

AAUW activists have a long history of lobbying and of holding their legislators accountable. The *AAUW Voting Record* of the 103rd Congress informs AAUW members of positions taken by their senators and representatives on the Association's federal legislative priorities.

The specific legislation reported on in this *Voting Record* was selected on the basis of the 1993-95 AAUW Public Policy Program's biennial action priorities and public policy principles as adopted by delegates to the AAUW Convention in June 1993. Also relevant was the 1991-93 Public Policy Program, which governed AAUW action during the first six months of the 103rd Congress.

The list of votes includes the major issues that AAUW members have been actively involved in and on which AAUW has communicated its position extensively to Congress. **The Voting Record is neither an endorsement nor a condemnation of any member of Congress.**

Although many key decisions are made by congressional committees and by means other than recorded floor votes, *The Voting Record* reflects only roll-call votes that were officially recorded on the floor of the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives. At press time, recorded votes were not available on all of AAUW's priorities pending in the 103rd Congress. As recorded votes are taken between the publication of *The Voting Record* and the end of the session, AAUW will make those votes available to its 150,000 members via state leaders and through the toll-free AAUW Member HELPLINE.

Why the AAUW Voting Record is important to AAUW members

The Voting Record provides significant information about elected federal legislators through the votes they cast on AAUW's priority issues. These priorities for the 103rd Congress included: gender equity in education, reproductive choice, opportunities for women in a bias-free workplace, and a new emphasis in 1994 on what has become a hot, but complex issue—women's health issues in health care reform. Unfortunately, as *The Voting Record* went to press, health care reform proposals had not come out of the committees.

The 103rd Congress: A change from the 102nd

This Congress was somewhat different from the 102nd because the 1992 elections resulted in a pro-

choice President and greater numbers of women and minorities serving in Congress. While women still have far to go before achieving parity in Congress, the increased numbers of women meant increased inclusion of female perspectives in many committees and during floor debates. The Senate offered two examples. First, in August 1993 the five Democratic women in the Senate united to use parliamentary strategy successfully on a key vote on reproductive choice related to a federal appropriations bill covering thousands of federal workers (the Nickles amendment; see Senate vote description). However, this fragile victory was short-lived. A few months later, on a different appropriations bill vote, the anti-choice forces prevailed (see Hyde Amendment vote).

Perhaps the most dramatic event showing the changing status of women occurred in April 1994. All seven women senators stood together across party lines to demand and then preside over a watershed six-hour Senate debate on the retirement status of the Navy admiral who had been at the helm during the 1991 Tailhook convention, at which 83 women and seven men were sexually harassed and assaulted.

Although the Senate eventually backed the admiral's boost to four-star retirement status, by a vote of 54-43, the Senate debate became a public lesson for the nation about women's dignity in the workplace and in the world. Demanding accountability of military leadership, the Senate women,

backed by a determined group of Congresswomen, rejected the expected pro forma voice vote. This vote is not included in *The Voting Record* because AAUW did not take a position on the specific issue of the admiral's retirement status and thus did not mobilize its members for this vote.

Less dramatic, perhaps, but more important for AAUW was the support of many women as well as key men in the congressional leadership, for AAUW's efforts to include gender equity provisions in the largest federal education assistance bill, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This was AAUW's primary emphasis in the 103rd Congress, but regrettably Senate action on the ESEA was not complete as *The Voting Record* went to press.

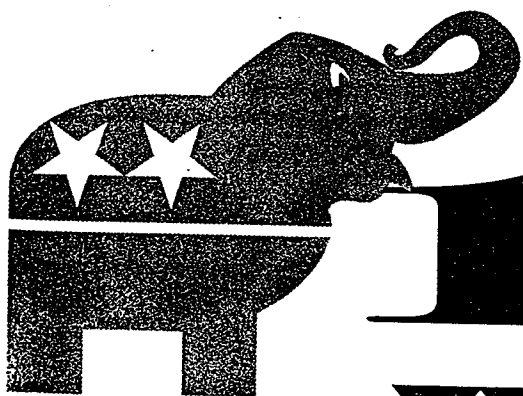
The 103rd Congress also provided a clear lesson regarding the continuing importance of grassroots lobbying. The election of President Clinton removed the necessity of achieving veto-proof votes on AAUW's priority issues. As a result, many grassroots activists may have seriously underestimated the continuing need to lobby Congress. But the President cannot do



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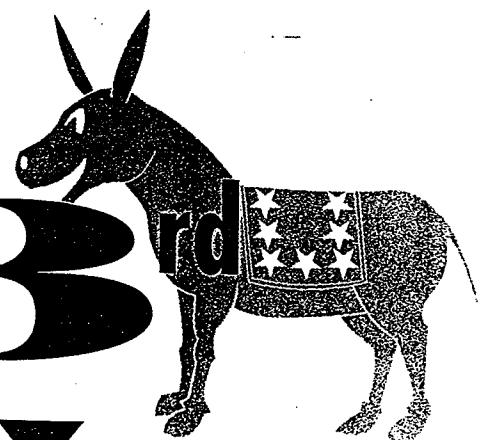
VOTING

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it all. One has only to observe the health care reform process to understand the complex nature of our federal legislative body and the balance of power in the federal government. The anti-choice and Religious Right forces have been relentless in their organizing and fundraising. The declining numbers of Republican moderates in Congress offset to some degree the increased numbers of women and minorities. If AAUW is to move its issues, this is clearly no time to lessen our vigilance.

Use of the AAUW Voting Record

An accompanying Policy Notes article in this issue of *AAUW Outlook*, "Changing the Face of Congress," provides guidance for making the best use of *The Voting Record* to further AAUW's goals

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of education and equity for women and girls. Note that the column on the right of each vote chart indicates the legislator's percentage of support for AAUW's priority issues in this Congress.

The votes reported include votes for final passage as well as procedural votes. Votes on procedures for amending bills, amendments themselves, and rules for debate are often a better indicator of congressional attitudes than a final passage vote. The fate of a bill often turns on these votes.

In addition to sending *The Voting Record* to every AAUW member as an insert in *AAUW Outlook*, AAUW sends *The Voting Record* with a cover letter to every member of Congress. In the

interest of fairness, AAUW does not record votes on bills on which we have not communicated AAUW's positions to Congress or encouraged our members to be active.

The Voting Record continues to enable AAUW members to be informed and active participants in the complex and often puzzling and frustrating democratic government that remains the envy of much of the world. In publishing and using this document, AAUW members continue more than a century of responsible public participation at all levels of government.

The American Association of University Women is a nonpartisan organization that does not endorse candidates for partisan elective office.



SENATE *Vote*

DESCRIPTIONS

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

For eight years AAUW lobbied for the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). The bill was finally signed into law on February 5, 1993, as one of President Clinton's first acts. FMLA, which had passed both houses of Congress in 1992, only to be vetoed by President Bush, was reintroduced in 1993. The law allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave during any 12-month period for the birth or adoption of a child, to care for a seriously ill child, spouse, or parent, or because of their own serious illness.

Senate conservatives tried as they had in the 102nd Congress to stop the bill, holding it up for three days as they attempted to gut it and also use it as a vehicle for another agenda: demanding a floor vote on an amendment to ban gays in the military. On February 4, 1993, the Senate approved its version of FMLA (S 5), 71-27, which was then sent back to the House for a final vote. A vote for was a + vote.

ABORTION COVERAGE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' HEALTH BENEFITS PLANS. TREASURY, POSTAL, AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS BILL (HR 2403)

Following the lead of the Reagan and Bush administrations from 1982-93, Congress amended the Treasury, Postal, and General Government Appropriations Bill to prohibit federal employees' health benefits plans from covering abortion except in cases in which carrying the pregnancy to term would endanger the life of the woman. This restriction effectively denied 9 million federal workers, dependents,

and retirees the services available to private sector employees. President Clinton's budget proposal for fiscal year 1994 did not include the abortion-restrictive language.

We have included this vote in *The Voting Record* because it demonstrates that a majority of senators were unwilling to exclude abortion from a federal health benefits program. Similar votes will undoubtedly be taken to include abortion in health care reform.

In July 1993 the House passed the fiscal 1994 version of this appropriations bill with no restrictions on the use of federal funds to provide health coverage for federal employees. However, during Senate consideration, Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK) offered an amendment that would have required women employed by the federal government to pay special premiums to receive coverage for abortions under federal health plans. According to Senate parliamentary rules, all amendments to a general appropriations bill must be relevant to the subject matter of the bill; this is known as a "germaneness" requirement. There was no floor vote on the Nickles' amendment because the Senate voted 48-51 against the germaneness of the amendment on August 3, 1993, after a point of order was raised by Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-MD). This key procedural vote was the successful result of a cohesive strategy implemented by the five Democratic women

senators, who had vowed to keep abortion restrictions off appropriations bills in this Congress. It was a narrow victory for advocates of reproductive choice.

AAUW believes that all women, including those who rely on federal programs for health care, must have access to the full range of reproductive health services including abortion, regardless of their employment status. Therefore AAUW opposed the Nickles amendment and its germaneness to HR 2403. A vote against was a + vote.

ELDERS CONFIRMATION

In July 1993 President Clinton nominated Dr. Joycelyn Elders to the position of U.S. Surgeon General. As Arkansas state health director, Elders had focused on the problems of teen pregnancy, instituting school-based health clinics that provide a range of medical services, including distribution of birth control to students with parental permission. A board-certified pediatric endocrinologist, Elders helped raise the immunization rate of preschool children in Arkansas and was instrumental in attracting more health professionals to serve in underserved rural areas.

However, her fiery rhetoric and record on reproductive choice raised a furor among some conservatives, who mounted a campaign fueled by radio talk-show hosts to defeat her nomination.

AAUW joined hundreds of organizations, including many associations of health care professionals, in support of Elders' confirmation.

On September 7, 1993, the Senate voted, 65-34, to confirm Elders as the nation's surgeon general. A vote for was a + vote.

**FUNDING OF ABORTIONS FOR POOR WOMEN.
HYDE AMENDMENT TO THE FISCAL 1994 LABOR,
HHS, EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS BILL
(HR 2518)**

Beginning in 1981, Presidents Reagan and Bush included language in their federal budget proposals that severely limited access to abortions for Medicaid recipients, federal employees, and others who rely on federally funded programs for their health care coverage. President Clinton's budget proposal for fiscal year 1994 did not include the abortion-restrictive language.

Since 1981 the Hyde Amendment, named for Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), to the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Bill has restricted the use of federal funds for abortions for poor women enrolled in the Medicaid program to cases in which carrying the pregnancy to term would endanger the woman's life. On June 30, 1993, the House approved a slightly modified Hyde Amendment to this appropriations bill that also includes exceptions for cases of rape or incest.

AAUW believes that all women, including those who rely on federal programs for health care, must have access to the full range of reproductive health services, including abortion, regardless of their economic status.

Because all appropriations bills originate in the House, the Senate considered the Labor/HHS Appropriations Bill (HR 2518) as passed by the House, with the Hyde Amendment in place. AAUW again opposed the Hyde Amendment, which continues to discriminate against poor women.

On September 28, 1993, the Senate rejected an amendment to remove the Hyde provisions from HR 2518, 40-59. AAUW supported the Senate amendment to remove the abortion-restrictive language. A vote for was a + vote.

**COATS PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE AMENDMENT TO
GOALS 2000: EDUCATE AMERICA ACT (S 1150)**

The amendment offered by Sen. Dan Coats, (R-IN) would have authorized \$30 million to create six school choice pilot programs involving both public and private schools in low-income areas.

"School choice" is a term used for programs that enable parents to choose from a number of schools in which to enroll their children, regardless of local districting. Some of these initiatives are known as "voucher" programs because they would give parents a voucher or credit for the annual cost per pupil of attending a given school and allow them to spend it at the school of their choice.

AAUW has no position on school choice programs that are limited to public schools, but opposes programs that would allow publicly funded vouchers to be spent at private schools. Siphoning education dollars from public schools to support private and religious schools would weaken an already struggling public education system and raise serious constitutional questions. AAUW supports a strong public education system as the foundation of a democratic society.

The Coats Amendment was defeated, 41-52, on February 8, 1994. A vote against was a + vote.

(Note: This amendment was almost identical to that offered by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) during the 102nd Congress. AAUW opposed the amendment both times, but the margin of defeat in the 103rd Congress has narrowed.)

**THE SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES ACT
(HR 2884)**

Introduced by Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL), HR 2884 authorizes \$300 million in 1995 to assist non-college-bound youth to move from secondary school to high-skill, high-wage jobs. The bill provides grants to states and localities to systematize school-based occupational training, counseling, and practical learning experiences in the workplace. Grants would be administered jointly by the U.S. Departments of Labor and Education and would require the establishment of partnerships involving schools, businesses, labor, higher education, parents, and community organizations in order to ensure well-rounded programs.

Consideration of HR 2884 presented an important opportunity to help educators address the persistent sex segregation in vocational education programs and in the workplace. During committee consideration, gender equity

provisions were added to ensure that women and girls receive exposure to a variety of jobs within a given industry and are no longer channeled into traditional low-paying, low-skill clerical, administrative, and sales positions.

AAUW supported the School-to-Work bill, which will help both male and female students compete in an increasingly high-tech global economy and allow community-based organizations, such as AAUW branches, to become partners in program planning.

The School-to-Work Opportunities Act passed the Senate, 62-31, on February 8, 1994. A vote for was a + vote.

**FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO CLINIC ENTRANCES ACT
(S 636)**

The Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, or FACE, was introduced by Reps. Charles Schumer (D-NY) and Connie Morella (R-MD) in the House and by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) in the Senate. This legislation was developed to protect reproductive health facilities from the nationwide pattern of blockades, violence, and vandalism that has escalated steadily over the past 12 years. Many state and local law enforcement authorities are either overwhelmed by the terrorist tactics and sheer numbers of the clinic blockaders, or simply refuse to enforce existing state and local laws.

FACE makes it a federal offense to use force, threat of force, or physical obstruction to interfere with the provision of reproductive health services at medical facilities. The bill imposes stiff criminal penalties on violent offenders and allows victims to sue for injunctive relief and compensatory and punitive damages. The bill does not interfere with the right to peaceful protest, as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It applies to any facility offering "reproductive health services," including both anti-choice counseling centers and clinics that provide abortion services.

AAUW believes that women must have guaranteed access to the full range of reproductive health services, including abortion, without the threat of violence or intimidation.

The Senate adopted the FACE conference report, which reconciled the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill, on May 12, 1994, 69-30. A vote for was a + vote.



SENATE



SENATE

	FMLA	Abortion/Federal Employees	Elders Confirmation	Abortion/Medicaid	School Choice	School-to-work	FACE	% For (When Voting)	% For (All Votes)
ALABAMA									
HEFLIN (D-AL)	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	57	57
SHELBY (D-AL)	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	83	71
ALASKA									
MURKOWSKI (R-AK)	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	17	14
STEVENS (R-AK)	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	57	57
ARIZONA									
DECONCINI (D-AZ)	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	71	71
MCCAIN (R-AZ)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
ARKANSAS									
BUMPERS (D-AR)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
PRYOR (D-AR)	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	100	86
CALIFORNIA									
BOXER (D-CA)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
FEINSTEIN (D-CA)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
COLORADO									
BROWN (R-CO)	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	29	29
CAMPBELL (D-CO)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
CONNECTICUT									
DODD (D-CT)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
LIEBERMAN (D-CT)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	86	86
DELAWARE									
BIDEN (D-DE)	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	71	71
ROTH (R-DE)	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	29	29
FLORIDA									
GRAHAM (D-FL)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	86	86
MACK (R-FL)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
GEORGIA									
COVERDELL (R-GA)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
NUNN (D-GA)	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	57	57

	FMLA	Abortion/Federal Employees	Elders Confirmation	Abortion/Medicaid	School Choice	School-to-work	FACE	% For (When Voting)	% For (All Votes)
HAWAII									
AKAKA (D-HI)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
INOUYE (D-HI)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
IDAHO									
CRAIG (R-ID)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
KEMPTHORNE (R-ID)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
ILLINOIS									
MOSELEY-BRAUN (D-IL)	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	100	71
SIMON (D-IL)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
INDIANA									
COATS (R-IN)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
LUGAR (R-IN)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	14	14
IOWA									
GRASSLEY (R-IA)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
HARKIN (D-IA)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
KANSAS									
DOLE (R-KS)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
KASSEBAUM (R-KS)	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	29	29
KENTUCKY									
FORD (D-KY)	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	57	57
MCCONNELL (R-KY)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	14	14
LOUISIANA									
BREAUX (D-LA)	+	-	-	-	?	?	-	20	14
JOHNSTON (D-LA)	+	-	+	-	?	?	-	40	29
MAINE									
COHEN (R-ME)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
MITCHELL (D-ME)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
MARYLAND									
MIKULSKI (D-MD)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
SARBANES (D-MD)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100

KEY: + Favorable - Unfavorable ? Not voting 0 Not then a member



HOUSE *Vote* DESCRIPTIONS



FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

On February 3, 1993, the House once again voted on "final passage" of this 8-year-old bill (HR 1), 265-163. The next day, the Senate substituted and passed its own version (S 5) and sent it back to the House as HR 1 for final approval (see the Senate vote descriptions for more details on this bill). The House then agreed to the Senate version the same day, 247-152. This final vote on February 4, 1994, is included in this AAUW *Voting Record*. A vote in favor was a + vote.

THE FAMILY PLANNING AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1993 (HR 670)

Title X of the Public Health Services Act funds more than 4,000 family planning clinics that serve 4-5 million women and girls nationwide. These clinics provide a range of services, including contraceptive counseling and routine gynecological exams. For many women, these reproductive health care services are their entry point into the health care system and the only primary care they receive. Title X has not been reauthorized since 1985, which has jeopardized the program's existence. Although the program has continued to receive funds under "continuing resolutions," lack of authorization has led to a steady decline in funding.

The Family Planning Amendments Act (HR 670) reauthorizes \$238 million in fiscal 1994 and \$270.5 million in fiscal 1995 for Title X family planning programs. The bill will also codify the Clinton administration's lifting of the Reagan/Bush "gag rule," an executive order that prohibited staff at federally funded clinics from discussing abortion with patients.

AAUW supports comprehensive reproductive health care, including affordable family planning, for all women and girls. AAUW also opposed the gag rule, and therefore supported HR 670.

HR 670 passed the House, 273-149, on March 25, 1993. A vote for was a + vote. The bill was approved by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, but Senate floor action was still pending as *The AAUW Voting Record* went to press.

FUNDING OF ABORTIONS FOR POOR WOMEN: HYDE AMENDMENT TO THE FISCAL 1994 LABOR, HHS, EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS BILL (HR 2518)

Please refer to the Senate vote description for the provisions and significance of this bill. On June 30, 1993, the House approved, 255-178, a slightly modified Hyde Amendment to this appropriations bill that also includes exceptions for cases of rape or incest. AAUW again opposed the Hyde Amendment, which discriminates against poor women. A vote against was a + vote.

SEX EDUCATION/UNSOELD AMENDMENT/ESEA

Each year, programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) provide more than \$8 billion in federal aid to school districts and states for educational programs. Although this contribution represents less than 6 percent of education expenditures overall, it is relied upon by more than 90 percent of school districts in the country.

During floor consideration of the ESEA reauthorization bill (HR 6), Rep. John Doolittle (R-CA) offered an amendment to withhold all ESEA funds from any school that, in its sex education classes, course material, and instruction, did not "continuously stress" abstinence as the only completely effective protection against unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

AAUW opposed this amendment because it would have been a dramatic federal intrusion into the curriculum decisions of local school

