, the passion of the advocate and the repetition of the merit of the issue will cause others to listen and eventually support the issue. That is what happened with these two pieces of legislation.

President Barack Obama made both pay-equity for women and healthcare the central focus of the first two years of his presidency. The first piece of legislation he signed into law was the 2009 Lilly Ledbetter Act. Lilly Ledbetter was a woman that worked for Goodyear Tire and Rubber for two decades and sued when she found out that she was being paid a significantly lower salary that her male counterparts.\(^2\) Ledbetter filed a gender discrimination suit that went all the way to the United States Supreme Court. The Court found that she waited too long—past the six month period to file her case.\(^3\) In her dissent, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg claimed that there was clear evidence of pay disparity. As a woman, Ginsberg could identify with Ledbetter’s struggle in a


\(^3\) Ibid.
male dominated profession. The Lilly Ledbetter Act allows for the extension of the
time period to file a gender discrimination suit.

Several congresswomen in this study advocated for increases in healthcare
funding, especially for the poor and elderly. They fought for health care services such as:
community based clinics; extensions in Medicaid and Medicare; funding for cancer,
diabetes, and HIV/AIDS treatment; and a universal healthcare plan (see Chapter V). In
2010, President Barack Obama signed into law the Affordable Care Act that will make
healthcare coverage available to all Americans by 2014. Currently, the Affordable Care
Act allows for: (1) free preventative health test and screenings, (2) children with pre-
existing conditions cannot be denied care, (3) insurance companies cannot discontinue
coverage when a person gets sick or have lifetime limits on coverage, and (4) young
adults can stay on their parents’ coverage until they are 26 years old.

Women’s healthcare is an issue that has been under attack as a result of the 2010
Republican takeover in state and local governments. Although the 1973 U.S. Supreme
Court ruling Roe v. Wade made a woman’s right to choose to continue a pregnancy or
have an abortion the law of the land, conservatives have gained ground in limiting this
ruling. Multiple states have passed laws restricting health coverage for birth control pills
and requiring invasive and unnecessary exams for women seeking abortions. Additionally, conservatives have attempted to pass legislation to defund Planned
Parenthood. Planned Parenthood has provided low-cost health services for women for

4. Ibid.
decades. Many low-income women depend on Planned Parenthood clinics for reproductive healthcare and cancer screenings. These practices, along with the fight against the extension of the Violence Against Women Act, have been so pervasive that the battle has been labeled—The War Against Women. Congresswomen across all races have banded together to fight to protect the rights women have gained decades ago. The black women in Congress have been on the forefront of this battle because in minority communities, choices and protections are often limited and are tied to socio-economic realities.

Another commonality amongst the congresswomen in this study is the advocacy for women and children as well as education both domestically and in developing countries. The Congressional Black Caucus is an instrumental force in securing foreign aid for Haiti. Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere and the United States has played a central role in the rise and fall of the leadership of the country. The congresswomen in this study have been strong advocates for the survival of Haiti and its people especially for women and children. The have advocated for medical treatment and supplies as well as food aid. During early 1990s, Congresswoman Maxine Waters chained herself to the Whitehouse gates to protest the treatment of Haitians refugees

6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
during the coup. In the area of education, black women in Congress have advocated for early childhood education programs, special education programs, college loan forgiveness for teacher and social workers, as well as additional aid for after school programs and school nutrition programs (see Chapters IV and V).

Despite the majority of the congressional districts in this study having socio-economic issues such as low-income and single-parent households that lack higher education, some of the districts in this study were outliers. For example, Congresswoman Barbara Lee’s congressional district had a higher level of income and education than the national average (see Chapter IV). The premiere educational institutions of UC Berkeley and Mills College, which are located in the district, are contributing factors to the income and education level of this district. Another example can be found in Congresswoman Denise Majette’s district, which also had income and education levels above the national average (see Chapter IV). The Fourth Congressional District of Georgia is surrounded by premier institutions of higher education. The largest consortium of Historically Black Colleges is in the Atlanta University Center: Clark Atlanta University, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Morehouse School of Medicine, Interdenominational Theological Center, and Morris-Brown College. Moreover, Atlanta also has Emory University, Agnes Scott College, Georgia State University, and Georgia Technical Institute.

A commonality amongst congressional districts represented by black women during the 108th Congressional Session is that they are minority-majority districts with

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black people as the largest population of constituents. However, the congresswomen from California share some commonalities in regards to demographics. Congresswomen Maxine Waters, Diane Watson, and Juanita Millender-McDonald all represented districts that were majority Hispanic (see Chapter IV). These districts were at one time majority black; however, with the growing Hispanic migration from Mexico and Central America, California along with several other states on the South Western boarder have experienced an explosion in the Hispanic population. According a U.S. Census update in 2011, Hispanics surpassed African Americans as the largest minority in the United States. Another outlier in this study was exemplified by Congresswoman Julia Carson’s district which had a majority white population (see Chapter IV). This is important because it has long been argued by political scientists that minority-majority districts are necessary for minority representation in Congress. Congresswoman Carson’s district tends to be the exception rather than the rule. Political scientist Carol Swain contends that minority-majority districts limit minority representation and encourages further marginalization because the minority representative’s primary focus must be consumed with issues that separate these representatives from the mainstream (see Chapter III). The researcher has found that the black congresswomen’s voices are important because some issues may have never been brought to the table without their advocacy. Additionally, the plight of the poor, women, children, seniors, and the disabled cross the color line, and black congresswoman are staunch advocates for these constituents. However, Swain’s argument does have some validity as Americans becomes more diverse.
Reflections and Recommendations for the Future

This study can be duplicated with different sessions of Congress. A well funded study might be able to study both sponsored legislation and co-sponsored legislation of black women in Congress. It would also be interesting to see if the other minority women in Congress share the same level of legislative advocacy. Changing demographics and redistricting changes would also be of interest. This study was based on the 2000 Census, and it would be fascinating to see how the increase in minority populations impacts the make-up of congressional districts. Additionally, it would be interesting to see how legislation sponsored by black women in Congress has changed since the election of the first black president and first women Speaker of the House.

Since the beginning of this study, there have been many changes amongst the subjects in the study. Congresswomen Julia Carson, Stephanie Tubbs Jones, and Juanita Millender-McDonald have passed away. Julia Carson was succeeded by her grandson, Andre Carson, Stephanie Tubbs Jones was succeeded by Marcia Fudge, and Juanita Millender-McDonald was succeeded by Laura Richardson. It is encouraging to see that Julia Carson’s grandson is continuing her legacy; however, political family dynasties do not always carry over good will. In 2010, Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks-Kilpatrick suffered a backlash from angry constituents and lost her seat due in part to her son, Kwuame Kilpatrick mayor of Detroit, corruption trial and conviction. She was succeeded by Hansen Clark who is a black and Indian American. Other congresswomen in this study who no longer are in office are Denise Majette and Diane Watson. After one term, Denise Majette did not want a rematch with Cynthia McKinney so Majette resigned her
office to run for a failed Senate race. McKinney won back her seat and then lost to the current representative—Hank Johnson. Diane Watson retired and was succeeded by Karen Bass.

Congresswomen Donna Christensen, Corrine Brown, Sheila Jackson Lee, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Barbara Lee, Eleanor Holmes Norton, and Maxine Waters continue to be a relentless force for social justice and progressive policy. These women come to the floor of the House with compelling arguments and objections to the Republican attempts to disenfranchise and roll-back progress that has been gained by minorities, women, children, and the disadvantage. In addition to these seasoned veterans, new faces of black women in Congress are joining the fight for the marginalized: Karen Bass from California, Yvette Clarke from New York, Donna Edwards from Maryland, Marcia Fudge from Ohio, Gwen Moore from Wisconsin, Teri Sewell from Alabama, and Frederica Wilson from Florida. There are currently 43 black members of Congress and 15 black congresswomen.11 All of the black women in Congress are Democrats and all but two of the black congressmen are Democrats. Congressmen Allen West from Florida and Tim Scott from South Carolina are Republicans.

The Democratic Party has been very progressive with their support of women and minorities; however, the party’s knowledge that black people will vote over 90 percent for Democrats has limited black political power. When watching political commentators on CNN, MSNBC, and FOX, Democrats often believe they can do anything to black constituents and they will “fall in line in November.” On the other hand, Republicans

pay almost no attention to the black community, which leaves black people with few political options. If someone knows that they do not have to earn your vote, what is the incentive for them to address your needs? Blacks that are in the Republican Party, such as Allen West, are almost hostile towards black Democrats. Tim Scott from South Carolina is not even a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. A new rising star in the Republican Party is Mia Love from Utah. Mia Love is a daughter of Haitian immigrants who is a Republican and a Mormon. She is running for Congress in 2012 and has already decided that her best foot forward is to become hostile to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) stating, “I would join the CBC and try to take that thing apart from the inside out.”

There is no doubt that black people are not monolithic and that blacks tend to be more socially conservative, yet economically liberal. However, there are some who believe that the Democratic Party has been moving to the far left on issue such as same-sex marriage, to which many blacks have a strong religious objection. Additionally, as more black people obtain education, professional careers, and businesses, they find themselves in a position to be open to the business platform of the Republican Party. However; the issues of equality and social justice are absent from the Republican Party platform. Black people would be best served to seek representation from not only the social justice advocates, but also from the family values and business advocates. The only way the vote is not taken for granted, is for those running for office to address all


13. Ibid.
political issues and ideologies ranging from the left to the center to the right. Moreover, more black people need to run for political office in districts that are not minority-majority. President Barack Obama did not become president by appealing to only black people. The more political diversity black people represent, the more political clout they can wield.

Furthermore, there needs to be more women running for public office. Melissa Harris-Perry, a political science professor at Tulane University and host of the Melissa Harris-Perry Show on MSNBC, stated that in 2010 the number of women in Congress went down by 17 percent and the number of seats in state assemblies went down by 80.\textsuperscript{14} This was the first time women saw a decrease in the number of representatives in over 30 years.\textsuperscript{15} Women in Congress are less that 2 percent and only 24 women are women of color.\textsuperscript{16} Of the 100 members of the Senate, 17 are women and of the 435 members of the House, 73 are women.\textsuperscript{17}

As politics becomes more polarized, those that suffer the most are those on the margins and outside of the mainstream. The researcher believes that it will take a diversity of coalitions—women, minorities, business leaders, young people, and educators to find common ground solutions to this country’s problems. Party identification does not hold the same power it once did, and many Americans are tired of the gridlock in government. If more people came together from all walks of life and tried

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} The Melissa Harris-Perry Show, MSNBC, July 8, 2012.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
to find solutions instead of looking for ways to destroy those with whom they disagree, the country could move forward. Is it the job of the marginalized to be a voice for the voiceless? Yes it is; however, they should not only have a seat at the table, they should also be leaders to unite the table. They should shake-up stale prescriptions and outdated ideologies by bringing about new ideas with the goal of not only advocating for those they represent, but also for the nation as a whole. Congresswoman Barbara Lee stated Shirley Chisholm told her that, “Women have to get into the systems not to go along to get along but to shake things up. These rules were not made by us or for us. We have a duty and a responsibility to run for office and change the world.”18

18. Ibid.
APPENDIX A

Legislation Sponsored by Corrine Brown in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 294: Supporting the goals and ideals of “National Epilepsy Awareness Month” and urging funding for epilepsy research and service programs.

2. H. CON. RES. 515: Expressing the sense of the Congress to support an increase in funds allocated to the Republic of Haiti and to expedite the delivery of emergency aid to the island nation because of the terrible destruction brought on by Hurricane Jeanne.


4. H. R. 1882: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 440 South Orange Blossom Train in Orlando, Florida, as the “Arthur ‘Pappy’ Kennedy Post Office.”

5. H. R. 1883: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1601-1 Main Street in Jacksonville, Florida, as the “Eddie Mae Steward Post Office.”

6. H. R. 3061: To authorize major medical facility projects for the Department of Veterans Affairs in connection with Capital Asset Realignment for Enhanced Services initiative and to satisfy Department of Veterans Affairs requirements on natural disasters, and for other purposes.

7. H. R. 4382: To designate the United States courthouse at 300 North Hogan Street, Jacksonville, Florida, as the “Judge Bryan Simpson United States Courthouse.”

8. H. R. 4924: To designate the United States courthouse at 300 North Hogan Street, Jacksonville, Florida, as the “John Milton Bryan Simpson United States Courthouse.”
APPENDIX B

Legislation Sponsored by Julia Carson in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 338: Commemorating the 15th anniversary of Rebuilding Together, commending Rebuilding Together for its service, and encouraging Americans to volunteer with Rebuilding Together and similar community organizations.

2. S. 589: -- Private Bill; Referring the bill (H.R. 3646) entitled “A bill for the relief of Adela and Darryl Bailor” to the chief judge of the United States Court of Federal Claims for a report thereon.

3. 1082: To designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street in Indianapolis, Indiana, as the “Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse.”

4. 1646: To amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 to modify the State exemption provisions for advancement of time.

5. 1729: To amend the Fair Credit Reporting Act to require consumer reporting agencies to notify consumers when negative information is added to the consumer’s file at such agency, and for other purposes.

6. 2726: To establish a national rail passenger transportation system, reauthorize Amtrak, improve security and service on Amtrak, and for other purposes.

7. 2897: To end homelessness in the United States.

8. 2914: To amend title 49, United States Code, to provide for the establishment of a flexibility incentive grant program.

9. 3331: To amend the Consumer Credit Protection Act to protect consumers from unfair and deceptive practices by organizations providing debt counseling, debt consolidation, or debt settlement services, and for other purposes.

10. 4031: Private Bill - For the relief of Adela and Darryl Bailor.

11. H. R. 4031: To give States the flexibility to reduce bureaucracy by streamlining enrollment processes for the Medicaid and State children’s health insurance

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programs through better linkages with programs providing nutrition and related assistance to low-income families.

12. H. R. 4479: To amend the Help America Vote Act of 2002 to prohibit States from denying certain veterans who have been convicted of a felony and who have completed their sentence the opportunity to register to vote or vote.
APPENDIX C

Legislation Sponsored by Donna Christensen in the 108th Congress

1. H. J. RES. 101: Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States regarding presidential election voting rights for residents of all United States territories and commonwealths.

2. H. R. 675: To amend titles XI and XIX of the Social Security Act to remove the cap on Medicaid payments to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and American Samoa and to adjust the Medicaid statutory matching rate for those territories.

3. H. R. 789: To expand the eligibility of individuals to qualify for loan forgiveness for teachers in order to provide additional incentives for teachers currently employed or seeking employment in economically depressed rural areas, Territories, and Indian Reservations.

4. H. R. 1594: To direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study of the suitability and feasibility of establishing the St. Croix National Heritage Area in St. Croix, United States Virgin Islands, and for other purposes.

5. H. R. 1595: To further cooperation and support among Federal land managers and designated gateway communities where the results of such cooperation and support are likely to be mutually beneficial, and for other purposes.

6. H. R. 2663: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the suitability and feasibility of designating Castle Nugent Farms located on St. Croix, Virgin Islands, as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes.

7. H. R. 3588: To direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services to establish health empowerment zone programs in communities that disproportionately experience disparities in health status and health care, and for other purposes.


9. H. R. 4929: To require the Secretary of Homeland Security to establish at least one Border Patrol unit for the Virgin Islands.
10. H. R. 5065: To repeal certain sections of the Act of May 26, 1936, pertaining to the Virgin Islands.
APPENDIX D

Legislation Sponsored by Sheila Jackson Lee in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 2: Expressing the sense of Congress that the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 should be repealed.

2. H. CON. RES. 3: Expressing the sense of the Congress that a commemorative postage stamp should be issued in honor of the late George Thomas “Mickey” Leland.

3. H. CON. RES. 102: Expressing the sense of Congress that Congress has the sole and exclusive power to declare war.

4. H. CON. RES. 296: Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the President’s $87 billion supplemental appropriation request for the occupation and reconstruction of Iraq.

5. H. CON. RES. 451: Expressing the sense of Congress regarding the establishment of a scholarship fund to make tuition grants available to eligible former students who were denied an education in Prince Edward County, Virginia, when the public schools closed rather than comply with the Supreme Court’s decision in Brown vs. Board of Education.

6. H. RES. 50: Honoring the seven members of the crew of the space shuttle Columbia for their heroism and spirit, and paying tribute to the sacrifices made by these men and women on behalf of the Nation.

7. H. R. 76: To prevent children’s access to firearms.

8. H. R. 77: To provide for the establishment of a task force within the Bureau of Justice Statistics to gather information about, study, and report to the Congress regarding, incidents of abandonment of infant children.

9. H. R. 78: To amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require hospitals reimbursed under the Medicare system to establish and implement security procedures to reduce the likelihood of infant patient abduction and baby switching, including procedures for identifying all infant patients in the hospital in a manner that ensures that it will be evident if infants are missing from the hospital.
10. H. R. 79: To require the Secretary of Education to conduct a study and submit to Congress a report on methods for identifying and treating children with dyslexia in kindergarten through third grade.

11. H. R. 80: To enhance Federal enforcement of hate crimes, and for other purposes.

12. H. R. 81: To amend the Public Health Service Act with respect to mental health services for children, adolescents and their families.

13. H. R. 82: To increase the numerical limitation on the number of asylees whose status may be adjusted to that of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

14. H. R. 83: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act with respect to the record of admission for permanent residence in the case of certain aliens.

15. H. R. 84: To assist aliens who were transplanted to the United States as children in continuing their education and otherwise integrating into American society.

16. H. R. 85: To expand the class of beneficiaries who may apply for adjustment of status under section 245(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act by extending the deadline for classification petition and labor certification filings.

17. H. R. 86: To provide for the collection of data on traffic stops.

18. H. R. 87: To modify the requirements applicable to the admission into the United States of H-1C nonimmigrant registered nurses, and for other purposes.

19. H. R. 88: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to modify the requirements for a child born abroad and out of wedlock to acquire citizenship based on the citizenship of the child's father, and for other purposes.

20. H. R. 89: To create a separate DNA database for violent predators against children, and for other purposes.


22. H. R. 91: To name the Department of Veterans Affairs in Houston, Texas, as the "Michael E. DeBakey Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center."

23. H. R. 230: -- Private Bill; For the relief of Gao Zhan.

25. H. R. 525: To authorize the President to posthumously award a gold medal on behalf of the Congress to the seven members of the crew of the space shuttle Columbia in recognition of their outstanding and enduring contributions to the Nation.

26. H. R. 1830: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for permanent resident status for certain long-term resident workers and college-bound students, to modify the worldwide level of family-sponsorship immigrants in order to promote family unification, and for other purposes.

27. H. R. 2630: To prevent commercial alien smuggling, and for other purposes.

28. H. R. 3575: To amend title 18, United States Code, to provide and alternate release date for certain nonviolent offenders, and for other purposes.

29. H. R. 3918: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to reunify families, permit earned access to permanent resident status, provide protection against unfair immigration-related employment practices, reform the diversity visa program, provide adjustment of status for Haitians and Liberians, and for other purposes.

30. H. R. 4049: -- Private Bill; For the relief of Ahmad Khabaz Taghizadeh and Azammolok Taghizadeh Vatani.


32. H. R. 4522: To provide for the establishment of an independent, Presidentially-appointed Commission to assess the safety of the International Space Station and its crew.

33. H. R. 4885: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to reunify families, permit earned access to permanent resident status, provide protection against unfair immigration-related employment practices, reform the diversity visa program, provide adjustment of status for Haitians and Liberians, and for other purposes.

34. H. R. 5050: To establish the Director of National Intelligence as a cabinet level position in the Executive Office of the President to oversee budget, operations, and personnel of the entire intelligence community of the Federal Government.

35. H. AMDT. 40 to H. R. 1559: Amendment provides up to $10 million of Immigration and Customs Enforcement funding for the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System.

37. H. AMDT. 109 to H. R. 1298: Amendment expresses the sense of Congress that United States businesses should be encouraged to provide assistance to sub-Saharan African countries to prevent and reduce the incidence of HIV/AIDS.

38. H. AMDT. 116 to H. R. 766: An amendment to add a new subsection providing for a Center for Societal, Ethical, Educational, Environmental, Legal, and Workforce Issues Related to Nanotechnology.

39. H. AMDT. 135 to H. R. 1527: At the end of the bill, add the following: SEC. 7. STUDIES***.

40. H. AMDT. 158 to H. R. 2143: Amendment sought to remove credit card transactions from categories of prohibited financial transactions under the bill.

41. H. AMDT. 168 to H. R. 1115: Amendment sought to add language to provide that a foreign corporation which acquires a domestic corporation in a corporate repatriation transaction shall be treated as being incorporated in the State under whose laws the acquired domestic corporation was organized.

42. H. AMDT. 185 to H. R. 2555: An amendment to simplify and expedite the grant allocation process of the Department of Homeland Security so that percentage of funds is provided directly to fire departments in urban and rural areas, police departments, law enforcement agencies, hazardous materials teams, emergency medical staff, and other first responders, hospital districts, school districts, city and county governments, non-profit organizations, port and airport security, and citizen corps groups in the 10 cities most vulnerable to terrorist attacks, without the funds being first allocated to the State government agencies.

43. H. AMDT. 189 to H. R. 2555: An amendment to provide a $3,000,000 grant to the University of Texas Center for Bio-security to establish a homeland security training center in Houston, Texas.

44. H. AMDT. 298 to H. R. 2799: Amendment prohibits funds to be used to destroy or conceal physical and electronic records and documents related to use of Federal agency resources in any action involving or relating to members of the Texas Legislature during the period beginning May 11, 2003 and ending May 16, 2003.


46. H. AMDT. 313 to H. R. 2800: An amendment numbered 10 printed in the Congressional Record.
47. H. AMDT. 315 to H. R. 2800: An amendment numbered 8 printed in the Congressional Record.

48. H. AMDT. 344 to H. R. 2861: An amendment to provide that none of the funds in the bill may be used for voluntary separation incentive payments unless the Administrator certifies to Congress that such payments would not result in the loss of skills related to the safety of the Space Shuttle or the International Space Station or to the conduct of independent safety oversight in NASA.

49. H. AMDT. 363 to H. R. 2989: Amendment sought to strike section 163 which restricts funding for a light rail system in Houston, Texas.

50. H. AMDT. 428 to H. R. 3289: Amendment sought to increase funds for Afghanistan Relief and Reconstruction by $70 million to support the human rights needs of Afghan women and girls; and sought to transfer $300 million within the funds for Iraq Reconstruction to the areas of human rights, education, refugees and democracy and governance.

51. H. AMDT. 451 to H. R. 1829: Amendment places a 3 year sunset on the Act if the Attorney General determines that the implementation of the Act creates a significant risk or adverse effect on public or prison safety, prison management, or prison rehabilitation opportunities.

52. H. AMDT. 476 to H. R. 339: Amendment sought to prohibit civil lawsuits by a food manufacturer or seller or trade association against an individual for consumption of a qualified product.

53. H. AMDT. 477 to H. R. 339: An amendment numbered 10 printed in the Congressional Record to provide that the bill would not apply to civil actions that allege a product claiming to assist in weight loss caused heart disease, heart damage, primary pulmonary hypertension, neuropsychological damage, or any other complication which may be generally associated with a person’s weight gain or obesity.

54. H. AMDT. 485 to H. R. 1375: An amendment numbered 5 printed in House Report 108-439 to express the sense of Congress that in situations where a requesting agency obtains expedited action to approve a merger transaction application between multiple depository institutions, that careful consideration is placed on the impact that the transaction will have on affected communities and customers of any or all of the applicant institutions.

55. H. AMDT. 495 to H. R. 3550: Amendment sought to change the calculation of toll credits by basing them on the proportion of non-Federal investment in toll projects.
56. H. AMDT. 566 to H. R. 4568: An amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill to eliminate or restrict programs that are for the reforestation of urban areas.

57. H. AMDT. 567 to H. R. 4568: An amendment to prohibit the use of funds to support the construction of the Gregory Lincoln Education Center located at 1101 Taft Street in the Fourth Ward of Houston, TX.

58. H. AMDT. 575 to H. R. 4567: Amendment sought to increase funding for the Citizens Corps program by $20 million.

59. H. AMDT. 578 to H. R. 4567: Amendment sought to increase funding for science and technology research, development, test and evaluation, acquisition, and operations by $10 million.

60. H. AMDT. 595 to H. R. 4613: Amendment seeks to increase funds available for medical and health care programs of the Department of Defense by $10,000,000.

61. H. AMDT. 596 to H. R. 4613: Amendment seeks to add $10,000,000 for “Embassy Security, Construction, and Maintenance” for interim facilities for the United States Mission in Iraq.

62. H. AMDT. 633 to H. R. 4754: An amendment numbered 14 printed in the Congressional Record to increase the funding for the Civil Rights Commission by $1 million and to reduce the funding for salaries and expenses for the Department of Justice by a similar amount.

63. H. AMDT. 634 to H. R. 4754: Amendment sought to increase funding for the DNA analysis and backlog elimination program.

64. H. AMDT. 663 to H. R. 3598: Amendment sought to prohibit funds in the bill from being used for a re-competition process for Manufacturing Extension Partnership centers.

65. H. AMDT. 707 to H. R. 4818: Amendment sought to provide $5 million for agricultural developmental assistance for sub-Saharan Africa.

66. H. AMDT. 719 to H. R. 5006: Amendment sought to increase funding for the National Center for Health Statistics surveys and the National Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities.

67. H. AMDT. 720 to H. R. 5006: Amendment sought to increase funding for Disease Control, Research and Training.
68. H. AMDT. 776 to H. R. 2028: Amendment sought to provide an exception to the preclusion provisions of the bill for instances alleging coerced or mandatory recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in violation of the First Amendment.
APPENDIX E

Legislation Sponsored by Eddie Bernice Johnson in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 59: Recognizes the significant achievements and contributions of African-American scientists, mathematicians, and inventors, and supporting the establishment of a special day on which these great minds may be honored and esteemed.

2. H. CON. RES. 114: Calling on civic groups, women’s groups, and others throughout the world to hold workshops, forums, and other events to speak up for world peace and reaffirm women’s essential role in the peace-building process.

3. H. CON. RES. 196: Expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should provide assistance for women and women’s organization in Iraq in order to strengthen and stabilize the emerging Iraqi democracy.

4. H. CON. RES. 439: Honoring the members of the Army Motor Transport Brigade who during World War II served in the trucking operation known as the Red Ball Express for their service and contribution to the Allied advance following the D-Day invasion of Normandy, France.

5. H. CON. RES. 487: Recognizing Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport on the occasion of its 30th anniversary.

6. H. RES. 214: Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that small and minority-owned businesses in the United States should be involved in rebuilding Iraq.

7. H. RES. 354: Encouraging non-profit organizations to increase the number of women and minorities on their governing boards and encouraging Americans to enrich their lives and serve their communities by volunteering to serve on the governing boards of non-profit organizations.

8. H. RES. 432: Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should take action to meeting it’s obligations, and to ensure that all other member states of the United Nations meet their obligations, to women as agreed to in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 relating to women, peace and security, and human rights that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts, and for other purposes.
9. H. RES. 797: Recognizing the importance of implementing any and all measures necessary to ensure a democratic, transparent, and fair election process for the 2004 Presidential election.

10. H. RES. 812: Recognizing the commencement of Ramadan, the Islamic Holy month of fasting and spiritual renewal, and commending Muslims in the United States and throughout the world for their faith.

11. H. R. 692: To provide for racial equity and fair treatment under the program of block grants to States for temporary assistance for needy families.

12. H. R. 811: To authorize the Secretary of Health and Human Services to make demonstration grants to promote the well-being and educational achievement of children through school-based health programs.

13. H. R. 1394: To amend title 49, United States Code, to authorize programs and activities to promote inter-modal transportation of passengers, and for other purposes.

14. H. R. 1740: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1502 East Kiest Boulevard in Dallas, Texas, as the “Dr. Caesar A.W. Clark, Sr. Post Office Building.”

15. H. R. 3611: To amend title 23, United States Code, to allocate transportation funds to metropolitan areas and increase planning funds to relieve metropolitan congestion, and for other purposes.

16. H. R. 3612: To amend title 38, United State Code, to improve the outreach activities of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes.

17. H. R. 4445: To waive the time limitation specified by law for the award of certain military decorations in order to allow the posthumous award of the Congressional Medal of Honor to Doris Miller for actions while a member of the Navy during World War II.

18. H. R. 4671: To authorize assistance for education and healthcare for women and children in Iraq during the reconstruction of Iraq and thereafter, to authorize assistance for the enhancement of political participation, economic empowerment, civil society, and personal security for women in Iraq, to state the sense of Congress on the preservation and protection of the human rights of women and children in Iraq, and for other purposes.

19. H. AMDT. 114 to H. R. 766: An amendment that would provide for a citizen’s Advisory Committee. The National Nanotechnology Coordination Office shall
convene citizen panels, with membership composed of non-scientific and non-technical experts, in different geographic regions of the nation, to consider societal and ethical concerns arising from the development and application of nanotechnology.

20. H. AMDT. 115 to H. R. 766: Amendment ensures that public input and outreach are integrated into nanotechnology research on societal and ethical concerns by the convening of regular and ongoing public discussions through mechanisms such as citizen panels, consensus panels, and educational events, as appropriate.

21. H. AMDT. 493 to H. R. 3550: Amendment requires the Department of Transportation to make its annual report to Congress available to the public in a user-friendly format via the Internet.
APPENDIX F

Legislation Sponsored by Stephanie Tubbs in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 28: Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States Postal Service should issue a commemorative stamp on the subject of school safety awareness.

2. H. RES. 454: Encouraging the AMBER Alert Coordinator of the Department of Justice to include within the minimum standards established pursuant to the PROTECT Act a specific criterion for issuance of an alert through the AMBER Alert communications network.

3. H. RES. 460: Congratulating The Ohio State University and the University of Michigan on the 100th football game between the two teams and recognizing their rivalry as the greatest sports rivalry in history.

4. H. R. 734: To provide loan forgiveness to social workers who work for child protective agencies.

5. H. R. 1480: To increase the expertise and capacity of community-based organizations involved in economic development activities and key community development programs.

6. H. R. 1613: To establish a demonstration incentive program within the Department of Education to promote installation of fire sprinkler systems, or other fire suppression or prevention technologies, in qualified student housing and dormitories, and for other purposes.

7. H. R. 1663: To protect home buyers from predatory lending practices.

8. H. R. 2157: To provide for uterine fibroid research and education, and for other purposes.

9. H. R. 5028: To allow a waiver or exemption of certain requirements for restricted airspace if security is not reduced.
APPENDIX G

Legislation Sponsored by Carolyn C. Kilpatrick in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 234: Recognizing the importance of preserving the survival of essential urban hospitals.

2. H. CON. RES. 278: Recognizing the contributions of African-American basketball teams and players for their achievements, dedication, and contributions to the sport of basketball and to the Nation.

3. H. RES. 573: Honoring the life of Mildred McWilliams “Millie” Jeffrey (1900-2004) and her contributions to her community and to the nation.


5. H. R. 132: To create Federal advertising procurement opportunities or minority business concerns, and for other purposes.

6. H. R. 1980: To require government agencies carrying out surface transportation projects to conduct a cost-benefit analysis before procuring architectural, engineering, and related services from a private contractor, and for other purposes.

7. H. R. 2833: To posthumously award a congressional gold metal to Wilma G. Rudolph.

8. H. R. 3017: To amend title 49, United States Code, to clarify certain Buy America provisions.


10. H. R. 3682: To amend title 10, United States Code, to establish in the Department of Defense an Office of the Victim Advocate, to prescribe the functions of that office, and for other purposes.

11. H. AMDT. 303 to H. R. 2800: Amendment sought to increase funding for HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria programs by $300 million with offsets from the Millennium Challenge Account.
12. H. AMDT. 700 to H. R. 4818: An amendment numbered 12 printed in the Congressional Record to insert at the end of the bill (before the short title) a new section titled Limitation on Contracts stating that none of the funds made available under the Act may be used to fund any contract in contravention of section 8(d)(6) of the small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 637 (d)(6)).
APPENDIX H

Legislation Sponsored by Barbara Lee in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 78: Expressing the need to reengage Congress and the Administration regarding the social conditions and need for poverty reduction in Haiti, and for other purposes.

2. H. CON. RES. 180: Calling on the President to urge the other members of the Group of Eight (G-8) at the upcoming G-8 meeting from June 1-3, in Evian, France, to pledge and contribute a substantial amount of new resources to the fight against HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.

3. H. CON. RES. 496: Expressing the sense of Congress with regard to providing humanitarian assistance to countries of the Caribbean devastated by Hurricanes Charley, Frances, Ivan, and Jeanne.

4. H. RES. 141: Disavowing the doctrine of preemption.

5. H. RES. 237: Honoring the life and work of Walter Sisulu, a critical leader in the movement to free South Africa of apartheid, on the occasion of his death.

6. H. RES. 410: Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that prior to the conclusion of the first session of the One Hundred Eighth Congress the House should pass legislation that would create an independent commission or select House committee to investigate United States intelligence relating to Operation Iraqi Freedom.

7. H. RES. 570: Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that there should be established a Caribbean-American Heritage Month.

8. H. RES. 603: Commending the marchers, expressing the belief that each individual has the right to manage his or her own fertility, recognizing that the expression of sexuality is a lifelong aspect of human development, trusting individuals to make responsible choices related to having children, supporting loving families in all of their relationship forms, and celebrating the March for Women’s Lives in which individuals make their voices heard through collective pro-choice power.

9. H. RES. 747: Recognizing the anniversary of the ratification of the 13th Amendment and encouraging the American people to educate and instill pride and purpose into
their communities and to observe the anniversary annually with appropriate programs and activities.

10. H. RES. 748: Providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1102) to establish the National Affordable Housing Trust Fund in the Treasury of the United States to provide for the development, rehabilitation, and preservation of decent, safe, and affordable housing for low-income families.

11. H. R. 1040: To establish a living wage, jobs for all policy for all peoples in the United States and its territories, and for other purposes.

12. H. R. 1429: To protect tenants in public housing and housing assisted under the rental assistance program under Section 8 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 who are victims from eviction by reason of criminal activity.

13. H. R. 1981: To reauthorize the public and assisted housing drug elimination program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

14. H. R. 2083: -- Private Bill; For the relief of Geert Botzen

15. H. R. 2284: To amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to direct the Secretary of Education to make grants to States for assistance in hiring additional school-based mental health and student service providers.

16. H. R. 2371: To provide for the issuance of a semipostal to benefit the Peace Corps.

17. H. R. 2510: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 2000 Allston Way in Berkeley, California, as the “Maudelle Shirek Post Office Building.”

18. H. R. 3000: To establish a United States Health Service to provide high quality comprehensive health care for all Americans and to overcome the deficiencies in the present system of health care delivery.

19. H. R. 3120: To provide for the dissemination of information on irradiated foods used in the school lunch programs and to ensure that school districts, parents, and students retain the option of traditional, non-irradiated foods through such programs.

20. H. R. 3386: To provide assistance to combat infectious diseases in Haiti and to establish a comprehensive health infrastructure in Haiti, and for other purposes.

22. H. R. 4061: To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide assistance for orphans and other vulnerable children in developing countries.

23. H. R. 4182: To provide for the reduction of adolescent pregnancy, HIV rates, and other sexually transmitted diseases, and for other purposes.

24. H. R. 4448: To require the President to seek the establishment of an international commission for monitoring the treatment of persons in United States custody in Iraq.

25. H. R. 4449: To provide assistance to combat HIV/AIDS in the Republic of India, and for other purposes.

26. H. R. 4792: To require the President to establish a comprehensive, integrated, and culturally appropriate HIV prevention strategy that emphasizes the needs of women and girls for each country for which the United States provides assistance to combat HIV/AIDS, and for other purposes.

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APPENDIX I

Legislation Sponsored by Denise L. Majette in the 108th Congress

APPENDIX J

Legislation Sponsored by Juanita Millender-McDonald in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 83: Honoring the victims of the Cambodian genocide that took place from April 1975 to January 1979.

2. H. CON. RES. 158: Recognizing the importance of inheritance rights of women in Africa.

3. H. CON. RES. 228: Expressing the sense of Congress that the National Family Caregiver Support Program should be fully funded to continue efforts to provide relief and necessary services to individuals who perform informal or unpaid care for the elderly and care for children under 18 years of age.

4. H. CON. RES. 333: Expressing support and appreciation for the longstanding alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea, and for other purposes.

5. H. CON. RES. 352: Recognizing the contributions of people of Indian origin to the United States and the benefits of working together with India towards promoting peace, prosperity, and freedom among all countries of the world.

6. H. CON. RES. 399: Urging the President to provide encouragement and support for the ratification, establishment, and financing of a tribunal for the prosecution of surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge regime.

7. H. CON. RES. 516: Congratulating Jimmy Haywood and Kenny Roy for setting world records in civil aviation history and commending youth aviation programs that encourage young minorities to enter the field of civil aviation.

8. H. CON. RES. 532: Commending the Aero Squad After School Program at Tomorrow’s Aeronautical Museum in Compton, California, as well as other youth aviation programs that expose young minorities to the field of civil aviation.

9. H. RES. 65: Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the military service of Filipinos during World War II and their eligibility for benefits under programs administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs.
10. H. RES. 289: Congratulations El Dorado Park South for winning first prize in the Neighborhood of the Year contest.

11. H. RES. 386: Honoring the life and accomplishments to Althea Gibson, a pioneer who left an indelible mark on sports, breaking the color barrier in the sport of tennis in the 1950’s and helping pave the way for future generations of black athletes.

12. H. RES. 436: Honoring the United States Army Volunteer Reserve for it's dedicated and distinguished service to veterans and communities in need in the United States.

13. H. R. 697: To amend the Inter-modal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 to designate a high priority corridor in California.

14. H. R. 1143: To amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to permit States to expand Medicaid eligibility to uninsured, poor adults.

15. H. R. 1144: To provide, with respect to diabetes in minority populations, for an increase in the extent of activities carried out by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the National Institutes of Health.

16. H. R. 1145: To provide additional appropriations for the fiscal year 2003 for the Peace Corps.

17. H. R. 1147: To improve the safety of firearms.

18. H. R. 1148: To direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to carry out activities to assess and reduce the vulnerabilities of public transportation systems.

19. H. R. 1149: To authorize the Secretary of Health and Human Services to carry out programs regarding the prevention and management of asthma, allergies, and related respiratory problems, to establish a tax credit regarding pest control and indoor air quality and climate control services for multifamily residential housing in low-income communities, and for other purposes.

20. H. R. 1362: To provide enhanced Federal enforcement and assistance in preventing and prosecuting crimes of violence against children.

21. H. R. 1401: To support the establishment or expansion and operation of programs using a network of public and private community entities to provide mentoring of children in foster care.

22. H. R. 1449: To amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to establish a program to provide assistance to enhance the ability of first responders to respond to incidents
of terrorism, including incidents involving weapons of mass destruction, and to improve security of infrastructure, and for other purposes including emergency preparedness.

23. H.R. 1485: To provide additional appropriation for the fiscal year 2003 for the MTCT-Plus Initiative at Columbia University’s Mailman School of Public Health.

24. H.R. 1486: To direct the Secretary of Education to conduct a study of the rate at which Native Americans and student who reside in American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands, and Guam drop out of secondary schools in the United States, and for other purposes.

25. H.R. 1487: To direct the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to prepare a report about how the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 has been used by public and private sector employers to foster or exacerbate pay inequity.

26. H.R. 1488: To restore the standards used for determining whether technical workers are not employees as in effect before the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

27. H.R. 1983: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the immigration to the United States of certain aliens both born in the Philippines or Japan who were fathered by United State citizens.

28. H.R. 1984: To amend title 38, United States Code, to improve benefits for Filipino veterans of World War II, and for other purposes.

29. H.R. 2309: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 2300 Redondo Avenue in Long Beach, California, as the “Stephen Horn Post Office Building.”

30. H.R. 2374: To amend the Small Business Act to allow more joint ventures, leader-follow arrangements, and teaming arrangements under the section 8(a) minority business development program.

31. H.R. 2375: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the contribution limits applicable to simple retirement accounts.

32. H.R. 2376: To prevent and respond to terrorism and crime at or through ports.

33. H.R. 2539: To provide enhanced Federal enforcement and assistance in preventing and prosecuting crimes of violence against children.
34. H. R. 2540: To require the Secretary of Defense to report to Congress regarding the requirements applicable to the inscription of veterans' names on the memorial wall of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

35. H. R. 2880: To support the establishment or expansion and operation of programs using a network of public and private community entitles to provide mentoring for children in foster care.

36. H. R. 3099: To amend the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 to establish a pilot program for lending to small, non-profit child care businesses.

37. H. R. 3398: To amend title 23, United States Code, to establish a goods movement program to improve the productivity, security, and safety of freight transportation gateways.

38. H. R. 3712: To improve seaport security.

39. H. R. 3960: To authorize the use of Federal funds for research on human embryonic stem cells irrespective of the date on which such stem cells were derived, and for other purposes.

40. H. R. 4072: To authorize the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to conduct minority health programs.

41. H. R. 4094: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a Federal income tax credit for production of energy from geothermal energy resources, and for other purposes.

42. H. R. 4095: To amend title XVIII of Social Security Act to provide for the use of qualified family caregivers in the provision of home health aide services under the Medicare Program, to amend the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, and for other purposes.

43. H. R. 4191: To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for the establishment of a network of pediatric centers in certain developing countries to provide treatment and care for children with HIV/AIDS, and for other purposes.

44. H. R. 5054: To direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to carry out a pilot program to evaluate the use of hardened container for cargo and luggage on passenger aircraft.

45. H. R. 5143: To amend title 46, United States Code, to direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to carry out an empty shipping container sealing pilot program
to encourage shipping container handlers to seal empty shipping containers after they have unpacked them, and for other purposes.

46. H. AMDT. 36 to H. R. 1559: Amendment provides that of the $30 million provided in the bill for surface transportation security, $8 million be used for transit security.

47. H. AMDT. 123 to H. R. 1261: Amendment gives additional priority for training services to single parents, displaced homemakers, and pregnant single women.


49. H. AMDT. 679 to H. R. 4667: An amendment which seeks to increase the amount allocated under the heading “Office for State and Local Government Coordination and Preparedness – State and local programs” for port security grants by $275,000,000 and reducing amount available for “Emergency Preparedness and Response – disaster relief” by $275,000,000.

50. H. AMDT. 649 to H. R. 4754: Amendment provides increased funding for the Small Business Administration’s Women’s Business Centers Program
APPENDIX K

Legislation Sponsored by Eleanor Holmes Norton in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON.RES.131: Expressing the sense of the Congress that student travel is a vital component of the educational process.


4. H. R. 1012: To establish the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

5. H. R. 1285: To provide for full voting representation in Congress for the citizens of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.


7. H. R. 1450: To amend the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to permit the Council of the District of Columbia to impose a tax on the income of professional baseball players, which is earned within the District of Columbia.

8. H. R. 1695: To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to prohibit discrimination in the payment of wages on account of sex, race, or national origin, and for other purposes.

9. H. R. 1952: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that the first-time homebuyer credit for the District of Columbia be made permanent, and for other purpose.

10. H. R. 2252: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the taxes on certain alcoholic beverages and to provide additional funds for alcohol abuse prevention programs.
11. H. R. 2334: To amend the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to establish the Office of the District Attorney for the District of Columbia, headed by a locally elected and independent District Attorney, and for other purposes.

12. H. R. 2493: To assist local governments in conducting gun buyback programs.

13. H. R. 2647: To provide for nuclear disarmament and economic conversion in accordance with District of Columbia Initiative Measure Number 37 of 1992.

14. H. R. 2669: To provide a model for school districts in the United States using and building on the experience of the District of Columbia in establishing fully accountable public alternatives to traditional public schools.

15. H. R. 2820: To extend to the Mayor of the District of Columbia that same authority with respect to the National Guard of the District of Columbia as the Governors of the several States exercise with respect to the National Guard of those States.

16. H. R. 3278: To permit statues honoring citizens of the District of Columbia to be placed in Statuary Hall in the same manner as statues honoring citizens of the States are placed in Statuary Hall, and for other purposes.

17. H. R. 3301: To amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to encourage the implementation or expansion of pre-kindergarten programs for students 4 years of age or younger.

18. H. R. 3381: To enhance the rights of crime victims, to establish grants for local governments to assist crime victims, and for other purposes.

19. H. R. 3449: To provide reliable officers, technology, education, community prosecutors, and training in our neighborhoods.

20. H. R. 3622: To amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and the Water Resources Development Act of 1992 to provide for the restoration, protection, and enhancement of the environmental integrity and social and economic benefits of the Anacostia Watershed in the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

21. H. R. 4268: To amend the Safe Drinking Water Act to ensure that the District of Columbia and States are provided a safe, lead free supply of drinking water.

22. H. R. 4269: To establish an annual Federal infrastructure support contribution for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

23. H. R. 4293: To modify the boundary of the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site in Washington, District of Columbia.
24. H. R. 4294: To designate the annex to the E. Barrett Prettyman Federal Building and United States Courthouse located at 333 Constitution Avenue Northwest in the District of Columbia as the “William B. Bryant Annex”.

25. H. R. 4336: To amend part C of title XVIII of the Social Security Act to prohibit the operation of the Medicare comparative cost adjustment (CCA) program in the District of Columbia.

26. H. R. 4361: To provide for the security of public transportation systems in the United States, and for other purposes.

27. H. R. 4455: To prohibit discrimination on the basis of certain factors with respect to any aspect of a surety bond transaction.

28. H. AMDT. 163 to H. R. 2115: Amendment repeals a section of the law that requires the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority (MWAA) to obtain special legislation to be eligible to receive airport project grants and to receive airport project grants and to impose passenger facility fees.

29. H. AMDT. 367 to H. R. 2765: Amendment sought to delete $10 million appropriated for a District of Columbia scholarship program.

30. H. AMDT. 623 to H. R. 4614: Amendment sought to increase general project construction funding for the Department of the Army—Corps of Engineers.

31. H. AMDT. 767 to H. R. 5025: An amendment to insert a new section on page 166 after line 3: Sec. 647. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used to enter into or renew any contract under chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, for a high deductible health plan that does not require enrollees to remain enrolled in such plan for at least 3 consecutive years from the date of initial enrollment.
APPENDIX L

Legislation Sponsored by Diane E. Watson in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 239: Expressing the sense of the Congress that the global diamond industry, as represented by the World Diamond Council, should provide transition development assistance to communities in Sierra Leone, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the illicit trade in conflict diamonds for arms fueled civil war, and for other purposes.

2. H. CON. RES. 357: Permitting the use of the rotunda of the Capitol for a ceremony to award a Congressional Gold Medal to Dr. Dorothy Height.

3. H. RES. 511: Recognizing the accomplishments of the University of Southern California’s football, women’s volleyball, and men’s water polo teams.

4. H. RES. 576: Urging the Government of the People’s Republic of China to improve it’s protection of intellectual property rights, and for other purposes.

5. H. RES. 793: Condemning all efforts to suppress and intimidate votes in United States and reaffirming that the right to vote is a fundamental right of all eligible United States citizens.

6. H. R. 1207: To amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to withhold Federal student financial assistance from students who have engaged in hazing, and for other purposes.

7. H. R. 1209: To extend the authority for the construction of a memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr., in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

8. H. R. 1680: To prohibit after 2008 the introduction into interstate commerce of mercury intended for use in a dental filling, and for other purposes.

9. H. R. 1821: To award a congressional gold medal to Dorothy Height in recognition of her many contributions to the Nation.

10. H. R. 1822: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 3751 West 6th Street in Los Angeles, California, as the “Dosan Ahn Chang Ho Post Office.”
11. H. R. 2670: To limit the reimbursement of travel expenses of the members and employees of the Federal Communications Commission.

12. H. R. 4624: To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 4960 West Washington Boulevard in Los Angeles, California, as the “Ray Charles Post Office Building”.


APPENDIX M

Legislation Sponsored by Maxine Waters in the 108th Congress

1. H. CON. RES. 269: Expressing the sense of Congress that the trade and economic development policies of the United States should respect and support the rights of African farmers with respect to their agricultural and biological resources, traditional knowledge, and technologies.

2. H. CON. RES. 370: Expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should support the principles of democracy and constitutional rule in the Republic of Haiti, and for other purposes.

3. H. CON. RES. 395: Honoring Donald J. Smith for his commitment to providing housing and economic assistance opportunities to Los Angeles-area low-income families.

4. H. R. 390: To authorize emergency supplemental assistance to combat the growing humanitarian crisis in sub-Saharan Africa.

5. H. R. 643: To urge reforms of the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, and for other purposes.

6. H. R. 1108: To require the Secretary of the Treasury to direct the United States Executive Director at the Inter-American Development Bank to use the voice, vote, and influence of the United States to urge the immediate resumption of lending to Haiti.

7. H. R. 1868: To amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a program to provide screenings and treatment for cancer to minority and other populations served by health centers under section 330 of such Act, and for other purposes.

8. H. R. 1901: To require public disclosure of noncompetitive contracting for the reconstruction of the infrastructure of Iraq, and for other purposes.

9. H. R. 2066: To amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the allowance for burial expenses of certain veterans buried in private or State-owned cemeteries.

10. H. R. 2090: To limit the redistricting that States may do after an apportionment of Representatives.
11. H. R. 2470: To require certain actions with respect to the availability of medicines for HIV/AIDS and other diseases in developing countries.

12. H. R. 2553: To amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to provide treatment for diabetes in minority communities.

13. H. R. 2985: To direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to conduct a review of the proposed project for construction of a remote passenger check-in facility at Los Angeles International Airport, and for other purposes.

14. H. R. 3451: To amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants for treatment and support services for Alzheimer's patients and their families.

15. H. R. 3642: To require the Secretary of State to prepare an annual report on progress made to eradicate poppy cultivation and prevent illicit drug trafficking in Afghanistan.

16. H. R. 3878: To establish the Commission on American Jobs.

17. H. R. 3911: To make certain companies that have outsourced jobs during the previous five years ineligible for the receipt of Federal grants, Federal contracts, Federal loan guarantees, and other Federal funding, and for other purposes.

18. H. R. 3912: -- Private Bill; For the relief of Rafael Camacho, Rosa B. Camacho, and Rosa Camacho.

19. H. R. 4511: To provide for the cancellation of debts owed to the International Monetary Fund by poor countries, and for other purposes.

20. H. R. 4716: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the suitability and feasibility of designating Ballona Bluff, located in Los Angeles, California, as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes.

21. H. R. 4793: To provide for the cancellation of debts owed to international financial institutions by poor countries, and for other purposes.

22. H. R. 5103: To repeal mandatory minimum sentencing for certain Federal crimes and restore justice and fairness to Federal sentencing practices.

23. H. AMDT. 49 to H. R. 1559: An amendment numbered 7 printed in the Congressional Record urges the Inter-Development Bank to resume lending to Haiti.
24. H. AMDT. 50 to H. R. 1559: An amendment numbered 9 printed in the Congressional Record.

25. H. AMDT. 51 to H. R. 1559: An amendment numbered 8 printed in the Congressional Record.

26. H. AMDT. 187 to H. R. 2555: An amendment to have the Secretary of Homeland Security shall conduct a review of the proposed project for construction of a remote passenger check-in facility at Los Angeles International Airport to determine whether the project as designed will protect the safety of air passengers and the general public. Upon completion of the review and not later than the end of fiscal year 2004, the Secretary shall transmit to Congress and the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration a report containing the results of the review.

27. H. AMDT. 250 to H. R. 1950: Amendment requires the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress on the progress made in modifying the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative.

28. H. AMDT. 355 to H. R. 2989: An amendment numbered 26 printed in the Congressional Record.

29. H. AMDT. 385 to H. R. 2622: Amendment sought to specify that the bill does not preempt the California Financial Information Privacy Act or the Consumer Credit Reporting Agencies Act of California.

30. H. AMDT. 447 to H. R. 1829: Amendment adds language concerning the hourly wage to be paid to inmates participating in Federal Prison Industries; and provides for the holding of funds in trust for prisoners to be paid upon release.

31. H. AMDT. 482 to H. R. 1375: Amendment deletes section 609 of the bill that provided for reducing the minimum waiting period that banks must wait before completing a proposed merger from 15 days to 5 days.

32. H. AMDT. 503 to H. R. 3550: An amendment numbered 12 printed in part B of House Report 108-456 to prohibit the use of funds for surface transportation projects that are planned or required to implement Alternative D of the Master Plan for Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) or any other proposal to build a remote passenger check-in facility at LAX.

33. H. AMDT. 770 to H. R. 5025: An amendment numbered 12 printed in the Congressional Record to insert the following new section at the end of the bill before the short title: None of the funds made available in this Act may be used to implement any sanction imposed by the United States on private commercial sales of agricultural commodities (as defined in section 402 of the Agricultural Trade
Development and Assistance Act of 1954) or medicine or medical supplies (within the meaning of section 1705 (e) of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992) to Cuba (other than a sanction imposed pursuant to agreement with one or more other countries).


**Journals**


**Papers**


Curtis, Mary C. “Paycheck Fairness: Lilly Ledbetter is the bridge between women and the economy,” *Washington Post*, June 5, 2012


**Websties**


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