## References

- Adler, E. Scott and John Wilkerson. 2019. *Congressional Bills Project:* (1993–2014). NSF 00880066 and 00880061. The views expressed are those of the authors and not the National Science Foundation. Accessed January, 2019. www.congressionalbills.org/.
- Alba, Richard, Ruben Rumbaut, and Karen Marotz. 2005. "A Distorted Nation: Perceptions of Racial/Ethnic Group Sizes and Attitudes toward Immigrants and Other Minorites." *Social Forces*, 84(2): 901–919.
- Allen, Amanda and Chris White, eds. 2014. *Politics in America (the 113th Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ-RollCall, Inc. http://library.cqpress.com/pia/document.php?id=OEpia113\_0.1
- Alvarez, R. M. and P. Gronke. 1996. "Constituents and Legislators: Learning about the Persian Gulf Way Resolution." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 21(1): 105–127.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Phillip Edward Jones. 2010. "Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*, 54 (3): 583–597.
- Arnold, Douglas. 1990. The Logic of Congressional Action. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup." *American Political Science Review*, 85: 457–474.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2008. Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the Guilded Age. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bernard, William and Tracy Sulkin. 2018. *Legislative Style*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bishin, Benjamin G. 2009. *Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Sociological Perspectives*, 1(1): 3–7.
- Brady, David W., Hahrie Han, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2007. "Primary Elections and Candidate Ideology: Out of Step with the Primary Electorate?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 32(1): 79–105.
- Brant, Rollin. 1990. "Assessing Proportionality in the Proportional Odds Model for Ordinal Logistic Regression." *Biometrics*, 46(4): 1171–1178.
- Bratton, Kathleen A. 2006. "The Behavior and Success of Latino Legislators: Evidence from the States." *Social Science Quarterly*, 87: 1136–1157.
- Bratton, Kathleen A. and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." *The Journal of Politics*, 61(3): 658–679.
- Bratton, Kathleen A., Kerry L. Haynie, and Beth Reingold. 2006. "Agenda Setting and African American Women in State Legislatures." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 28: 71–96.
- Breitman, Kendall. 2015. "Poll: Majority of Millennials Can't Name a Senator from Their Home State." *Politico.com.* www.politico.com/story/2015/02/poll-millennials-state-senators-114867. Accessed March 3, 2018.
- Burden, Barry C. 2007. *Personal Roots of Representation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Burnes, David, Christine Sheppard, Charles R. Henderson, Monica Wassel, Richenda Cope, Chantal Barber, and Karl Pillemer. 2019. "Interventions to Reduce Ageism Against Older Adults: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *American Journal of Public Health*, 109(8): e1–e9.
- Buttice, Matthew K. and Benjamin Highton. 2013. "How Does Multilevel Regression and Poststratification Perform with Conventional National Surveys?" *Political Analysis*, 21(4): 449–467.
- Campbell, A., P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, David Brady, and John F. Cogan. 2002. "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting." *American Political Science Review*, 96(1): 127–140.
- Canon, D. T. 1999. Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carnes, N. 2013. White-collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chisholm, Shirley. 1970. Unbought and Unbossed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Clinton, J., S. Jackman, and D. Rivers. 2004. "The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data." *American Political Science Review*, 98(2): 355–370.
- Clinton, J. D. and J. Tessin. 2007. "Broken Fire Alarms: Exploring Constituency Knowledge of Roll Calls." Unpublished Manuscript. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Cnudde, Charles F. and Donald J. McCrone. 1966. "The Linkage between Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting Behavior: A Causal Model." *American Political Science Review*, 60(1): 66–72.

- Cohen, Robin A. and Whitney K. Kirzinger. 2014. Financial Burden of Medical Care: A Family Perspective. NCHS Data Brief (142). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db142.pdf
- Conover, Pamela J. 1984. "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation." *Journal of Politics*, 46(3): 760–785.
- Converse, P. E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by D. Apter, pp. 206–261. New York: Free Press.
- Cox, G. W. and M. D. McCubbins. 2007. Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Craig, Maureen A. and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2014. "More Diverse Yet Less Tolerant? How the Increasingly Diverse Racial Landscape Affects White Americans' Racial Attitudes." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40 (6): 750–761.
- Crenshaw, K. 1995. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas, pp. 1241–1299. New York: New Press.
- Curry, James M. 2015. Legislating in the Dark: Information and Power in the House of Representatives. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Delli Carpini, M. X. and S. Keeter. 1996. What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dodson, Debra L. 2006. *The Impact of Women in Congress*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dolan, J. 1997. "Support for Women's Interests in the 106th Congress: The Distinct Impact of Congressional Women." Women & Politics, 18: 81–94.
- Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review*, 96(4): 729–743.
- Duncan, Phil, ed. 1994. *Politics in America (the 103rd Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Duncan, Phillip and Christine Lawrence, eds. 1998. *Politics in America (the 103rd Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Ellis, W. C. and W. C. Wilson. 2013. "Minority Chairs and Congressional Attention to Minority Issues: The Effect of Descriptive Representation in Positions of Institutional Power." *Social Science Quarterly*, 94: 1207–1221.
- Erikson, R. S. 1978. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Behavior: A Reexamination of the Miller-Stokes Representation Data." *American Journal of Political Science*, 22: 511–535.
- Erikson, R. S. and G. C. Wright. 1980. "Policy Representation of Constituency Interests." *Political Behavior*, 2: 91–106.
- Federal Reserve Board. 2020. Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2019, Featuring Supplemental Data from April 2020.

260

- www.federalreserve.gov/publications/files/2019-report-economic-well-being-us-households-202005.pdf
- Fenno, R. F. 1978. *Home Style: House Members in the Districts*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fenno, Richard F. 1991. Learning to Legislate: The Senate Education of Arlen Specter. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Firth, David. 1993. "Bias Reduction of Maximum Likelihood Estimates." *Biometrika*, 80(1): 27–38.
- Frantzich, Stephen. 1979. "Who Makes Our Laws? The Legislative Effectiveness of Members of the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 4(3): 409–428.
- Freddie Mac. 2018. *The LGBT Community: Buying and Renting Homes.* www.freddiemac.com/fmac-resources/research/pdf/Freddie\_Mac\_LGBT\_Survey\_Results\_FINAL.pdf
- Gaddie, Ronald K. and John C. Kuzenski. 1996. "Institutional and Personal Legislative Specialization in the United States Senate." *Southeastern Political Review*, 24(1): 3–19.
- Gamble, K. L. 2007. "Black Political Representation: An Examination of Legislative Activity within U.S. House Committees." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 32: 421–446.
- Gay, C. and K. Tate. 1998. "Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women." *Political Psychology*, 19: 169–184.
- Gilens, Martin. 2012. Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- GLAAD. 2019. Accelerating Acceptance 2018: Executive Summary. https://www.glaad.org/files/aa/Accelerating%20Acceptance%202018.pdf
- Glassman, Matthew E. and Amber H. Wilhelm. 2017. "Congressional Careers: Service Tenure and Patterns of Member Service, 1789–2017." CRS Report for Congress, January 3, 2017.
- Grant, Lawrence V. 1973. "Specialization as a Strategy in Legislative Decision-Making." *American Journal of Political Science*, 17(1): 123–147.
- Green, Donald P., Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Griffin, John D. and Brian Newman. 2005. "Are Voters Better Represented?" *Journal of Politics*, 67(4): 1206–1227.
- Griffin, John D. and Brian Newman. 2008. *Minority Report: Evaluating Political Equality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Griffin, John D., Brian Newman, and Christina Wolbrecht. 2012. "A Gender Gap in Policy Representation in the U.S. Congress?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 37(1): 35–66.
- Grossman, Matt and David A. Hopkins. 2016. Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2010. Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, John Jay, and Lawrence Goldman. 2008. *The Federalist Papers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanretty, C., B. Lauderdale, and N. Vivyan. 2018. "Comparing Strategies for Estimating Constituency Opinion from National Survey Samples." *Political Science Research and Methods*, 6(3): 571–591.
- Hansen, Eric R. and Sarah A. Treul. 2015. "The Symbolic and Substantive Representation of LGB Americans in the US House." *The Journal of Politics*, 77(4): 955–967.
- Hawkesworth, M. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review*, 97: 529–550.
- Hawkings, David and Brian Nutting, eds. 2004. *Politics in America (the 103rd Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Haynie, Kerry L. 2002. "The Color of their Skin or the Content of their Behavior? Race and Perceptions of African American Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 27(2): 295–314.
- Hero, Rodney E. and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1995. "Latinos and Substantive Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Nonexistent?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(3): 640–652.
- Hutchings, Vincent L. 2003. *Public Opinion and Democratic Accountability:* How Citizens Learn About Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hutchings, Vincent L., Harwood K. McClerking, and Guy-Uriel Charles. 2004. "Congressional Representation of Black Interests: Recognizing the Importance of Stability." *The Journal of Politics*, 66(2): 450–468.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2013. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 8th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Kessler, Daniel and Keith Krehbiel. 1996. "Dynamics of Cosponsorship." *American Journal of Political Science*, 90(3): 555–566.
- Kingdon, John W. 2005. Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, 2nd ed. New York: Longman.
- Koger, Gregory. 2003. "Position Taking and Cosponsorship in the U.S. House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 28(2): 225–246.
- Kramarow, Ellen A. and Patricia N. Pastor. 2012. The Health of Male Veterans and Nonveterans Aged 25–64: United States, 2007–2010. NCHS Data Brief (101). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db101.pdf
- Kuklinski, James H. and Richard C. Elling. 1977. "Representational Role, Constituency Opinion, and Legislative Roll-Call Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science*, 21(1): 135–147.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Politics of Presence? Congresswomen and Symbolic Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(1): 81–99.
- Lax, Jeffrey R. and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1): 107–121.

- Lee, Frances E. and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. 1999. Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Leighley, Jan E. 2001. Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- MacDorman, Marian F. and T. J. Mathews. 2011. *Understanding Racial and Ethnic Disparities in U.S. Infant Mortality Rates*. NCHS Data Brief (74). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db74.pdf
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics*, 61: 628–657.
- Matthews, Donald R. 1959. "The Folkways of the United States Senate: Conformity to Group Norms and Legislative Effectiveness." *The American Political Science Review*, 53(4): 1064–1089.
- Mayhew, David R. 1974. Congress: The Electoral Connection. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mazzi, Patricia. 2017. "Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Retire from Congress." *MiamiHerald.com*. www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miamidade/article147718764.html. Accessed March 6, 2018.
- McCrone, Donald J. and James H. Kuklinski. 1979. "The Delegate Theory of Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 23(2): 278–300.
- Miler, Kristina C. 2010. Constituency Representation in Congress: The View from Capitol Hill. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Miler, Kristina C. 2018. Poor Representation: Congress and the Politics of Poverty in the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, W. E. and D. E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." American Political Science Review, 57: 45–56.
- Minta, Michael D. 2009. "Legislative Oversight and the Substantive Representation of Black and Latino Interests in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34(2): 193–218.
- Movement Advancement Project, Center for American Progress, GLAAD, Human Rights Campaign. 2019. *Understanding Issues Facing LGBT People in the U.S*, 2nd ed. www.lgbtmap.org/file/Understanding-LGBT-Issues-2019.pdf
- Osborn, T. and J. M. Mendez. 2010. "Speaking as Women: Women and Floor Speeches in the Senate." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, 31: 1–21.
- Park, David K., Andrew Gelman, and Joseph Bafumi. 2004. "Bayesian Multilevel Estimation with Poststratification: State-Level Estimates from National Polls." *Political Analysis*, 12(4): 375–385.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1991. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rapp, David, ed. 2006. *Politics in America (the 103rd Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ-RollCall, Inc. http://library.cqpress.com/pia/document.php?id=OEpi a109\_0.1

- Reingold, Beth. 2000. Representing Women: Sex, Gender, and Legislative Behavior in Arizona and California. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Riley, Michael, ed. 2008. *Politics in America (the 103rd Congress)*. Washington, DC: CQ-RollCall, Inc. http://library.cqpress.com/pia/document.php?id=OEpi a110\_0.1
- Schiller, Wendy J. 1995. "Senators as Political Entrepreneurs: Using Bill Sponsorship to Shape Legislative Agendas." *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(1): 186–203.
- Schiller, Wendy J. 2000a. "Building Reputations and Shaping Careers: The Strategies of Individual Agendas in the U.S. Senate." In *Congress on Display, Congress at Work*, edited by William T. Bianco, pp. 47–68. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Schiller, Wendy J. 2000b. Partners and Rivals: Representation in U.S. Senate Delegations. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sellers, Patrick. 2009. Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S. Congress. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinclair, Barbara. 1989. *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Smooth, W. 2010. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests, and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics and Gender*, 7(3): 436–441.
- Stewart, Charles III and Jonathan Woon. 2019. Congressional Committee Assignments, 103rd to 114th Congresses, 1993–2017: House, January, 2019.
- Stimson, J. A. 1999. *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*, 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Stimson, J. A. 2003. *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stimson, J. A., M. B. MacKuen, and R. S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review*, 89: 543–565.
- Sulkin, Tracy. 2011. *The Legislative Legacy of Congressional Campaigns*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Swers, Michele L. 2002. The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swers, Michele L. 2007. "Building a Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 32(4): 559–595.
- Swers, Michele L. 2013. Women in the Club: Gender and Policy Making in the Senate. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Szaflarski, Magdalena and Shawn Bauldry. 2019. "The Effects of Perceived Discrimination on Immigrant and Refugee Physical and Mental Health." *Advances in Medical Sociology*, 19: 173–204.
- Tate, Katherine. 2014. Concordance: Black Lawmaking in the U.S. Congress from Carter to Obama. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Thomas, Reginald. 1989. "Claude Pepper, Fiery Fighter for Elderly Rights, Dies at 88." *NYTimes.com*. https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0908.html. Accessed March 6, 2018.
- Thomas, Sue. 1994. *How Women Legislate*. New York: Oxford University Press. Uslaner, Eric M. and Mitchell Brown. 2005. "Inequality, Trust, and Civic Engagement." *American Politics Research*, 33(6): 868–894.
- Villarroel, Maria A., Tainya C. Clarke, and Tina Norris. 2020. Health of American Indian and Alaska Native Adults, by Urbanization Level: United States, 2014–2018. NCHS Data Brief (372). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db372-h.pdf
- Volden, Craig and Alan E. Wiseman. 2012. "Legislator Effectiveness and Representation." In *Congress Reconsidered*, 10th ed., edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, pp. 237–264. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Volden, Craig and Alan E. Wiseman. 2018. "Legislative Effectiveness in the United States Senate." *Journal of Politics*, 80(2): 731–735.
- Warshaw, Christopher and Jonathan Rodden. 2012. "How Should We Measure District-Level Public Opinion on Individual Issues?" *Journal of Politics*, 74(1): 203–219.
- Wawro, Gregory. 2001. Legislative Entrepreneurship in the U.S. House of Representatives. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wayne, Alex. 2004. "American Indian Housing in Spotlight." *CQ Weekly* (June 26): 1537. http://library.cqpress.com/cqmagazine/weeklyreport108-000001225571.
- Weissberg, Robert. 1979. "Assessing Legislator-Constituency Policy Agreement." Legislative Studies Quarterly, 4(4): 605–622.
- Weissman, Judith, Laura A. Pratt, Eric A. Miller, and Jennifer D. Parker. 2015. Serious Psychological Distress among Adults: United States, 2009–2013. NCHS Data Brief (203). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db203.pdf
- Williams, M. 1998. Voice, Trust, and Memory: Marginalized Groups and the Failings of Liberal Representation. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Williams, Richard. 2006. "Generalized Ordered Logit/ Partial Proportional Odds Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables." *The Stata Journal*, 6(1): 58–82.
- Williams, Richard. 2016. "Understanding and Interpreting Generalized Ordered Logit Models." *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 40(1): 7–20.
- Wilson, J. M. and P. Gronke. 2000. "Concordance and Projection in Citizen Perceptions of Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 25: 445–467.
- Wright, G., R. S. Erikson, and J. P. McIver. 1987. "Public Opinion and Policy Liberalism in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science*, 26: 81–103.