

**Mean Girls (and Boys)?
Sex, Collegiality, and Cooperation in the U.S. Congress**

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On June 11, 2015, 56 members of Congress (55 men and Linda Sanchez) arrived at Nationals Park ready to play ball. Since 1909, the Congressional Baseball Game has been a staple of DC politics.¹ Although the game has been described as an annual “antidote for much of the toxic polarization suffusing the Capitol Hill work day,” Democrats and Republicans fielded teams that were as competitive on the baseball diamond as they are on the House and Senate floor.² Indeed, *Roll Call*'s accounts of the “yearly partisan face off” read like ESPN's homepage. Well, sort of. Most sporting event recaps don't mention that the athletes had hours earlier faced a “nail-biting procedural vote to pave the way for a Friday floor vote on two trade measures.”³ And rarely do baseball fans chant, “TPA! TPA,” referring to the Trade Priorities and Accountability Act of 2015. But for the most part, the coverage was run of the mill. “Republicans had a rough start, making a series of errors in the bottom of the first inning that gave Democrats their first two runs,” political analysts noted. And despite a “brief moment of hope in their last at-bat . . . the momentum ultimately did not shift in the GOP's favor.” The Democrats attained their seventh consecutive victory, besting the Republicans 5 to 2.

Two weeks later, at Watkins Recreation Center in Southeast DC, the scene was quite different. Twenty female members of Congress – 11 Democrats and nine Republicans – came together to play the female press corps in what has become an annual seven-inning softball game.

¹ There have been some interruptions, of course: The Great Depression, World War II, and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn's decision to cancel the game from 1958 to 1962 because it had become “too physical.” See “History,” Congressional Baseball Game for Charity. Accessed at: <http://www.congressionalbaseball.org/history.html> (March 7, 2016).

² David Hawkings, “Going to the Baseball Game? Sit in the Middle,” *Roll Call*, June 8, 2015. Accessed at: <http://blogs.rollcall.com/hawkings/congressional-baseball-game-2015-republicans-vs-democrats/?dcz=> (March 7, 2016).

³ Bridget Bowman, “Democrats Win Seventh Straight Congressional Baseball Game,” *Roll Call*, June 12, 2015. Accessed at: <http://hoh.rollcall.com/democrats-win-7th-straight-congressional-baseball-game/?dcz> (August 9, 2015).

Leaving their party affiliations off the field, the women engaged in an evening of bipartisan bonding. Democrat Kirsten Gillibrand bragged about convincing “top-recruit” Republican Elise Stefanik to join the team.⁴ Democratic National Committee Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz high-fived Alabama Republican Martha Roby after securing a 1-0 victory over the “Bad News Babes.”⁵ And emcee Senator Amy Klobuchar gushed about her female colleagues – Democrats and Republicans alike: “We call it beat the press, not meet the press!”⁶ Described by Democrat Donna Edwards as a “wonderful way for us to get to know our colleagues,”⁷ and by Republican Mia Love as an opportunity to “meet some people that I wouldn’t have had the chance to actually meet,”⁸ the early summer face-off fostered across-the-aisle collegiality that rarely surfaces on Capitol Hill.

Of course, it’s not only the softball field where female members of Congress have been known to cross party lines and socialize with one another. From chronicling bipartisan dinners to trips to the theatre, and bowling nights to baby showers, media accounts routinely highlight the friendships women in Congress have built with one another.⁹ As a result of these friendships – so the conventional wisdom goes – women are more likely to trust and cooperate with one another when it comes to governing. Senator Klobuchar, for example, believes that social relationships allowed women in the Senate to “craft a long-term budget without the counterproductive barbs that

⁴ Christina Bellantoni, “Freshmen Join Congressional Women’s Softball Game,” *Roll Call*, May 21, 2015. Accessed at: <http://hoh.rollcall.com/congressional-womens-softball-game-2015-list-of-players/> (March 7, 2016).

⁵ Bridget Bowman, “A Record-Breaking Congressional Women’s Softball Game,” *Roll Call*, June 26, 2015. Accessed at: <http://hoh.rollcall.com/a-record-breaking-congressional-womens-softball-game/> (March 7, 2016).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Bridget Bowman, “Running the Bases while Running for Senate,” *Roll Call*, June 24, 2015. Accessed at: <http://hoh.rollcall.com/edwards-senate-congressional-womens-softball-game/?dcz=> (March 7, 2016).

⁸ Bridget Bowman, “A Record-Breaking Congressional Women’s Softball Game,” *Roll Call*, June 26, 2015. Accessed at: <http://hoh.rollcall.com/a-record-breaking-congressional-womens-softball-game/> (March 7, 2016).

⁹ See, for example, Jay Newton-Small, *Broad Influence: How Women Are Changing the Way America Works*, New York: Times Books, 2016.

some politicians throw at each other when they don't agree."¹⁰ Republican Senator Susan Collins contends that "women of the Senate are more likely to collaborate and to realize that we can disagree on an issue but still seek common ground."¹¹ When women – referred to by reporters at the time as the "only adults left in Washington" – received credit for ultimately ending the government shutdown in the fall of 2013, then-Senator Mark Pryor became a "huge fan" of his female colleagues. "Women in the Senate is a good thing," he told a reporter. "We're all just glad they allowed us to tag along so we could see how it's done."¹²

As normatively appealing as this prevailing view might be, no systematic analysis has yet demonstrated that female members of Congress are more collegial and, as a result, more adept at solving problems than their male colleagues. And for at least three reasons, such a conclusion needs rigorous examination before it's accepted. First, we tend to conclude that congresswomen's social behavior makes them "different" from men, but we have no sense of how often men engage in similar activities. It's just not newsworthy and doesn't present a photo opportunity when male legislators dine together, take in a sporting event, or meet for a drink. Senator Jeff Flake, for example, refers to the congressional baseball game as "one of the best institutions in Congress" because of the camaraderie it fosters and bipartisan friendships it generates.¹³ Nevertheless, the game does not receive the same glowing news coverage touting bipartisanship that the women's softball game does. Second, it is imperative to look beyond high-profile examples of cooperation to

¹⁰ Laura Bassett, "Men Got Us into this Shutdown, Women Got Us Out," *Huffington Post*, October 16, 2013. Accessed at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/16/shutdown-women_n_4110268.html (March 14, 2016).

¹¹ Christopher Cousins, "Susan Collins Named One of the 25 Most Influential Women in Congress by CQ Roll Call," *Bangor Daily News*, May 18, 2015. Accessed at: <http://stateandcapitol.bangordailynews.com/2015/05/19/susan-collins-named-one-of-the-most-powerful-women-in-washington/> (March 14, 2016).

¹² Laura Bassett, "Men Got Us into this Shutdown, Women Got Us Out," *Huffington Post*, October 16, 2013. Accessed at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/16/shutdown-women_n_4110268.html (March 14, 2016).

¹³ Nihal Krishan, "For One Night, Lawmakers Put Aside Political Games for a Baseball Game," *Cronkite News – Arizona PBS*, June 11, 2015. Accessed at: <https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/2015/06/11/for-one-night-lawmakers-put-aside-political-games-for-a-baseball-game/> (May 9, 2016).

conclude that women govern differently. To be sure, women played an instrumental role in ending the 2013 shutdown. But was the shutdown an anomaly? Were the stakes so unusually high that legislators behaved differently than might otherwise be the case? Under more routine circumstances, do women exhibit a tendency to work to solve the country's problems in a way that men don't? Third, in an era of unprecedented levels of party polarization, is it realistic to believe that women, regardless of how friendly they are with their colleagues, will be any less likely than men to engage in partisan gamesmanship? After all, women and men face the same electoral constraints and incentives. Despite growing bodies of research about party polarization, women's leadership, and legislative effectiveness, these remain largely open questions.

Or at least they did until now. In this paper, we offer the first comprehensive study of gender and cooperation on Capitol Hill. Based on an examination of more than a decade's worth of social engagement activities, we find substantial evidence that women are, in fact, systematically more likely than men to foster a collegial work environment. But that's where support for the conventional wisdom ends. We find virtually no gender differences in legislative behavior. Our analysis of 29,801 days that members of Congress spent traveling abroad; sponsorship and cosponsorship patterns of more than 1,500 senators and representatives; nearly 14,000 procedural votes; and the disposition of almost 5,000 amendments, reveals that women in neither party are more likely than their male co-partisans to be "problem solvers" – people who create a climate for passing legislation. Rather, the role the sex of a legislator plays in moving the legislative process along is substantially constrained by the party in which she or he serves. Scholars have already noted the lack of gender differences when it comes to substantive votes (e.g. Frederick 2009; Schwindt-Bayer and Corbetta 2004; Swers 2013). Now, it's clear that the same pattern persists when it comes to fact-finding abroad, cosponsoring legislation, and interfacing with congressional procedures. Although women's presence in Congress certainly promotes democratic legitimacy and simple

justice – both of which are important in their own right – it is unlikely that more female faces will reduce the hyper-partisanship, gridlock, and stalemate that stymie the legislative process on Capitol Hill.

Women as Problem-Solvers? Background and Expectations

The notion that women in Congress, even if they don't always agree substantively, are more likely than men to work together to solve problems has become part of the popular political discourse. The rationale underpinning this argument has two steps: (1) Women are more likely than men to develop personal relationships with their colleagues and, thus, a sense of trust; and (2) Because this trust generates a propensity to cooperate, women are more likely than men to invest in the institution of Congress by striving to move the legislative process along. Whereas men often create problems because they value partisan gamesmanship, women often solve them by compromising to get the legislature's business done.

Although this argument has not yet been tested systematically, the first step of its rationale is well-established. For decades, studies from a range of disciplines have found that friendships in the workplace can promote organizational success and worker satisfaction (e.g., Berman, West, and Richter 2002; Gruenfeld et al. 1996; Pfeffer 1994). Because socializing outside of work can act as a repeated strategic interaction, the social capital that emerges beyond the workplace promotes general trust within it (Cohen and Prusak 2011; Spagnolo 1999). Friends are better able than mere acquaintances to resolve conflicts and perform decision-making tasks (Shah and Jehn 1993). And because people want to avoid damaging their personal relationships, social relations often also come with “expectations of trust and abstention from opportunism” (Granovetter 1985, 490; see also Greenhalgh and Chapman 1998).

A substantial body of research also suggests that women are more likely than men to prioritize these personal relationships and, as such, to engage in collegial behavior professionally.

Studies of corporate boards, for example, find that women are more collaborative than men and that this cooperation enhances the quality of board governance (Konrad, Kramer, and Erkut 2008). Analyses of local and state-level elected officials reveal the same thing. Tolleson-Rinehart's (1991) study of mayors, for instance, finds that women tend to adopt an approach to governing that emphasizes congeniality, whereas men tend to emphasize hierarchy (see also Weikart et al. 2007). In a similar vein, because female state legislators are motivated by building and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Richardson and Freeman 1995), they spend more time negotiating with their colleagues than men do (Epstein, Niemi, and Powell 2005; see also Kathlene 1994; Rosenthal 1998; Whicker and Jewell 1998).

It's the second step of the rationale – that women will be more helpful in moving the process along – that we view more skeptically. When it comes to the U.S. Congress, the role a legislator's sex plays in shaping policy is substantially limited by party. This wasn't always the case. For years, scholars uncovered gender differences in members' priorities and preferences. Based on an analysis of bill sponsorship and floor remarks in the 104th through 107th Congresses, for example, Gerrity, Osborn, and Mendez (2007) found that women who replaced men in the same district were more likely to focus on “women's” issues, such as gender equity, day care, flex time, and abortion (see also Burrell 1996; Frederick 2011; MacDonald and O'Brien 2011). Moreover, in the 1990s, both Democratic and moderate Republican women in Congress were more likely than men to use their bill sponsorship and cosponsorship activity to focus on “women's” issues (Dodson 1998; Paolino 1995; Swers 2002).

But as the parties have polarized, which has resulted in fewer moderates in both the House and Senate, these patterns have dissipated. Women (and men) are first and foremost partisan creatures. In the Senate, for example, Swers (2013) finds that the stark differences between the parties on issues pertaining to women, families, and children now far exceed any gender differences

on these issues. Schwindt-Bayer and Corbetta (2004) find that, controlling for party and constituency influences, member sex does not predict the “liberalness” of roll call behavior from the 103rd to the 105th Congresses (1993-1999). Frederick’s (2009) examination of the 108th and 109th Congresses (2003-2007) reveals the same pattern: Republican women and men are ideologically indistinguishable, even when it comes strictly to “women’s” issues.

Given that scholars now uncover virtually no evidence of gender differences in the substantive votes members cast, we are reticent to expect that women and men will approach the rest of the legislative process – such as information gathering, cosponsoring bills, or shaping the procedures that structure floor debate – any differently either. Consider, for example, votes on procedural tactics, which include resolutions setting up the rules for debate, motions to adjourn, motions to instruct conferees, cloture motions to restrict filibusters in the Senate, and motions to table amendments. It is actually these votes where the rise of congressional partisanship has been the most dramatic (Roberts and Smith 2003; Sinclair 2006; Theriault 2008). So much of the partisan war these days is fought on procedural grounds that Democrat John Dingell, the legendary former chair of the Energy and Commerce Committee, famously quipped: “If you let me write the procedures and I let you write the substance, I’ll [beat] you every time.”¹⁴ There is little reason to expect female legislators to be any more naïve than men to this reality and thus any less likely to game the legislative process.

Taken together, the extant research suggests that women in Congress may be more likely than men to develop friendships across the aisle, but that these relationships will not influence their behavior as members of the House or Senate. More specifically, our synthesis of the literature leads to two expectations: (1) Women will be more likely than men to participate in activities that generate

¹⁴ Quoted from Oleszek (1996, 12). Jackley (1992, 113) attributes a similar quote to Tony Coelho when he was Majority Whip: “Give me process and the other guy substance, and I’ll win every time.”

comity and collegiality in Congress, but (2) when it comes to moving the legislative process along, women will be just as constrained by their partisan identities as men and, accordingly, will be no more likely to engage in “problem-solving” behavior.

Gender, Comity, and Collegiality: Assessing Patterns of Social Engagement

The first step in testing the argument that women are more likely than men to be “problem solvers” is with an assessment of whether they are more likely than men to contribute to civility in Congress. After all, the assumption that congresswomen are more cooperative than their male colleagues is predicated, at least in part, on the expectation that the social relationships women develop outside the chamber generate a sense of trust and collegiality inside the halls of Congress. Unfortunately, tracking social engagement is difficult because no data repository houses information about the comings and goings of members of Congress. Moreover, many of the high-profile, bipartisan social activities that garner attention, such as the female senators’ monthly dinners or bowling excursions, are single-sex events. But three regularly-scheduled social activities – two restricted to just the Senate and one open to members of both chambers – do allow us to begin to gain leverage over gender differences in social engagement. These activities have the important feature of being open to men and women, Democrats and Republicans alike.

The first is the Secret Santa Gift Exchange. Initiated by Democratic Senator Al Franken in 2011 as a new strategy to combat rampant partisanship, the activity elicits some of the broadest bipartisan language heard every year on Capitol Hill. Franken describes the gift exchange as a way to “create comity and good cheer in an institution badly in need of both.”¹⁵ Republican Senator Tim

¹⁵ Jordain Carney, “Senators Give Candy, Adele Albums in Secret Santa Gift Swap,” *The Hill*, December 8, 2015. Accessed at: <http://thehill.com/blogs/in-the-know/in-the-know/262572-senators-hold-secret-santa-gift-swap> (March 10, 2016).

Scott says that it's a way "to sweeten the pot and improve the relationships; to get across the aisle."¹⁶ Independent Senator Angus King looks forward to the festivities because the event gives senators "a chance to cut through the clutter, spend time together and have a laugh."¹⁷ Senators who participate are held to a \$15 limit and are encouraged to select a gift with special meaning for the giver or the recipient (like the map Al Franken gave to Indiana's Joe Donnelly, marked with all of the significant moments in Donnelly's life, or the two lumps of West Virginia coal Joe Manchin had sculpted into a donkey and an elephant for New York's Chuck Schumer).

Seersucker Thursday provides a second opportunity to track social engagement. Started by then-Senator Trent Lott in 1996, Seersucker Thursday is a way to "bring a little Southern charm to the Capitol," and to remind senators how their predecessors had to dress in the 1950s, before air conditioning cooled down the chamber.¹⁸ On one Thursday each spring, senators are encouraged to join the "fashion parade," which, according to Lott, "some might call frivolous, but actually helps get things done."¹⁹ Even the official webpage of the United States Senate mentions the collegiality the event aims to inspire, noting that "senators voluntarily make this annual fashion statement in a spirit of good-humored harmony."²⁰

Finally, the annual congressional baseball and softball games allow us to determine which members of Congress choose to "settle scores and solidify friendships off the floor and on the

¹⁶ Tamara Keith, "Senators Laugh and Joke During Secret Santa Exchange," *National Public Radio*, December 18, 2013. Accessed at: <http://www.npr.org/2013/12/18/255185918/senates-secret-santa-successful> (March 10, 2016).

¹⁷ Kyle Plantz, "Franken's Senate Secret Santa Hits 5th Year of Bipartisan Giving," *The Hill*, November 16, 2015. Accessed at: thehill.com/blogs/in-the-know/260326-frankens-senate-secret-santa-hits-5th-year-of-bipartisan-giving (March 10, 2016).

¹⁸ Paul Bedard, "Suckers for Seersucker," *U.S. News & World Report*, June 13, 2007. Accessed at: <http://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/washington-whispers/2007/06/13/suckers-for-seersucker> (March 10, 2016).

¹⁹ Phone call with Trent Lott, June 24, 2015.

²⁰ U.S. Senate. "Seersucker Thursday." Accessed at: <http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/SeersuckerThursday.htm> (March 10, 2016).

field.”²¹ Although the Democrats and Republicans field mostly male teams for the Congressional Baseball Game, women do participate from time to time. And while only women can wield a bat or wear a glove in the Congressional Softball Game, their male colleagues have always participated by coaching the team. These games, in the words of Democratic Congressman Ed Perlmutter, “are a great time to meet other members of Congress, it’s just fun, we’re out doing something different than legislating.” Perlmutter actually told *Roll Call* that baseball practice and coaching the women’s team is his “favorite thing to do” in Washington, DC.²²

Official records are of no help when it comes to tracking participation in these activities. While the U.S. Constitution mandates that Congress keep a record of its proceedings, no similar mandate exists for saving baseball box scores or cataloguing who attends what event gift-in-hand. But through photos, news articles, website archives, and conversations with the offices of the Senate Historian and the House Historian, we assembled rosters of participants. Together, these three data sets allow us to determine whether women and men are equally likely to participate in symbolic activities that contribute to a sense of collegiality in Congress.

In a nutshell, they’re not. We uncover clear gender differences when it comes to social engagement off the chamber floors. Across time, women have been consistently more likely than men to participate in the three activities geared to promote a sense of comity and collegiality.

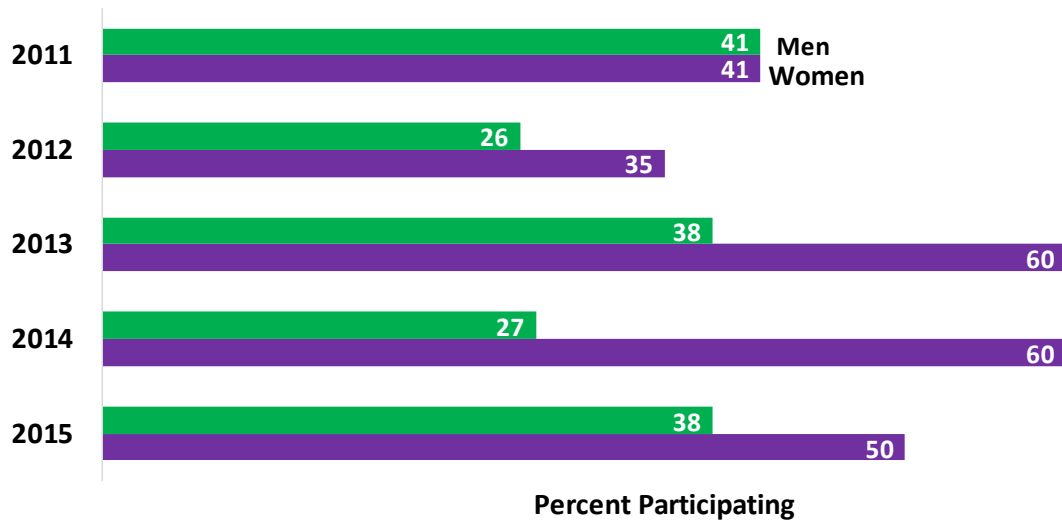
We begin with the Secret Santa gift exchange. Although participation rates vary from one congress to the next, approximately 40% of senators partake each year. Women, however, are statistically more likely than men to do so. From 2011 to 2015, 49% of women, compared to 34% of men, participated in Franken’s gift exchange (gender difference significant at $p < .05$). The data

²¹ “The Congressional Baseball Game for Charity.” Accessed at: <http://www.congressionalbaseball.org/> (May 9, 2016).

²² “Take 5: Rep. Ed Perlmutter,” *Roll Call*, March 16, 2015. Accessed at: <http://www.rollcall.com/heard-on-the-hill/take-five-ed-perlmutter/?dcz=> (May 9, 2016).

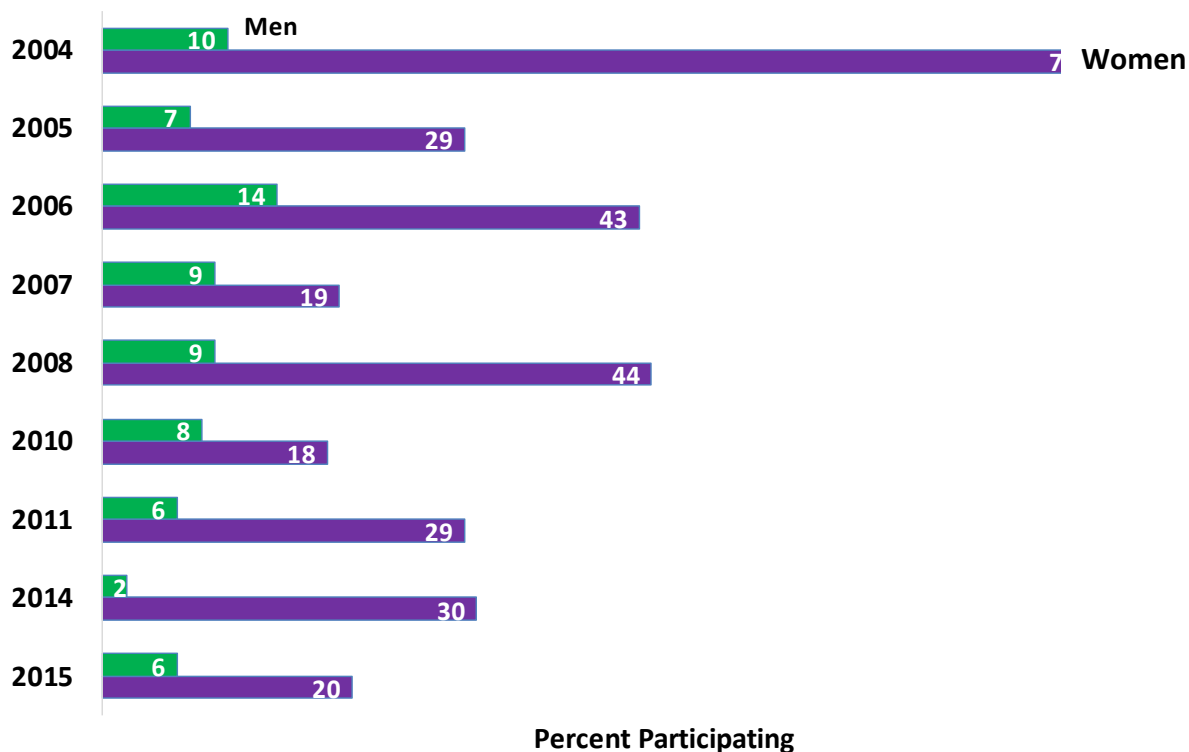
presented in Figure 1 indicate that, with the exception of the inaugural year (in which women and men participated in equal proportions), female senators have been more likely than their male colleagues to participate. This pattern persists across party (analysis not shown).

Figure 1. Participation Rates in the Senate’s Secret Santa Gift Exchange, 2011 – 2015



We also see greater female participation when we turn to Seersucker Thursday. The overall rates of participation are lower than they are for the holiday gift exchange – indeed, the average number of senators participating in any given year is only about 12 – but gender differences are clear. Over time, women have been more than four times as likely as men to participate (35% of women, compared to 8% of men; difference significant at $p < .05$). As illustrated in Figure 2, these results have been quite stable through the years. The only notable exception is 2004, which was the first time women were invited to take part in the tradition. Four out of every five chose to do so. Even though women’s numbers have dropped off in the last decade, they are still far more likely than men to participate. And once again, this is true on both sides of the aisle (analysis not shown).

Figure 2. Participation Rates in Seersucker Thursday, 2004 – 2015



The story is much the same when we turn to the annual congressional baseball and softball games. Each year, women are more likely than men to don a uniform and swing a bat. Whereas 12% of men in Congress, on average, play baseball or coach softball, 20% of women in the House and Senate take to the field (gender difference significant at $p < .05$). For this activity, too, the gender differences cross party lines.

Insofar as Secret Santa, Seersucker Thursday, and baseball and softball represent activities that offer members an opportunity to build the social fabric of Congress, the results are consistent with our expectation and the conventional wisdom: Women do, in fact, place a higher premium on comity than men do. Whether that spirit of collegiality translates into legislative behavior is the question to which we now turn.

Figure 3. Participation Rates in Congressional Baseball or Softball, 2009 – 2016



Gender and Problem Solving: Assessing Legislative Behavior

The second step of the argument shaping the conventional wisdom is that women are more likely than men to engage in behavior that advances the legislative process. If popular news accounts of women’s problem-solving roles extend beyond high-profile and commonly cited examples, then they should be more likely than men to exhibit bipartisan behavior when it comes to information gathering, cosponsoring bills, and interfacing with congressional procedures. No one data set or test of gender differences is perfect, and none alone can speak conclusively to women and men’s proclivity to cooperate. But in the pages that follow, we offer four new ways to measure a member’s propensity to “problem solve.” And we offer four sets of findings, all of which indicate that women are just as likely as men to play the partisan game that has come to characterize Washington, DC.

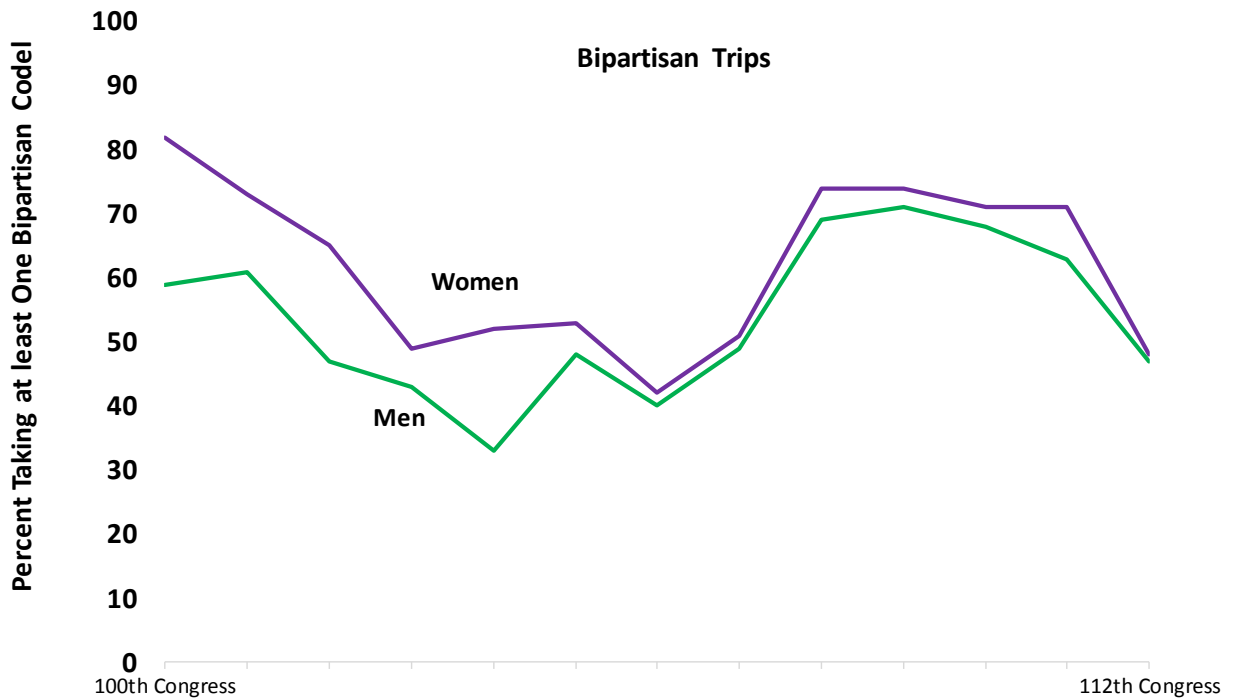
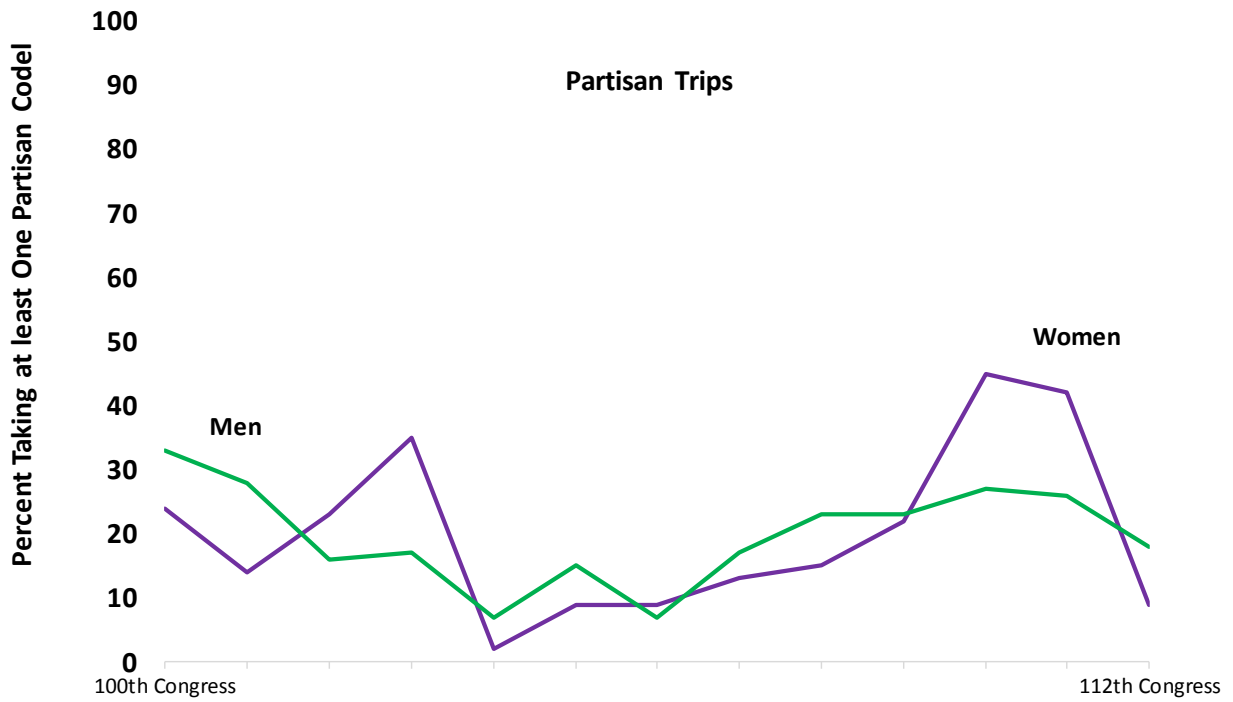
Test #1: Information Gathering through Congressional Delegation Travel

Throughout the legislative process, members of Congress seek information that can help guide their preferences and policy positions. Taking fact-finding trips abroad as part of formal congressional delegations – known as CODELs – is one way to gather the information needed to make informed foreign policy decisions. A member’s companions on the trip are important as well. Some CODELs are partisan (all members traveling together are of the same party), and others are bipartisan (the CODEL includes at least one Democrat and one Republican). Because members must report all publicly-funded foreign travel to the Clerk of the House, we can identify all trips they took from the 95th through the 112th Congresses (1977-2012) – which amounts to nearly 30,000 days of travel – and categorize each as partisan or bipartisan.²³ If women prioritize accruing information in a more collegial, cooperative way, then they should take fewer partisan, and more bipartisan, trips than men.

In short, the evidence – based on 9,732 unique observations of members’ CODEL behavior – does nothing to suggest that women acquire firsthand knowledge of the United States’ role in a global world any differently than men do. Consider, first, partisan trips. Overall, roughly 20% of men and 20% of women took at least one partisan trip. Although the percentage of members traveling varies from congress to congress, women and men generally participate in partisan CODELs at equal rates (see top panel of Figure 4). And they tend to spend a similar amount of time on these trips. Across congresses, Republican men traveled abroad with only their fellow partisans an average of 1.1 days, which is the exact same number as Republican women. For Democrats, partisan travel was a bit more frequent for both men (1.5 days) and women (1.8 days) alike.

²³ Records of foreign travel from the 95th to the first half of the 103rd Congress are found in the *Congressional Record*. Beginning in 1994, reports were placed on the Clerk of the House’s website. Members, of course, can also travel by themselves on fact-finding missions. We do not analyze those trips in this paper.

Figure 4. Members Taking at Least One Official Partisan or Bipartisan Trip, 1987 – 2012



Note: None of the gender differences for bipartisan travel is statistically significant. In the 110th and 111th Congresses, a greater proportion of women than men took at least one partisan trip ($p < .05$).

The story is much the same when we turn to bipartisan travel (see the bottom panel of Figure 4). Although women were slightly more likely than men in every congress to participate in at least one bipartisan CODEL, the gender difference is never statistically significant. The number of days spent on these trips also does not significantly differ between women (9.7 days) and men (9.2 days). And the same statistically insignificant pattern holds when we analyze the data separately by party (results not shown).

Of course, bivariate results do not account for any other relevant factors that contribute to the decision calculus underlying CODEL travel. A district's partisanship, as well as a member's electoral safety and legislative experience, can shape decisions about spending time away from the district and outside the country. Thus, before we draw any firm conclusions about the extent to which sex drives – or fails to drive – information gathering behavior, we must ensure that our results hold once we account for institutional and district factors.

In order to determine the relative effect of the sex of a legislator on CODEL behavior, we performed a series of regression analyses predicting in each congress first the number of days the member spent on partisan trips and then the number of days he or she spent on bipartisan CODELs. In addition to the sex of the legislator, we account for key variables that previous research has identified as relevant for legislative behavior: (1) the Republican presidential candidate's vote advantage in the state relative to how he performed nationwide in the previous election, (2) the legislator's two-party vote percentage in the previous election, and (3) the number of terms he or she has served in Congress. If gender differences don't emerge from these simple models, they are unlikely to reveal themselves in more complex models.²⁴

²⁴ Each model also includes congress fixed effects to account for idiosyncratic factors unique to each congress, as well as variation in congress-to-congress CODEL travel. Without these fixed effects, the observations from a particular congress would not be independent. We also include random effects for members to control for the dependence among the observations from the same member.

The multivariate results confirm the bivariate findings (see Appendix 1). In no case are women – either Democratic or Republican – statistically different from their male copartisans. And the lack of statistical significance cannot be attributed simply to the unsystematic way in which members travel in CODELs. Although sex never is statistically significant, seven of our control variables across the four models are.²⁵

Test #2: Bipartisan Sponsorship and Cosponsorship Activity

As opposed to casting a roll-call vote that can be fraught with procedural and downstream effects, sponsoring and cosponsoring bills is considered members' purest form of issue positioning (Kessler and Krehbiel 1996; Krehbiel 1995; Woon 2008). It's no surprise, then, that sponsorship and cosponsorship data have been used to examine everything from legislators' personal relationships to a proposal's ideological tilt (e.g., Browne and Rinquist 1985; Fowler 2006a, 2006b; Harbridge 2015; Panning 1982; Schiller 1995; Theriault 2008). For our purposes, analyzing cosponsorship activity can shed light on whether women are more likely than men to engage the legislative process in a way that values collaborating with colleagues from the other party.

The Lugar Center, which is “committed to thoughtful analysis and civil dialogue that facilitates bipartisan governance,” utilizes sponsorship and cosponsorship data to create a measure of members' abilities to work across the aisle.²⁶ The Center's “Bipartisan Index” includes two equally

²⁵ We also ran two additional sets of models. In the first, we interacted the sex of the member of Congress with each of the other independent variables. In the case of partisan trips, none of the interactions was statistically significant, either for Democrats or Republicans, and the coefficient on sex remained insignificant as well. The same is true for bipartisan trips taken by Democrats. Among Republicans, the interactions between sex and the two-party vote share, as well as sex and the GOP presidential candidate's vote share, were positive and significant in the model predicting bipartisan travel. The main effect on sex also reached the threshold for statistical significance, but in the negative direction. Taken together, the substantive effects of these variables do not alter the central findings we report in this section.

Then, we performed the regression analysis separately for each congress, and supplemented the models presented in Appendix 1 with an indicator variable for whether the member participated in the congressional baseball or softball game during each session. In no case was this gauge of social engagement among House members a statistically significant predictor of CODEL travel. And in no case did its inclusion affect the other results.

²⁶ “Mission.” Accessed at: <http://www.thelugarcenter.org/about.html> (May 9, 2016).

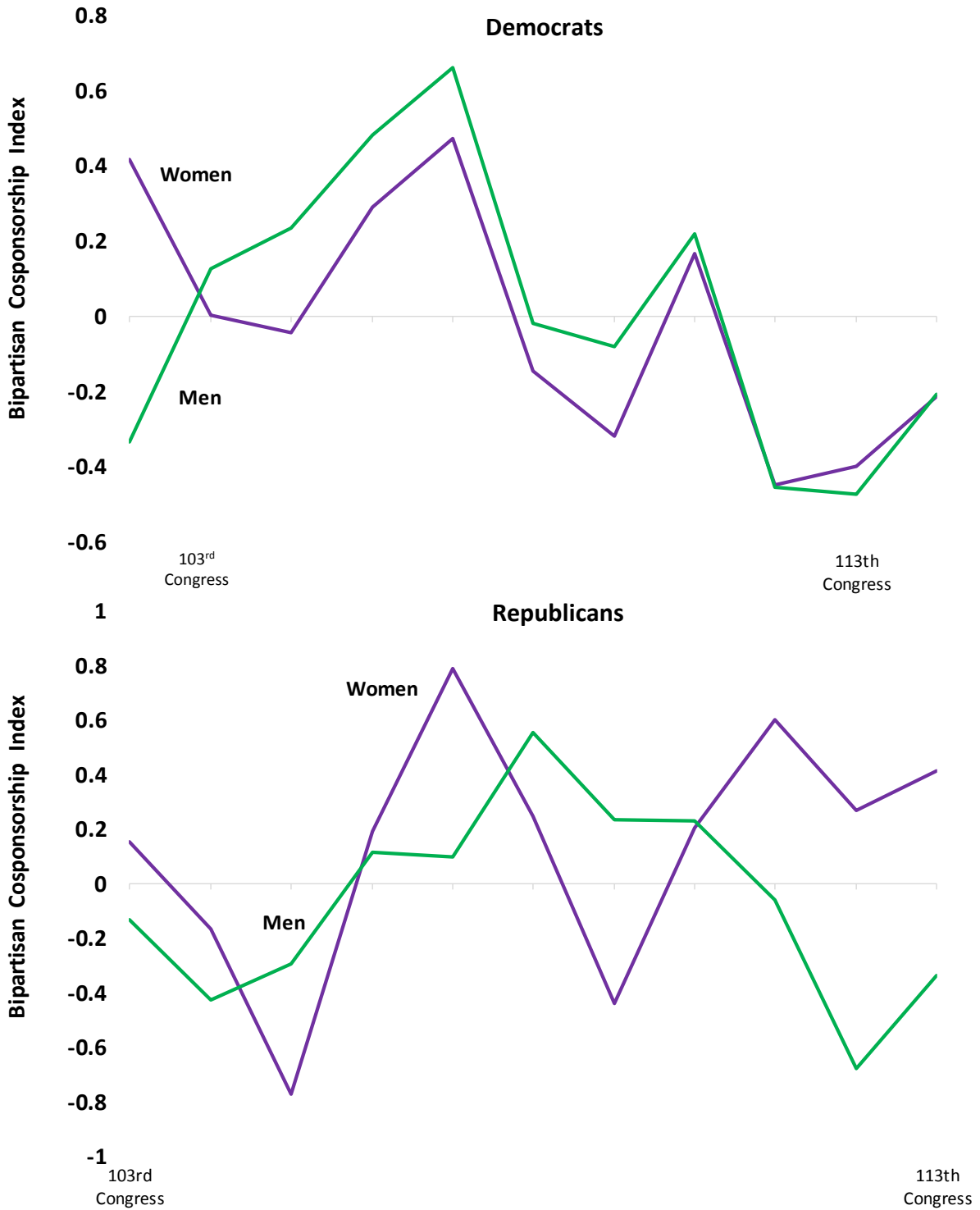
weighted components: (1) the frequency with which a senator cosponsors a bill introduced by a member of the opposite party; and (2) the frequency with which a senator's own bill attracts cosponsors from the opposite party. The measure excludes private relief bills, commemorative coin bills, and post office namings. Higher scores indicate greater levels of bipartisan support on sponsorship and cosponsorship activity.²⁷ On its face, the measure is valid and consistent with senators' reputations. Lincoln Chafee is at the top, and Jim DeMint is at the bottom, of the Lifetime Scores for bipartisanship.

According to the conventional wisdom, women should have a systematically higher Bipartisan Index than the men with whom they serve. But as was the case with the CODEL analysis, we find little in the data to support this supposition. In no congress were Democratic women's scores different from Democratic men's (top panel of Figure 5). The gender differences among Republicans might seem more apparent (bottom panel in Figure 5), but in all but the 112th Congress, the difference is not statistically significant. And that one small blip of bipartisanship is not robust to multivariate testing. When we include the same set of control variables that we used for the CODEL analysis, Democratic women and men are statistically indistinguishable from one another (see Appendix 2), as are their GOP colleagues.²⁸

²⁷ These two categories are a bit more nuanced than a simple dichotomy. Bipartisan Cosponsorship is a measure of the total number of bipartisan cosponsorships made by a member as a percentage of all of his or her cosponsorships. Bipartisan Sponsorships is similarly calculated, with the addition of a metric for Bipartisan Intensity, which is a weight that accounts for how many bipartisan co-sponsors a bill attracts. A bill is bipartisan if it has at least one cosponsor from the opposing party. Bipartisan Intensity weights bills that receive more support from the opposing party, but with diminishing returns. For more on measurement, see: "Overview of the Lugar Center – McCourt School Bipartisan Index." Accessed at: <http://www.thelugarcenter.org/ourwork-Bipartisan-Index.html> (May 9, 2016).

²⁸ In the model for Republican senators, we also include an indicator variable for Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins, the two female senators from Maine whose moderate voting records set them apart from their GOP colleagues. It's important to account for their presence so as to avoid sweeping conclusions about female Republicans based on two unusual senators.

Figure 5. Senators' Bipartisan Cosponsorship Scores, 1993 – 2014



Note: The gender difference is statistically significant (at $p < .05$) among Republicans in the 112th Congress.

The Lugar Center has also computed the Bipartisan Index for members of the House of Representatives, but just for the 113th Congress. The results from that lone congress lend no support to the notion that women are any more collaborative than men. As far as Republicans are concerned, women's scores do not differ from men's (see Appendix 2). On the Democratic side of the aisle, we do uncover statistically significant gender differences. But they are in the opposite direction from what the conventional wisdom predicts. That is, Democratic women are *less* bipartisan than Democratic men when it comes to cosponsoring legislation.²⁹

Test #3: Procedural Votes

If women are more likely than men to be collegial in problem solving, then we should also uncover gender differences when we examine how members of Congress evaluate the procedures setting up floor debate in both chambers. Most procedural votes merely create the structures by which the chambers get to the final passage votes; they in no way lock a member into a final passage vote. Majority parties use these votes to try to silence the voice of minority parties, and minority parties use them to try to construct legislative roadblocks. A bipartisan vote indicates that the parties are, together, trying to move the legislative process along. A partisan vote, on the other hand, indicates a strategy where gamesmanship trumps collegial problem solving. Thus, members who are

²⁹ As was the case with the CODEL data, we also performed a series of alternative model specifications that included interactions between sex and each of the independent variables. For Democrats and Republicans in the House, and for Democrats in the Senate, none of the interactions achieved statistical significance, and the insignificant coefficient on sex remained. For Republicans in the Senate, the interactions between sex and the two-party vote share, and sex and the GOP presidential candidate's vote share, were positive and significant predictors of the Bipartisan Index. The main effect on sex, however, did not reach the threshold for statistical significance, and the substantive effects of the interactions were small.

We also performed the regression analysis separately for each congress, and supplemented the House models presented in Appendix 2 with an indicator variable for whether the member participated in the congressional baseball or softball game during each session, and the Senate models with controls for all three social engagement activities (Secret Santa, Seersucker Thursday, and baseball/softball) for the year in question. For both parties in the Senate, and for Republicans in the House, none of the social engagement variables was ever statistically significant, and never did their inclusion affect the other results. Among House Democrats, baseball/softball participation was a statistically significant, positive predictor of the Bipartisan Index. The coefficient on female, however, was negative and significant. Substantively, women's greater participation in the softball game compensated for their lower Bipartisan Indices, but not enough, on average, to surpass Democratic men.

“problem solvers” should be more inclined than those who are not to vote with colleagues across the aisle on procedural matters.

We developed a multi-step data collection and configuration process to analyze procedural votes:

- (1) We determined which votes during each congress (dating back to the 93rd Congress in 1973) were procedural. This massive data collection effort involved coding as procedural or not 24,936 votes in the House of Representatives and 15,706 votes in the Senate.³⁰
- (2) For each procedural vote – 7,202 in the House and 6,792 in the Senate – we coded how each member of Congress actually voted.
- (3) We employed Poole and Rosenthal’s W-Nominate algorithm to generate a “score” for each member based strictly on procedural votes.

This algorithm arrays members of Congress on a continuum from -1 to +1. For each chamber in each congress, we can think of it as placing the two members who disagreed with each other the most on procedural votes at the endpoints. Consider, for example, the Senate in the 113th Congress: Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) was at one end (-1) and James Risch (R-ID) was at the other (+1). The algorithm places the remaining 98 senators along the continuum so that they are lined up according to how they vary with the two extremes. We calculated these scores separately for each chamber from the 93rd through the 113th Congress. Democrats’ scores typically – and increasingly over time – fall between -1 and 0, whereas Republicans’ scores normally range from 0 to +1.

Importantly, the algorithm allows for someone who is an ideologue on substantive votes to be more “in the middle” on procedural votes. After all, the calculation is based only on the procedural votes we’ve identified. A comparison of two Democrats on these dimensions highlights this distinction. Senator Kay Hagan was slightly more extreme on procedural voting than Senator Carl Levin (-0.459 compared to -0.452); they ranked as the eighth and ninth most moderate

³⁰ These determinations were made by consulting the Library of Congress’s website on congressional action (<https://www.congress.gov>) and each chamber’s roll-call vote summary (<http://clerk.house.gov/legislative/legvotes.aspx> and <http://www.senate.gov/legislative/votes.htm>).

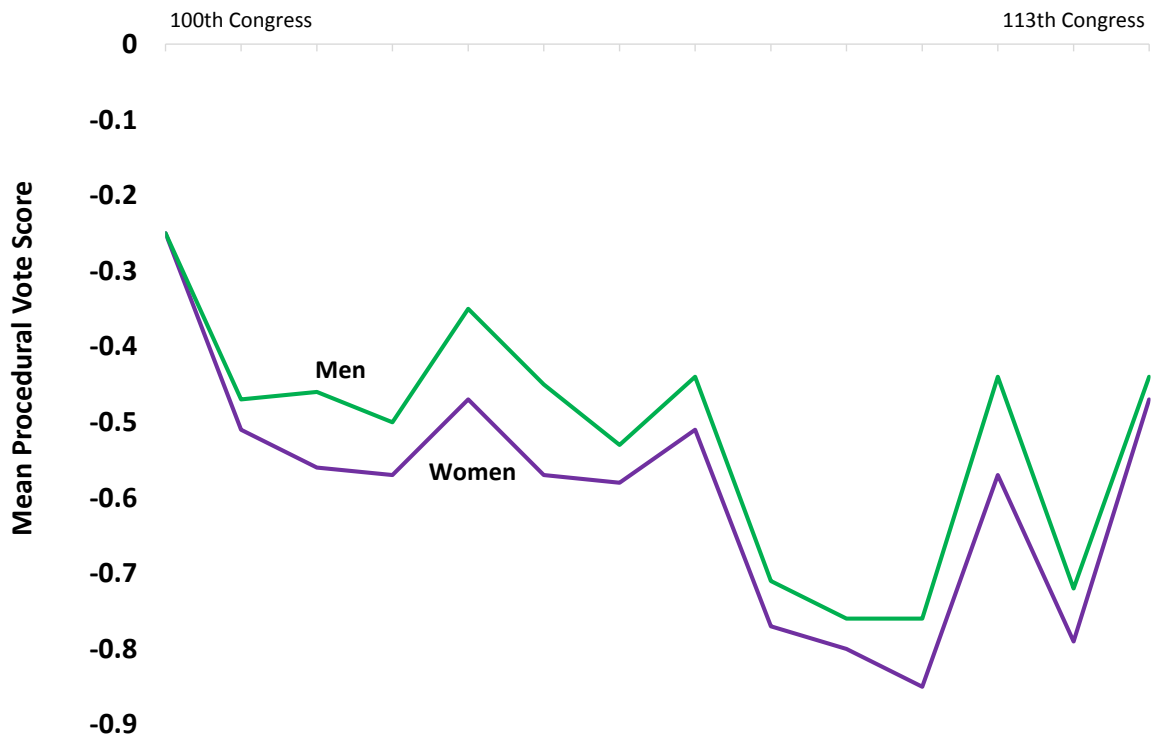
Democrats on that dimension. On non-procedural voting, they were in separate camps within the Democratic party. Hagan had the third most moderate score among Democrats (-0.406) while Levin (-0.924) had the seventh most extreme score. Levin, in other words, allowed Republicans to have a slightly bigger voice in the procedures setting up the debate than did Hagan. But he was more liberal than Hagan when it came to substantive roll-call votes. The scores for these two Democrats suggest that engaging the legislative process is fundamentally different than the ideological direction senators take on bills or laws.

We begin the analysis of procedural votes with the House of Representatives. Figure 6 presents the mean procedural vote score for Democrats in the House from the 100th through the 113th Congress.³¹ Remember that Democrats' scores typically range from -1 to 0, with numbers closer to zero indicating a procedural vote profile that is more bipartisan. That is, the more positive a Democrat's vote, the more frequently the member voted with Republicans. The purple line tracks the mean score for women over time; the green line represents men's mean scores.

The meaningful comparisons in Figure 6 are the differences between women and men at each point in time. (The algorithm does not standardize scores across time, so a dip in mean scores from one congress to the next cannot necessarily be interpreted as a shift in mean procedural vote scores.) Contrary to the conventional wisdom, in every single congress, the mean score for female Democrats is *more negative* than the mean score for Democratic men. In 11 of the 14 cases, the gender difference even reaches conventional levels of statistical significance ($p < .05$). Democratic women in the House are no more likely than men to vote with Republicans on measures that would move the legislative process along.

³¹ Although we have data going back to the 93rd Congress, there were too few women in the chamber to allow for meaningful comparisons. Thus, we focus on 1987 through 2014.

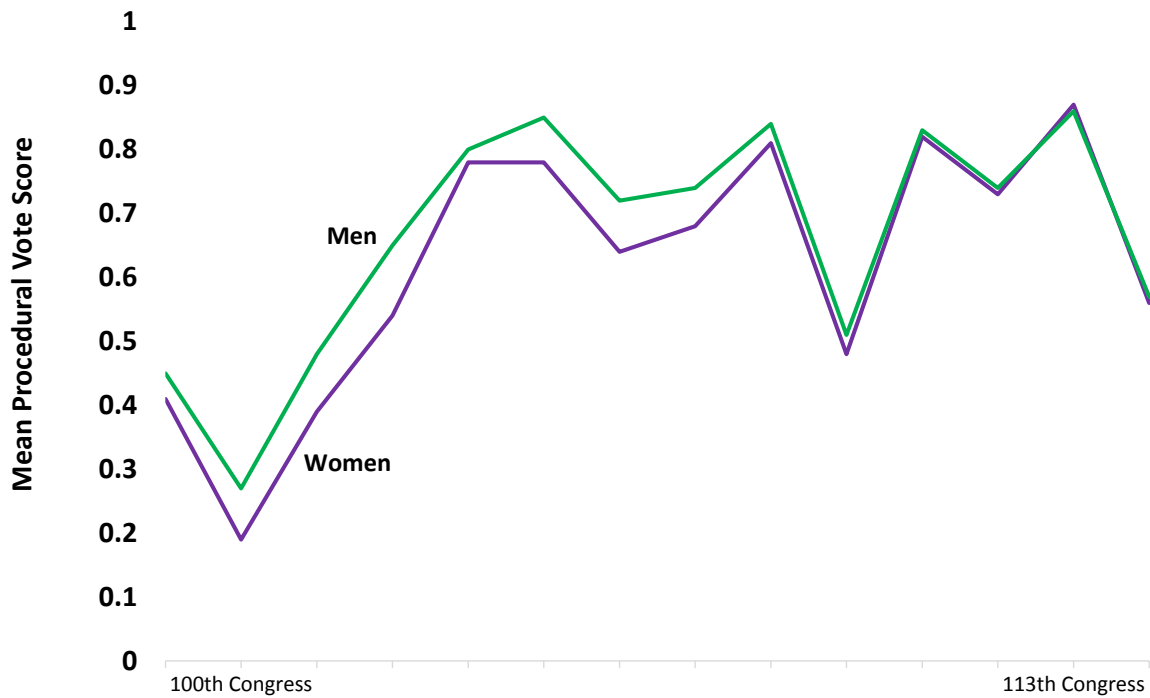
Figure 6. Procedural Vote Scores, by Sex: House Democrats, 1987 – 2014



Note: In no case is the gender difference statistically significant (at $p < .05$) in a direction consistent with the expectation that women cast more bipartisan procedural votes than men do.

For the most part, we uncover similar results when we analyze House Republicans (see Figure 7). Because Republicans' scores normally range from 0 to +1, the graph is flipped. But the way to read it is the same. Numbers closer to zero reflect more bipartisan procedural vote scores. In this case, the more negative a Republican's score, the more often he or she voted across the aisle with Democrats. In 10 of the 14 congresses we analyzed, the gender difference is not statistically significant; women's procedural vote scores are no more bipartisan than men's. But unlike with the Democrats, we do find four congresses (the 103rd, 105th, 106th, and 107th) in which women's scores are statistically distinguishable from men's in the way the conventional wisdom would predict. Of course, in the six most recent congresses, male and female Republicans voted very similarly on procedural matters. If they ever did, GOP women no longer hold a premium on procedural bipartisanship.

Figure 7. Procedural Vote Scores, by Sex: House Republicans, 1987 – 2014

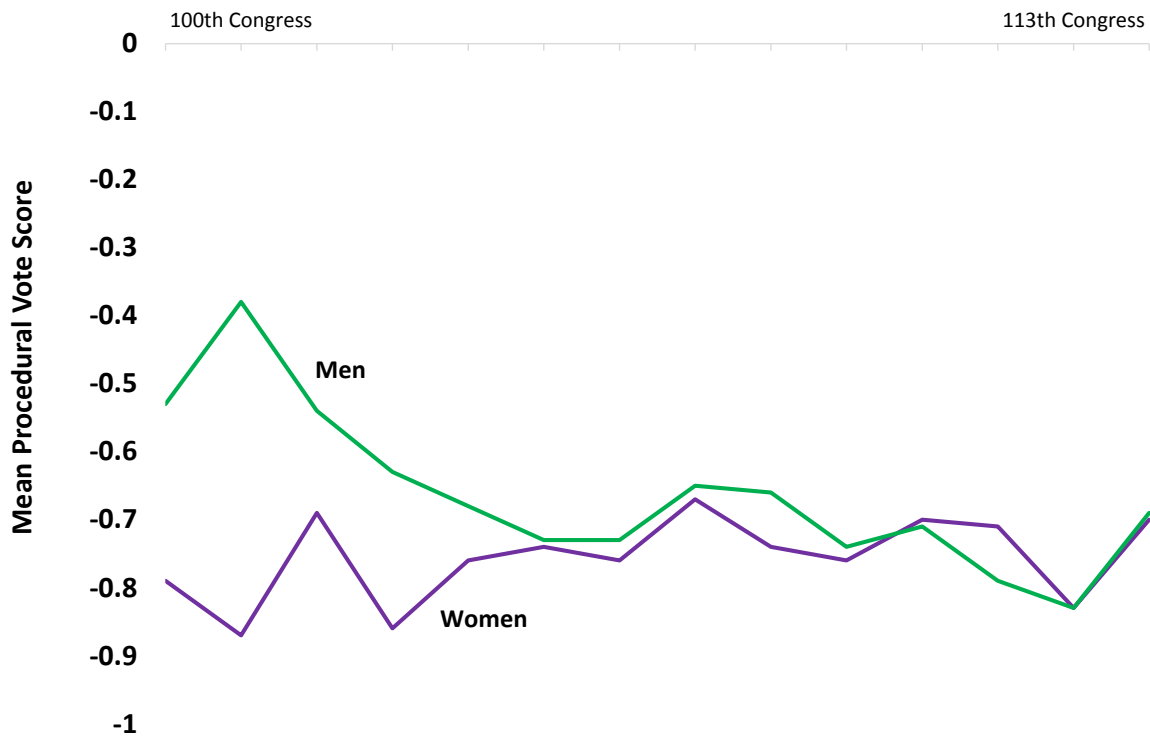


Note: In the 103rd, 105th, 106th, and 107th Congresses, the gender difference is statistically significant (at $p < .05$), with women more likely than men to cast bipartisan procedural votes.

We conducted a similar analysis in the Senate. Here, it is important to recognize that the results are driven – especially among Republicans – by a very small number of women. Never have more than 20 women served in the U.S. Senate, and Republicans have never had more than six at any given time. Still, as long as we interpret the results cautiously, these data can shed light on the relationship between sex and procedural votes in the chamber.

Turning first to the Democrats, we find almost no evidence that women and men vote differently on procedural matters. Only in the 103rd Congress is the gender difference statistically significant (see Figure 8). But as was the case for the House, the difference is one in which the mean score for women is more negative than the mean score for men.

Figure 8. Procedural Vote Scores, by Sex: Senate Democrats, 1987 – 2014

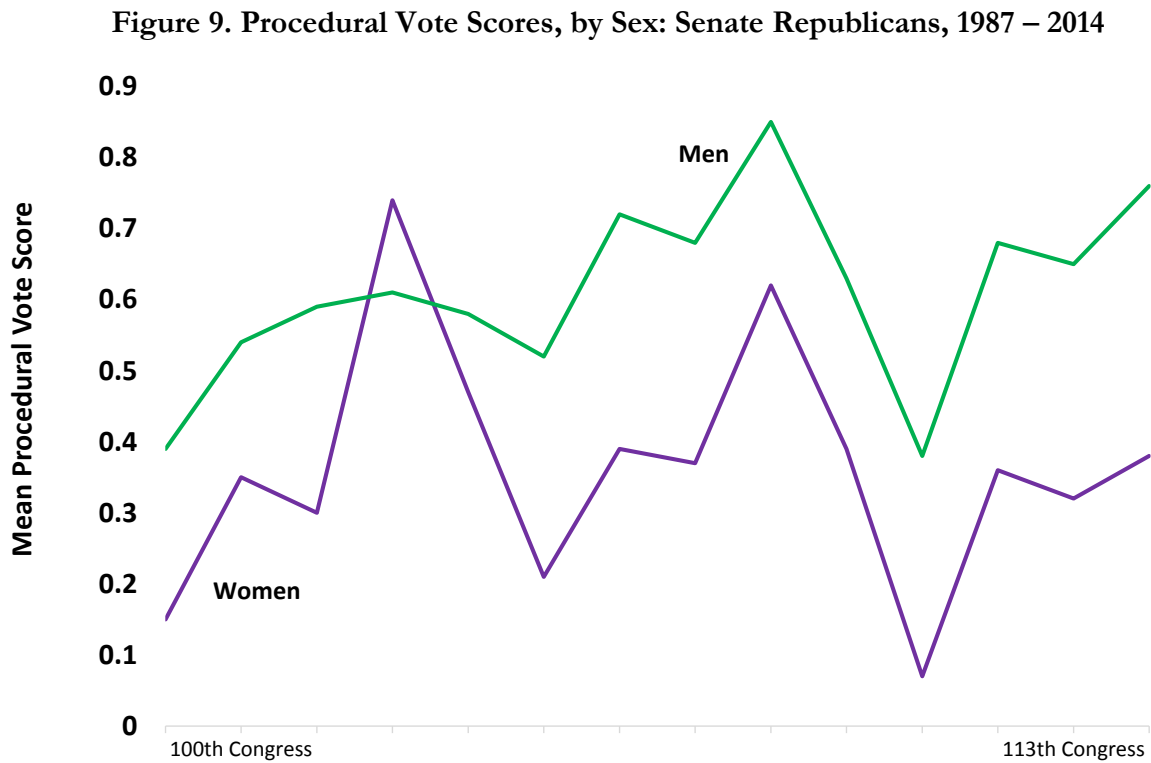


Note: In no case is the gender difference statistically significant (at $p < .05$) in a direction consistent with the expectation that women cast more bipartisan procedural votes than men do.

When we turn to Republicans in the Senate, women’s scores are more negative than men’s in nine of the 14 congresses we analyzed, a pattern that has persisted since the 105th Congress (see Figure 9). These data provide at least *prima facie* support – albeit just on one side of the political aisle and in one chamber – for the veracity of recent headlines proclaiming that women are more concerned than men are with working together to get Washington’s business done.

Of course, here too, before we can draw any firm conclusions about the extent to which sex influences procedural vote scores, we must rule out that the limited gender effects we uncovered are an artifact of institutional or district factors. And we can’t. Once we account for electoral performance and the partisan composition of the state, women and men look strikingly similar (see Appendix 3). For House Republicans, and for both parties in the Senate, the multivariate results indicate that women’s procedural roll-call voting does not appreciably differ from men’s. Only

among Democrats in the House is the coefficient on sex significant at conventional levels. But it is *negative*, which means that women’s procedural vote scores are less bipartisan than men’s. The magnitude of the coefficient is small, so we do not want to make too much of it. But it certainly undermines the claim that women are more likely than men to vote with members of the other party when it comes to determining the procedures within the legislative process.³²



Note: In the 105th – 113th Congresses, the gender difference is statistically significant (at $p < .05$), consistent with the expectation that women are more likely than men to cast bipartisan procedural votes.

³² We also supplemented each of the models with interactions between sex and the independent variables. In no case – for Democrats or Republicans in either chamber – was any interaction term statistically significant. The coefficient on sex also behaved similarly in the fully interactive models to those we present in Appendix 3.

And we performed the regression analyses separately, by congress, controlling for the social engagement activities available to members in each. In the House, we uncovered only one statistically significant effect: baseball/softball was a positive, significant predictor of more bipartisan procedural vote scores for Democrats in the 112th Congress. In the Senate, we uncovered five significant results: GOP senators who participated in Seersucker Thursday in the 110th Congress had more bipartisan procedural vote scores. But Republican and Democratic senators who participated in Seersucker Thursday in the 111th Congress, Republicans who donned a seersucker suit in the 113th Congress, and Republicans who participated in Secret Santa in the 112th Congress actually had *more* partisan procedural vote scores.

Test #4: Disposition of Senate Amendments

Amending behavior in the Senate is a fourth lens through which to assess the relationship between sex and cooperation on Capitol Hill. Until very recently, for most pieces of pending legislation, any senator could offer any amendment to any part of a bill being debated on the floor.³³ Amendments can serve multiple purposes. First – and most basically – senators can attempt to reword legislation so that it more closely aligns to their preferred policy. Second, senators can attach unrelated provisions to a bill on the floor with the hope of fast-tracking its adoption. Third, they can place other senators on the record for controversial policies that might divide them from their constituencies or their parties. Finally, amendments can slow down, or essentially kill, the passage of legislation. As long as 20 senators agree, amendments must be disposed of through roll-call votes, which can take up to 30 minutes to complete (as opposed to a 10-second voice vote). This “death by amendment” strategy stalls legislation by offering an endless number of amendments and demanding roll-call votes on each (Sinclair 2011). Only the first purpose is policy-driven. The other three, though to differing degrees, are tactics geared to obstruct and stymie the legislative process.

Teasing out the motivation for offering an amendment is exceedingly difficult. But systematic patterns can suggest who uses the relatively open amending rules in the Senate for worthy, as opposed to more disingenuous, purposes. The more amendments a senator offers and on which he or she then demands roll-call votes can be a sign of being a “problem creator.” Members who are “problem solvers,” on the other hand, should offer fewer amendments and demand fewer roll-call votes on them in any given congress because they will be less motivated by mere gamesmanship or tactical maneuvers. If the conventional wisdom about gender differences in

³³ The House, with its larger membership, has never enjoyed such a free-flowing amending process. As such, analyzing House amendments along these lines would be inappropriate.

legislative behavior is right, then women should offer fewer amendments subject to roll-call votes than their male colleagues.

We analyzed the Senate amendments by identifying the sponsor of all 4,488 amendments that resulted in a roll-call vote from the 103rd to 113th Congress (1993-2014).³⁴ Similar to the procedural vote analysis, we uncover no evidence that women’s amendment activity is different from men’s. Figure 10 presents the mean number of roll-call votes from the amendments that female (purple line) and male (green line) senators introduced. The top panel displays the data for Democrats, and the bottom panel presents comparable data for Republicans.

Although the mean number varies across the congresses, in all 22 comparisons (11 for each party), women and men are statistically indistinguishable. In no case – regardless of party – do women offer statistically fewer amendments that result in roll-call votes than men do. To the extent that roll-call votes on amendments gauge a propensity to create problems, female senators are just as likely as men to present legislative obstacles in the chamber.³⁵

And once again, these null results withstand controls for a state’s partisan composition as well as a senator’s previous vote margin and legislative experience (see Appendix 4). For neither Democrats nor Republicans is sex a statistically significant predictor of amending behavior. The notion that women are more likely than men to be “problem solvers” who are less likely to stymie the legislative process simply does not hold water.³⁶

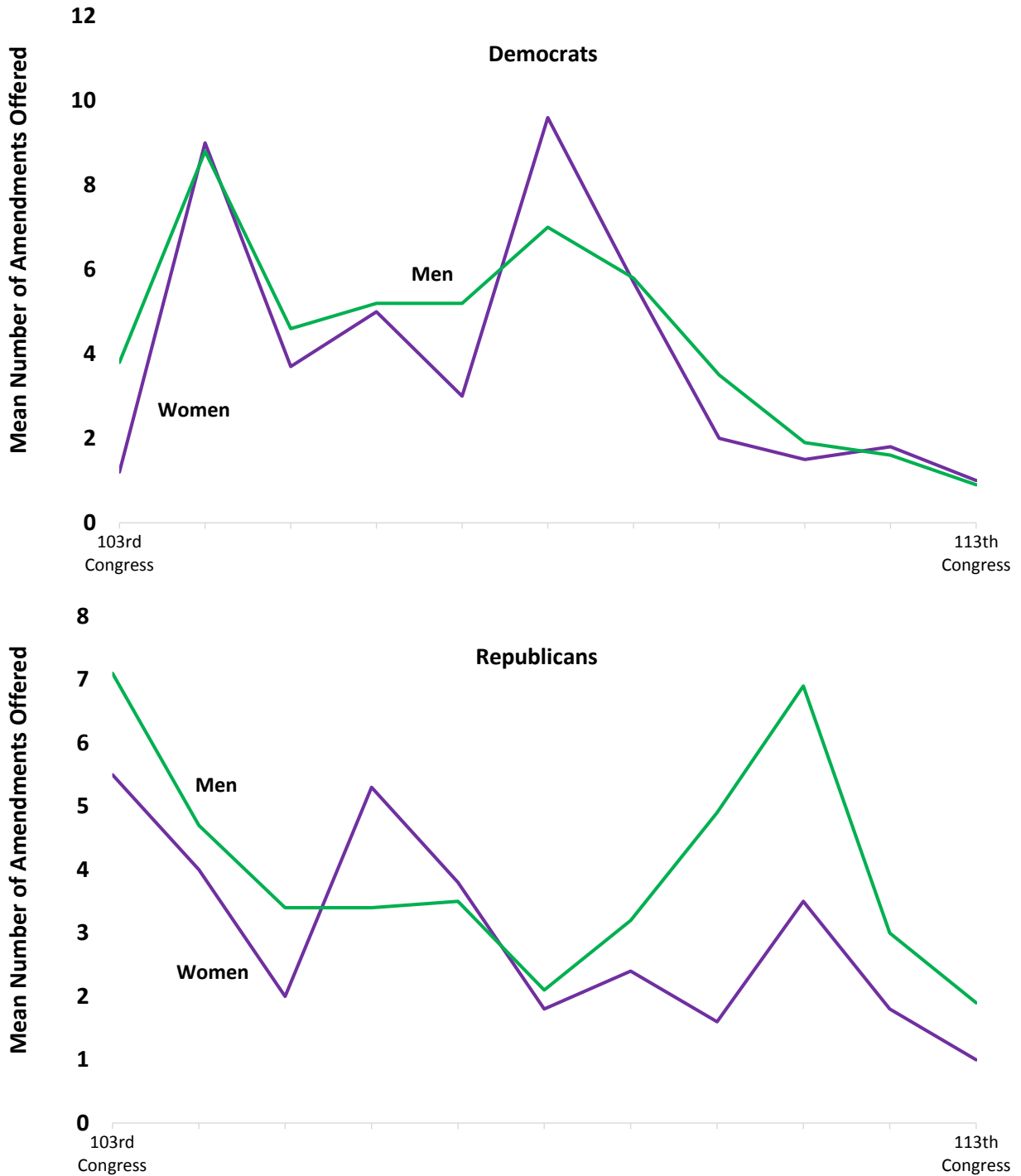
³⁴ We gathered the data from the Senate’s website directly (<http://www.senate.gov/legislative/votes.htm>).

³⁵ During the 113th Congress (2013-14), amending behavior in the Senate radically changed. Due to the Republicans’ persistent filibuster and death by amendment attempts, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid “filled the amendment tree,” which severely restricted the ability of other senators even to offer amendments.

³⁶ When we add to the models interactions between sex and the other independent variables, the results are generally the same. For Republicans, none of the interactions is significant. For Democrats, the interaction between sex and experience is negative and reaches the $p < .05$ threshold. The substantive effect, however, is small.

We also performed the regression analysis separately for each congress and supplemented the models presented in Appendix 4 with an indicator variable for whether the senator participated in the congressional baseball or softball game, Secret Santa, or Seersucker Thursday during each session. In no case was any social engagement variable a

Figure 10. Mean Number of Amendments, 1993 – 2014



Note: In no case do women offer statistically fewer amendments than men (at $p < .05$).

significant predictor of amendment behavior. And never did its inclusion affect the results of the other variables.

Discussion and Conclusion: The Importance of Electing Women to Congress

Examining differences in women and men’s policy preferences and bill sponsorships are well-trodden territory (see, for example, Frederick 2009, 2015; Swers 2002, 2013). While subtle differences sometimes emerge, null results – largely a consequence of the pervasiveness and severity of polarization between the parties – have become more common than not. Such is also the case with the additional facets of legislative behavior we examine in this paper. And we don’t draw this conclusion lightly. We conducted almost 150 statistical tests based on CODELs, cosponsorships, procedural votes, and amendment roll-call votes, for both parties and across both chambers. And no matter where we looked or how we analyzed the data, we found only the faintest of evidence to support the prevailing view that women are more likely than men to be the “problem solvers” thought to be so desperately needed in the nation’s capital.³⁷

We summarize our results in Table 1, which provides an overview of the statistical evidence brought to bear on this question. The first column presents the categories where we looked for gender differences or effects. For each, we list the total number of results we presented either in figures (bivariate) or tables (multivariate tests). The entries in the table’s middle column indicate the number of statistically significant results – that is, gender differences – we uncovered in each category. The first row of the table, for example, includes the 32 CODEL analyses we conducted: 28 bivariate comparisons (14 for partisan trips and 14 for bipartisan travel) and four regression equations that predicted whether the sex of the legislator mattered for each type of travel. In only two cases did we uncover a gender difference that met the threshold for statistical significance.

When these results are combined with our analyses of bipartisan cosponsorship, procedural voting,

³⁷ In fact, we also uncovered virtually no evidence that social engagement activities affect legislative behavior. In the 209 congress-specific regression equations, referenced in the footnotes throughout this paper, baseball, Secret Santa, and Seersucker Thursday were significant predictors of CODELs, cosponsorships, procedural vote scores, and amending behavior in only seven cases. In four of the seven, the significance was in the direction opposite from what the conventional wisdom would predict.

and amending behavior, we looked for gender differences in 142 possible situations. In only 30 of them – 21.1 percent – did we find statistically significant gender differences.

Table 1. Summary of the Statistical Evidence

	Number of Comparisons	Number of Gender Differences	Consistent with Conventional Wisdom
House CODEL Travel (100 th – 113 th Congresses)	32	2	0
House Bipartisan Cosponsorship Index (113 th Congress)	2	1	0
Senate Bipartisan Cosponsorship Index (103 rd – 113 th Congresses)	24	1	1
House Procedural Votes (100 th – 113 th Congresses)	30	16	4
Senate Procedural Votes (100 th – 113 th Congresses)	30	10	9
Senate Amendment Introductions (103 rd – 113 th Congresses)	24	0	0
TOTAL	142	30 (21.1%)	14 (9.9%)

Note: The “Number of Gender Comparisons” column includes all bivariate and multivariate tests presented in the tables and figures. Gender comparisons simply mentioned in the text are not included. The “Number of Gender Differences” column indicates the number of comparisons in which the gender difference (in bivariate tests) or the coefficient on candidate sex (in multivariate analyses) was statistically significant at $p < .05$.

That number is a bit misleading, though. Because so much of the discussion about women in Congress focuses on their propensity to problem solve, we also calculated, in the final column of the table, the number of statistically significant differences that are consistent with the conventional wisdom. For example, our finding that Democratic women in two congresses took *more* partisan trips than men counters what we’d expect. All told, despite some high profile examples of female legislators’ problem-solving tactics, less than 10 percent of our results can be interpreted as evidence that women are more likely than men to move the legislative process along in a constructive way. In

only one instance is a significant bivariate relationships robust to multivariate testing. Furthermore, we find more cases (11 percent) where the statistical significance runs counter to the conventional wisdom.³⁸

In no way, however, are we suggesting that women's presence in U.S. political institutions doesn't make a difference. Recent studies have found that women in Congress deliver more federal spending to their districts and sponsor more legislation than their male colleagues (Anzia and Berry 2011). They have greater success keeping their sponsored bills alive longer in the legislative process (Volden, Wiseman, and Wittmer 2013). When given an opportunity to speak about issues of their choosing during one-minute speeches, congresswomen in both parties are more likely than men to speak and to speak about women (Pearson and Dancey 2011). And women's presence brings to Congress a greater sense of democratic legitimacy (see Mansbridge 1999; Pitkin 1967).

Beyond these benefits, we now also have systematic evidence that women are more likely than men to value and contribute to a collegial work environment. Women are more likely than men to participate in the Senate's Secret Santa and Seersucker Thursday traditions, and women are more likely to play in the congressional baseball and softball games. In times of gridlock, obstructionism, and inefficiency, we shouldn't underestimate the role that such collegiality and comity can bring to Congress. Even if it doesn't affect legislative outcomes or the procedural steps through which a bill becomes a law, it can send a strong signal to the American public – and perhaps to potential candidates – that women's presence on Capitol Hill contributes to making the political arena a somewhat more civil, and somewhat less dysfunctional, place to work (see Lawless and Fox 2010, 2015).

³⁸ We should also note that our null findings are not an artifact of a lack of systematic variation in the data. Different independent variables predict CODEL behavior, cosponsorship patterns, procedural votes, and amending behavior. But for both parties, across both chambers, the sex of the legislator rarely does, and even more rarely in a way consistent with the popular discourse.

From our perspective, it's these benefits that should be highlighted when issuing calls for more female candidates and lauding the successes of female legislators. Given that women and men do not govern in systematically different ways, we should be careful not to place heightened expectations on our female elected officials. A 2014 Pew study, for example, found that 41 percent of women – and 27 percent of men – thought women in politics were better at “working out compromises.”³⁹ Such high expectations belie the incorrigible congressional work environment that legislators find themselves in today. Constituents will only find themselves disappointed in their female members of Congress when it becomes clear that institutional constraints make it difficult for any factor to trump party in the legislative process. The democratic legitimacy, simple justice, and sense of collegiality that more women in Congress would bring to the political arena, however, are important in their own right, even if a different legislative process will probably not ensue.

³⁹ D’Vera Cohn and Gretchen Livingston, “Americans’ views of women as political leaders differ by gender,” Pew Research Center, May 19, 2016. Accessed at: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/19/americans-views-of-women-as-political-leaders-differ-by-gender/> (May 22, 2016).

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Appendix 1. The Effect of Sex on House Members' CODEL Travel, 1987 – 2012

	Days Spent on Partisan Trips		Days Spent on Bipartisan Trips	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
Member Sex (female)	0.269 (0.213)	-0.122 (0.226)	1.646 (0.896)	1.370 (1.251)
Republican Presidential Vote Advantage	-3.861 * (0.610)	1.205 (0.789)	4.459 * (2.250)	4.721 (3.761)
Vote Margin in Previous Election	-0.247 (0.481)	0.871 (0.447)	4.952 * (1.439)	7.812 * (1.775)
Number of Terms Served	0.000 (0.007)	0.020 * (0.008)	0.133 * (0.026)	0.345 * (0.036)
Constant	0.405 (0.407)	0.620 (0.347)	0.786 (1.229)	-1.744 (1.383)
R ²	0.070	0.050	0.069	0.086
N	4,351	3,565	4,351	3,565

Note: Cell entries are GLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All models include member random effects and fixed effects for each Congress. Level of significance: * p < .05.

Appendix 2. The Effect of Sex on the Bipartisan Index in the U.S. Congress

	House of Representatives 2013 – 2014		Senate 1993 – 2014	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
Member Sex (female)	-0.183 * (0.088)	0.071 (0.151)	-0.026 (0.113)	0.278 (0.230)
Republican Presidential Vote Advantage	3.373 * (0.574)	-4.948 * (0.704)	2.202 * (0.422)	-4.959 * (0.595)
Vote Margin in Previous Election	1.259 * (0.553)	0.223 (0.503)	0.548 * (0.126)	0.671 * (0.123)
Number of Terms Served	-0.012 (0.012)	0.071 * (0.015)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.016 (0.007)
Constant	-0.588 (0.324)	0.050 (0.281)	-0.240 * (0.082)	0.098 (0.108)
R ²	0.263	0.301	0.397	0.461
N	190	224	536	529

Note: Cell entries are GLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Senate models include member random effects and fixed effects for each Congress. The Republican Senate model includes an indicator variable for Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins. Level of significance: * p < .05.

Appendix 3. The Effect of Sex on Procedural Vote Scores in the U.S. Congress, 1973 – 2014

	House of Representatives		Senate	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
Member Sex (female)	-0.061 * (0.018)	0.010 (0.019)	-0.047 (0.057)	-0.092 (0.099)
Republican Presidential Vote Advantage	0.478 * (0.031)	0.390 * (0.039)	0.573 * (0.010)	0.572 * (0.127)
Vote Margin in Previous Election	0.041 * (0.017)	-0.053 * (0.016)	0.037 (0.028)	-0.074 * (0.027)
Number of Terms Served	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Constant	-0.356 * (0.016)	0.519 * (0.014)	-0.621 * (0.030)	0.626 * (0.031)
R ²	0.414	0.603	0.383	0.336
N	5,070	4,137	1,092	997

Note: Cell entries are GLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All models include member random effects and fixed effects for each Congress. The Republican Senate model includes an indicator variable for Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins. Level of significance: * p < .05.

Appendix 4. The Effect of Sex on the Disposition of Amendments in the U.S. Senate, 1993 – 2014

	Number of Roll Calls Elicited by Amendments	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
Member Sex (female)	-0.607 (0.935)	-0.861 (1.448)
Republican Presidential Vote Advantage	-2.739 (2.630)	5.718 (4.360)
Vote Margin in Previous Election	0.705 (1.092)	1.618 (0.949)
Number of Terms Served	0.048 (0.041)	0.048 (0.053)
Constant	0.824 (0.709)	1.435 (0.817)
R ²	0.212	0.092
N	548	547

Note: Cell entries are GLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All models include member random effects and fixed effects for each Congress. Level of significance: * $p < .05$.