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Claremont McKenna College

The Softer Sex? Women Legislating War

submitted to

Professor Jennifer Taw

by

Shanil Verjee

for

Senior Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

There is a long-standing assumption in feminist international relations theory that women¹ are more peace-oriented than men, and that, therefore, if more women were put in positions of power, there would be less war. This paper explores whether this assumption holds true in the United States federal legislature by examining the voting and congressional records of women in Congress over time, in both the Republican and Democratic parties, and comparing them to the records of male members of Congress to determine whether women exhibit a significantly different legislative approach to war. This research began with the question: Can we expect a different legislative approach to war if more women are elected to the United States federal legislature?

This paper first examines metrics including partisanship, ideology, and sociological, psychological, and biological effects in a literature view. Then, it analyzes four different legislative cases, comparing congressional representatives' votes as well as rhetoric. This paper concludes that gender is not a defining factor in the way women vote, since both men and women tend to vote with their party and use similar rhetoric to justify their positions. Thus, this paper finds that party alignment plays a much bigger role than gender in determining how women vote on topics relating to war, although gender differences may be funneled through ideology and party, influencing choice of party affiliation, rather than directly influencing votes.²

¹ The use of woman/women/female in this thesis includes all individuals who identify as female, including transgender women. There is not currently enough data to assess trans-women's contributions to the US Legislature independently, although this is an important topic in legislative studies that merits future research.

² The research to date—and thus this thesis—focuses exclusively on the gender binary, with an emphasis on women's voting habits relative to men's habits. This is a

BACKGROUND³

There are currently 131 women serving in the 116th Congress. This includes 105 in the House (90 Democrats and 15 Republicans), and 26 in the Senate (17 Democrats and 9 Republicans).⁴ There are also currently nine female committee chairs (seven in the House and two in the Senate). In the 116th Congress, women comprise “23.7% of voting Members in the House and Senate (127 of 535); 24.2% of total Members in the House and Senate (131 of 541, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner); 23.2% of voting Representatives in the House (101 of 435); 23.8% of total Members in the House (105 of 441, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner); and 26.0% of the Senate.”⁵

In total, 366 women have been elected or appointed to Congress throughout history (247 Democrats and 119 Republicans). This includes 309 women elected to the House of Representatives (211 Democrats and 98 Republicans), and 41 women elected or appointed to the Senate (25 Democrats and 16 Republicans). 16 women have served in both the House and the Senate (11 Democrats and five Republicans).⁶

reflection of the US legislature’s lag, to date, in including non-binary folks. The research question that this thesis seeks to answer is focused on the binary, because the assumption discussed is explicitly about women, not about LGBTQ folks. This being said, this thesis is not explicitly about heterosexual women, and could include lesbians and gender-queer women as well. Future research, as more non-binary and gender queer folks are elected into legislative roles at the federal level, could be conducted in order to address the questions asked and answered in this thesis specifically for non-binary and gender queer individuals.

³ Data as of January 15, 2020

⁴ Jennifer E. Manning and Ida A. Brudnick, “Women in Congress: Statistics and Brief Overview,” *Congressional Research Service*, (December 4, 2020): 1, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R43244.pdf>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

It can be determined from these statistics that Democratic women are elected and appointed to serve in Congress more often than Republican women, and/or that more female Democrats run than female Republicans.

In terms of racial diversity, 47 Black women have served in Congress, including two in the Senate and 45 in the House. There are currently 25 Black women in the 116th Congress. In addition, 13 Asian Pacific American women have served in Congress (10 in the House, one in the Senate, and two in both chambers). There are 10 Asian Pacific American women serving in the 116th Congress. 20 Hispanic women have served (19 in the House and one in the Senate), including 15 in the current Congress. There have also been two American Indian women, both of whom are currently serving in the House.⁷

In terms of the Senate, there are three ways in which the 57 women who have served in the Senate acquired their positions. 34 got their seats through regularly scheduled elections, 18 were “appointed to unexpired terms,” and five entered through a special election. About 70 percent of all women who have served in the Senate (39 people) have been elected to their positions, while about 30 percent were appointed. However, of the 18 women appointed, 10 held their positions for less than a year.⁸ This data is summarized in the following figures:

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Manning and Brudnick, 6.

Figure 1. Women Members of Congress: Summary Statistics, 1917-Present(Inclusive through January 6, 2020)⁹

	Total Women	Senate Service Only	House Service Only (Representatives)	House Service Only (Delegates and Resident Commissioner)	House Service Only (Subtotal)	Women who have Served in Both Chambers
Total	366 ^a	41	302	7 ^a	309 ^a	16
Democrats	247	25	207	4	211	11
Republicans	119	16	95	3	98	5

Source: U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian and Office of Art and Archives, "Women in Congress," <http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress>.

Note: The House and Senate totals each include one woman who was elected but never sworn in.

- a. The total number of female Members of the House includes one Delegate to the House of Representatives from Hawaii prior to statehood; one from the District of Columbia, Guam, and American Samoa; and two from the U.S. Virgin Islands. The total number also includes one Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

Figure 2. Number of Women Members of the 116th Congress¹⁰

	Total Women	Senators	Representatives	Nonvoting Members (Delegates and Resident Commissioner)	House Subtotal (Representatives and Nonvoting Members)
Total	131	26	101	4	105
Democrats	107	17	88	2	90
Republicans	24	9	13	2	15

Source: U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian and Office of Art and Archives, "Women in Congress," <http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress>.

Notes: The 116th Congress began with 131 women in the House and Senate (including one Senator who was appointed). One woman resigned from the House in November 2019, and another woman was appointed to the Senate in December 2019. Three of the women who serve in the House are Delegates, representing the District of Columbia, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. One woman serves as the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico. Information in this table is current as of the date of the report.

⁹ Manning and Brudnick, 1.

¹⁰ Manning and Brudnick, 2.

Figure 3. Number of Women by Congress: 1917-2019 (Data for the 116th Congress is for the beginning of the Congress)¹¹

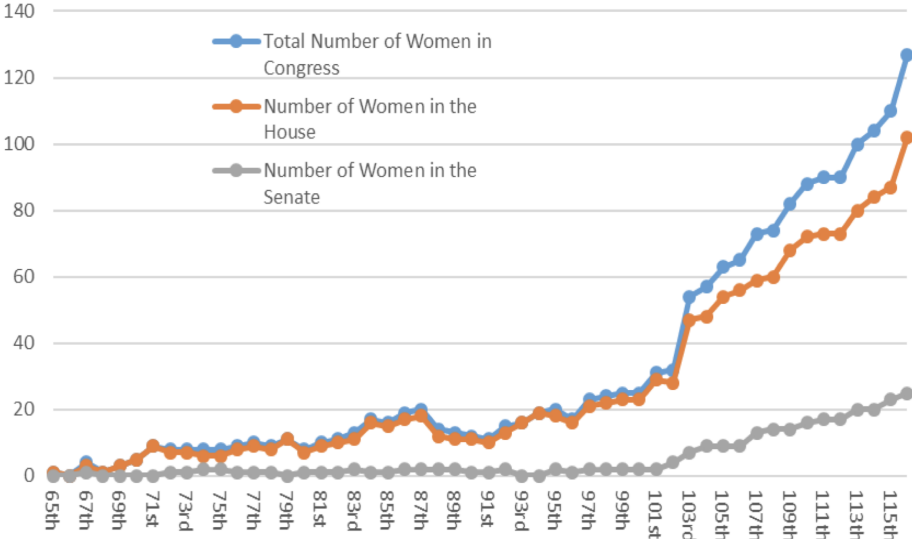
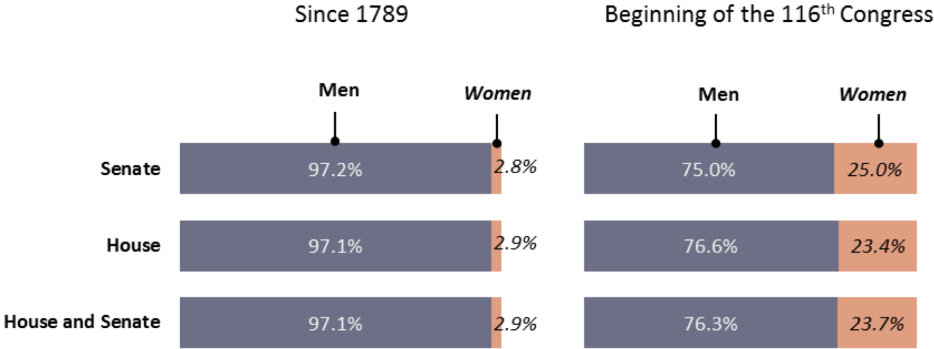


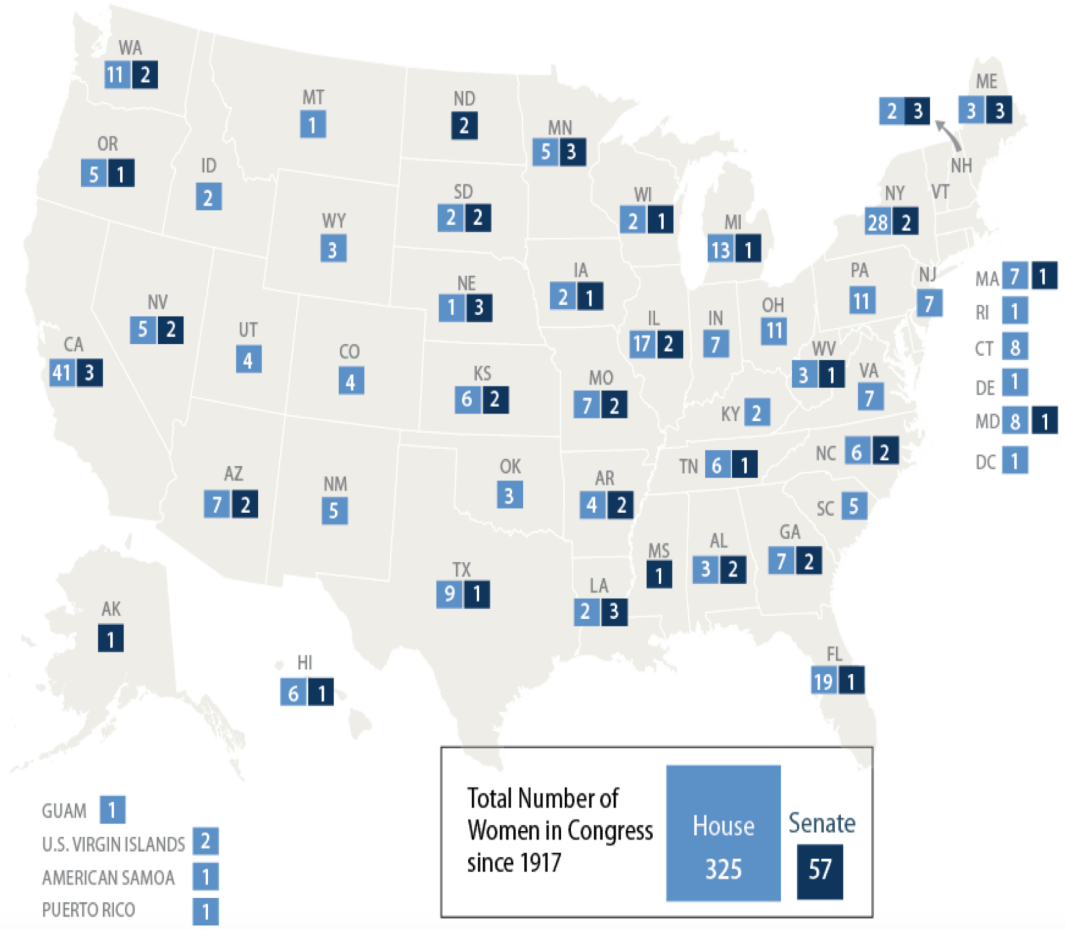
Figure 4. Women as a Percentage of Total Members Since 1789 and in the 116th Congress (Data for the 116th Congress is for the beginning of the Congress)¹²



¹¹ Manning and Brudnick, 3.

¹² Manning and Brudnick, 4.

Figure 5. Number of Women in the House and Senate by State, District, or Territory, 1917-Present (Inclusive through January 6, 2019; numbers include Delegates and the Resident Commissioner)¹³



¹³ Manning and Brudnick, 5.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is limited literature on how, in the US legislature, women vote in comparison to men on issues of war, partly because there have been so few women in Congress overall. Researchers began with the basic, but difficult, question of whether women's views on war are gender-based and, if so, if they are driven by inherent biological or socialized differences from men. Work then proceeds from there to test a range of hypotheses: that women will oppose war fundamentally; that they will support wars for different reasons than men do; that their votes will be driven by party (but party affiliation may be driven by gender preferences for a range of reasons); that their votes will depend on how many other women are present, and so forth. Ultimately, though researchers have done intensive analysis, it is on such a negligible number that the findings are both speculative and inconsistent.

In examining whether women vote differently to men on issues of war, the first question that must be addressed is whether women are fundamentally different than men in their views of war. Several studies have addressed this question. One psychological study, "Men, Women and War: Gender Differences in Attitudes towards War," conducted by psychologists O. Zur, A. Morrison, and E. Zaretsky in 1985 depicted as a myth the view that war is a male institution and unappealing to women. The paper discussed how war has an appeal to both men and women, but that the appeal is different for each gender due to the fact that the primary moral concerns of each gender differ. The paper discussed the work of feminist-focused psychologists, including Carol Gilligan's model of moral development and Nancy Chodorow's theory of psychosexual development which both suggest that "women's concerns and moral reasoning are

defined in terms of interpersonal relationships, while men's morality is abstract and legalistic."¹⁴ In the context of war, the paper extrapolated that men are more likely to support justifications for war that are grounded in legal criteria or abstract principles such as "when international treaties are violated."¹⁵ According to Gilligan, these justifications will not appeal to women, whose moral reasoning tends to be based on interpersonal factors.

For the study, a 48-item scale was constructed to explore various aspects of male and female attitudes about war. The findings showed that women will, in fact, support war "at least as enthusiastically as men, when an appeal is made based on empathy for oppressed and vulnerable human beings, or an emphasis is placed on group cohesion and the intensification of interpersonal relationships in the community during war."¹⁶ The data from the scale also indicated that women find it harder to condone the violence, destruction, and killing of war. The implications of these findings for female versus male decision-making in the US legislature are that women may well make different voting decisions than men, but not necessarily because men tend to support war while women tend to be against it. Rather, women and men's attitudes towards war are based on different moral foundations, wherein women may be more likely to support wars with humanitarian aims and men may be more likely to support wars with defensive purposes or where treaties have been violated.

¹⁴ O. Zur, A. Morrison, and E. Zaretsky, "Men, Women and War: Gender Differences in Attitudes towards War," (April 1985): 2, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED261949.pdf>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

These notions of women having distinctive views of war were echoed in the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) 1991 report, “Gender and Policymaking,” in which the authors argued that women in US public office have a distinct impact on public policy because of their more general perspectives on human rights and civil liberties. This report also cited the work of Nancy Chodorow, Carol Gilligan, and Sara Ruddick—referred to as “difference” theorists since they focus on psycho-social differences between men and women. As cited above, these theorists tend to argue that women make decisions based on relationships and empathy, and that their thinking tends to be shaped by rights as opposed to responsibilities.

The report cited CAWP research on various elected officials in the Carter administration from the early 1980s, which revealed that women do bring new and different perspectives and have different attitudes than do men on various public policy issues. This research showed that women were generally more liberal and more feminist than their male counterparts within both the Democratic and Republican parties, and across ideological groups such as “liberals, moderates and conservatives.”¹⁷ This was true for issues such as the extent of the private sector’s role in the economy, the death penalty, abortion, racial equality, and environmental protection. The report also claimed that women tend to be “less militaristic on issues of war and peace; more often opposed to the death penalty; [and] more likely to favor gun control.”¹⁸ Furthermore, the report discussed the “gender gap” in public opinion and voting behavior as evidence that

¹⁷ Debra L. Dodson, “Gender and Policymaking: Studies of Women in Office,” *Center for the American Woman and Politics*, (1991): 3, <https://cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/genderpolicymaking.pdf>.

¹⁸ Dodson, 5.

women see their political interests as distinct from those of men. The report extrapolated that this made it more likely that there is a similar gender gap in political decision-making.

Upon establishing that there is evidence of differences between men and women's views about war, violence, and political issues, it is important to next address whether women vote differently than men on these issues. Many studies have provided evidence supporting that women do, in fact, vote differently and have a distinct legislative impact from men.

In her 1985 study "Are Women More Liberal Than Men in the US Congress," prominent political scientist Susan Welch looked at congressional voting in terms of conservatism, and discovered a strong and statistically significant difference between men and women in "their overall conservative voting."¹⁹ Men voted about 20 points more conservatively than women on a scale of 0 to 100. She found differences among Republicans and Democrats to be similar, but differences among Southern Democrats were largest (more than 20 points), while differences between Northern Democrats were smallest (about 8 points), since both Northern Democrat women and men were found to be quite liberal.²⁰ However, she also discovered a relationship between a district's constituency characteristics and its likelihood of electing a woman. Women were more likely to be elected from districts with more liberal constituencies, including Northern districts, urban districts, and those with higher numbers of Black folks and immigrants.

¹⁹ Susan Welch, "Are Women More Liberal than Men in the U. S. Congress?," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1985): 128, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/440119>.

²⁰ Welch, 129.

When controlling for these characteristics, Welch found that the differences between male and female voting decreased substantially, from a difference of about 20 points to approximately 5 points.²¹ While a 5-point difference was found to still be statistically significant, Welch concluded that “the adjustment indicates that gender differences are in part a function of the kinds of constituencies that are likely to elect women.”²² Thus, while women do vote more liberally than men in Congress, with the differences especially significant among Southern Democrats and Republicans, “a significant portion of these differences is due to the differing constituency bases of men and women in Congress.”²³

Welch also discovered that gender differences decreased over time, since women became more conservative as generations passed and moved closer to men in terms of conservatism. Women scored 38 points lower on the conservative index than men in the 93rd Congress, and only 16 points lower eight years later.²⁴ She cited the possible explanation that “women have been more liberal because their career opportunities have been more limited.”²⁵ She theorized that women are skewing more conservative, not only because more women with diverse ideological viewpoints are elected and given higher positions over time, but also because they will subsequently feel more pressure to conform with their male colleagues and curb their liberal tendencies. This hypothesis is in

²¹ Welch, 130.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Welch, 131.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Welch, 132.

stark contrast to critical mass theory, which posits that women will feel more autonomy as their numbers increase.

Furthermore, Welch's findings indicated that gender differences in congressional voting do not simply reflect the differences in opinion between men and women in the broader public, since "the 'gender gap' in voting in Congress decreased at a time when it increased in the general public."²⁶ Welch noted the difficulties in comparing the gender gap in the public to the gender gap in Congress, since her study looked at very general views among the public and very specific behavior among members of Congress. Nevertheless, this discovery implies that previous evidence of a difference in views on war between men and women may not show up in legislative votes.

In a 1995 study, Arturo Vega and Juanita M. Firestone sought to determine how gender affects legislative behavior, and what these potential effects say about female representation in Congress, drawing on and expanding Welch's work. They examined voting behavior from 1981 to 1992. In their literature review, Vega and Firestone noted that there are mixed results as to whether or not female legislators behave differently than their male counterparts. Some research suggests that female legislators have more liberal voting records than their male counterparts. Vega and Firestone focused on "whether women in the House of Representatives over time have spurred significant enough changes in women's legislative behavior to bring about more substantive representation

²⁶ Ibid.

of women's issues."²⁷ The term "women's issues" can be broadly defined as legislative topics that uniquely affect women, including discussions of women's rights. Some examples include maternity leave and reproductive health policies. While the category of women's issues does not tend to include national security or defense, if a significant relationship between gender and liberal voting in general exists, this could have an important impact on war and security-related voting as well.

However, others argue that the link between gender and voting patterns is less direct. Vega and Firestone specifically referenced the 1985 research conducted by Welch, which "found that from 1972 to 1980 the ideological gap between the voting behaviors of male and female members of Congress had narrowed and that differences in voting could be explained more by ideology, party, and constituency, and less by gender."²⁸ In their study, Vega and Firestone "[extended] Welch's gender voting behavior study of the 93d-96th Congresses through the 102d Congress, [examined] bill introductions by gender, and [assessed] whether female legislators act as a cohesive voting bloc."²⁹

The work of Vega and Firestone draws on various theoretical frameworks, including group cohesion in small groups, and congressional behavior and representation. They discussed how members of Congress act as both groups and individuals and they examined whether collective behaviors of female members of Congress differ significantly from collective behaviors of men to assess how women represent women's

²⁷ Arturo Vega and Juanita M. Firestone, "The Effects of Gender on Congressional Behavior and the Substantive Representation of Women," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (May 1995): 214, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/440448>.

²⁸ Vega and Firestone, 213–14.

²⁹ Vega and Firestone, 214.

issues. Since theories of group cohesion suggest that it positively impacts effectiveness, Vega and Firestone hypothesized that cohesive voting behavior among congressional women, as well as female voting behavior that is significantly different from male voting behavior would contribute to increasing substantive representation of women's issues in Congress. This could suggest that if women vote cohesively on issues of war, and vote significantly differently than their male counterparts, then the inclusion of more women in the US legislature will have a distinct impact on war-related outcomes.

Vega and Firestone used *Congressional Quarterly's* conservative coalition support scores from 1981 to 1992, which are one measure of conservatism and liberalism. They also used bill introduction and enactment data from the Library of Congress. They analyzed this data using t-tests, descriptive statistics, and multiple regression in order to see if there were significant differences in legislative behavior, and also compared cohesion among examined groups. This yielded mixed results. They discovered that "female members of Congress have slightly more liberal voting patterns but, with few exceptions, these patterns [did] not differ significantly from those of their male counterparts."³⁰ They also discovered that while Democratic women have more liberal voting patterns than Democratic males, the differences were only statistically significant in one of the studied years. On the other hand, "Republican women [were] significantly more liberal than Republican men in 9 of the 12 years examined."³¹ However, the gap in partisan voting by gender is narrowing overall.

³⁰ Vega and Firestone, 215.

³¹ Ibid.

Confirming previous research by Welch, Vega and Firestone concluded that district, party, and constituency factors are better predictors of voting than gender, but they note that this could be a result of the small number of female legislators which renders it difficult to come up with statistically significant results. As a result of their research on cohesive voting and bill introductions, they determined that female representatives can increase support for specific issues through their legislative behavior. It can therefore be concluded that when women act cohesively and increasingly introduce bills on certain specific issues, this can have a significant impact on how those topics are represented and the decisions that are made regarding those issues.

Noelle H. Horton's 1999 study on the dimensionality of gender voting in Congress sought to go beyond the unidimensional liberal-conservative voting model, which was the center of Welch's study. Norton argued that "more than one dimension should be used to explain voting for legislation that affects women," beyond whether they vote more liberally or more conservatively than men.³² Indeed, much of the literature previously explored has identified women as more liberal than men in their voting patterns but did not go beyond this dimension. Norton cited research which demonstrates that gender has a significant impact on policy and politics beyond the simple left and right ideological leanings. She used exploratory factor analysis to demonstrate a gender-related dimension "in a set of [interest group] voting indexes and a set of roll-call votes made by both male and female members of the 101st, 102d, and 103d Congresses."³³

³² Noelle H. Norton, "Uncovering the Dimensionality of Gender Voting in Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (February 1999): 65, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/440300>.

³³ *Ibid.*

While, once again, this study focused on votes on legislation that affects women, otherwise known as “women’s issues,” evidence of a voting dimension that encapsulates gender may prove useful in analyzing whether gender impacts voting on war-related legislation.

Norton discussed feminist theorists who hold that “political and economic differences between the sexes have become fewer over time.”³⁴ However, she also referenced a 1994 study by Jonasdottir which claims that sex/gender relations are a “relatively independent field of power.”³⁵ Jonasdottir confirmed “clear distinctions based on a woman’s “nature”—her physical being and concomitant socialization into the sociopolitical system.”³⁶ Such findings confirm the need for separate gender-related dimensions when examining congressional voting.

From her study, Norton concluded that in order to accurately explain voting on topics that challenge the traditional roles held by women, more is needed than a simple liberal/conservative voting dimension. This second gender dimension aids in modeling voting on bills that discuss women’s rights. However, this discovery has much wider implications, as it demonstrates the narrow nature of the traditional left/right or liberal/conservative spectrum when analyzing gender differences in voting. Through this study, Norton proved that “gender is not invisible and is powerful enough to affect not only policy preferences and candidate choice but also elite voting patterns on national

³⁴ Norton, 68.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

policy.”³⁷ This literature suggests that women may vote cohesively on certain issues—those specifically affecting women. However, since war is not one of these “women’s issues,” other variables such as party or constituency may be more influential than sex/gender in impacting voting on war-related legislation.

Michele Swers, in her 2007 study, specifically examined the legislative behavior of women in congress regarding issues of defense. She looked at bill sponsorship on defense issues in the US Senate in the 107th (2001-2002) and 108th (2003-2004) Congresses, and discovered “evidence of gender-based differences in the overall amount and policy focus of the defense legislation sponsored by senators.”³⁸ In order to determine what types of bills Democratic and Republican women were focusing on, she examined both soft defense bills (such as those regarding expanding benefits for military personnel and veterans, airline import security, and funding for research on bioterrorism), hard defense bills (such as those regarding military base realignment), and homeland security bills. She concluded that Democratic women are most active in terms of homeland security bills and soft defense bills. Swers also interviewed Senate staffers and looked at senators’ appearances on Sunday talk shows. She concluded that Democratic women face a “double bind,” since they have to overcome both gender stereotypes of women being the weaker gender, and their association with the Democratic party, which is perceived as being weaker on issues of national security.³⁹

³⁷ Norton, 81.

³⁸ Michele Swers, “Building a Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (November 2007): 559, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40263438>.

³⁹ Swers, 588.

Importantly, Swers noted that constituent needs and committee assignments are key in motivating senators' national security agendas, as well as competition with their "same-state colleague."⁴⁰ It is within these boundaries that senators' personal views will affect their national security priorities. Swers' models found that when accounting for constituency and institutional factors, "gender [was] both a positive and significant predictor of sponsorship of all defense bills" in the 108th Congress.⁴¹ When factoring in the issue area, her results showed that being a female senator was an important predictor of sponsorship of homeland security bills, but not soft bills in the 108th Congress.⁴²

Swers also found that Democratic women's activism was the foundation for the importance of gender in predicting sponsorship of defense bills in the 108th Congress due to the double bind that Democratic women face. Through staff interviews, Swers discovered that Democratic women tend to use the ability to sponsor defense bills to counter the effects of the double bind and show that they are not "weak on defense." These interviews confirm that Democrats "viewed homeland security as their best hope for eroding Republican dominance of national security issues and that Democratic women felt a heightened concern for earning the trust of voters on defense policy."⁴³

While Michele Swers' work is important and some of the most prominent research in existence on the specific subject of women's voting patterns in Congress on issues of security and war, the work has shortcomings as well. For instance, this study

⁴⁰ Swers, 563.

⁴¹ Swers, 570.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Swers, "Building a Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience," 588.

was limited to two Congresses, and only discussed the Senate. There were only 13 women in the Senate in the 107th Congress and 14 in the Senate in the 108th Congress.⁴⁴ Later scholars took her work a step further by examining congressional responses to more specific situations.

For instance, in three 2014 studies regarding how members of Congress respond to an ongoing war, with a specific focus on congressional response and public support of the Iraq War, Douglas Kriner and Francis Shen examined the public positions members of Congress took during an ongoing military action. Kriner and Shen hypothesized that partisanship affects congressional response to casualties overall, but that all members of Congress will respond to war casualties in their district by criticizing the war. They examined a database of more than 7,500 House floor speeches on the Iraq War, and found support for their hypothesis. While Republicans proved “strikingly unresponsive” to aggregate casualties compared to Democrats, both Democrats and Republicans augmented their public criticism of war in response to casualties in their district.⁴⁵ Kriner and Shen also discovered that Democrats from districts with many casualties were

⁴⁴ Mildred L. Amer, “Membership of the 107th Congress: A Profile,” *CRS Web*, (December 19, 2001):1, https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20011219_RS20760_5a79758fd1425d11f289020d2a224aeaf0ef3b44.pdf.

Mildred L. Amer, “Membership of the 108th Congress: A Profile,” *CRS Web*, (May 8, 2003):1, https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20030508_RS21379_111ded0bae1975b28b906a79485b92063e058749.pdf.

⁴⁵ Douglas Kriner and Francis Shen, “Responding to War on Capitol Hill: Battlefield Casualties, Congressional Response, and Public Support for the War in Iraq,” *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 1 (January 2014): 162, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24363475>.

“significantly more likely to cast anti-war roll-call votes than their peers.”⁴⁶ In addition, they established that geographic differences in public support for war were a strong determinant of the variation of congressional public position on the war.⁴⁷

While these studies did not focus on gender dimensions specifically, the individual-level analysis did account for several demographic factors, including gender, and determined that female legislators were more willing to criticize the war than their male counterparts, when controlling for partisanship and other characteristics. This conclusion was derived from an individual-level analysis of congressional rhetoric. Kriner and Shen analyzed the impact of “local casualties and other demographic and constituency control variables on the number of speeches criticizing the Iraq War given by each representative in each Congress from the beginning of the war in 2003 through to the end of combat operations in Iraq under President Obama in 2010.”⁴⁸ From this series of studies, it can be deduced not only that there may be a significant gender difference in the public positions of members of Congress on war, but also that geographic and partisan factors are significant determinants of public positioning on war. These studies demonstrate a coincidence between party and gender, suggesting that the variables are correlative, but leading to questions regarding causality.

Sara Angevine’s 2017 study expands this work, as she factored transnationalism and foreign policy into women’s congressional behavior. She “[investigated] if women in Congress are representing women worldwide by extending their surrogate representation

⁴⁶ Kriner and Shen, 157.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Kriner and Shen, 162.

of American women to women in foreign countries.”⁴⁹ She sought to determine how a lack of a shared “mother country” uniting women will impact female legislative behavior, considering that foreign policy is a male-dominated domain. Angevine examined three recent Congresses, from 2005-2010, using an original dataset, and tested whether “female House Representatives are more likely to introduce foreign policy legislation that targets foreign women and girls.”⁵⁰ She utilized regression analysis, and controlled for factors such as individual, electoral, and institutional incentives.

Angevine discussed the important point that there is minimal analysis available on how American foreign policy decisions are made at the legislative level. She noted that American foreign policy research usually focuses on the role of the executive, regardless of the fact that Congress has significant authority and responsibility when it comes to foreign policy, including but not limited to “directing US development aid, allocating military resources, overseeing the Department of State and Defense, and conducting foreign diplomacy.”⁵¹ She explained that Congress is often responsible for incentivizing the executive, and that it was Congress that first gave human rights a prominent position in US foreign policy. Angevine claimed that her article is the first to empirically assess “the relationship between American foreign policy, Congress, and gender.”⁵²

⁴⁹ Sara Angevine, “Representing All Women: An Analysis of Congress, Foreign Policy, and the Boundaries of Women’s Surrogate Representation,” *Political Research Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (March 2017): 98, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26384903>.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Angevine, 99.

⁵² Angevine, 107.

Overall, Angevine concluded that women in Congress are, in fact, more likely to introduce legislation on behalf of women worldwide than their male counterparts, regardless of political party, committee membership, or race. Angevine asserted that “this suggests that women in Congress are having an impact on the US foreign policy,” and that “if more women are elected to Congress, there will likely be an increase of [women’s foreign policy (WFP)] legislation.”⁵³ These notions regarding the introduction of WFP legislation by women imply that when wars cause specific harms to be endured by women around the globe, the female legislative approach may differ from the male approach.

Despite the evidence that women do vote differently than men on issues of war and security to some degree of statistical significance, there is also some evidence to the contrary. Joseph Uscinski et al.’s 2009 article helps to address this. The researchers very specifically examined individual Congressmembers’ support for legislation to address the Darfur Genocide, and concluded that gender was not a significant factor in members’ positions on Darfur legislation. However, their work did also confirm some of Welch’s conclusions.

This study took into account each member of Congress’s individual, district, and institutional characteristics. While this study did not focus on gender specifically, it did take it into account within individual characteristics. Despite predictions that female members of Congress would demonstrate more support for Darfur legislation than their male counterparts, due to the conflict’s severe impact on women in the region, the study

⁵³ Ibid.

found “gender to have little influence over support for Darfur legislation as Female [Member of Congress was] statistically insignificant in the model,” since women were only 3 points more liberal than men in the model.⁵⁴

Uscinski et al. explained this statistical insignificance by citing research by Welch and suggested that “while a gender gap existed between male and female members of Congress for many years, it has been a long-standing prediction that the gap would dissipate over time as women became more numerous and institutionalized.”⁵⁵ This assumption interacts in nuanced ways with other theories and conclusions discussed in this literature review, as it suggests that more women in Congress will lead to more homogenous legislative behavior between women and men, while critical mass theory, for instance, predicts that the inclusion of more women in Congress will allow women to feel more comfortable sharing their true views, and not feel the need to self-censor. Interestingly, these two notions may not be mutually exclusive, since more women in Congress equates to more people with potentially different views that will begin to fall along the normal distribution of all people.

Other research has examined gender’s effect on voting specifically and concluded that there is a lack of direct impact of gender on voting. In her 2012 piece “How Gender Influences Roll Call Voting,” for example, Shannon Jenkins sought to determine the many ways in which gender can affect roll call voting. In her literature review, she

⁵⁴ Joseph Uscinski et al., “Congress and Foreign Policy: Congressional Action on the Darfur Genocide,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42, no. 03 (July 2009): 492, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40647645>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

discussed common research which shows that women are more likely to prioritize women's issues, spend time with women's groups, serve on committees and sponsor bills related to women's issues, and spend time interacting with and responding to constituents. However, she also discussed substantial research which shows that female legislators are more liberal than male legislators in general as well as on a wide range of issues including but not limited to women's issues. In addition, she discussed how female legislators are more likely to be Democratic, according to a 2011 CAWP fact sheet listing the gender and party composition of Congress. Jenkins thus established that women behave differently in a legislative role than their male counterparts.⁵⁶

To examine the effect of gender on roll call voting specifically, Jenkins used survey data which showed the personal beliefs of both female and male legislators and matched the results to roll call data from 1997-1998 in the legislative sessions of Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin in order to determine any differences in their voting patterns.⁵⁷ The main independent variables used in this analysis were ideology, party, constituency, and of course, gender.⁵⁸ Jenkins used structural equation modeling to examine roll call voting in multiple issue areas in the five state legislatures. This method allows the effect of gender on roll call voting to be modeled through the inclusion of paths from gender to the variables of party identification and ideology.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Shannon Jenkins, "How Gender Influences Roll Call Voting," *Social Science Quarterly* 93, no. 2 (June 2012): 415, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42864078>.

⁵⁷ Jenkins, 419.

⁵⁸ Jenkins, 420.

⁵⁹ Jenkins, 421.

While none of the issue areas Jenkins examined were related to war, since the study focuses on state legislatures, some, such as gun control and crime, which target personal security, could be considered related issues since national security is an extension of, or at least partially related to, personal security. It is therefore possible that any differences in attitudes toward and voting patterns related to these issues would also be apparent with issues of war, as women may be conditioned to view violence in general in a certain way. Furthermore, Jenkins's study found some general results regarding gender and voting, which could be applied to women's national legislative behavior with regard to war.

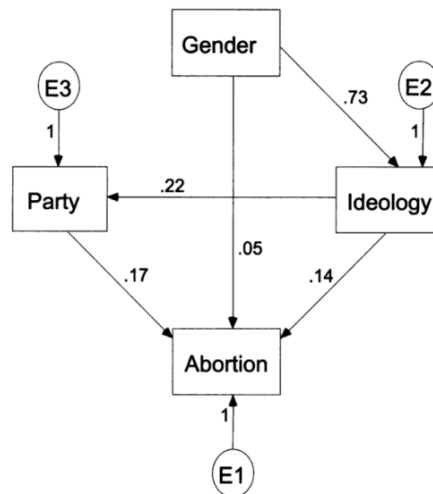
In her study, Jenkins cited Swers's theory which states that female legislators may vote differently than their male counterparts even when controlling for party identification and ideology because they alter their behavior to accommodate "constituent expectations about how women should go about conducting the business of the legislature."⁶⁰ She also discussed the possibility that women may simply appear to vote differently than men as "gender leads women to make different choices in their party identification and ideology."⁶¹ Noting that this possibility would eliminate real differences between men and women in voting, and that previous research has not properly modeled these relationships to show whether the effect of gender on voting is direct or indirect, Jenkins controlled for these beliefs in her model. She determined that although models suggest that gender influences voting directly and indirectly, the primary

⁶⁰ Jenkins, 418.

⁶¹ Jenkins, 429.

impact of gender on voting is, in fact, indirect.⁶² She concluded that gender rarely has a significant impact on roll call voting outside of party affiliation and ideology.⁶³ Upon analyzing models which look at the indirect paths to party and ideology as well as party only, Jenkins discovered that the influence of gender on voting is primarily through the pathway of ideology.⁶⁴ While there is a significant link between gender and ideology, there is not between gender and party. Thus, ultimately, Jenkins concluded that gender has consistent effects on roll call voting “through ideology and party, via an indirect pathway from ideology.”⁶⁵ Figure 6 demonstrates the path model for each issue area Jenkins examined, using abortion as an example.

Figure 6. The Impact of Gender on Roll Call Voting⁶⁶



⁶² Jenkins, 430.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Jenkins, “How Gender Influences Roll Call Voting,” 424.

When discussing why gender influences voting primarily through the pathways of party and ideology, Jenkins cited Swers' suggestion that women develop different beliefs as a result of the socialization of women into their gender role. One key difference, according to Swers, is that women tend to focus more on "relations with others and contextual factors when solving problems."⁶⁷ Jenkins concluded that while these different beliefs may factor into legislative work in other ways, such as inspiring bill amendment or coalition building, since roll call voting is a simple, binary decision, "there is no female or male way to vote yes."⁶⁸ Thus, these gender differences are funneled through ideology and party.

However, Jenkins extrapolated that the relationship between gender and women's legislative behavior is complex and nuanced. For instance, there is a direct and significant effect of gender on procedural voting, whereby women vote more liberally. While procedural issues tend to be very divisive and controlled by partisan leanings, Jenkins' models show that women tend to vote together regarding the ways in which bills should be handled. Of course, if women impact procedure, this will inevitably impact the overall legislative process, including in relation to security issues. However, these impacts are not direct.

It can be concluded from Jenkins's work that there is no significant or direct relationship between gender and roll call voting, due to its binary and dichotomous nature. However, this does not negate that gender differences exist in other facets of

⁶⁷ Jenkins, 430.

⁶⁸ Jenkins, 431.

legislative behavior, such as the bill sponsorship which Michele Swers discusses, which allow for more nuance and a display of beliefs which may be shaped by gender socialization. It is also important to note the limitations of Jenkins's work when applied to this thesis. For instance, because decisions of war and national security tend not to be made at the state level, this examination of gender and roll call voting in state legislatures is not directly applicable to issues of war and security.

Some researchers have taken into account other factors that may impact women's legislative behavior in regard issues of war, such as the way in which women are treated in Congress. A 2014 Women in International Security report by Jolynn Shoemaker and Mari-Laure Poiré, *Women in Peace and Security Careers: U.S. Congressional Staffs*, discussed how women are doing on Capitol Hill in terms of workplace climate and culture, career advancement, and mentorship and leadership. The report concluded that the congressional work environment may actually lead women to self-censor and distance themselves from women's issues. In interviews, female congressional staffers revealed that there are "too few female staffers on national security-related issues, and too few women with portfolios in such areas as U.S. intelligence."⁶⁹ Some women viewed women's minority status to be a positive factor, allowing their positions to become more visible against the backdrop of a male-dominated environment. However, others felt it to be a negative factor, and believed that the lack of other women negatively impacted their visibility and credibility as experts on issues of security.⁷⁰ Approximately 40 percent of

⁶⁹ Jolynn Shoemaker and Marie-Laure Poiré, "Women In Peace and Security Careers: U.S. Congressional Staffs," *Women In International Security (WIIS)*, (February 2014): 4.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

women surveyed viewed credibility as “essential.”⁷¹ Furthermore, some of the women interviewed noted that the small number of women causes women to self-censor in meetings, feeling increased pressure as the “only women” in the room.⁷² This, in turn, decreases their visibility and renders them less likely to obtain opportunities in the future.

In contrast to previously discussed research, this report indicates that some members of Congress “resist aligning themselves with ‘women’s issues.’”⁷³ Only 7 percent of women surveyed said that female Members of Congress are “very vocal” on behalf of women.⁷⁴ This work implies that women may be inclined to vote in a more similar manner to men and is indicative of some of Michele Swers’ conclusions that some women may alter their legislative behavior in order to counter stereotypes, generalizations, and assumptions made about female legislators. Unsurprisingly, most women who were interviewed noted more men advancing into senior positions and using self-promotion and negotiation than women. This fact combined with this report’s discussion of women self-censoring alludes to the idea that perhaps a critical mass of women is needed for women to have certain important impacts on legislation.

Relatedly, in their 2008 study, Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook explored the concept of critical mass as a tool for understanding the relationship between the number of female legislators and the passage of legislation that is beneficial to women. They sought to clarify the theoretical frameworks surrounding critical mass as a concept, in

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Shoemaker and Poiré, 5.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

order to better define the relationship between numbers and outcomes in relation to gender and politics. Traditional critical mass theory suggests that women are unlikely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes until they comprise a significant proportion of all legislators, as opposed to a few token individuals.⁷⁵

While today, women could be considered to be a significant minority of Congress, there are very few women serving on committees relating to war and security. Membership on the kinds of committees that deal with defense issues is key in allowing women to demonstrate their expertise and overcome the “double bind” that Michele Swers notes. Leadership on these committees is especially important in making a difference in legislative outcomes, but very few women have served as chairs of these committees and subcommittees. Thus, it is highly possible that there are not enough women in the important committees for women to make a legislative impact on war thus far, though this would not negate that women’s differing beliefs on war could make a large difference in the future once critical mass is reached.

The primary pioneers of critical mass theory as it relates to women and politics are Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Drude Dahlerup. When looking at how critical mass theory affects female legislative behavior, many scholars have, per Childs and Krook, misrepresented Kanter and Dahlerup, by, for example, reducing Kanter’s finding to the simple conclusion that more women will facilitate coalitions among women. In essence, Childs and Krook propose that subsequent scholars were able to pick and choose

⁷⁵ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, “Critical Mass Theory and Women’s Political Representation,” *Political Studies* 56, no. 3 (October 2008): 725, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00712.x>.

elements of the foundational work on critical mass theory in order to support various conclusions. Due to the vagueness surrounding the concept of critical mass, scholars have been able to use critical mass theory to explain instances in which increased numbers of women led to a greater focus on women's issues, but also instances where an increased number of women made little or no difference.⁷⁶ They have been able to explain the latter by claiming that no difference was made because critical mass had not been reached yet. Ultimately, there is a lack of consensus on what constitutes "critical mass," making it difficult to derive concrete principles from this theory.

Overall, research regarding critical mass theory is quite inconsistent, leading some scholars to abandon the concept entirely. Childs and Krook cite a 2004 study by J.E. Crowley that indicates that women may make a greater difference when they comprise a *very small* minority.⁷⁷ Confirming theories about women acting in a way that combats stereotypes, Childs and Krook also cite a 2001 study by S.J. Carroll that shows that as the proportion of women in Congress increases, the chance that they will act on behalf of women as a group actually decreases.⁷⁸ Consequently, findings regarding critical mass theory remain too contradictory and inclusive to substantively determine or predict exactly how women may impact legislative outcomes on war if there were more women in Congress. Regardless, it is important to note the possibility that the proportion of women in Congress, or even in a given subcommittee could have impacts on women's legislative approaches to war.

⁷⁶ Childs and Krook, 732.

⁷⁷ Childs and Krook, 725.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

While much of the research on women's voting patterns focuses on whether women tend to vote cohesively on women's issues, tend to spend more time on these issues, or support them more frequently than their male counterparts, this research can still inform women's legislative approach to security issues. For instance, if women act differently on legislation that concerns women's rights or women's roles in society in the United States, by extension they could act and vote differently than their male counterparts when women abroad are adversely impacted by a war.

In addition, at least some of the research discussed indicates that women tend to be more liberal in general in their legislative behavior. In combination with the research on how women are conditioned in society to view war and violence, as well as the psychological distinction between how men and women view war, it can be determined that women may have different ideas about war than men. Some research shows that since women tend to weigh personal relationships and contextual factors when forming opinions and making decisions, they are more likely to support wars based on humanitarian aims and protecting vulnerable populations, as opposed to the legal criteria which might inspire male legislators to support a war. Thus, it seems that women have different attitudes toward war. What remains in question is whether such differences in attitudes impact their voting decisions and legislative behavior.

It is less clear whether the impacts of gender on war-related voting and congressional behavior is direct, or whether it is funneled through partisan affiliation, ideology, and other factors. Based on the findings of Jenkins, it is highly likely that the effects of gender on beliefs and attitudes towards war exert their impact through party

affiliation and ideology. This idea is supported by the fact that women legislators are more likely to be Democratic than Republican. This is an example of how women being more liberal or otherwise different from their male counterparts in their attitudes towards war may directly affect the party they choose to affiliate with but may not directly affect their decisions about war.

Based on the findings of Swers, it is highly possible that the direct effects of gender on attitudes and beliefs about war may be altered by what she refers to as the double bind, or similar effects that manifest a need to combat party and gender stereotypes that portray women and Democrats as “weak” on issues of national security. Similar to how some female legislators may be reluctant to vehemently support women’s issues due to a will to have a more complex legislative agenda defined by more than just these issues, women may voice outright support for war, regardless of concrete differences in nature and attitude, in order to combat stereotypes about women being weak on security issues. This makes it difficult to trace how fundamental differences in beliefs about war and violence manifest in voting and other legislative behavior.

Furthermore, it remains unclear how the number of women in Congress or serving on specific committees relating to war affects their legislative behavior. Some scholars argue that women self-censor when in small numbers, and that a “critical mass” must be reached in order for women’s legislative approach to have an impact on legislative outcomes. Others argue that women have already become institutionalized as they have increased in numbers, and that therefore, the gender gap in voting behavior has narrowed.

Thus, while it is simpler to prove that gender impacts attitudes towards war, it is far more difficult to demonstrate how exactly and through what pathways these differences manifest in congressional voting and legislative behavior. This is what I will seek to establish in the following section.

CHAPTER 1: WOMEN WHO PAVED THE FUTURE

On April 2, 1917, Jeannette Rankin became the first woman in Congress. After just a few days of serving in the House as a Republican representative for Montana, she voted against the Joint Resolution Declaring War Against Germany for World War I. The resolution passed on April 6 by a vote of 373 to 50. However, this vote colored Rankin a “staunch anti-war representative.”⁷⁹ This decision should not have come as a surprise to her supporters, as she ran on a very pacifist platform, and made it clear during her campaign that she would not vote in support of any American involvement in World War I, but the vote was extremely controversial. The Helena *Independent Record*, a newspaper in Montana called Rankin “a dagger in the hands of the German propagandists, a dupe of the Kaiser, a member of the Hun army in the United States, and a crying schoolgirl.”⁸⁰ This strong rhetoric comparing Rankin to enemy forces demonstrates how polarizing her vote was. Furthermore, the sexist depiction of Rankin as a “schoolgirl” exemplifies the association of her vote with her gender by the media and the public.

Some even began to question whether women were fit to serve in Congress on the basis of Rankin’s vote, even though 49 male members of the House, and 6 male members of the Senate also voted against the United States’ declaration of war against Germany. Despite Rankin’s consistent pacifist stance leading up to her vote, her decision was taken as more than simple pacifism, and was attributed entirely to her gender. For instance, the

⁷⁹ “On This Day, Jeannette Rankin’s History-Making Moment,” National Constitution Center, April 2, 2021, <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-jeannette-rankins-history-making-moment>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

day after her vote, *The New York Times* said that “Miss Rankin’s vote is regarded, not as that of a pacifist, but rather as one dictated by the inherent abhorrence of women for war,” thus completely attributing Rankin’s vote to gender as opposed to her personal beliefs or any other factors that may have led to her decision.⁸¹

She famously stated, “I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war.”⁸² This statement evokes the traditional notion that women are strongly against all forms of violence and war. While the literature examined previously suggests that women may strongly support wars in many cases, such as when the aims are humanitarian in nature, Rankin was a true anti-war activist. However, her individual stance has no bearing on the voting patterns of women as a group. Her unpopular vote on the 1917 Joint Resolution Declaring War Against Germany eventually drove her out of Congress, as she did not seek re-election to the House in 1918.⁸³

Rankin spent her time out of Congress as an anti-war and social welfare activist before running again to be a House representative for Montana and winning in 1940. In 1941, President Roosevelt requested a declaration of war on the Empire of Japan in response to the attack on Pearl Harbor. This time, Rankin was the only member of Congress to vote against the declaration of war, making her the only Congressional representative to vote against both World Wars.⁸⁴ When discussing World War II on the House floor, she said “as a woman, I can’t go to war, and I refuse to send anyone else.”⁸⁵

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Here, Rankin explicitly associated her views on war with her gender. Rankin's emphasis on gender was likely a result of how magnified this aspect of her identity was as the first woman to serve in Congress. Since "most pacifist sentiment quickly evaporated in the United States after the attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor," this vote was even more controversial than her previous anti-war decisions.⁸⁶ In fact, Rankin received boos and hisses on the House floor after casting her vote.

The story of Jeannette Rankin could be oversimplified to indicate that women are always strongly and unequivocally against war. However, there are many nuances that complicate Rankin's story. What can be extracted from this case is that Rankin was not bound by party loyalty, nor did she feel the need to compensate for the potential perception that she was weaker as a woman and vote pro-war. She voted based on her own true beliefs—as indicated by her clear and consistent rhetoric—that war could only lead to the loss of life and she could not support it under any circumstances. This runs counter to critical mass theory, as Rankin felt comfortable voicing and voting in line with her personal views even as the sole woman in Congress. However, Rankin clearly based some aspects of her voting decisions on gender; her rhetoric indicates that she was influenced by the fact that at the time, women could not go to war. Thus, Rankin's story augments the fact that gender can be a factor in how women vote.

A more recent example of a woman who voted controversially on an issue of war is Barbara Lee. The House Bill for the Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) post-9/11 passed 420 to one, with 10 members of Congress not voting. In the Senate, the

⁸⁶ Ibid.

AUMF was approved 98 to zero. The final version of the AUMF was only about 60 words long:

That the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.⁸⁷

The single member of Congress who voted against the bill was Barbara Lee. In her speech on the floor of the House she noted that she was convinced that military action would not prevent further acts of terrorism against the United States. She admitted that the resolution would pass but cautioned that “some of us must urge the use of restraint,” to prevent the situation from spiraling out of control.⁸⁸ She quoted a member of the clergy who said during a 9/11 memorial service: “as we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore.”⁸⁹ In explaining her vote over which she claimed she agonized, she said that she “relied on her moral compass, conscious, and god for direction.”⁹⁰

There are many factors that contributed to Barbara Lee’s public justification for her vote. For instance, instead of supporting the AUMF for retaliatory reasons, she considered the moral element of not becoming evil and sinking to the enemy’s level. Just

⁸⁷ *Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States*, Public Law 107-40, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 115 (2001): 224-225.

⁸⁸ Glenn Greenwald, “Barbara Lee’s Lone Vote on Sept. 14, 2001, Was as Prescient as It Was Brave and Heroic,” *The Intercept*, September 11, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/09/11/barbara-lees-lone-vote-on-sept-14-2001-was-as-prescient-as-it-was-brave-and-heroic/>.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

because the United States was attacked, did not mean that retaliation was necessary, since this would do nothing to bring back lives lost, and would only endanger more. In addition, there are certainly religious undertones in Lee's justification, and other personal factors such as previous life experience might have also played a role. She also considered the long-term consequences of passing the resolution. In her memoir, she wrote that supporting the AUMF would give President Bush and his successors "a blank check to attack an unspecified country, an unspecified enemy for an unspecified period of time."⁹¹ Overall, she was operating under the assumption that military action would not prevent acts of terrorism against the United States and may just exacerbate the situation, while setting a dangerous precedent for unilateral presidential action.

While Lee received some support for her decision, she also received a lot of backlash. This is evidenced by the contents of letters she got expressing anger at her vote. The thousands of letters Lee got after casting her vote, expressing both support and disappointment, are archived at Mills College, her alma mater.⁹² Conor Friedersdorf, a writer for *The Atlantic*, visited the archive and revealed some of the contents of the letters in a 2014 article. Some of the letters criticizing Lee were respectful and reasonable, such as:

I watched the news unfold all day Tuesday. I reassured my kids that they will be safe because our government will protect us from threats. I wept while singing "God Bless America" at the Kofman Auditorium last night. I walked past my neighbors bearing candles as I made my way to that Auditorium. I convinced myself yesterday that things were going to be alright. I sit in front of my computer

⁹¹ Conor Friedersdorf, "Angry Letters to the One Member of Congress Who Voted Against the War on Terror," *The Atlantic*, September 13, 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/09/the-vindication-of-barbara-lee/380084/>.

⁹² *Ibid.*

this morning embarrassed and saddened that you, alone, do not sense the severity of the threat our country faces. If things are ultimately “alright,” it will be in spite of rather than because of you.⁹³

Most, however, were extremely callous, racist, and sexist. The following are excerpts from the more common critical letters Lee received:

- ⇒ “Why am I not surprised that this stupid woman is the LONE DISSENTER? Whassamatter? Not enough blacks killed in this tragedy to fire up your emotions? You are a disgrace to your constituents and your race. you should be dragged to the Pentagon and made to dig for bodies in the rubble. Get real!! This is WAR, honey, not a garden party! I pray for you and may God have mercy on you.”⁹⁴
- ⇒ “Black people across America have come together to be as one with their fellow Americans—are you so out of touch, by being the lone voice you have done nothing for the African American cause. May you reap what you sow.”⁹⁵
- ⇒ “You are a dog. Not even an American dog, a black mutt.”⁹⁶
- ⇒ “Regarding your lone dissent, the terrorists used God as an excuse. Is it true ‘God’ helped you make your decision, too? Congratulations on using terrorist mentality! You represent people, not God. If you can't handle your job, go work in a church. You will never be re-elected.”⁹⁷

The horrific and disrespectful rhetoric used in these letters demonstrates people attributing Lee’s vote to aspects of her identity as opposed to her concrete opinions or the reasoning she gave in her speech on the floor. Saying it is unsurprising for a “stupid woman” to be the lone dissenter shows that some members of the American public felt that Lee voted the way she did because she is a woman. Other letters talking about her

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

race and religion also demonstrate an attribution of her vote to those aspects of her identity.

Since Lee must have anticipated that she would receive harsh opposition to her vote, her decision took immense courage. She defied critical mass theory, as not only was she the sole woman to vote against the 2001 AUMF, but the only person in Congress. She easily could have voted in favor, knowing that her singular vote would not prevent the resolution from passing, but instead she decided to cast her vote against the AUMF and make a powerful statement on the floor. She felt it was necessary that someone advocate for the use of restraint, and made a sacrifice in being this person, even though it could have cost her re-election. Despite this controversial voting decision, and the many Americans who strongly opposed her decision, Lee managed to win re-election, and is currently carrying out her 12th term as the representative of California's 13th congressional district. Barbara Lee's case demonstrates that it does not always take a critical mass for women in Congress to vote based on their true opinions.

Despite the fact that male legislators regularly vote against war, Lee and Rankin stand out because they were the only ones, or at least the only one of their gender, to vote the way they did. By virtue of the fact that there have been fewer women than men in Congress throughout history, women are more likely to be the only one of their gender to vote in a certain way, causing them to be singled out and have their vote attributed to their gender. 49 men in the House voted against Declaring War on Germany for WWI, but Rankin was the only member of her gender to do so. Based off her singular vote, some determined that women were unfit to serve in Congress assuming on the basis of

Rankin's vote that all women were inherently against war. The lack of rhetoric singling out male legislators for anti-war votes indicates that people do not think twice when a man votes against war. This is likely for several reasons. The first is the historical notion that women are too "weak and delicate" to engage in or support war, a notion which has not existed for men. The second reason is that since men are rarely the only one of their gender to make a certain legislative decision, especially on war-related legislation, the choice is less likely to be associated with gender.

There were also women in recent history who held positions of power outside of the legislative branch, but who may have impacted women within Congress. For instance, Madeleine Albright was the first female Secretary of State under Clinton, and, during the Obama Administration, Samantha Power represented the US at the United Nations and Hillary Clinton served as Secretary of State. All three of these prominent foreign policy-oriented women advocated for the use of force in defense of humanitarian principles and human rights. One would expect that having these highly visible, powerful women in the executive branch at times when decisions were being made about deployments would have made women legislators feel more empowered to vote in favor of war. Indeed, even if critical mass theory does not hold true, there may be "critical representation." Having just a few women in visible positions of power in relation to security and foreign policy issues could be more impactful on women's voting than having a critical mass of women. However, when examining votes under these administrations, as evidenced by the case study in Chapter Four, it seems as though women, for the most part, continued to vote with their parties, and provided very similar justifications to the men in their parties for their various voting decisions. If the critical representation of women like Madeleine

Albright, Samantha Power, and Hillary Clinton did not cause a marked change in female voting patterns, there is no reason to believe that a critical mass of women would.

In the chapters that follow, I will explore four legislative votes from different decades, pertaining to different wars. I will examine votes regarding US intervention in Somalia in 1993, the 2002 conflict in Iraq, the strikes against the Gaddafi army in Libya in 2011, and unrest in Syria in 2019. These cases were selected to span three decades and to showcase a variety of types of wars ranging from humanitarian interventions, to defense of US allies, to more pre-emptive actions. These cases also cover multiple US presidencies, as well as both Democratic and Republican control of the House.

In each case, I will analyze the numbers of women who voted for and against each bill or resolution, but will also closely examine the rhetoric used on the floor of Congress and on social media where relevant, in order to get a sense of the reasoning behind each vote. This will allow me to determine whether women's reasoning and votes differ significantly from their male counterparts. All votes examined in the subsequent chapters are from the House of Representatives, since the Senate is a much smaller chamber of only 100 members. Since many more women have served in the House than the Senate throughout history, it will be more useful to analyze votes in the House.

CHAPTER 2: SOMALIA IN 1993

In the early 1990s, the United States was in a position of strength. President George H.W. Bush had declared a new US-led world order following the Cold War. However, there were internal wars percolating in Bosnia as well as Somalia, and the United Nations was struggling in both. In the early 1990s, Somalia was ravaged by famine as a result of drought and various militias blocking food aid.⁹⁸ This famine adversely affected the lower areas of the country, which predominately house minorities.⁹⁹ When UN peacekeepers arrived in Mogadishu, Somalia's capital, many were attacked and killed by militias controlled by Somali warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid.¹⁰⁰

As a result of these casualties, the US decided to pull together a coalition, and Operation Restore Hope—a multinational effort to ensure that food got to those who were being starved by the warlords—was initiated.¹⁰¹ The Unified Task Force, a US-led United Nations force, was sent to Somalia and operated from December 5, 1992 until May 4, 1993. This taskforce was established pursuant to UN Security Council Resolutions 794 and 814, which authorized the establishment of a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia by all means necessary and allowed for the

⁹⁸ Jeffrey Gettleman, "Famine Ravages Somalia in a World Less Likely to Intervene," *The New York Times*, September 15, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/16/world/africa/famine-hits-somalia-in-world-less-likely-to-intervene.html>.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Mark Bowden, "The Legacy of Black Hawk Down," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2019, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/legacy-black-hawk-down-180971000/>.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

establishment of a taskforce to execute these goals.¹⁰² Once the food was successfully distributed, the US pulled out most of its forces, leaving some Rangers in the country to assist the United Nations in a follow-on operation addressing the root causes of the violence. In the US, legislation was passed to allow a small number of US forces to remain in Somalia in support of the post-Operation Restore Hope UN operation.

On May 25, 1993, the United States House passed S.J. Res. 45, a “Resolution Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia.”¹⁰³ The resolution expressed support for UN efforts in Somalia and praised the forces for creating a safe environment for humanitarian aid-related operations in the nation. In addition, it authorized the President to use the armed forces to implement UN Security Council Resolutions 794 and 814. The resolution also “[Declared] that this Act [was] intended to constitute specific statutory authorization for the use of US troops under the War Powers Resolution.”¹⁰⁴ And “Terminated such authorization at the earlier of: (1) the end of 12 months after enactment of this Act unless extended by the Congress; or (2) expiration of the mandate of the UN-led force in Somalia.”¹⁰⁵ The resolution “[Directed] the President to report to the Congress regarding: (1) armed forces participation in and support for the UN-led force in Somalia; (2) transition to a UN-led force; (3) any agreements with the UN regarding use of the armed forces in Somalia; and (4) costs of UN-authorized

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Resolution Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia*, S.J.Res.45, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., introduced in Senate February 4, 1993, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/senate-joint-resolution/45>.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

operations in that country.”¹⁰⁶ Lastly, it “[Expressed] the sense of the Congress that the President should seek to ensure that incremental costs incurred by the United States in connection with the United States- and UN-led forces in Somalia [were] reimbursed to the maximum extent possible by the UN and other members of the international community.”¹⁰⁷

In 1993 (the 103rd Congress), the Democrats had control of the House. There were 176 Republicans, 258 Democrats, and 1 Independent.¹⁰⁸ Bill Clinton was inaugurated as President of the United States in January 1993. On the Resolution Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia, 243 members voted in favor of the resolution, while 179 voted against, and 10 members did not vote.¹⁰⁹ Of the 48 women in the House at the time, 31 voted in favor of the resolution (30 Democrats and one Republican). 13 voted against the resolution (11 Republicans and two Democrats). Two members did not vote. One member, Eleanor Holmes Norton, represented the District of Columbia, which does not have voting representation in Congress, and one, Blanche Lambert Lincoln, was likely absent that day. More than double the number of women voted for the resolution as voted against it (see appendix 1). Furthermore, most Democrats voted for this resolution, while most Republicans voted against it. This distribution of votes counters the view that Democrats tend to be “softer” on war and security. However, since the use of force that

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

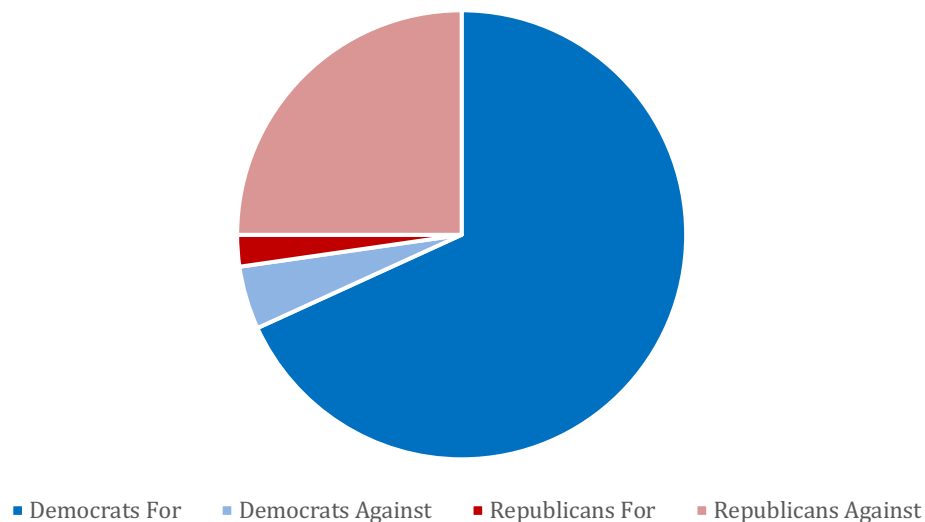
¹⁰⁸ “Congress Profiles: 103rd Congress (1993-1995),” United States House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, accessed April 18, 2021, <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/103rd/>.

¹⁰⁹ “Roll Call 183, Bill Number: S.J.Res.45, 103rd Congress, 1st Session,” Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives, May 25, 1993, <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/1993183>.

this resolution authorized was for peacekeeping and humanitarian purposes, perhaps the notion of Republicans tending to support war is less salient.

Figure 7. Women's Votes for S.J.Res.45

S.J.Res.45 - Resolution Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia - Female Votes



Since a vast majority of Democrats voted in favor of this resolution while most Republicans voted against it (see figure 7 above), it is safe to say that party loyalty affected members' votes to some extent. Thus, it would be useful to look at the outliers who did not vote with their party in greater detail, in order to separate out party loyalty from members' justifications for their votes. However, when examining the House congressional record from May 25, 1993, it becomes clear that the women who voted against their party were not particularly vocal on the floor. Thus, what follows is an analysis of the rhetoric of those women who were vocal on the floor on the issue of Somalia, maintaining the assumption that party loyalty played a role in their motivation

for their vote. Congresswoman Meyers (R-KS) and Congresswoman Lloyd (D-TN) are the two female representatives who spoke on the floor of the House on May 25, 1993 on the issue of S.J. Res. 45.

Congresswoman Meyers of Kanas made the following statement on the floor regarding the Gilman substitute, an Amendment which “sought to reduce the period for the authorized deployment of US troops in Somalia from 12 months to 6 months; provide that such troops be used for peacekeeping only; and require that in the event hostilities break out, the President is required to obtain additional authorization from Congress for the Armed Forces to remain in that country for more than 60 days”:¹¹⁰

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Gilman substitute. Now that the mission ordered by President Bush in Operation Restore Hope has been completed, all American forces should be withdrawn from Somalia as quickly as possible. Failure to do so will condemn our forces to a deployment that will last for years. American troops will be continuously dying in support of an impossible mission. The objective the United Nations has established for UNOSOM II is that of disarming the rival factions, beginning long-term development and nation-building activities, and engaging in national reconciliation. Let me emphasize again, long term. The most optimistic observers say this task will take through the end of the century. If Congress is to state that strong consideration will be given to extending the authorization for American forces in Somalia should they continue to be needed, it is as certain as the sun rising in the East that the United Nations will say they will still be needed for as long as this mission lasts. However, the United Nations is simply not capable of accomplishing this mission, not by the end of this century or the end of the next century. They will try to broker a deal between the rival clans and install a democratic system over the traditional Somali culture. Some members of President Bush's National Security Council staff were advocating that this be part of the mission of Operation Restore Hope. General Powell convinced President Bush that this was a bad idea. Now, it appears President Clinton has decided that America should accept this mission under U.N. command. I have no reason to question the ability of General Bir to run the peacekeeping forces in Somalia, but I am not as confident about the ability of his bureaucratic superiors in New York. Finally, I am seriously concerned about the war powers authorization contained in the bill. Other peacekeeping operations that involved American troops have not required such an authorization.

¹¹⁰ “H.Amdt.66 to S.J.Res.45 - 103rd Congress (1993-1994),” Congress.gov, May 25, 1993, <https://www.congress.gov/amendment/103rd-congress/house-amendment/66>.

The "Dear Colleague" signed by Messrs. HAMILTON, LANTOS, and JOHNSTON says Senate Joint Resolution 45 grants the same type of prior authorization under the war powers resolution as Congress approved for Operation Desert Storm. That makes our point as to why there should not be this authorization in this bill. Operation Desert Storm was a full-scale war. Yes, we found that war powers language acceptable for what President Bush wanted to do in the gulf war. Operation Desert Storm had a clearly defined mission, one that could be accomplished in a relatively short time. UNOSOM II's mission is not clearly defined. It will take years, perhaps generations to achieve Somali national reconciliation, whatever that may be. Do my colleagues actually want to authorize that kind of commitment for American troops in Somalia? Under the command of, not Americans, but rather the United Nations? Also, remember that it was George Bush who decided when Operation Desert Storm had accomplished its mission. In this case it will be U.N. officials, who have absolutely no accountability to the American people, who will have the authority to decide whether and when our forces had accomplished their mission. I believe that to grant this authority would be a serious mistake. Please join me in supporting the Gilman substitute.¹¹¹

While Meyers supported the Gilman amendment, she voted “no” on the resolution as a whole. Despite the fact that some literature demonstrates that women are more likely to support wars with humanitarian aims, in the above statement, Meyers showed that she did not believe the risk to American troops was worth intervention in Somalia, since enacting real change in the region would “take through the end of the century.” Instead of simply assuming that it was the United States’ responsibility to help establish democracy in Somalia, and to support the UN’s mission, Meyers prioritized the lives of American troops. In addition, in her statement, Meyers noted that “Other peacekeeping operations that involved American troops” did not require the war powers authorization included in the resolution. She implied that if previous peacekeeping operations did not require a war powers authorization, there is no reason that this operation should. Furthermore, she considered the relationship between the United Nations and the United States, noting the

¹¹¹ Representative Meyers, speaking on S.J.Res.45, on May 25, 1993, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 139, pt. 8:11021-11022.

lack of accountability of the UN to American troops. She argued that if the UN was calling the shots, yet had no incentive to consider the lives of American troops unlike if a US President was in charge, it was too risky to grant the war powers authorization.

In addition, Meyers' statement expressed a reluctance to engage in a "full-scale war" to the magnitude of the Gulf War of 1990-1991. This is in line with early literature on women and war which indicates that women find it harder to condone the violence, destruction, and killing of war. However, there are most certainly factors completely separate from Meyers' gender that led to her reluctance to support a full war, since many male members of Congress voted in the same way as Meyers.

Consequently, the rhetoric from Meyers' floor statement indicates that many considerations went into her decision to vote against the retention of US forces in Somalia. Meyers heavily prioritized protecting the lives of US troops in her decision and considered the institutional relationship between the United Nations and the United States. Meyers also took into account the simple fact that previous peacekeeping missions did not require the war powers authorization being requested for Somalia. None of these considerations were directly associated with gender, and men who voted against the resolution made similar arguments on the floor. For instance, Congressman Solomon (R-NY), who also voted against the resolution said the following about the Gilman amendment:

In Somalia we have played a very valuable role, pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 794, to provide a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations. But I would point out that those 20,000 American troops operated under US military command. Now, however, the remaining US troops will be operating under a U.N. command, and under a new and broader UN mandate, as contained in Security Council Resolution 814. Mr. Chairman, as the Republican substitute notes in its findings, this new operation, called UNOSOM II, "is much

broader and more open-minded, than the mission originally outlined by President Bush.” It goes beyond the original mandate of providing a secure environment for humanitarian relief efforts. In Resolution 814, the United Nations is committing itself to the more daunting tasks of establishing a democracy, an infrastructure, and of disarming warring factions. Mr. Chairman, the Republican views on this joint resolution correctly state that the Congress should be involved in any decisions regarding the deployment of any US forces abroad, and a resolution is an appropriate mechanism for such involvement. But the Republican views go on to warn that the Congress should not feel bound, and I quote, “to provide a blank check to the executive branch, and even more importantly, a blank check to the United Nations for an openended commitment of United States Armed Forces to that country.”¹¹²

Comparing this rhetoric to that of Meyers illustrates the similar nature of their reasoning for voting “no.” Both members cited giving UN command too much power over American troops, and both discussed the broad, open-ended nature of the resolution. Other male members who voted against this resolution gave very similar reasoning. Thus, nothing in Meyers’ justification for her vote seems to be decisively associated with gender.

The other woman who was vocal on the floor of the House that day, Congresswoman Lloyd (D-TN) expressed almost opposite views to those of Meyers. While she expressed some reservations, she supported the resolution to authorize force in Somalia overall, and ended up voting “yes.” On the floor of the House, she made the following statement about the resolution:

Mr. Chairman, today we are not only debating the continued presence of the United States military in Somalia, we are also outlining the future role of the world's only superpower in international crisis. The end of the cold war has prompted US policy advisers to rethink our role in the international community. As the leading military superpower, we are in a position to exert tremendous influence in nearly every corner of the world. But this newfound position should not be abused or overused. We must not be understood, as many would say, to be the 911 number for the world. The

¹¹² Representative Solomon, speaking on S.J.Res.45, on May 25, 1993, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 139, pt. 8:11024.

resolution before us today continues United States commitment and resolve to implementing peace in the deeply troubled nation of Somalia. While it is true that our presence there was to be limited in scope and time, our original mission, to ensure some form of a lasting peace, is not over. Warlords continue to plunder humanitarian aid and sporadic gunfire and snipers continue to threaten the lives of innocent civilians. Lacking any recognizable, organized government further contributes to the overall confusion and disarray in Somalia. Senate Joint Resolution 45 is a needed and well-crafted resolution that is in accordance with the law—specifically the War Powers Act of 1973, Public Law 93-148. Seeing as the situation in Somalia remains somewhat unstable, and the lives of all peacekeeping forces, including those of the United States, can be considered to be in danger, the President is required to seek congressional approval before any deployment of significant length. I am pleased to see that President Clinton has done so, and I intend to support him in this effort. Under the auspices of the United Nations, the United States would retain a small military presence in Somali as part of an overall UN peacekeeping effort. Included is a US commanded Quick Reaction Force designed to quell any serious uprisings that UN forces may not be capable of dealing with. Senate Joint Resolution 45 is not an open-ended resolution, as opponents claim. It is clearly written into the bill that US forces are committed for a period of 12 months. After that time is expired, Congress must revisit the issue. Without a vote to continue United States presence in Somalia, United States forces must withdraw. It is my belief that our mission there will be completed within the 12-month time period. Mr. Chairman, our commitment to peace and stability in Somalia must be strong both in perception and reality. Our allies look toward us for leadership and support in times of crisis. Our resolve to make a change should be unwavering if we expect to have the support and strength of our allies behind us in any future crisis management situations. I urge support for this resolution not only because it is right for Somalia, but also because it is a sound United States foreign policy decision.¹¹³

Lloyd justified her views on the resolution by expressing the importance of the United States' role in the international community. She noted that “Our allies look toward us for leadership and support in times of crisis.” While Lloyd did caution that the United States should not become the “911 number for the world,” and a global police force, she emphasized the importance of the United States maintaining peace and harmony throughout the global order. In addition, in her statement, Lloyd noted the various severe

¹¹³ Representative Lloyd, speaking on S.J.Res.45, on May 25, 1993, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 139, pt. 8:11035-11036.

threats to the lives of civilians in Somalia, including warlords stealing humanitarian aid and snipers killing innocent people. Thus, she expressed empathy for vulnerable and oppressed populations, and prioritized the need to protect innocent Somalians. Lloyd also noted that the resolution was “in accordance with the law—specifically the War Powers Act of 1973, Public Law 93-148,” thus adding a more legalistic element to her argument.¹¹⁴ Lloyd’s rhetoric in this statement is also in line with men in her party who voted in favor of the resolution. For instance, Rep. Payne (D-NJ):

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 45 to authorize United States forces in Somalia. For the first time in many years America is viewed by the world community as helping the powerless and homeless—and without a cold war agenda. We helped particularly women and children, who were literally too weak to speak for themselves, and who had been the brutalized victims of the ruthless male warlords. Now we are faced with the decision to authorize this good work to be consistent with the War Powers Act which I support, but more importantly to give the administration the authority to continue our involvement in Somalia until there is a presence of peace and stability. What we are being asked to vote on is to finish the task America set out to accomplish when then President Bush committed 28,000 troops in early December 1992. This action by President Bush was a logical step to insure the success of the food distribution program by airlift that began in August of that same year.¹¹⁵

Here, Payne expressed similar sentiments as Lloyd regarding America’s responsibility in the global order, as well as protection of vulnerable people in Somalia. He noted the consistency of the resolution with the War Powers Act—a federal law meant to check the president’s ability to send US forces into an armed conflict without the consent of Congress—which Lloyd also emphasized in her statement.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Representative Payne, speaking on S.J.Res.45, on May 25, 1993, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 139, pt. 8:11031.

Meyers and Lloyd held completely opposite views on this resolution. Meyers viewed the resolution as an open-ended piece of legislation which would afford the United Nations too much flexibility to attempt to execute an impossible mission with no accountability to the US military, and provide authorizations that were too severe and wide-sweeping for the situation in Somalia. Lloyd viewed the resolution as a carefully crafted piece of legislation that was necessary in order for the United States to abide by its role in the international community, maintain peace in the global order, and protect the innocent people of Somalia from the threats posed by warlords and militias in the region. Both women voted with their parties, just like the majority of their male counterparts did.

The fact that the two women who publicly expressed their opinions on this matter had polar-opposite views and voted differently is a testament to the fact that regardless of subtle trends that one may be able to identify in female voting patterns, women do not vote homogeneously and have a breadth of personal opinions and beliefs that they express through their legislative behavior just like male members of Congress. The main takeaway from comparing Meyers' and Lloyd's statements on the floor is that the justification for women's votes on issues of war and security, just like those for men's votes, can be highly nuanced and rooted in a range of complex influences. Therefore, women may be motivated by factors completely unassociated with gender when voting on issues of war.

CHAPTER 3: IRAQ IN 2002

In March 2003, the United States invaded Iraq. What factors motivated the George W. Bush Administration's Iraq foreign policy remain disputed. The Bush Administration stated that it wanted to counter what it claimed was Iraq's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and to end the reign of authoritarian leader, Saddam Hussein. It claimed that the foreign policy approach of containment, implemented under the Clinton Administration and authorized by the United Nations Security Council, which included economic sanctions on Iraq, disarmament requirements, weapons inspections, no-fly zones, and trade restrictions had not worked.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the Bush administration accused Saddam Hussein of developing WMD.¹¹⁷

Some analysts point out that the post-9/11 world provided the opportunity for the Bush Administration to "reform [the] Arab/Muslim world on a liberal basis," which the Bush Administration argued would benefit American interests as well as the Iraqi people.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Bush continuously employed moralist rhetoric, such as in his 2003 State of the Union address in which he claimed that "The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity."¹¹⁹ Thus, Bush portrayed the invasion of Iraq as a moral responsibility. Why the Bush administration actually started the Iraq war is variously attributed to a quest for oil, "revenge for the president's father,

¹¹⁶ Steven J. Davis, Kevin M. Murphy, and Robert H. Topel, "War in Iraq versus Containment," *American Enterprise Institute*, February 15, 2006, <https://www.aei.org/research-products/working-paper/war-in-iraq-versus-containment/>.

¹¹⁷ David Hastings Dunn, "Myths, Motivations and 'Misunderestimations': The Bush Administration and Iraq," *International Affairs* 79, no. 2 (March 2003): 291, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00308>.

¹¹⁸ Dunn, 290.

¹¹⁹ Dunn, 291.

support for Israel, hegemonic control of the Middle East, even just the hubris of the macho Texan cowboy support.”¹²⁰

In any event, the war eventually lost public support, as US intelligence on WMD proved to be inaccurate, and a violent insurgency emerged leading to the loss of US troops and Iraqi civilians. The war lasted for seven years, and there were more than 4,700 US and allied troop deaths and more than 100,000 Iraqi civilian casualties.¹²¹

Regardless of the true motivations behind the Iraq War and the unfortunate outcomes, when Bush asked for congressional authorization in 2002, an AUMF was passed by the House of Representatives. In October 2002 (the 107th Congress), the Republicans had control of the House. There were 220 Republicans, 213 Democrats, and 2 Independents.¹²² In total, 296 members voted in favor of the Iraq AUMF, while 133 voted against, and 3 members did not vote.¹²³ Of the 61 women serving in the House, 43 were Democrats and only 18 were Republicans (see appendix 2). Once again, most members voted with their party, as demonstrated in figure 8. In fact, only one Republican woman, Rep. Connie Morella of Maryland’s 8th district, and five Republican men, voted against the AUMF.

¹²⁰ Dunn, 279.

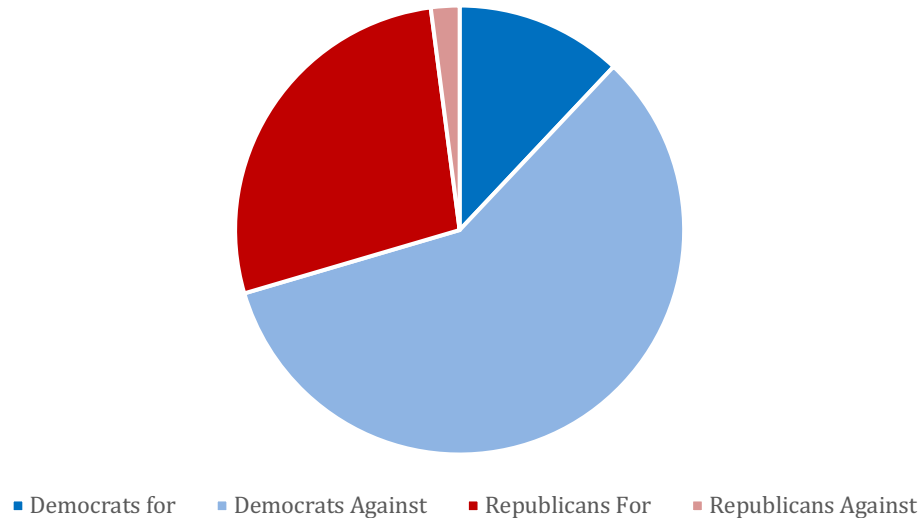
¹²¹ “The Iraq War,” Council on Foreign Relations, accessed April 21, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/iraq-war>.

¹²² “Congress Profiles: 107th Congress (2001-2003),” United States House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, accessed April 21, 2021, <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/107th/>.

¹²³ “Roll Call 455, Bill Number: H.J.Res.114, 107th Congress, 2nd Session,” Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives, October 10, 2002, <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/1993183>.

Figure 8. Women's Votes for H.J.Res.114

H.J.Res.114 - Authorization for Use of Military Force
Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 - Female Votes



In an October 31, 2002 *Washington Post* article titled “The GOP Label Doesn’t Define Connie Morella,” journalist Marc Fisher wrote that pre-9/11, Morella had brought him into the Congressional Women’s Reading Room and, pointing to a portrait of Jeannette Rankin, said that Rankin “[was] the only member of the House to vote against both world wars.”¹²⁴ She told Fisher “I have a feeling it was easier to be a moderate Republican back then.”¹²⁵ Morella was one of three Republicans in the House to vote against the first war against Saddam Hussein under President George H.W. Bush. She was one of six Republicans to oppose President George W. Bush’s similar request. While

¹²⁴ Marc Fisher, “The GOP Label Doesn’t Define Connie Morella,” *Washington Post*, October 31, 2002, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2002/10/31/the-gop-label-doesnt-define-connie-morella/5cd16149-0d5f-4709-8ed8-a348ccccee2e/>.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

Morella did not make a statement on the floor of the House on October 10, 2002, her willingness to vote in line with her true beliefs and dissent from the Republican party is once again a testament to the notion that women do not require a critical mass to be able to express their true values and intentions through their legislative behavior. Furthermore, her statement that it was not “easy” to be a moderate Republican in the early 2000s is perhaps evidence of a Republican “double bind,” similar to the Democratic double bind introduced by Swers. Morella’s experiences demonstrate that Republican women may feel more pressure to vote in favor of war in order to conform with the Republican party, while also potentially feeling pressure to counter perceptions of female weakness on issues of security.

Of the six Democratic women who voted for the AUMF, and therefore did not vote with the majority of their party, only one was vocal on the floor of the House on October 10, 2002: Rep. Ellen Tauscher of California’s 10th district. She said the following regarding the Spratt substitute, an “Amendment in the nature of a substitute [which] sought to authorize the President to use US armed forces pursuant to any resolution of the United Nations Security Council adopted after September 12, 2002 that provides for the elimination of Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction.” The amendment ended up failing by a vote of 155 Yeas to 270 Nays:¹²⁶

¹²⁶ “H.Amdt.609 to H.J.Res.114 - 107th Congress (2001-2002),” Congress.gov, October 10, 2002, <https://www.congress.gov/amendment/107th-congress/house-amendment/609?s=a&r=2>.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to state my strong support for the gentleman from South Carolina's (Mr. SPRATT) substitute. As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I am deeply concerned by the threat posed by Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, but I also strongly believe that the United States has a responsibility as the world's only superpower to set a standard for international behavior. We must consider every peaceable alternative and contemplate every possible outcome before we turn to force. The gentleman from South Carolina's (Mr. SPRATT) amendment is invaluable because it strengthens America's position at the United Nations in support of new Security Council resolutions that Secretary Powell is negotiating as we speak. The gentleman from South Carolina's (Mr. SPRATT) amendment sends a strong signal to our allies and to Saddam that the United States is committed to defeating the threat posed by Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. It ensures that our actions have international legitimacy and that, just like in 1991, we share the cost of war with our allies instead of putting the burden solely on the American people. If we are unable to secure resolution at the U.N., it provides for expedited congressional consideration of a joint resolution authorizing the use of force. I encourage my colleagues to vote for the Spratt amendment.¹²⁷

While Tauscher noted the importance of considering "peaceable" alternatives in her statement, the overall message and rhetoric is not anti-force, as she highlighted the importance of defeating the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. The substitution she discussed in this statement, suggested by Representative Spratt (D-NC), would have broadened the resolution and called for a second vote by Congress to approve the use of force in the case that "the Iraqis defy the inspectors and the Security Council fails to take action, fails to respond."¹²⁸ Thus, the amendment would have served as another check on the President. Tauscher's support for this amendment demonstrates that while she went against the majority of Democrats in her vote, she still attempted to advocate for a

¹²⁷ Representative Tauscher, speaking on H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7764.

¹²⁸ Representative Spratt, speaking on H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7754.

version of the AUMF that would limit the President's ability to authorize force unilaterally. Thus, Tauscher's position was not a complete departure from her party.

When comparing Tauscher's statement to a male Democrat's statement on the same suggested amendment, it becomes clear that their reasons for their stance on the amendment and the resolution as a whole are very similar. Rep. Markey (D-MA), who also voted "yes" on the resolution and supported the Spratt amendment said the following:

Mr. Speaker, the Spratt approach is the correct approach. It says that the President, should go to the United Nations, go to Kofi Annan and tell him that we authorize President Bush to use all of the Armed Forces necessary to eliminate the chemical, the biological and the nuclear weapons of Saddam Hussein; and if Kofi Annan and the U.N. say, "no, we will not authorize that," then it says that the President can come back to the United States Congress immediately, and then we would authorize the President to go in to Iraq with any other Nation in the world that would want to join us, and we will ensure that the chemical, biological and nuclear weapons of Saddam Hussein are taken from his possession. This is the way to go. If the U.N. says no, then we can say "yes" but the President has an obligation to go to the United Nations first and to find out if Kofi Annan and the U.N. we will not forcibly ensure that these weapons of mass destruction are confiscated. Vote yes on Spratt.¹²⁹

While his speaking style is markedly different than that of Tauscher, and has a much more informal tone, the underlying argument is largely the same. Both Tauscher and Markey favored the notion of a second vote by Congress to approve an attack and the use of force in the event that the UN failed to take action, on the basis of encouraging support from the UN and allies and preventing the US from having to act alone. The similarity in justification for support of the same amendment between two members of

¹²⁹ Representative Markey, speaking on H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7764.

Congress of opposite genders but from the same party, and who voted in the same way on the overall resolution is indicative of a lack of gender differences in reasons for supporting war.

Another amendment was proposed by Barbara Lee, who voted against the AUMF. This was an “Amendment in the nature of a substitute [which] sought to have the United States work through the United Nations to seek to resolve the matter of ensuring that Iraq is not developing weapons of mass destruction, through mechanisms such as the resumption of weapons inspections, negotiation, enquiry, mediation, regional arrangements, and other peaceful means.”¹³⁰ This was a substantial amendment, that clearly countered the spirit of the original resolution by advocating for peaceful means as opposed to the use of force. The amendment ended up failing by a vote of 72 Yeas to 355 Nays. The following is an excerpt of her statement regarding her proposal:

Mr. Speaker, today our Nation is debating the very profound question of war and peace and the structure and nature of international relations in the 21st century. Before us today is the serious and fundamental question of life and death: whether or not this Congress will give the President authority to commit this Nation to war. Always a question of the greatest importance, our decision today is further weighted by the fact that we are being asked to sanction a new foreign policy doctrine that gives the President the power to launch a unilateral and pre-emptive first strike against Iraq before we have utilized our diplomatic options. My amendment provides an option and the time to pursue it. Its goal is to give the United Nations inspections process a chance to work. It provides an option short of war with the objective of protecting the American people and the world from any threat posed by Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. The amendment urges the United States to reengage the diplomatic process, and it stresses our government’s commitment to eliminating any Iraqi weapons of mass destruction through United

¹³⁰ “H.Amdt.608 to H.J.Res.114 - 107th Congress (2001-2002),” Congress.gov, October 10, 2002, <https://www.congress.gov/amendment/107th-congress/house-amendment/608>.

Nations inspections and enhanced containment. It emphasizes the potentially dangerous and disastrous long-term consequences for the United States of codifying the President's announced doctrine of pre-emption. The administration's resolution forecloses alternatives to war before we have even tried to pursue them. We do not need to rush to war, and we should not rush to war. If what we are worried about is the defense of the United States and its people, we do not need this resolution. If the United States truly faced an imminent attack from anywhere, the President has all of the authority in the world to ensure our defense based on the Constitution, the War Powers Act and the United Nations Charter. Our own intelligence agencies report that there is currently little chance of chemical and biological attack from Saddam Hussein on US forces or territories. But they emphasize that an attack could become much more likely if Iraq believes that it is about to be attacked. This is a frightening and dangerous potential consequence that requires sober thought and careful reflection. President Bush's doctrine of pre-emption violates international law, the United Nations Charter and our own long-term security interests. It will set a precedent that could come back to haunt us. Do we want to see our claim to pre-emption echoed by other countries maintaining that they perceive similar threats? India or Pakistan? China or Taiwan? Russia or Georgia? I would submit that we would have little moral authority to urge other countries to resist launching preemptive strikes themselves. This approach threatens to destabilize the Middle East, unleash new forces of terrorism and instability and completely derail any prospects for peace in the region. Unilateralism is not the answer. Iraqi weapons of mass destruction are a problem to the world community, and we must confront it and we should do so through the United Nations. Multilateralism and steadfast commitment to international law should be the guiding principle as we move into the 21st century [...] What we are doing today is building the framework for 21st century international relations. It will either be a framework of unilateralism and insecurity or multilateral cooperation and security. It is our choice. During the Cold War, the words "first strike" filled us with fear. They still should. I am really appalled that a democracy, our democracy, is contemplating taking such a fearsome step and really setting such a terrible international precedent that could be devastating for global stability and for our own moral authority. We are contemplating sending our young men and women to war where they will be doing the killing and the dying. And we, as representatives of the American people, have no idea where this action will take us, where it will end and what price we will pay in terms of lives and resources. This too should cause us to pause. We have choices, however, and we have an obligation to pursue them, to give U.N. inspections and enhanced containment a chance to work.¹³¹

¹³¹ Representative Lee, speaking on H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7740-7741.

Lee's argument here mirrors her justification for voting against the AUMF post-9/11, but this time, her argument was far more legalistic. She considered the consequences of allowing "the President's announced doctrine of pre-emption" in terms of precedent-setting.¹³² She also noted the importance of not rushing into war and emphasized that if the United States ever faced an imminent attack, the President had sufficient authority to counter such an attempt and protect the nation—powers enshrined in the Constitution, the War Powers Act, and the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, Lee highlighted the long-term consequences on the global order of allowing unilateral action on issues of security. She did make a somewhat moral appeal in her statement, as she underscored the lives that would be lost in pursuit of a war with an unknown outcome and noted that setting "such a terrible international precedent" would be damaging to Congress' moral authority.¹³³

Every single woman that spoke of the floor about Lee's amendment spoke in support of it, including Rep. Kilpatrick (D-MI), a co-sponsor of the amendment, Rep. Rivers (D-MI), Rep. Jackson-Lee (D-TX), Rep. Woolsey (D-CA), Rep. Clayton (D-NC), Rep. Christensen (D-VI), Rep. Jones (D-OH), and Rep. Brown (D-FL).¹³⁴ Considering these women were all Democrats, this likely has more to do with party than it does with gender. This is especially true since several men also spoke in favor of Lee's amendment. One such man is Rep. Honda (D-CA), a Congressman from the same party and state as

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ *Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002*, H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7739-7786.

Lee, who also voted against the broader resolution. On the floor of the House, he said the following:

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Lee amendment. In effect, the Lee amendment says that if there are weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, we must work to seek and destroy these weapons with our allies in the United Nations. The amendment further indicates that we will not provide our stamp of approval for a unilateral, pre-emptive strike unless the administration can verify an imminent threat to our Nation. Why should we change our national policy from being defenders of freedom and democracy to that of first-strike aggressors? This amendment does not prevent the President from performing his constitutional duties. He is still the commander in chief of this great Nation. However, it is our constitutional duty to declare war. We must not delegate our authority to declare war to the executive branch. Support the Lee amendment.¹³⁵

Once again, the rhetoric used here is strikingly similar to Lee's statement. Honda also cautioned against normalizing unilateral, pre-emptive strikes. Honda and Lee both discussed the president's existing Constitutional powers and authorities, and the dangers of giving the executive branch even more war powers. The fact that both male and female Democrats expressed support for this amendment for similar reasons signifies that party affiliation and personal views may be a more accurate indicator of votes than gender.

Consequently, despite the fact that significantly more women voted against the 2002 AUMF for Iraq than voted for it, this is far more indicative of party alignment than gender differences. Republicans had control of the House at the time of this vote, but the composition of women in the House was almost two thirds Democrat and one third Republican. Most women voted with their party, and it was simply the lack of Republican women that led the female vote to skew so strongly against the resolution. The existence

¹³⁵ Representative Honda, speaking on H.J.Res.114, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 148 (October 10, 2002): H 7742.

of such a strong disparity in the inclusion of women between the Republican party and the Democratic party may speak to women being more likely to run as Democrats, women being more likely to be elected as Democrats, and to the values embodied by the Democratic party itself.

CHAPTER 4: LIBYA IN 2011

In early 2011, tensions were rising in Libya, as forces of dictator Moammar Gaddafi were threatening the lives of pro-democracy protestors. In mid-February 2011, a riot broke out in Benghazi, prompted by the arrest of Fethi Tarbel, a human rights activist who worked to free political prisoners.¹³⁶ On February 24, anti-Libyan government militias evicted Gaddafi's forces, and took control of Misrata, a northwestern Libyan city. A couple of days later, the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Gaddafi and his family.¹³⁷ On March 16, Gaddafi's forces had moved in close to Benghazi, which was held by rebels. Gaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, announced that: "Everything will be over in 48 hours."¹³⁸

March 19, 2011, President Barack Obama launched airstrikes against Libya, targeting Gaddafi's army. This decision followed the United Nations Security Council resolution authorizing military intervention in Libya, a resolution prompted by the Obama Administration.¹³⁹ According to the Obama Administration, the goal of this intervention was to protect pro-democracy protestors who were being targeted by Gaddafi.¹⁴⁰ The United States was joined by other NATO countries, including France and Britain, in creating a no-fly zone over Libya to prevent Gaddafi's air force from intervening as they bombed his territory.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ "Timeline: Libya's Uprising against Muammar Gaddafi," *Reuters*, August 22, 2011, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-events-idUSTRE77K2QH20110822>.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Andrew Glass, "Obama Approves Airstrikes against Libya, March 19, 2011," *POLITICO*, March 19, 2019, <https://politi.co/2Hut8xo>.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

On March 28, Obama made a speech at National Defense University in Washington, D.C. and stated that “The United States and the world faced a choice. Gaddafi declared he would show ‘no mercy’ to his own people. He compared them to rats and threatened to go door to door to inflict punishment. In the past, we have seen him hang civilians in the streets, and kill over a thousand people in a single day [...] It was not in our national interest to let that [massacre] happen. I refused to let that happen.”¹⁴²

However, many members of Congress were upset by Obama’s failure to ask for congressional approval for the strikes. Furthermore, many believed that the intervention was initiated without a clear goal and without enough intelligence, causing the purposeless endangerment of American troops. Thus, on June 3, 2011, Congress passed a resolution “declaring that the President shall not deploy, establish, or maintain the presence of units and members of the United States Armed Forces on the ground in Libya, and for other purposes.”¹⁴³

In June 2011 (the 112th Congress), the Republicans had control of the House. As of election day, there were 242 Republicans and 193 Democrats.¹⁴⁴ The resolution declaring that the President should withdraw forces from Libya passed by a vote of 268 to 145. 223 Republicans voted in favor, while 10 voted against the resolution. 45

¹⁴² Ibid.

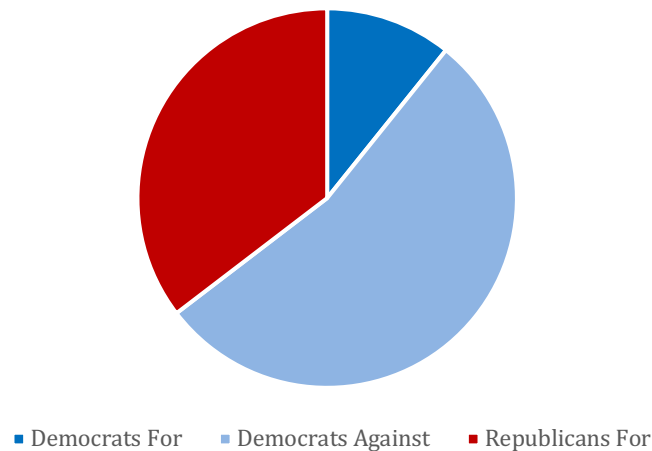
¹⁴³ U.S. Congress, House, *Resolution declaring that the President shall not deploy, establish, or maintain the presence of units and members of the United States Armed Forces on the ground in Libya, and for other purposes*, H.Res.292, 112th Cong., 1st sess., introduced in House June 2, 2011, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/112th-congress/house-resolution/292?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22H.Res.292%22%5D%7D&s=10&r=1>.

¹⁴⁴ “Congress Profiles: 112th Congress (2011-2013),” United States House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, accessed April 26, 2021, <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/112th/>.

Democrats voted for the resolution and 135 voted against it.¹⁴⁵ Of the women serving in the House at the time, 7 Democrats voted in favor of the resolution and 35 voted against it. 23 female Republicans voted in favor and no Republican women voted against it (see appendix 3). Thus, all Republican and most Democratic women voted with their party, as demonstrated in figure 9. Of the 75 women serving in the House at the time, 51 were Democrats and only 24—less than half—were Republicans. Notably, this distribution of votes counters traditional perceptions of Democrats and women being “soft on war,” since most Democrats, and therefore, most women, did not vote to withdraw forces from Libya.

Figure 9. Women’s Votes for H.Res.292

H.Res.292 - Declaring that the President shall not deploy, establish, or maintain the presence of units and members of the United States Armed Forces on the ground in Libya, and for other purposes - Female Votes



¹⁴⁵ “Roll Call 411, Bill Number: H.Res.292, 112th Congress, 1st Session,” Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives, June 3, 2011, <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2011411>.

None of the female Democrats who voted for this resolution—the outliers—were vocal on the floor of the House on June 3, 2011, the day of the vote. However, several other women were. One example is Rep. Foxx (R-NC) who voted in favor of pulling out forces from Libya. She said the following on the floor:

Mr. Speaker, we live in the greatest country in the world. A major part of what makes us so great is that we are a Nation of laws and not of men, and our rule of law is based on God's laws and our Constitution. Indeed, each one of us in Congress takes an oath to uphold the Constitution when we take our office. The President and Vice President, as well as members of the Cabinet, do the same thing. We are here today to debate a rule and two resolutions related to the inattention of the President to the Constitution; and I dare say that none of us takes any joy in this, but we feel compelled by our dedication to our founding document to do this because we love our country. By doing all that we can to safeguard the constitutional powers granted to Congress, we are doing our part to keep the United States great and strong. Mr. Speaker, I want to be very clear about what is not at issue today. This debate is not about our troops. We owe a huge debt of gratitude to our men and women in the military and their families. The troops do what they are sworn to do, what the law requires them to do: obey the orders of the Commander in Chief. The troops are doing their duty. By refusing to get congressional authorization for military action in Libya, it appears that their Commander in Chief is not. The Constitution was designed to be a check on the power of our government, hence the term "enumerated powers." Each of the three branches has very limited powers with Congress having its own unique role and powers, one of which, an important one of which, is the power to declare war. My focus this morning will be on the abrogation of the constitutional and statutory responsibility by the President in regard to his actions on Libya. In other words, the authorization to use military force is given to the President by this body and none other. And it is in accordance with our Constitution that we are here asserting our sworn constitutional duty and telling the President he does not have the support nor the authority that he claims to have in order to continue military operations in Libya. I have often urged people to read Orwell's book "1984" because the language used by President Obama in particular on the Libya issue to muddy the waters is so reminiscent of the language used in that book about a country where the government controls everything, including the minds of the people, partly by the use of language that is completely distorted. Mr. Speaker, I have read the letter that President Obama sent to Congress. He should have come in person to make his case, but even then I doubt we would agree to

continue operations in Libya. The letter that the President sent does not even begin to comply with the requirements of the War Powers Resolution...¹⁴⁶

In this statement, Foxx emphasized the dangerous precedent set by President Obama taking action in Libya without congressional approval. She underscored the importance of the enumeration of powers set forth in the United States Constitution, and claimed that Obama abused the War Powers Resolution. Although her argument was quite legalistic and simple, it was powerful, especially through her use of strong rhetoric comparing the Obama Administration to a government that “controls everything, including the minds of the people.”¹⁴⁷ However, male members who took the same stance on the issue used very similar reasoning. A male Republican, Rep. Duncan (R-SC), who also voted in favor of the resolution, had this to say on the floor of the House:

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about our Constitution and the specific role that it grants this Congress. My constituents back in the Third Congressional District of South Carolina know that I carry a United States Constitution with me every day, and the first time I spoke on this floor, it was to read a portion of this great document. Specifically, I read the article that we’re talking about today, Article I, section 8, clause 11, the enumerated power of Congress and of Congress, alone, to declare war. Our Founders did not give that right to the executive branch. They invested that responsibility with us. Now, previous Congresses have delegated some of that responsibility with the War Powers Resolution. That’s what’s being used by this President. But I think the time has come for us to have the debate about the wisdom of that and the constitutional obligation our Founders defined for Congress. Over the past few years, our country has seen a renewed appreciation for the Constitution, a recognition of the wisdom and divine guidance our Founding Fathers had when they crafted this sacred document. The Constitution lists our rights, these rights which were given us directly by God, but also contains the mechanisms to protect our rights from being trampled upon by man. Among the most important of these protections is the separation of powers. Seeing firsthand the tyranny that can arise from a corrupt centralized power, our

¹⁴⁶ Representative Foxx, speaking on H.Res.292, 112th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 157 (June 3, 2011): H 3995.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Founding Fathers sought to divide the power of government into three independent branches that serve as checks on one another. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress need to know: What is the national interest at stake in Libya? The President cites humanitarian needs, regional stability, and supporting the international community as his justification. I do not believe that these reasons suffice as national security interests. We did not go into Libya with a clear, attainable objective. The risks and costs do not appear to be fully analyzed. As the President said, we would only be in Libya for days, not months. We've been there days. As a matter of fact, we've been there 73 days. Seventy-three days after we've gotten involved, we still don't have that answer. We don't know who we're supporting. We don't know whether we have a viable end game, and we don't have a congressional declaration of war or an authorization of force. And yet this President chooses to continue to risk American lives, American servicemen and - women, and he continues to spend American treasure at the whims of the United Nations. This President should not be able to simply have wars of choice. He said this action in Libya would be limited. Our troops have, once again, as always, performed admirably and done the job the President gave them to do. But we now have to do ours. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution is very clear. Only Congress has the power to declare war. If this Congress allows our President to make wars of choice without the rule of law to guide him, we will be just as guilty in not upholding our constitutional obligations.¹⁴⁸

Much like Foxx, Duncan mainly discussed the separation of powers outlined in the Constitution in his statement, and stressed that Obama infringed on the legislative branch by going into Libya without approval. He discussed how there was not enough information, nor a clear enough objective, to make the intervention in Libya worth the various costs. Duncan claimed that Obama went back on his word as he had said that the US would only be in Libya for a matter of days and 73 days had elapsed by the time of Duncan's statement. Like Foxx, he noted that the troops had performed admirably in following the Commander in Chief's orders, but that these orders were misguided. Both Foxx and Duncan also made a religious appeal, referencing God-given rights and God's laws. Overall, the statements are extremely similar in both tone and underlying argument.

¹⁴⁸ Representative Duncan, speaking on H.Res.292, 112th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 157 (June 3, 2011): H 3994.

Comparing the two statements of a male and female legislator from the same party, and even the same region of the country, who voted in the same manner on the resolution to pull forces out of Libya highlights the lack of gender differences in the justification for votes. While some literature indicates that women will support (or in this case, oppose) war for different reasons than men, this does not appear to be true in practice. In terms of the binary decision women make to vote “yes” or “no” on resolutions relating to war, women, like men, appear to vote with their party for the most part. This is true despite the fact that Hillary Clinton who strongly advocated for the use of force in pursuit of humanitarian aims was serving as Secretary of State at the time of this vote. This indicates that the critical representation of women in prominent positions of security power does not cause women in Congress to dissent from their party or otherwise alter their legislative behavior.

CHAPTER 5: SYRIA IN 2019

Since the 1990s, Turkey's armed forces have initiated multiple large-scale military operations in northern Iraq and northern Syria against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), Syrian Kurdish YPG militia, and Islamic State.¹⁴⁹ In 2019, the United States had forces in place in Northeast Syria to mitigate the conflict between Turkey and the United States' Kurdish allies. However, on October 6, the White House announced that the US would withdraw all American forces from Syria. One US official said "we are going to get out of the way, we are not going to help you," paraphrasing the message the US was trying to send to Turkish forces.¹⁵⁰ Many officials viewed this decision as detrimental to the fight against the Islamic State.

On October 9, Turkey and its Syrian rebel allies launched "Operation Peace Spring." The goal of this operation, which included an air and land offensives, was to "drive back Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and create a 30-km deep 'safe zone' where Ankara [planned] to settle Syrian refugees."¹⁵¹ Turkey claimed that the YPG, the main participants in the SDF, which is backed by the United States, was "indistinguishable from the PKK, which is designated a terrorist group by the United States and European Union."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ "Timeline: Turkey's Military Operations in Iraq and Syria," *Reuters*, October 11, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-security-turkey-operations-time-idUSKBN1WQ274>.

¹⁵⁰ Alex Leary and Gordon Lubold, "American Troops to Withdraw From Northern Syria Ahead of Turkish Incursion," *Wall Street Journal*, October 7, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/american-troops-to-withdraw-from-northern-syria-ahead-of-turkish-incursion-11570421205>.

¹⁵¹ "Timeline: Turkey's Military Operations."

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

On the day of Operation Peace Spring, US President Donald Trump wrote a letter to Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, suggesting that he negotiate with the SDF instead of executing a military attack. Sources close to Erdoğan confirmed that upon receiving the unorthodox letter (see figure 10), he immediately discarded it and threw it into the garbage bin.¹⁵³ A few days later, Trump imposed limited sanctions on Turkey, while still maintaining diplomatic channels. Turkey's allies in the EU also strongly condemned Ankara's operation, as they believed it could hinder efforts to counter the Islamic State and exacerbate the human rights crisis in Syria. Many EU countries, including France and Germany, halted arms sales to Turkey.¹⁵⁴ Eventually, the SDF asked allied Russian forces and the Syrian government to move into areas controlled by the Kurds, areas that the Turkish forces had yet to reach. This exacerbated the conflict, and the fighting amongst the Turkish forces, allied forces, and the SDF continued for about ten days.¹⁵⁵

Tensions were high, until US Vice President Mike Pence proclaimed that Washington and Ankara had negotiated a ceasefire on October 18, 2019. The agreement was reached after a meeting between Pence and Erdoğan in Ankara and provided the SDF

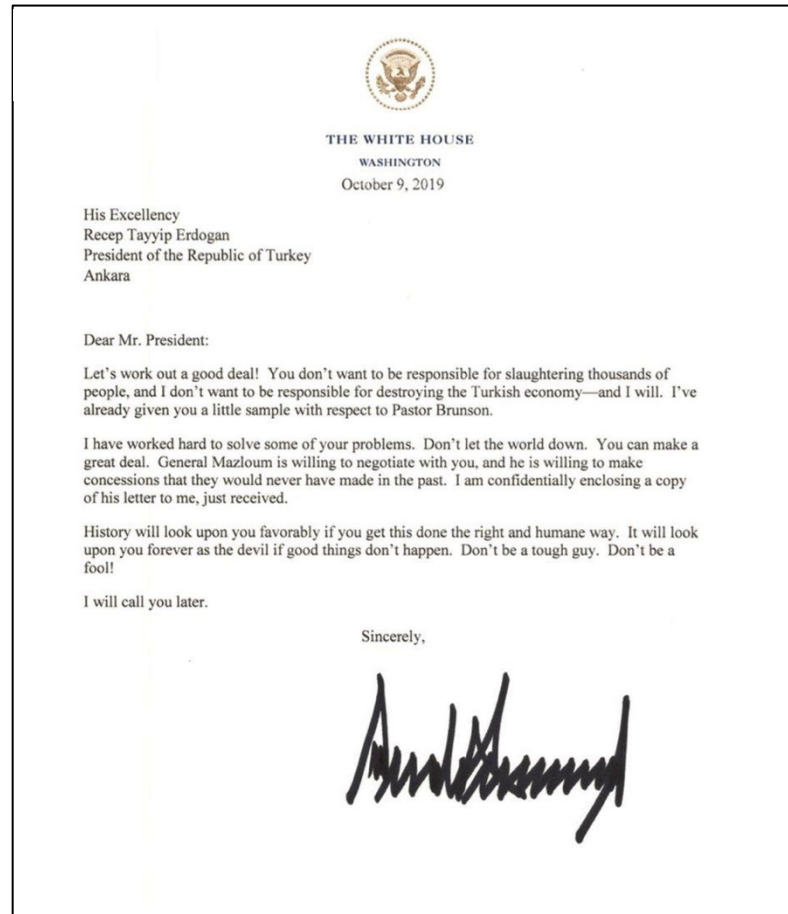
¹⁵³ Umut Uras, "Turkey's Operation Peace Spring in northern Syria: One month on," *Al Jazeera*, November 8, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/8/turkeys-operation-peace-spring-in-northern-syria-one-month-on>.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

with “12 hours to pull its forces 30km back from a 120km long strip along the Turkey-Syria border,” which would become a “safe zone” controlled by Turkey.¹⁵⁶

Figure 10. Letter from Donald Trump to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan¹⁵⁷



On October 16, 2019, the House voted to oppose the decision to end US efforts to prevent Turkish military operations against Syrian Kurdish forces in Northeast Syria. At

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ “Turkey’s Erdogan ‘Threw Trump’s Syria Letter in Bin,’” *BBC News*, October 17, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50080737>.

the time of the vote, the Democrats had control of the House. The House was comprised of 232 Democrats, 197 Republicans, and one Libertarian.¹⁵⁸ This resolution passed by a vote of 354 to 60. 225 Democrats voted in favor and none voted against it, while 129 Republicans voted for it and 60 voted against it.¹⁵⁹ Of the 106 women serving in the House at this time, 86 Democratic women voted in favor of this resolution and no Democratic women voted against it. 11 Republican women voted in favor, and two voted against the resolution (see appendix 4).

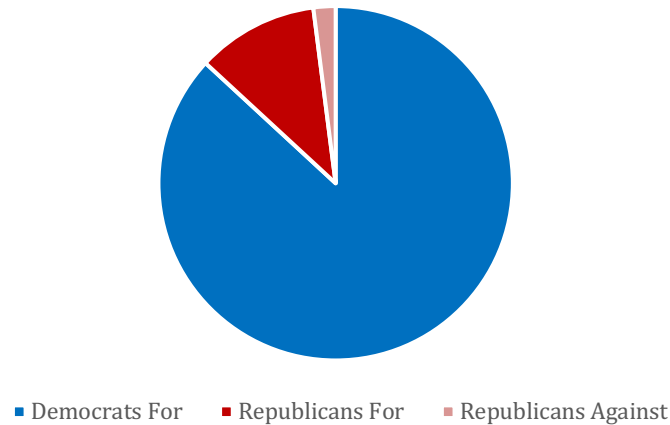
As demonstrated in figure 11, no Democratic women voted against the resolution. As mentioned, no Democrats of any gender voted “no” on this bill. This may be indicative of the increased polarization and partisanship that emerged in the United States leading up to the 2016 election, and during Donald Trump’s time as president. These votes counter perceptions of Democrats being weaker on war and security, since by opposing the decision to end US efforts in Syria, these women were voting in favor of war and intervention. The fact that female Democrats voted completely and unequivocally against ending US intervention in Northeast Syria is evidence of how strongly party affiliation impacted their votes. However, since every Democratic man also voted in favour of this resolution, it appears that party affiliation uniformly had this effect on Democrats.

¹⁵⁸ “Congress Profiles: 116th Congress (2019-2021),” United States House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, accessed April 28, 2021, <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/116th/>.

¹⁵⁹ “Roll Call 560, Bill Number: H.J.Res.77, 116th Congress, 1st Session,” Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives, October 16, 2019, <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2019560>.

Figure 11. Women’s Votes for H.J.Res.77

H.J.Res.77 - Opposing the decision to end certain
United States efforts to prevent Turkish military
operations against Syrian Kurdish forces in Northeast
Syria - Female Votes



Only two women were vocal on the floor on October 16, 2019 regarding this issue, both Democrats. Rep. Frankel (D-FL) said the following:

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of our Syrian Kurdish allies who have lost thousands of men and women in the fight against ISIS at the behest of the United States of America. And I join my colleagues on a bipartisan basis to call on Turkey to end its invasion of northern Syria. Giving Turkey the green light to go into this area will go down in history as a moral and strategic disaster. There so many consequences, Mr. Speaker. Our Kurdish friends were betrayed and slaughtered and are now forced to align with Syrian forces backed by Iran creating an even bigger threat to our friend Israel. ISIS is now unleashed, Russian troops filling our vacuum, and our other allies wondering if we can ever be trusted again. The Trump administration’s weak sanctions are like an arsonist calling in the fire department. Mr. Speaker, we must protect United States soldiers, secure our nuclear weapons in Turkey, provide humanitarian support to the Kurds, and impose crippling sanctions on Turkey until they end their Syrian campaign, and most importantly, pursue a diplomatic solution to end the conflict. I want to end

by thanking Mr. ENGEL and Ranking Member MCCAUL for their bipartisan leadership. I urge adoption of this resolution.¹⁶⁰

In her statement, Frankel emphasized the intricate ally and enemy relations that would be impacted by Turkey's continued actions. She discussed how Russia, Syria, and Iran would be uplifted by Turkey's actions, while allies such as Israel would be harmed. Furthermore, she emphasized the bipartisan nature of this bill, which is perhaps evidence of why so few members from the Republican party and no members of the Democratic party—male and female—voted against it. The other woman who spoke of the floor was Rep. Jackson Lee (D-TX). She said:

I was on the floor earlier, and I held up The New York Times that says: “Syrian Forces Rush Into US Void,” and, “Battle Lines Shifting to the Benefit of Iran, Russia and ISIS.” We worked very hard to get Turkey into NATO and to respect it for its secular position and its embracing of the ideals of democracy, but to now be the cause of thousands fleeing out of violence and bombing, now being the cause of ISIS supporters and families escaping, now being the cause of ISIS fighters escaping, and not listening to any form of reconciliation to put Russia as the mainstay is absolutely unacceptable. I believe that these sanctions and this rebuke and this resolution that has indicated it was wrong to greenlight the Turkish military incursion into Syria's Kurdish territory, expressing strong support for Syrian Kurdish forces who were our allies, and calling on Turkey to immediately cease military action in northeast Syria is a question of our national security. I add that there should be a no-fly zone. I know how challenging that would be for Turkey not to be flying over northern Syria. It is important that we do what we need to do to save the precious lives of those children, some of whom have already died, and those who are fleeing the violence. Mr. Speaker, let us pass this resolution, H.J. Res. 77, but let us find a way to bring some peace and stand down in that region, and also to thank the United States military, which should not have been moved. I ask my colleagues to support H.J. Res. 77.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Representative Frankel, speaking on H.J.Res.77, 116th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 165 (October 16, 2019): H 8161.

¹⁶¹ Representative Jackson Lee, speaking on H.J.Res.77, 116th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 165 (October 16, 2019): H 8162-8163.

Jackson-Lee also highlighted the importance of supporting the US' allies through this resolution. She noted Turkey's role in helping ISIS fighters escape. She also discussed the importance of saving the lives of children dying in the nation, bringing peace to the region, and showing respect to the US military who, in her view, should not have been moved out of Syria in the first place. Male Democrats made very similar statements on the floor. For instance, Rep. Crow (D-CO) made the following statement:

As a combat veteran, I know firsthand the strength of our Nation is tied to our partnerships and alliances around the globe. During my three deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan, I counted on our local partners for the safety of our soldiers. And those partners depended on the US commitment to them. That relationship forged in a combat zone is built on trust and the belief that our word is our bond. The administration's reckless decision to withdraw US forces has undermined the value of our commitment, not only to our Kurdish allies, who are now isolated in fighting enemies on all sides, but also our other allies around the world. The message that we are sending is that the American handshake doesn't matter. Our withdrawal is an abdication of our moral responsibility to the Kurds and undermines the belief that America is a resolute partner. It has also led to our adversaries like Russia, Iran, the Assad regime, and ISIS exerting greater influence in the region. Let me be clear, the President's decision makes us less safe and further isolates us from the very allies from whom we have drawn so much strength. The President must immediately reverse his decision to withdraw US personnel from Syria, recommit to our Kurdish allies, and take a firm stance against any further aggression by Turkey against the Kurdish people.¹⁶²

Here, Crow similarly emphasized the importance of protecting US allies, and countering adversaries such as Russia, Iran, and ISIS. He used different strategies to underscore these points, such as citing his experience as a combat veteran, but the underlying message was exactly the same as the women who held the same position on the resolution.

¹⁶² Representative Crow, speaking on H.J.Res.77, 116th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 165 (October 16, 2019): H 8160.

In 2019 and throughout the Trump Administration in general, social media—specifically Twitter—became an essential platform for political expression. Trump’s frequent use of Twitter to express his opinions or announce policies prompted members of Congress to use Twitter to express their own policy preferences in a less verbose manner than often seen on the floor. Some congressional representatives redefined the member-constituent relationship through their active presence on social media. One such congressman is Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, or AOC (D-NY). On October 8, 2019, she tweeted the following regarding Trump’s withdrawal of forces in northern Syria and shared an article from the Wall Street Journal announcing the news:

Figure 12. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Tweet, October 8, 2019¹⁶³



¹⁶³ Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (@AOC), “Trump’s sudden withdrawal from northern Syria & endorsement of Turkey’s actions could have catastrophic consequences & risks laying the grounds for immense violence and suffering,” Tweet, October 8, 2019, <https://twitter.com/aoc/status/1181655223921778689?lang=en>.

In a more concise manner, this Tweet expresses very similar rhetoric to what was said by Democrats on the floor of the House; it emphasizes the consequences of US withdrawal to the lives of innocent people. Men who supported the resolution and tweeted about this issue also employed similar rhetoric to what was used on the floor. Rep. Engel (D-NY), a Democrat from the same state as AOC who introduced the bill opposing the termination of the US intervention in Northeast Syria tweeted the following just one day prior to AOC's tweet:

Figure 12. Richard Engel Tweet, October 7, 2019¹⁶⁴



This tweet expresses a different style than most floor statements, in keeping with the platform, as it is entirely composed of a quote from a Syria Kurdish official. However, it expresses the same sentiment regarding the removal of US forces leading to ISIS returning to the region that the US worked so hard to secure.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Engel (@RichardEngel), "Syria Kurdish official told us, reacting to Trump's overnight decision. 'The Americans are traitors. They have abandoned us to a Turkish Massacre,'" Tweet, October 7, 2019, <https://twitter.com/richardengel/status/1181149669017231360?lang=en>.

Overall, regardless of whether statements are made on the floor of the House or on social media, it appears as though men and women with the same stance on a resolution support it on the same basis. Furthermore, in this case most men and women voted with their party. All Democrats voted for this resolution, and only 60 Republicans voted against it, two of whom were women. Thus, this case once again demonstrates the lack of gender differences in voting on issues of war.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Initially, this thesis sought to answer the question of whether having more women legislators would have an impact on the likelihood of the United States going to war, with the subsidiary but equally significant question of whether women feel differently and subsequently act on those feelings when given power and responsibility with respect to war. These are seemingly straightforward questions. However, the literature review revealed how difficult it is to determine whether women have different views or legislative behavior with regard to war. Although some limited literature using small N studies (mainly due to the low number of women serving in Congress over time) suggested that women might have some different views, for instance, regarding wars with humanitarian aims versus retaliatory wars, and although there is speculation about whether reaching a critical mass of women in Congress will cause women to behave differently, overall, the theoretical literature does not go very far in allowing one to anticipate how women will vote.

The empirical work conducted also did not yield decisive results regarding women's voting patterns. Jeanette Rankin and Barbara Lee served as two examples of women who acted on their own beliefs and consistent with their own views, views which were staunchly anti-war. Both faced sexist responses for their actions. Rankin faced immense retaliation for voting against WWI even though 49 male legislators came to the same conclusion and voted in the same way. This is a signifier not of how unique Rankin was a woman, but how sexist the world responding to her was. Lee stood completely on her own when she voted against the AUMF post-9/11, as did Rankin when she voted

against WWII. However, there is no way to determine whether Lee and Rankin voted this way because of their gender or because of their individual beliefs.

The cases examined produced evidence that is just as non-determinative as the theory. Thus, in conclusion, there are too many competing variables for explaining any given legislator's votes. For instance, some literature suggested the possibility of women feeling the need to prove themselves and overcome perceptions of female weakness. If this were true, one would expect women to vote even more pro-war than their male counterparts, which did not appear to be the case in the votes analyzed.

Certainly, party seems to be the most important corresponding variable. The cases demonstrate that women are not voting as a women's bloc; most are voting as partisans. Nevertheless, there must be some reason that the Democratic party has more women in it, that has to do both with women's political preferences and the construction of the Democratic party itself. Shannon Jenkins, whose research was introduced in the literature review, determined that gender influences voting primarily through the pathways of party and ideology. Jenkins concluded that while different beliefs between men and women may factor into legislative work in other ways, such as inspiring bill amendment or coalition building, since roll call voting is a simple, binary decision, "there is no female or male way to vote yes."¹⁶⁵ Thus, any gender differences there may be are funneled through ideology and party. This suggests that it is possible that gender differences influence choice of party affiliation, rather than directly influencing votes, and that opting into one political party rather than another does most of the work of representing gender

¹⁶⁵ Jenkins, 431.

differences. There is some consistency to having women voting against war and resisting military build ups that coincides with them being Democrats, which is a topic for further research, but in the end, it is not determinative when it comes to voting.

Even if there is no difference whatsoever in how an individual will vote on the basis of their assigned sex or chosen gender, there is reason to look at the numbers of women in the federal legislature over time and to be dismayed at how underrepresented a massive proportion of the population remains. The very fact that women vote as individual political actors is all the more reason that the doors to their inclusion in decisions about the future of the country should be opened. The sexism that has excluded women and reduced their numbers for so long prevents certain voices from being heard, and if it continues, will preclude future “Jeanette Rankins” and “Barbara Lees” from making a legislative impact. Consequently, the issue at hand seems to have less to do with the gender of the legislators, and more to do with social restrictions on women. This is reflected in how people respond to female legislators, in the under-representative number of women legislators, in the sexism and vitriol that women legislators face on a regular basis, and it is an indictment of society at large.

Of course, every qualified person should have the opportunity to serve in Congress. We can presume that, once there, women will be individual political actors like any of their male counterparts. However, women are not getting to these positions at the same rate as men because of this larger social overlay. According to the Constitution, there are only three qualifications needed to become a member of Congress. First, one must be at least 25 years of age to run for the House, or 30 years of age to run for the

Senate. Second, one must have been a US citizen for seven years for the House or nine years for the Senate. Third, one must live in the state they are running to represent. The founders created so few barriers to entry because they wanted to create a system of government by the people and for the people where anyone could have their voice heard. They enshrined this accessibility into the Constitution because they likely wanted to foster a diversity of opinions, experiences, and backgrounds, yet women have been largely left out of the equation throughout history.

The research for this thesis began with a question about whether women legislators would vote differently on war. Between the theory and the empirical research, it becomes clear that this likely is not the case. But the small number of female legislators not only make research difficult, but it also brings another question to the fore: why are there not more women legislators? Like men's votes, women's votes represent a whole range of views with a wide array of variables influencing those views. Women are influenced by party, personal life experience, religious values, constituency, and an infinite number of other possible factors just like male legislators. There does not appear to be any significant evidence of women voting differently than men, because women are individuals, subject to the exact same influences. Thus, the reason to elect more female legislators is not that female legislative behavior on issues of war is significantly different than that of men. Rather, if qualified women who represent such a wide range of views are not elevated to positions of power at the same rate as men, Americans will miss out on being represented by some truly incredible individuals.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

S.J.Res.45 - Resolution Authorizing the Use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia -
Female Votes (103rd Congress)

Democrats for	Republicans for	Democrats against	Republicans against
Brown (D-FL)	Morella (R-MD)	Danner (D-MO)	Bentley (R-MD)
Byrne (D-VA)		Schroeder (D-CO)	Dunn (R-WA)
Cantwell (D-WA)			Fowler (R-FL)
Clayton (D-NC)			Johnson (R-CT)
Collins (D-MI)			Meyers (R-KS)
Collins (D-IL)			Molinari (R-NY)
DeLauro (D-CT)			Pryce (R-OH)
English (D-AZ)			Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)
Eshoo (D-CA)			Roukema (R-NJ)
Furse (D-OR)			Snowe (R-ME)
Harman (D-CA)			Vucanovich (R-NV)
Johnson, E.B. (D-TX)			
Kennelly (D-CT)			
Lloyd (D-TN)			
Long (D-IN)			
Lowey (D-NY)			
Maloney (D-NY)			
Margolies-Mezvinsky (D-PA)			
McKinney (D-GA)			
Meek (D-FL)			
Mink (D-HI)			
Pelosi (D-CA)			
Roybal-Allard (D-CA)			
Schenk (D-CA)			
Slaughter (D-NY)			
Thurman (D-FL)			
Unsoeld (D-WA)			
Velázquez (D-NY)			
Waters (D-CA)			
Woolsey (D-CA)			

** Not Voting: Kaptur (D-OH), Shepherd (D-UT)

** No Representation: Norton (D-DC)

** Likely Absent/Otherwise Unlisted: Lincoln (D-AR)

Appendix 2H.J.Res.114 - Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 -
Female Votes (107th Congress)

Democrats for	Democrats against	Republicans for	Republicans against
Berkley (D-NV)	Baldwin (D-WI)	Biggert (R-IL)	Morella (R-MD)
Harman (D-CA)	Brown (D-FL)	Bono (R-CA)	
Lowey (D-NY)	Capps (D-CA)	Capito (R-WV)	
Maloney (D-NY)	Carson (D-IN)	Cubin (R-WY)	
McCarthy (D-NY)	Clayton (D-NC)	Davis, Jo Ann (R-VA)	
Tauscher (D-CA)	Davis (D-CA)	Dunn (R-WA)	
Thurman (D-FL)	DeGette (D-CO)	Emerson (R-MO)	
	DeLauro (D-CT)	Granger (R-TX)	
	Eshoo (D-CA)	Hart (R-PA)	
	Hooley (D-OR)	Johnson (R-CT)	
	Jackson-Lee (D-TX)	Kelly (R-NY)	
	Johnson, E.B. (D-TX)	Myrick (R-NC)	
	Jones (D-OH)	Northup (R-KY)	
	Kaptur (D-OH)	Pryce (R-OH)	
	Kilpatrick (D-MI)	Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)	
	Lee (D-CA)	Wilson (R-NM)	
	Lofgren (D-CA)		
	McCarthy (D-MO)		
	McCollum (D-MN)		
	McKinney (D-GA)		
	Meek (D-FL)		
	Millender-McDonald (D-CA)		
	Napolitano (D-CA)		
	Pelosi (D-CA)		
	Rivers (D-MI)		
	Roybal-Allard (D-CA)		
	Sanchez (D-CA)		
	Schakowsky (D-IL)		
	Slaughter (D-NY)		
	Solis (D-CA)		
	Velázquez (D-NY)		
	Waters (D-CA)		
	Watson (D-CA)		

Woolsey (D-CA)

** Not Voting: Roukema (R-NJ)

** No Representation: Norton (D-DC), Christensen (D-VI)

Appendix 3

H.Res.292 - Declaring that the President shall not deploy, establish, or maintain the presence of units and members of the United States Armed Forces on the ground in Libya, and for other purposes - Female Votes (112th Congress)

Democrats for	Democrats against	Republicans for	Republicans against
Castor (D-FL)	Baldwin (D-WI)	Adams (R-FL)	
Hanabusa (D-HI)	Bass (D-CA)	Bachmann (R-MN)	
Hochul (D-NY)	Berkley (D-NV)	Biggert (R-IL)	
McCarthy (D-NY)	Brown (D-FL)	Black (R-TN)	
Pingree (D-ME)	Capps (D-CA)	Blackburn (R-TN)	
Richardson (D-CA)	Chu (D-CA)	Bono Mack (R-CA)	
Tsongas (D-MA)	Clarke (D-NY)	Buerkle (R-NY)	
	Davis (D-CA)	Capito (R-WV)	
	DeGette (D-CO)	Ellmers (R-NC)	
	DeLauro (D-CT)	Emerson (R-MO)	
	Edwards (D-MD)	Foxx (R-NC)	
	Eshoo (D-CA)	Granger (R-TX)	
	Fudge (D-OH)	Hartzler (R-MO)	
	Hirono (D-HI)	Hayworth (R-NY)	
	Jackson Lee (D-TX)	Herrera Beutler (R-WA)	
	Johnson, E.B. (D-TX)	Jenkins (R-KS)	
	Lee (D-CA)	Lummis (R-WY)	
	Lowey (D-NY)	McMorris Rodgers (R-WA)	
	Maloney (D-NY)	Miller (R-MI)	
	Matsui (D-CA)	Noem (R-SD)	
	McCollum (D-MN)	Roby (R-AL)	
	Napolitano (D-CA)	Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)	
	Pelosi (D-CA)	Schmidt (R-OH)	
	Roybal-Allard (D-CA)		
	Sánchez, Linda (D-CA)		
	Sanchez, Loretta (D-CA)		
	Schakowsky (D-IL)		
	Sewell (D-AL)		
	Slaughter (D-NY)		
	Speier (D-CA)		

Sutton (D-OH)

Velázquez (D-NY)

Wasserman Schultz
(D-FL)

Wilson (D-FL)

Woolsey (D-CA)

** Not Voting: Giffords (D-AZ), Kaptur (D-OH), Lofgren (D-CA), Moore (D-WI),
Myrick (R-NC), Schwartz (D-PA)

** No Representation: Bordallo (D-GU), Christensen (D-VI), Norton (D-DC)

** Present: Waters (D-CA)

Appendix 4

H.J.Res.77 - Opposing the decision to end certain United States efforts to prevent Turkish military operations against Syrian Kurdish forces in Northeast Syria - Female Votes
(116th Congress)

Democrats For	Democrats Against	Republicans For	Republicans Against
Adams (D-NC)		Brooks (R-IN)	Lesko (R-AZ)
Axne (D-IA)		Cheney (R-WY)	Miller (R-WV)
<u>Barragán</u> (D-CA)		Foxx (R-NC)	
Bass (D-CA)		Granger (R-TX)	
Beatty (D-OH)		Hartzler (R-MO)	
Blunt Rochester (D-DE)		Herrera Beutler (R-WA)	
Bonamici (D-OR)		Rodgers (R-WA)	
Brownley (D-CA)		Roby (R-AL)	
Bustos (D-IL)		Stefanik (R-NY)	
Castor (D-FL)		Wagner (R-MO)	
Chu (D-CA)		Walorski (R-IN)	
Clark (D-MA)			
Clarke (D-NY)			
Craig (D-MN)			
Davids (D-KS)			
Davis (D-CA)			
Dean (D-PA)			
DeGette (D-CO)			
DeLauro (D-CT)			
DelBene (D-WA)			
Demings (D-FL)			
Dingell (D-MI)			
Escobar (D-TX)			
Eshoo (D-CA)			
Finkenauer (D-IA)			
Fletcher (D-TX)			
Frankel (D-FL)			
Fudge (D-OH)			
Garcia (D-TX)			
Haaland (D-NM)			
Hayes (D-CT)			
Hill (D-CA)			
Horn (D-OK)			
Houlahan (D-PA)			
Jackson Lee (D-TX)			

Jayapal (D-WA)
Johnson (D-TX)
Kaptur (D-OH)
Kelly (D-IL)
Kirkpatrick (D-AZ)
Kuster (D-NH)
Lawrence (D-MI)
Lee (D-CA)
Lee (D-NV)
Lofgren (D-CA)
Lowey (D-NY)
Luria (DVA)
Maloney, Carolyn
B. (D-NY)
Matsui (D-CA)
McBath (D-GA)
McCollum (D-MN)
Meng (D-NY)
Moore (D-WI)
Mucarsel-Powell
(D-FL)
Murphy (D-FL)
Napolitano (D-CA)
Ocasio-Cortez (D-
NY)
Omar (D-MN)
Pingree (D-ME)
Porter (D-CA)
Pressley (D-MA)
Rice (D-NY)
Roybal-Allard (D-
CA)
Sánchez (D-CA)
Scanlon (D-PA)
Schakowsky (D-IL)
Schrier (D-WA)
Sewell (D-AL)
Shalala (D-FL)
Sherrill (D-NJ)
Slotkin (D-MI)
Spanberger (D-VA)
Stevens (D-MI)
Titus (D-NV)
Tlaib (D-MI)
Torres (D-CA)

Torres Small (D-NM)

Trahan (D-MA)

Underwood (D-IL)

Velázquez (D-NY)

Wasserman Schultz
(D-FL)

Waters (D-CA)

Watson Coleman
(D-NJ)

Wexton (D-VA)

Wild (D-PA)

Wilson (D-FL)

** Not Voting: Gabbard (D-HI), Speier (D-CA)

** No Representation: González-Cólon (New Progressive-PR), Norton (D-DC), Plaskett (D-VI), Radewagen (R-AS)

** Absent/Otherwise Unlisted: Pelosi (D-CA)