

# Women in Congress: Statistics and Brief Overview

Updated January 31, 2022

**Congressional Research Service** https://crsreports.congress.gov R43244



# Women in Congress: Statistics and Brief Overview

As of January 28, 2022, 149 women are serving in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress. There are 125 women serving in the House (including 3 Delegates and the Resident Commissioner), 92 Democrats and 33 Republicans. There are 24 women in the Senate, 16 Democrats and 8 Republicans.

Initially, at the beginning of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress, there were 148 women, and since then this number has fluctuated as two House Members resigned; five House Members took their respective oaths of office in February 2021, April 2021, June 2021, November 2021, and January 2022; one Senator resigned; and one Senator's appointed term expired.

#### **SUMMARY**

#### R43244

January 31, 2022

Jennifer E. Manning Senior Research Librarian

Ida A. Brudnick Specialist on the Congress

These 148 women initially sworn in at the beginning of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress surpassed the 130 women that were serving at the close of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress. The number of women serving during the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress also fluctuated: a then-record 131 women were initially sworn in; one woman in the House subsequently resigned; and two women were appointed to the Senate with one of these two Senate appointments expiring before the end of the Congress.

The very first woman elected to Congress was Representative Jeannette Rankin (R-MT, served 1917-1919 and 1941-1943). The first woman to serve in the Senate was Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-GA, appointed and served for only one day in 1922). The first woman elected to a six-year Senate term was Hattie Caraway (D-AR, served 1931-1945), and she was also the first Senator to succeed her spouse.

In total, 397 women have been elected or appointed to Congress. Of these,

- 259 women were Democrats and 138 Republicans;
- 339 (223 Democrats, 116 Republicans) women have been elected only to the House;
- 41 (25 Democrats, 16 Republicans) women have been elected or appointed only to the Senate;
- 17 (11 Democrats, 6 Republicans) women have served in both chambers;
- 52 African American women have served in Congress (2 in the Senate, 50 in the House), including 28 serving in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress;
- 16 Asian Pacific American women have served in Congress (13 in the House, 1 in the Senate, and 2 in both the House and Senate), including 11 in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress;
- 23 Hispanic women have served in Congress (1 in the Senate), including 16 in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress;
- 3 American Indian women have served in the House, 2 of whom are currently serving; and
- 7 women have served in the House representing territories and properties possessed or administered by the United States but not admitted to statehood. These include one delegate from Guam, Hawaii (pre-statehood), the District of Columbia, and American Samoa; two delegates from the U.S. Virgin Islands; and one Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

In the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress, 11 women serve as committee chairs. This includes 7 women in the House (6 standing committees and 1 select committee) and 4 in the Senate (all standing committees). Two of these women, one in each chamber, also chair a joint committee related to their service as chair of a House or Senate standing committee.

This report includes historical information, including the number of women in Congress over time; means of entry to Congress; comparisons to international and state legislatures; records for tenure; firsts for women in Congress; women in leadership; tallies of African American, Asian Pacific American, Hispanic, and American Indian women in Congress; and a brief overview of research questions related to the role and impact of women in Congress. The **Appendix** provides details on the total number of women who have served in each Congress, including information on changes within a Congress. Due to this turnover during a Congress, the text, tables, and notes throughout the report provide details on time periods used for the tallies and the currency of the information.

For additional biographical information—including the committee assignments, dates of service, listings by Congress and state, and (for Representatives) congressional districts of the 397women who have been elected or appointed to Congress—see CRS Report RL30261, *Women in Congress, 1917-2021: Service Dates and Committee Assignments by Member, and Lists by State and Congress*, by Jennifer E. Manning and Ida A. Brudnick.

# Contents

Introduction
How Women Enter Congress: Regular Elections, Special Elections, and Appointments 5
Women in Congress as Compared with Women in Other Legislative Bodies
International Perspective
State-House Perspective
Female Election Firsts in Congress 7
Records for Length of Service
Women Who Have Served in Both Houses
African American Women in Congress
Asian Pacific American Women in Congress 10
Hispanic Women in Congress
American Indian (Native American) Women in Congress11
Women Who Have Served in Party Leadership Positions
Women and Leadership of Congressional Committees
Women in Congress: Examinations of their Role and Impact

## Figures

Figure 1. Number of Women by Congress: 1917-2021	3
Figure 2. Women as a Percentage of Total Members Since 1789 and in the 117th Congress	4
Figure 3. Number of Women in the House and Senate by State, District, or Territory, 1917-Present	5
Figure 4. Women's Initial Entrance to the Senate: Regular Elections, Special Elections, and Appointments to Unexpired Terms	6

### Tables

Table 1. Women Members of Congress: Summary Statistics, 1917-Present	1
Table 2. Number of Women Members of the 117 <sup>th</sup> Congress	2
Table 3. African American Women in the 117 <sup>th</sup> Congress	9
Table 4. Asian Pacific American Women in the 117 <sup>th</sup> Congress	. 10
Table 5. Hispanic Women in the 117 <sup>th</sup> Congress	. 10
Table 6. Selected Congressional Party Leadership Positions Held by Women	11
Table 7. Committees Chaired by Women, 117th Congress	. 14

Table A-1. Congressional Service by Women: By Type and Congress, 1917-2022	17
Table A-2. Number of Women Sworn in on the First Day of Congress	20

## Appendixes

Appendix. Total Number of Womer	Who Served in Each Congress	17
---------------------------------	-----------------------------	----

#### Contacts

Author Information
--------------------

## Introduction

Since 1917, when Jeannette Rankin became the first woman sworn in as a Member of Congress, a total of 397 women have been elected or appointed to serve in the U.S. Congress.

Table 1 details this service by women in the House, Senate, and both chambers.<sup>1</sup>

Table 1. Women Members of Congress: Summary	Statistics, 1917-Present
---	--------------------------

(Inclusive through January 28, 2022)						
	Total Women	Senate Service Only	House Service Only (Representatives)	House Service Only (Delegates and Resident Commissioner)	House Service Only (Subtotal)	Women Who Served in Both Chambers
Total	<b>397</b> ª	41	332	<b>7</b> a	<b>339</b> ª	17
Democrats	259	25	219	4	223	П
Republicans	138	16	113	3	116	6

**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 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.

The 117th Congress began with 148 women.<sup>2</sup> Table 2 shows that women currently account for<sup>3</sup>

- 27.1% of voting Members in the House and Senate (145 of 535);
- 27.5% of total Members in the House and Senate (149 of 541, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner);
- 27.8% of voting Representatives in the House (121 of 435);
- 28.3% of total Members in the House (125 of 441, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner); and
- 24.0% of the Senate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Throughout this report, House and Senate totals each include one woman elected but not sworn in or seated due to the House or Senate being out of session. Both women are included in various official congressional publications, including, for example, the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* (http://bioguide.congress.gov), "Women in Congress" (http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress), and "Senators of the United States 1789-present: a chronological list of senators since the First Congress in 1789," maintained by the Senate Historical Office (http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/chronlist.pdf).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> One additional woman was sworn into the House in the months of February 2021 (after a delay in the certification of her election), April 2021, June 2021, November 2021, and January 2022. The term of one appointed female Senator expired in January 2021, and another female Senator resigned in January 2021 to become Vice President of the United States. Two female House Members resigned in March 2021 to become Cabinet Secretaries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As stated in CRS Report R40170, *Parliamentary Rights of the Delegates and Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico*, by Christopher M. Davis, the "delegates and the resident commissioner may not vote in or preside over the House." The report further explains rules in force during the 117<sup>th</sup>, 116<sup>th</sup>, 111<sup>th</sup>, 110<sup>th</sup>, and 103<sup>rd</sup> Congresses related to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. For the purposes of this report, voting refers to voting in the House.

	Total Women	Senators	Representatives	Nonvoting Members (Delegates and Resident Commissioner)	House Subtotal (Representatives and Nonvoting Members)		
Total	149	24	121	4	125		
Democrats	108	16	90	2	92		
Republicans	41	8	31	2	33		

#### Table 2. Number of Women Members of the 117th Congress

(As of January 28, 2022)

**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 117<sup>th</sup> Congress began with 148 women in the House and Senate. One woman was sworn into the House in February 2021, another in April 2021, another in June 2021, another in November 2021, and another in January 2022. Two House Members resigned in March 2021 to become Cabinet Secretaries.

The term of one appointed female Senator expired in January 2021, and another female Senator resigned in January 2021 to become Vice President of the United States.

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.

This report includes historical information, including the (1) number and percentage of women in Congress over time; (2) means of entry to Congress; (3) comparisons to international and state legislatures; (4) records for tenure; (5) firsts for women in Congress; (6) number of African American, Asian Pacific, Hispanic American, and American Indian women in Congress; and (7) women in leadership. It also provides a brief overview of research questions related to the role and impact of women in Congress.

For additional biographical information—including the names, committee assignments, dates of service, listings by Congress and state, and (for Representatives) congressional districts of the women who have served in Congress—see CRS Report RL30261, *Women in Congress, 1917-2021: Service Dates and Committee Assignments by Member, and Lists by State and Congress*, by Jennifer E. Manning and Ida A. Brudnick

Since the 65<sup>th</sup> Congress (1917-1918), the number of women serving in Congress generally increased incrementally, and on a few occasions, decreased. In an exception to these incremental changes, the elections in 1992, which came to be known popularly as the "Year of the Woman," represented a jump in the number of women in Congress.<sup>4</sup> At the close of the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1991-1992), the number of women serving was 34, and, as a result of the 1992 election, on the first day of the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress (1993-1994) the number of women in Congress increased 58.8% to 54 women.<sup>5</sup> More recently, the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress concluded with 115 women, and on the first day of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, the number of women in Congress increased 13.9%, to 131 women.<sup>6</sup> Most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *The Year of the Woman: Myths and Realities*, ed. Elizabeth Adell Cook, Sue Thomas, and Clyde Wilcox (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress final-day total includes three women who were not present at the start of the Congress (one House Member and one Senator elected to fill a vacancy and one Senator appointed to fill a vacancy). The 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress first-day total does not include one woman who was not present at the start of the Congress (a Senator who was elected to fill a vacancy).

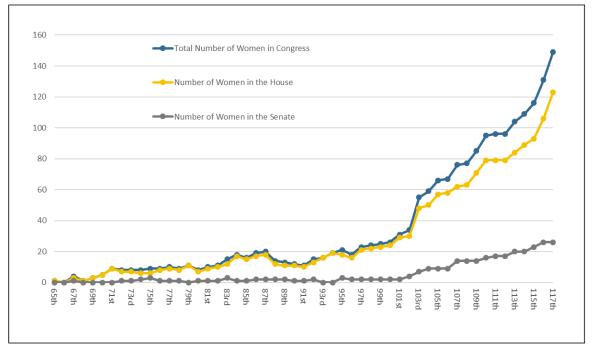
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The 115<sup>th</sup> Congress final-day total includes seven women who were not present at the start of the Congress (five

recently, the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress concluded with 130 women, and on the first day of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress the number of women in Congress increased 13.8% to 148 women.<sup>7</sup>

**Figure 1** shows the changes in the number of women serving in each Congress. For a table listing the total number of women who have served in each Congress, including information on turnover within a Congress, please see **Table A-2** in the **Appendix**.



(Including turnover, except data for the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress are for the beginning of the Congress)



**Source:** Figure compiled by CRS, based on http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress/.

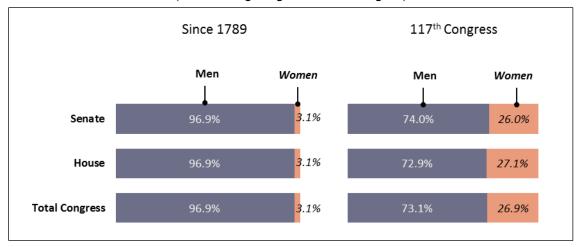
**Notes:** Including any Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners who served only a portion of the Congress. For details on turnover, see notes accompanying **Table A-1**.

Figure 2 shows division of men and women in Congress historically and in the 117th Congress.

House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy and two Senators who were appointed to fill a vacancy) and one House Member who resigned on December 31, 2018. It excludes one House Member who died in office during the Congress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The 116<sup>th</sup> Congress final-day total includes one woman who was not present at the start of the Congress (a Senator appointed to fill a vacancy). It excludes one House Member who resigned in November 2019, and one Senator whose appointed term ended in December 2020.





(As of the beginning of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress)

**Source:** House of Representatives, *Total Members of the House and State Representation*, update as of January 21, 2021, http://history.house.gov/Institution/Total-Members/Total-Members/. This states, "Since the U.S. Congress convened on March 4, 1789, 12,415 individuals have served as Representatives, Senators, or in both capacities. There have been 10,421 Members who served only as Representatives, 1,314 Members who served only in the Senate, and 680 Members with service in both chambers. The total number of Representatives (including individuals serving in both bodies) is 11,101." See also Senate Historical Office, *Senators of the United States, 1789-present*, at http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/chronlist.pdf. This information is updated once per Congress.

**Notes:** The House and Senate totals each include one woman who was elected but never sworn in. Delegates and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico are not included in the data. As stated above, the data are as of January 3, 2021.

As seen in **Figure 3**, 49 states (all except Vermont),<sup>8</sup> 4 territories (American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands), and the District of Columbia have been represented by a woman in Congress at some time since 1917.<sup>9</sup>

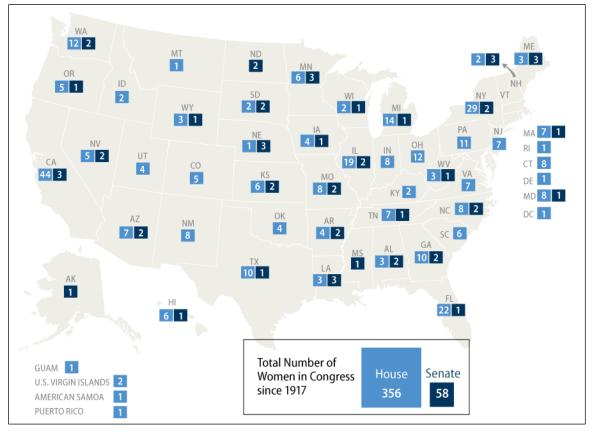
Four states (Alaska, Mississippi, North Dakota, and Vermont) have never elected a woman to the House.

Seventeen states have never been represented by a female Senator. Fourteen states have been represented by one female Senator, 13 have sent two, and 6 states have sent three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Vermont, however, ranks among the top 10 states for percentage of women in state government. For additional information, see this report's "State-House Perspective" section and https://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-state-legislature-2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Totals include one woman from South Carolina (House) and one woman from South Dakota (Senate) elected but never sworn in due to the House or Senate being out of session.

# Figure 3. Number of Women in the House and Senate by State, District, or Territory, 1917-Present



(Inclusive through January 28, 2022; numbers include Delegates and the Resident Commissioner)

**Source:** CRS summary, based on House of Representatives, *Women in Congress*, available at http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress/.

**Notes:** The 17 women who have served in both the House and Senate are counted in each tally. Also counted are one woman from South Carolina (House) and one woman from South Dakota (Senate) who were elected but never sworn in due to the House or Senate being out of session.

# How Women Enter Congress: Regular Elections, Special Elections, and Appointments

Pursuant to Article I, Section 2, clause 4 of the U.S. Constitution, all Representatives enter office through election, even those who enter after a seat becomes open during a Congress.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified on April 8, 1913, gives state legislatures the option to empower governors to fill Senate vacancies by temporary appointment.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "[W]hen vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies." Article I, Section 2, clause 4 of the U.S. Constitution.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Prior to the ratification of this amendment, Senators were chosen pursuant to Article I, Section 3, of the Constitution. For additional information, see *Direct Election of Senators*, at http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/

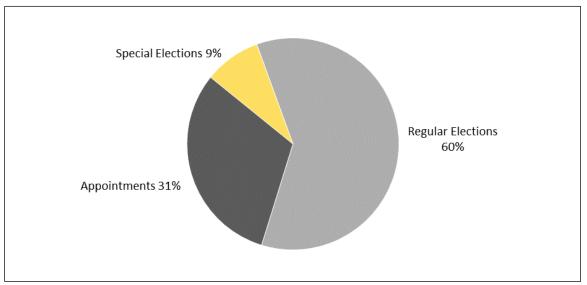
The 58 women who have served in the Senate entered initially through three different routes:

- 35 entered through regularly scheduled elections,
- 18 were appointed to unexpired terms, and
- 5 were elected by special election.<sup>12</sup>

As **Figure 4** shows, approximately 70% (40) of all women who have served in the Senate initially entered Senate service by winning an election (regular or special). Approximately 30% of women Senators entered the Senate initially through an appointment. Of the 18 women who entered by appointment, 10 served less than one year.

Since the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1913, nine years prior to the first appointment of a woman to fill a Senate vacancy, 202 Senators have been appointed.<sup>13</sup> Of these appointees, 91.1% (184) have been men, and 8.9% (18) were women.<sup>14</sup>

# Figure 4. Women's Initial Entrance to the Senate: Regular Elections, Special Elections, and Appointments to Unexpired Terms



(Inclusive through January 6, 2021)

**Source:** Figure compiled by CRS based on descriptions in the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress (http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp).

briefing/Direct\_Election\_Senators.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> This includes one woman who was elected but never sworn in.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Appointed Senators" list available at http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/ senators\_appointed.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Total number of Senators since January 1, 1913, was derived from the Senate's "Senators of the United States 1789present: A chronological list of senators since the First Congress in 1789," available at http://www.senate.gov/ artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/chronlist.pdf. Senators are listed by date of initial service. Members who served nonconsecutive terms are counted once.

# Women in Congress as Compared with Women in Other Legislative Bodies

#### **International Perspective**

The current total percentage of voting female representation in Congress (26.9%) is slightly higher than averages of female representation in other countries. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), as of January 1, 2021, women represented 25.6% of national legislative seats (both houses) across the entire world. In the IPU database of worldwide female representation, the United States ties for 67<sup>th</sup> worldwide for women in the lower chamber. The Nordic countries (Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Denmark, and Norway) lead the world regionally with 44.5% female representation in national legislatures.<sup>15</sup>

#### **State-House Perspective**

The percentage of women in Congress is lower than the percentage of women holding seats in state legislatures. According to the Center for American Women and Politics, in 2021, 2,299, or 31.1%, of the 7,383 state legislators in the United States are women. Women currently hold 561, or 28.4%, of the 1,972 state senate seats and 1,738, or 32.1%, of the 5,411 state house or assembly seats.<sup>16</sup> Across the 50 states, the total seats held by women range from 13.4% in West Virginia to 58.7% in Nevada.<sup>17</sup>

Since the beginning of the 92<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1971-1972), the first Congress for which comparative state legislature data are available,<sup>18</sup> the total percentage of women in state legislatures has eclipsed the percentage of women in Congress. The greatest disparity between the percentages of female voting representation in state legislatures as compared with Congress occurred in the early 1990s, when women comprised 6.0% of the total Congress in the 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1991-1992), but 18.3% of state legislatures in 1991. The gap has since narrowed.

# **Female Election Firsts in Congress**

- First woman elected to Congress. Representative Jeannette Rankin (R-MT, 1917-1919, 1941-1943).
- First woman to serve in the Senate. Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-GA) was appointed in 1922 to fill the unexpired term of a Senator who had died in office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Global and Regional Averages of Women in National Parliaments*, as of December 1, 2020, at https://data.ipu.org/women-averages. See also the archive of historical data at http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/ world-arc.htm. These data will be updated once per Congress. For statistics on women serving in the national legislatures of 192 countries, see the IPU chart at https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking; see also, Frank C. Thames and Margaret S. Williams, *Contagious Representation: Women's Political Representation in Democracies around the World* (New York University Press: New York, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), "Women in State Legislatures 2021," 2021, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University-New Brunswick, https://cawp.rutgers.edu/facts/levels-office/state-legislature/women-state-legislatures-2021 (Accessed December 22, 2021).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The Center for American Women and Politics provides data for state legislatures for odd-numbered years. Congressional data show the maximum number of women elected or appointed to serve in a Congress at one time during that Congress.

In addition to being the first female Senator, Mrs. Felton holds two other Senate records. Her tenure in the Senate remains the shortest ever (one day), and, at the age of 87, she is the oldest person ever to begin Senate service.

- First woman to succeed her spouse in the Senate and also the first female initially elected to a full six-year term. Hattie Caraway (D-AR, 1931-1945) was first appointed in 1931 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, Thaddeus H. Caraway (D-AR, House, 1913-1921; Senate, 1921-1931), and then was subsequently elected to two six-year terms.
- First woman elected to the Senate without having first been appointed to serve in that body and first woman to serve in both houses of Congress. Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME) was elected to the Senate and served from January 3, 1949, until January 3, 1973. She had previously served in the House (June 3, 1940, to January 3, 1949).
- First woman elected to the Senate without first having been elected to the House or having been elected or appointed to fill an unexpired Senate term. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS, 1979-1997).
- First woman elected Speaker of the House. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) served as Speaker of the House in the 110<sup>th</sup> and 111<sup>th</sup> Congresses (2007-2010), and again in the 116<sup>th</sup> and 117<sup>th</sup> Congresses.
- First woman to serve as President of the Senate. As Vice President of the United States (2021-present), Kamala Harris (D-CA) also serves as President of the Senate.

## **Records for Length of Service**

- Longest total length of service by a woman in Congress. Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), who served from January 3, 1977, to January 3, 2017, holds this record (40 years, 10 of which were spent in the House). On March 17, 2012, Senator Mikulski surpassed the record previously held by Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA).
- Longest length of service by a woman in the House. On March 18, 2018, currently serving Representative Marcy Kaptur (D-OH) surpassed the record previously held by Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA). Representative Kaptur has been serving in the House since January 3, 1983 (approximately 39 years). Representative Rogers served in the House for 35 years, from June 25, 1925, until her death on September 10, 1960.
- Longest length of service by a woman in the Senate. Senator Barbara Mikulski also holds the record for length of Senate service by a woman (30 years). In January 2011, she broke the service record previously held by Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), who served 24 years in the Senate and 8.6 years in the House.

## Women Who Have Served in Both Houses

Seventeen women have served in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME) was the first such woman, as well as the first woman elected to the Senate without first having been elected or appointed to fill a vacant Senate seat. She was first

elected to the House to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband (Clyde Smith, R-ME, 1937-1940), and she served from June 10, 1940, until January 3, 1949, when she began her Senate service. She served in the Senate until January 3, 1973.

# African American Women in Congress

Twenty-eight African American women serve in the 117th<sup>th</sup> Congress, including 2 Delegates, a record number. The 117<sup>th</sup> Congress began with 28 African American women, but one Senator resigned in January 2021 to become Vice President of the United States, one Representative resigned to become a Cabinet Secretary, one Representative arrived in a November 2021 special election, and another in a January 2022 special election.

A total of 52 African American women have served in Congress.<sup>19</sup> The first was Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY, 1969-1983). Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL, 1993-1999) was the first African American woman to have served in the Senate. The African American women Members of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress are listed in **Table 3**.

	(All are House Members)	
Alma Adams (D-NC) Karen Bass (D-CA) Joyce Beatty (D-OH) Lisa Blunt Rochester (D-DE) Shontel Brown (D-OH) Cori Bush (D-MO)	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX) Robin Kelly (D-IL) Brenda Lawrence (D-MI) Barbara Lee (D-CA) Lucy McBath (D-GA)	Lauren Underwood (D-IL) Maxine Waters (D-CA) Bonnie Watson Coleman (D-NJ) Nikema Williams (D-GA) Frederica Wilson (D-FL)
Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick (D-FL) Yvette Clarke (D-NY) Val Demings (D-FL) Jahana Hayes (D-CT) Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	Gwen Moore (D-WI) Ilhan Omar (D-MN) Ayanna Pressley (D-MA) Terri Sewell (D-AL) Marilyn Strickland (D-WA)	Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) [Delegate] Stacey Plaskett (D-VI) [Delegate]

#### Table 3. African American Women in the 117th Congress

**Source:** U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Historical-Data-Nav/.

**Notes:** Rep. Marilyn Strickland is also Asian Pacific American, and she is counted in both categories. The 117<sup>th</sup> Congress began with one African American woman Senator, Kamala Harris; she resigned in January 2021 to become Vice President of the United States. In March 2021, Rep. Marcia Fudge (D-OH) resigned to become a Cabinet Secretary, and was replaced by Rep. Shontel Brown (D-OH) in November 2021. Rep. Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick (D-FL) was sworn in in January 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This number includes one former Senator, Kamala Harris, and one House Member, Marilyn Strickland, who are both of African American and Asian ancestry. In this report, these two Members are counted as belonging to two ethnic groups. For additional information, see U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, *Black Americans in Congress*, at http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Black-Americans-in-Congress/, and *Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress*, at http://history.house.gov/apa/.

## Asian Pacific American Women in Congress

Eleven Asian Pacific American women, a record number, serve in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress.<sup>20</sup> Patsy Mink (D-HI), who served in the House from 1965 to 1977 and again from 1990 to 2002, was the first of 16 Asian Pacific American women to serve in Congress. Mazie Hirono (D-HI) is the first Asian Pacific American woman to serve in both the House and Senate.

		-
Sen. Tammy Duckworth (D-IL)	Judy Chu (D-CA)	Stephanie Murphy (D-FL)
Sen. Mazie Hirono (D-HI)	Pramila Jayapal (D-WA)	Michelle Steel (R-CA)
	Young Kim (R-CA)	Marilyn Strickland (D-WA)
	Doris O. Matsui (D-CA)	Aumua Amata Coleman
		Radewagen (R-AS) [Delegate]
	Grace Meng (D-NY)	

Table 4.Asian	Pacific An	nerican Women	in the		ongress
---------------	------------	---------------	--------	--	---------

**Source:** U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Women-of-Color-in-Congress/ and http://history.house.gov/apa/.

**Notes:** Rep. Marilyn Strickland is also African American, and she is counted in both categories. The 117<sup>th</sup> Congress began with one more Asian American woman Senator, Kamala Harris; she resigned in January 2021 to become Vice President of the United States. AS = American Samoa.

# **Hispanic Women in Congress**

Twenty-three Hispanic or Latino women have served in Congress, all but one in the House, and 16 of them, a record number, serve in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress. Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL, 1989-2018) was the first Hispanic woman to serve in Congress, and Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV, 2017-present) is the first Hispanic woman Senator.<sup>21</sup>

#### Table 5. Hispanic Women in the 117th Congress

Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto	Grace Flores Napolitano (D-CA)	Linda Sánchez (D-CA)		
(D-NV)	Teresa Leger Fernandez (D-NM)	Norma Torres (D-CA)		
Nanette Diaz Barragán (D-CA)	Nicole Malliotakis (R-NY)	Lori Trahan (D-MA)		
Veronica Escobar (D-TX)	Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY)	Nydia Velázquez (D-NY)		
Sylvia Garcia (D-TX)	Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)	Jenniffer González-Colon (R-PR)		
Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-WA)	Maria Elvira Salazar (R-FL)	[Resident Commissioner]		

(All are House Members except for Senator Cortez Masto)

**Source:** U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, at http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/ WIC/Historical-Data/Women-of-Color-in-Congress/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> This number includes one former Senator, Kamala Harris, and one House Member, Marilyn Strickland, who are both of African American and Asian ancestry. In this report, these two Members are counted as belonging to two ethnic groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For additional information, see U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, *Hispanic Americans in Congress*, at http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/HAIC/Hispanic-Americans-in-Congress/.

# American Indian (Native American) Women in Congress

Representatives Sharice Davids (D-KS) and Deb Haaland (D-NM), both first elected to the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress, were the first female enrolled members of federally recognized tribes to serve in Congress.

They were reelected to the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress and were joined by Representative Yvette Herrell (R-NM). Representative Haaland resigned in March 2021 to become Secretary of the Interior.

# Women Who Have Served in Party Leadership Positions<sup>22</sup>

A number of women in Congress, listed in **Table 6**, have held positions in their party's leadership.<sup>23</sup> Current Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is second in the line of succession for the presidency. She also served as Speaker in the 110<sup>th</sup>, 111<sup>th</sup>, and 116<sup>th</sup> Congresses. In the 108<sup>th</sup>, 109<sup>th</sup>, and 112<sup>th</sup>-115<sup>th</sup> Congresses, she was elected the House Democratic leader. Previously, Representative Pelosi was elected House Democratic whip, in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, on October 10, 2001, effective January 15, 2002. She was also the first woman nominated to be Speaker of the House. Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), chair of the Senate Republican Conference from 1967 to 1972, holds the Senate record for the highest, as well as first, leadership position held by a female Senator. The first woman Member to be elected to any party leadership position was Chase Going Woodhouse (D-CT), who served as House Democratic Caucus Secretary in the 81<sup>st</sup> Congress (1949-1950).

Position	Member	Congresses	
Speaker of the House	Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)	0 <sup>th</sup> -    <sup>th</sup> ,   6 <sup>th</sup> -  7 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2010, 2019-present)	
Assistant Speaker	Katherine Clark (D-MA)	117 <sup>th</sup> (2021-present)	
House Democratic Leader	Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)	108 <sup>th</sup> -109 <sup>th</sup> , 112 <sup>th</sup> -115 <sup>th</sup> (2003- 2006, 2011-2018)	
House Democratic Whip	Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)	107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002)	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For additional information, refer to CRS Report RL30567, *Party Leaders in the United States Congress, 1789-2019,* by Valerie Heitshusen. Limited information on the leadership positions held by women in Congress can also be found in CRS Report RL30261, *Women in Congress, 1917-2021: Service Dates and Committee Assignments by Member, and Lists by State and Congress,* by Jennifer E. Manning and Ida A. Brudnick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, "Women Elected to Party Leadership Positions, 1949–Present," http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Women-Elected-to-Party-Leadership/.

Position	Member	Congresses	
Chief Deputy Democratic Whip	Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	117 <sup>th</sup> (2021-present)	
	Stephanie Murphy (D-FL)	117 <sup>th</sup> (2021-present)	
	Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ)	114 <sup>th</sup> -115 <sup>th</sup> (2015-2018)	
	Terri Sewell (D-AL)	113th-117th (2013-present)	
	Diana DeGette (D-CO)	112 <sup>th</sup> -115 <sup>th</sup> (2011-2018)	
	Janice Schakowsky (D-IL)	112 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2011-present)	
	Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D- FL)	112 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2011-present)	
	Maxine Waters (D-CA)	106 <sup>th</sup> -110 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2008)	
House Democratic Caucus Vice Chair	Katherine Clark (D-MA)	116 <sup>th</sup> (2019-2020)	
	Linda Sánchez (D-CA)	115 <sup>th</sup> (2017-2018)	
	Barbara Kennelly (D-CT)	104th-105th (1995-1998)	
	Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	100 <sup>th</sup> (1987-1988)	
House Democratic Caucus Secretary <sup>a</sup>	Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	99 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1986)	
,	Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY)	97 <sup>th</sup> -98 <sup>th</sup> (1981-1984)	
	Shirley Chisholm (D-NY)	95 <sup>th</sup> -96 <sup>th</sup> (1977-1980)	
	Patsy Mink (D-HI)	94 <sup>th</sup> (1975-1976)	
	Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (D-MO)	86 <sup>th</sup> -87 <sup>th</sup> (1959-1962), 88 <sup>th</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> session-93 <sup>rd</sup> (1964-1974)	
	Edna Flannery Kelly (D-NY)	83 <sup>rd</sup> -84 <sup>th</sup> (1953-1956), 88 <sup>th</sup> , 1 <sup>st</sup> session (1963)	
	Chase Going Woodhouse (D- CT)	81 <sup>st</sup> (1949-1950)	
House Republican Conference Chair	Elise Stefanik (R-NY)	117 <sup>th</sup> (May 2021-present)	
	Liz Cheney (R-WY)	116 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2019-May 2021)	
	Cathy McMorris Rogers (R-WA)	113 <sup>th</sup> -115 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2018)	
	Deborah Pryce (R-OH)	108 <sup>th</sup> -109 <sup>th</sup> (2003-2006)	
House Republican Conference Vice	Lynn Jenkins (R-KS)	113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016)	
Chair	Cathy McMorris Rogers (R-WA)	th-  2 <sup>th</sup> (2009-2012)	
	Deborah Pryce (R-OH)	107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002)	
	Kay Granger (R-TX)	110 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2008)	
	Tillie Fowler (R-FL)	106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000)	
		105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998)	
	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998)	
House Republican Conference	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997)	
•	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988)	
•	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016)	
•	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC) Barbara Cubin (R-WY)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016) 107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002)	
Secretary	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC) Barbara Cubin (R-WY) Deborah Pryce (R-OH)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016) 107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002) 106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000)	
Secretary Senate Republican Conference Chair	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC) Barbara Cubin (R-WY) Deborah Pryce (R-OH) Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV) Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016) 107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002) 106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000) 104 <sup>th</sup> (1995-1996) 90 <sup>th</sup> -92 <sup>nd</sup> (1967-1972)	
Secretary	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC) Barbara Cubin (R-WY) Deborah Pryce (R-OH) Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV) Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME) Joni Ernst (R-IA)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016) 107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002) 106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000) 104 <sup>th</sup> (1995-1996) 90 <sup>th</sup> -92 <sup>nd</sup> (1967-1972) 116 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2019-present)	
Secretary Senate Republican Conference Chair Senate Republican Conference Vice	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) Susan Molinari (R-NY) Lynn Martin (R-IL) Virginia Foxx (R-NC) Barbara Cubin (R-WY) Deborah Pryce (R-OH) Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV) Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME)	105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) 104 <sup>th</sup> -105 <sup>th</sup> (1995-Aug. 1997) 99 <sup>th</sup> -100 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1988) 113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2016) 107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002) 106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000) 104 <sup>th</sup> (1995-1996) 90 <sup>th</sup> -92 <sup>nd</sup> (1967-1972)	

Position	Member	Congresses	
Senate Democratic Conference Vice Chair	Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)	115 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2017-present)	
Senate Democratic Conference	Tammy Baldwin (D-WI)	115 <sup>th</sup> -117 <sup>th</sup> (2017-present)	
Secretary	Patty Murray (D-WA)	110 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2016)	
	Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)	109 <sup>th</sup> (2005-2006)	
	Barbara Mikulski (D-MD)	104 <sup>th</sup> -108 <sup>th</sup> (1995-2004)	
Senate Chief Deputy Democratic Whip	Barbara Boxer (D-CA)	110 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2016)	

**Sources:** U.S. Congress, House, Office of the Historian, "Women in Party Leadership Positions, 1949-Present," http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Women-Elected-to-Party-Leadership/; and CRS Report RL30567, *Party Leaders in the United States Congress, 1789-2019*, by Valerie Heitshusen.

- a. The title of this position changed from "Secretary" to "Vice Chair" with the 100<sup>th</sup> Congress.
- b. This position was previously known as the Conference Secretary.

# Women and Leadership of Congressional Committees

As chair of the House Expenditures in the Post Office Department Committee (67<sup>th</sup>-68<sup>th</sup> Congresses), Mae Ella Nolan was the first woman to chair any congressional committee. As chair of the Senate Enrolled Bills Committee (73<sup>rd</sup>-78<sup>th</sup> Congresses), Hattie Caraway was the first woman to chair a Senate committee. In total

- 26 women have chaired a House committee (including select committees);
- 15 women have chaired a Senate committee (including select and special committees);
- 2 female Senators have chaired joint committees (one joint select committee, and two joint committees related to service as chair of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee);<sup>24</sup> and
- 4 female Representatives have chaired a joint committee (including one joint select committee, and two related to service as chair of the Committee on House Administration).<sup>25</sup>

In the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress, women chair six standing committees in the House, four standing committees in the Senate, and one select committee in the House. In addition, two women chair joint committees related to their service on standing committees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For additional information, see CRS Report R46806, *Rules Governing Senate Committee and Subcommittee Assignment Procedures*, by Michael Greene.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Totals include standing, special, and select committees. Some women have chaired multiple committees. Multiple sources were consulted for this tally. The sources consulted include "Women Who Have Chaired Congressional Committees in the U.S. House, 1923-present," table of the *Women in Congress* website, at http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Women-Chairs-of-Congressional-Committees/; "Women in Congress: Leadership Roles and Committee Chairs," at https://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-congress-leadership-committees; "Chairmen of Senate Standing Committees," at https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/CommitteeChairs.pdf; and the entries for all the women who have served in Congress in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, at http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp.

Committee	Chair
House Committee on Appropriations	Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)
House Committee on Financial Services	Maxine Waters (D-FL)
House Committee on House Administration	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
House Committee on Oversight and Reform	Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)
House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)
House Committee on Small Business	Nydia Velázquez (D-NY)
House Select Committee on the Climate Crisis	Kathy Castor (D-FL)
Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry	Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)
Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation	Maria Cantwell (D-WA)
Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions	Patty Murray (D-WA)
Senate Committee on Rules and Administration	Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)
Joint Committee on Printing	Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)
Joint Committee on the Library	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)

#### Table 7. Committees Chaired by Women, 117th Congress

**Sources:** "Women Who Have Chaired Congressional Committees in the U.S. House, 1923-Present" table of the *Women in Congress* website at http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/ Women-Chairs-of-Congressional-Committees/; and the "Committee Assignments of the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress" website at http://www.senate.gov/general/committee\_assignments/assignments.htm.

Pursuant to H.Res. 6 (116<sup>th</sup> Congress), as continued by H.Res. 8 (117<sup>th</sup> Congress), the Speaker of the House appoints members to the House Select Committee on the Climate Crisis. See also Charles W. Johnson, John V. Sullivan, and Thomas J. Wickham, Jr., *House Practice: A Guide to the Rules, Precedents, and Procedures of the House* (Washington: GPO, 2017), p. 241, Chapter 1, §1.

# Women in Congress: Examinations of their Role and Impact

As the number of women in Congress has increased in recent decades, and following the large increase in women following the 1992 elections in particular, numerous studies of Congress have examined the role and impact of these women.

Central to these studies have been questions about the following:

• The legislative behavior of women in Congress, including whether the legislative behavior of female Members differs from their male counterparts. For example, what has the increase in women in Congress meant for descriptive representation (i.e., when representatives and those represented share demographic characteristics, such as representation of women by women) and substantive representation (i.e., representation of policy preferences and a linkage to policy outcomes)?<sup>26</sup> This also includes examinations of whether women Members

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The idea of "representation," including its forms and variations, has long been debated among political scientists and

sponsor more "women's issues bills,"<sup>27</sup> or speak more frequently on the House floor about women.<sup>28</sup> These examinations also include questions regarding whether there are any differences in roll call voting behavior between men and women Members of Congress, with a comparison of successive Members in the same district, Members in the same party, Members in similar districts, or in the chamber overall, or a focus on certain policy areas (e.g., foreign or defense policy).<sup>29</sup>

• The "effectiveness" of female legislators, particularly in comparison to male legislators. These studies have examined bill sponsorship and cosponsorship; women's success in shepherding sponsored bills or amendments into law; committee work; success in securing federal funds; consensus building activities and efforts to form coalitions; effectiveness while in the majority and minority; and their impact on the institution overall.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Mary Hawkesworth, Kathleen Casey, Krista Jenkins, and Katherine Kleeman, *Legislating By and For Women: A Comparison of the 103<sup>rd</sup> and 104<sup>th</sup> Congresses*, Center for American Women and Politics, 2001, available at http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/research/topics/documents/CongReport103-104.pdf; Kathryn Pearson and Logan Dancey, "Elevating Women's Voices in Congress: Speech Participation in the House of Representatives," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 64 (December 2011), pp. 910-923; Kathryn Pearson and Logan Dancey, "Speaking for the Underrepresented in the House of Representatives: Voicing Women's Interests in a Partisan Era," *Politics & Gender*, vol. 7 (December 2011), pp. 493-519; Kelly Dittmar, Kira Sanbonmatsu, Susan J. Carroll, Debbie Walsh, and Catherine Wineinger, "Representation Matters: Women in the U.S. Congress," New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey (2017); Lisa A. Bryant and Julia Marin Hellwege, "Working Mothers Represent: How Children Affect the Legislative Agenda of Women in Congress," *American Politics Research*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2019), pp. 447-470; and Kelly Dittmar, Kira Sanbonmatsu, and Susan J. Carroll, *A Seat at the Table: Congresswomen's Perspectives on Why Their Presence Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Michele L. Swers, The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Katherine Cramer Walsh, "Enlarging Representation: Women Bring Marginalized Perspectives to Floor Debate in the House of Representatives," in Women Transforming Congress, ed. Cindy Simon Rosenthal (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 370-396; Jessica C. Gerrity, Tracy Osborn, and Jeannette Morehouse Mendez, "Women and Representation: A Different View of the District?" Politics & Gender, vol. 3 (June 2007), pp. 179-200; Jennifer Sacco, 2012, "Descriptive Representation of Men and Women in the 110th and 111th Congresses," paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, http://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/meet/2012/sacco.pdf; Jocelyn Jones Evans, Women, Partisanship and the Congress (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Michele L. Swers, "Are Women More Likely to Vote For Women's Issue Bills than Their Male Colleagues?" Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 23 (1995), pp. 435-448; Brian Frederick, "Are Female House Members Still More Liberal in a Polarized Era? The Conditional Nature of the Relationship Between Descriptive and Substantive Representation," Congress & the Presidency, vol. 36 (2009), pp. 181-202; Dennis Simon, "The Roll Call Behavior of Men and Women in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1937-2008," Politics & Gender, vol. 6 (June 2010), pp. 225-246: Brian Frederick, "Gender and Roll Call Voting Behavior in Congress: A Cross-Chamber Analysis," The American Review of Politics, vol. 34 (Spring 2013), pp. 1-20; William Bendix and Gyung-Ho Jeong, "Gender and Foreign Policy: Are Female Members of Congress More Dovish than their Male Colleagues," Political Research Quarterly, vol. 73, no. 1 (2020), pp. 126-140; and Mary Layton Atkinson and Jason Harold Windett, "Gender Stereotypes and the Policy Priorities of Women in Congress," Political Behavior, vol. 41 (2019), pp. 769-789.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Cindy Simon Rosenthal, "A View of Their Own: Women's Committee Leadership Styles and State Legislatures," *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 25 (1997), pp. 585-600; Noelle Norton, "Transforming Policy from the Inside: Participation in Committee," in *Women Transforming Congress*, ed. Cindy Simon Rosenthal (Norman, OK:

political theorists. For a discussion, see Hanna F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Studies characterize "women's issues" differently, and there is no universally accepted definition. See Beth Reingold, "Women as Office Holders: Descriptive and Substantive Representation," paper presented at the Political Women and American Democracy Conference, University of Notre Dame, May 25-27, 2006, p. 6; and Victoria A. Rickard, "The Effects of Gender on Winnowing in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Politics & Gender*, vol. 12 (2016), pp. 814-816.

• The path that leads women to run for office, comparative success rates of female compared with male candidates, and career trajectory once in Congress.<sup>31</sup> This includes professional backgrounds and experience, barriers to entry, and fundraising;<sup>32</sup> the so-called widow effect, in which many women first secured entry to Congress following the death of a spouse;<sup>33</sup> and reelection efforts and influences on decisions regarding voluntary retirement or pursuing other office.<sup>34</sup>

University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 316-340; Michele L. Swers, The Difference Women Make (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Laura W. Arnold and Barbara M. King, "Women, Committees, and Institutional Change in the Senate," in Women Transforming Congress, ed. Cindy Simon Rosenthal (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 284-315; Alana Jeydel and Andrew J. Taylor, "Are Women Legislators Less Effective? Evidence from the U.S. House in the 103rd-105th Congress," Political Research Quarterly, vol. 56 (March 2003), pp. 19-27; Debra Dodson, The Impact of Women in Congress (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Sarah Anzia and Christopher Berry, "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?" American Journal of Political Science, vol. 55 (July 2011), pp. 478-493; Craig Volden, Alan Wiseman, and Dana Wittmer, "When Are Women More Effective Lawmakers Than Men?" American Journal of Political Science, April 2013, pp. 326-341, available at http://batten.virginia.edu/research/when-are-women-more-effective-lawmakers-men; Stella M. Rouse, Michele L. Swers, and Michael D. Parrott, "Gender, Race, and Coalition Building: Agenda Setting as a Mechanism for Collaboration Among Minority Groups in Congress," paper delivered for presentation at the American Political Science Association Meeting, August 28-September 1, 2013; Tali Mendelberg, Christopher F. Karpowitz and Nicholas Goedert, "Does Descriptive Representation Facilitate Women's Distinctive Voice? How Gender Composition and Decision Rules Affect Deliberation." American Journal of Political Science, vol. 58, no. 2 (April 2014), pp. 291-306; and Victoria A. Rickard, "The Effects of Gender on Winnowing in the U.S. House of Representatives," Politics & Gender, vol. 12 (2016), pp. 807-834.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See, for example, Jennifer Lawless and Kathyrn Pearson, "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 70 (2008), pp. 67-82; Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless, "Gendered Perceptions and Political Candidacies: A Central Barrier to Women's Equality in Electoral Politics," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 55, no. 1 (January 2011), pp. 59-73; Kathryn Pearson and Eric McGhee, "What It Takes to Win: Questioning 'Gender Neutral' Outcomes," *Politics & Gender*, vol. 9 (2013), pp. 439-462; Daniell M. Thomsen, "Why So Few (Republican) Women? Explaining the Partisan Imbalance of Women in the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 2 (May 2015), pp. 295-423; Kira Sanbonmatsu, "Women's Underrepresentation in the U.S. Congress," *Dædalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences*, vol. 149, no. 1 (2020), pp. 40-55; and Sarina Rhinehart and Michael H. Crespin, "Women in Congress," in *New Directions in Congressional Politics*, ed. Jamie L. Carson and Michael S. Lynch, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See, for example, Ashley Baker, "Reexamining the gender implications of campaign finance reform: how higher ceilings on individual donations disproportionately impact female candidates," *Modern American*, vol. 2 (2006), pp. 18-23; Michael H. Crespin and Janna L. Deitz, "If You Can't Join 'Em, Beat 'Em: The Gender Gap in Individual Donations to Congressional Candidates," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 3 (September 2010), pp. 581-593; Karin E. Kitchens and Michele L. Swers, "Why Aren't There More Republican Women in Congress? Gender, Partisanship, and Fundraising Support in the 2010 and 2012 Elections," *Politics & Gender*, vol. 12 (2016), pp. 648-676.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See, for example, Diane D. Kincaid, "Over His Dead Body: A Positive Perspective on Widows in the U.S. Congress," *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Mar., 1978), pp. 96-104; Lisa Solowiej and Thomas L. Brunell, "The Entrance of Women to the U.S. Congress: The Widow Effect," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 3 (September 2003), pp. 283-292; and Danielle Lupton, Sahar Parsa, and Steven Sprick Schuster, "Widows, Congressional Representation, and the (Ms.)Appropriation of a Name," *unpublished manuscript*, November 5, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See, for example, Jennifer L. Lawless and Sean M. Theriault, "Will She Stay or Will She Go? Career Ceilings and Women's Retirement from the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 30 (November 2005), pp. 581-596; and Jeffrey Lazarus and Amy Steigerwalt, *Gendered Vulnerability: How Women Work Harder to Stay in Office* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018).

# Appendix. Total Number of Women Who Served in Each Congress

#### Table A-1. Congressional Service by Women: By Type and Congress, 1917-2022

(Including any Representatives [Reps.], Delegates [Del.], and Resident Commissioners [RC] who served only a portion of the Congress)

Congress	Reps.	Nonvoting Members (Del. and RC)	House Subtotal (Reps. and Nonvoting Members)	Sens.	Total without Nonvoting Members	Total with Nonvoting Members
65 <sup>th</sup> (1917-1918)	I	0	I	0	I	I
66 <sup>th</sup> (1919-1920)	0	0	0	0	0	0
67 <sup>th</sup> (1921-1922) <sup>a</sup>	3	0	3	I	4	4
68 <sup>th</sup> (1923-1924)	I	0	I	0	I	I
69 <sup>th</sup> (1925-1926) <sup>b</sup>	3	0	3	0	3	3
70 <sup>th</sup> (1927-1928) <sup>c</sup>	5	0	5	0	5	5
71 <sup>st</sup> (1929-1930)	9	0	9	0	9	9
72 <sup>nd</sup> (1931-1932) <sup>d</sup>	7	0	7	I	8	8
73 <sup>rd</sup> (1933-1934)	7	0	7	I	8	8
74 <sup>th</sup> (1935-1936)	6	0	6	2	8	8
75 <sup>th</sup> (1937-1938) <sup>e</sup>	6	0	6	3	9	9
76 <sup>th</sup> (1939-1940) <sup>f</sup>	8	0	8	I	9	9
77 <sup>th</sup> (1941-1942) <sup>b</sup>	9	0	9	I	10	10
78 <sup>th</sup> (1943-1944) <sup>c</sup>	8	0	8	I	9	9
79 <sup>th</sup> (1945-1946) <sup>b</sup>	П	0	П	0	11	11
80 <sup>th</sup> (1947-1948) <sup>g</sup>	7	0	7	I	8	8
81st (1949-1950) <sup>c</sup>	9	0	9	I	10	10
82 <sup>nd</sup> (1951-1952) <sup>b</sup>	10	0	10	I	11	11
83 <sup>rd</sup> (1953-1954) <sup>h</sup>	П	I	12	3	14	15
84 <sup>th</sup> (1955-1956) <sup>c</sup>	16	I	17	I	17	18
85 <sup>th</sup> (1957-1958)	15	0	15	I	16	16
86 <sup>th</sup> (1959-1960) <sup>i</sup>	17	0	17	2	19	19
87 <sup>th</sup> (1961-1962) <sup>j</sup>	18	0	18	2	20	20
88 <sup>th</sup> (1963-1964) <sup>c</sup>	12	0	12	2	14	14
89 <sup>th</sup> (1965-1966)	П	0	П	2	13	13
90 <sup>th</sup> (1967-1968)	П	0	П	I	12	12
91 <sup>st</sup> (1969-1970)	10	0	10	I	П	П
92 <sup>nd</sup> (1971-1972) <sup>k</sup>	13	0	13	2	15	15

Congress	Reps.	Nonvoting Members (Del. and RC)	House Subtotal (Reps. and Nonvoting Members)	Sens.	Total without Nonvoting Members	Total with Nonvoting Members
93 <sup>rd</sup> (1973-1974) <sup>b</sup>	16	0	16	0	16	16
94 <sup>th</sup> (1975-1976)	19	0	19	0	19	19
95 <sup>th</sup> (1977-1978) <sup>I</sup>	18	0	18	3	21	21
96 <sup>th</sup> (1979-1980) <sup>m</sup>	16	0	16	2	18	18
97 <sup>th</sup> (1981-1982) <sup>n</sup>	21	0	21	2	23	23
98 <sup>th</sup> (1983-1984) <sup>c</sup>	22	0	22	2	24	24
99 <sup>th</sup> (1985-1986) <sup>c</sup>	23	0	23	2	25	25
100 <sup>th</sup> (1987-1988)°	24	0	24	2	26	26
101st (1989-1990) <sup>p</sup>	29	0	29	2	31	31
102 <sup>nd</sup> (1991-1992) <sup>q</sup>	29	I	30	4	33	34
103 <sup>rd</sup> (1993-1994) <sup>r</sup>	47	I	48	7	54	55
104 <sup>th</sup> (1995-1996) <sup>k</sup>	49	I	50	9	58	59
105 <sup>th</sup> (1997-1998) <sup>s</sup>	55	2	57	9	64	66
106 <sup>th</sup> (1999-2000)	56	2	58	9	65	67
107 <sup>th</sup> (2001-2002) <sup>t</sup>	60	2	62	14	74	76
108 <sup>th</sup> (2003-2004) <sup>c</sup>	60	3	63	14	74	77
109 <sup>th</sup> (2005-2006) <sup>u</sup>	68	3	71	14	82	85
110 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2008) <sup>v</sup>	76	3	79	16	92	95
111 <sup>th</sup> (2009-2010) <sup>w</sup>	76	3	79	17	93	96
112 <sup>th</sup> (2011-2012)×	76	3	79	17	93	96
113 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2014) <sup>y</sup>	81	3	84	20	101	104
114 <sup>th</sup> (2015-2016) <sup>z</sup>	85	4	89	20	105	109
115 <sup>th</sup> (2017-2018) <sup>aa</sup>	88	5	93	23	111	116
116 <sup>th</sup> (2019-2020) <sup>bb</sup>	102	4	106	26	127	131
117 <sup>th</sup> (2021-2022) <sup>cc</sup>	123	4	127	26	149	153

**Source:** CRS summary, based on http://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress/.

**Notes:** The column headings include the following abbreviations: Representatives (Reps.), Delegates (Del.), Resident Commissioners (RC), and Senators (Sens.).

Three columns include numbers for the House: (1) the number of women Representatives, (2) the number of women nonvoting Members (including Delegates and Resident Commissioners), and (3) the total number of women in the House.

Totals are also provided for (1) the number of women in the House and Senate not including nonvoting Members and (2) the number of women in the House and Senate including nonvoting Members.

For simplification, Congresses are listed in two-year increments. Pursuant to the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified January 23, 1933, "the terms of Senators and Representatives [shall end] at noon on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of Jan." For specific dates, see "Dates of Sessions of the Congress, present-1789," at http://www.senate.gov/reference/Session/Session/Dates.htm.

- a. Includes two House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy and one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy.
- b. Includes two House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- c. Includes one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy.
- d. Includes one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy and one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy.
- e. Includes one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy but not sworn in, one Senator who was elected to fill a vacancy but not sworn in, and one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy.
- f. Includes four House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- g. Includes one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy.
- h. Includes one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy, one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy, and one Senator who was elected to fill that vacancy.
- i. Includes one House Member who died and one House Member elected to fill a vacancy.
- j. Includes three House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- k. Includes one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy and one Senator appointed to fill a vacancy.
- I. Includes two Senators who were appointed to fill a vacancy.
- m. Includes one House Member-elect whose seat was declared vacant due to an incapacitating illness, and one House member who was elected to fill a vacancy.
- n. Includes three House Members who were elected to a vacancy.
- o. Includes one House Member who died.
- p. Includes four House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- q. Includes one House Member and one Senator elected to fill a vacancy and one Senator who was appointed to fill a vacancy.
- r. Includes one Senator who was elected to fill a vacancy.
- s. Includes one House Member who resigned and four House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- t. Includes one House Member who died and one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy and two appointed Senators.
- u. Includes three House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- v. Includes four House Members who died and five House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- w. Includes two House Members who resigned, one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy, one Senator who resigned, and one Senator initially elected to the House and then appointed to the Senate.
- x. Includes two House Members who resigned and four House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- y. Includes one House Member who resigned and three House Members who were elected to fill a vacancy.
- z. Includes two House Members who resigned and one House Member who was elected to fill a vacancy.
- aa. Includes five House Members elected to fill a vacancy, one House Member who died, one House Member who resigned, and two Senators appointed to fill a vacancy.
- bb. Includes one House Member who resigned and one Senator appointed to fill a vacancy.
- cc. Includes two House Members who resigned, four House Members elected to fill a vacancy, one Senator who resigned, and one Senator whose appointed term expired.

Congress	House	Senate	Total Congress
102 <sup>nd</sup>	29	2	31
103 <sup>rd</sup>	48	6	54
104 <sup>th</sup>	48	8	56
105 <sup>th</sup>	53	9	62
106 <sup>th</sup>	58	9	67
107 <sup>th</sup>	61	13	74
108 <sup>th</sup>	62	14	76
109 <sup>th</sup>	68	14	82
I I O <sup>th</sup>	74	16	90
<sup>th</sup>	78	17	95
II2 <sup>th</sup>	75	17	92
<b>3</b> th	81	20	101
<b>4</b> th	88	20	108
115 <sup>th</sup>	88	21	109
<b>116</b> <sup>th</sup>	106	25	131
<b>117</b> th	122	26	148

Table A-2. Number of Women Sworn in on the First Day of Congress

**Source:** CRS calculations based on descriptions in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* (http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp).

**Note:** Includes Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner. The 117<sup>th</sup> Congress number excludes one House Member who was reelected to office, but not sworn in until February 2021.

#### **Author Information**

Jennifer E. Manning Senior Research Librarian Ida A. Brudnick Specialist on the Congress

#### Acknowledgments

Linda Carter, Elli Ludwigson, and Cara Warner provided assistance. Colleen J. Shogan, formerly Deputy Director and Senior Specialist, and Susan Navarro Smelcer, formerly an Analyst on the Federal Judiciary, were former coauthors of this report.

#### Disclaimer

This document was prepared by the Congressional Research Service (CRS). CRS serves as nonpartisan shared staff to congressional committees and Members of Congress. It operates solely at the behest of and under the direction of Congress. Information in a CRS Report should not be relied upon for purposes other than public understanding of information that has been provided by CRS to Members of Congress in connection with CRS's institutional role. CRS Reports, as a work of the United States Government, are not subject to copyright protection in the United States. Any CRS Report may be reproduced and distributed in its entirety without permission from CRS. However, as a CRS Report may include copyrighted images or material from a third party, you may need to obtain the permission of the copyright holder if you wish to copy or otherwise use copyrighted material.